

**Clans of the Brea d'Alban**  
**A collection of Scottish Histories**

**Macnab, Dewar, Macnish and Associated Families**

Compiled and edited by  
David Rorer

# A Resignation

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## **Friends and Fellow Clansmen:**

### **Why you are receiving this letter:**

This letter is being sent to all those who received my CD titled "**Clans of the Brea d'Alban, a Collection of Scottish Histories**" which contains the various published histories of the Clan Macnab, the Dewar's of St. Fillan and the Clan Macnish.

### **The Reason for this Letter:**

This letter is in the nature of a resignation, though, in truth there is nothing to resign from except a moribund website, where, I am no longer listed as "Clan and Scottish Historian." The website in question, [www.macnab.org](http://www.macnab.org), formerly contained my contact information, placed there, with my permission, by the website's creator Chuck MacNab back in 2001.

Unfortunately, about the time of the run-up to the 2008 presidential election, Chuck McNab effectively abandoned the website to devote his time to a far right wing political blog, devoted to racist hate speech and tea party conspiracy theories of the most laughable sort. He seems particularly obsessed with President Obama at whom much of his venom is directed.

Not wanting to have even the remotest connection to such garbage, I asked him to remove my name from the website and blocked his e-mail addresses.

After Chuck MacNab abandoned his website, I turned to David McNabb of Prescott, Arizona who publishes a newsletter for his so-called "Clan MacNab Society International," offering to let him publish my research in his newsletter.

David did so, however, the newsletter was so carelessly put together that it quickly became embarrassing to have my name associated with it. Articles were cut and pasted up with missing sections, illustrations did not match and pages were duplicated back to back. Several times, I offered to send him pages ready made up for his newsletter, but those offers were ignored. He also repeatedly lost the checks I sent to pay for membership in his clan society.

I had also sent him several copies of "Clans of the Brea d'Alban", with the suggestion that the CD be given to interested people at forthcoming highland games. However, without asking permission, his next newsletter contained a notice offering the CD for sale for a \$30 "contribution".

Having had enough of this, I finally told David McNabb, in no uncertain terms that I no longer wished to have anything to do with him or his so-called clan society. I no longer get copies of the newsletter, but I have been contacted several times, by people who took my e-mail address from the newsletter so apparently he is still publishing my writings. Unfortunately there is little I can do about this since he still possesses copies of the disk.

### **My qualifications as a historian:**

I do consider myself a real historian and not simply because that label was once attached to my name on a now moribund website. Though I do not have a formal degree in history, I have had an interest in the subject since coming across a 1905 Britannica in my High School, more than a half century ago. I have read widely in European and British History and can more than hold my own with those who do have formal academic degrees. I have had articles published on websites other than the two Clan Macnab websites and, for a number of years was active on German genealogy lists

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where I achieved a reputation for being an expert on the history of 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany.

In addition to historical studies, I have done a considerable amount of research and writing on the subject of genealogy. Research, which, actually helped unravel the origin of one of my ancestral family surnames, that of Sisson. That research has taught me how often family histories have been not only just distorted, but falsified. One should not take any single genealogy or the writings of any one single individual as being factually correct. It is necessary not only to seek verification from several sources but also to look at a genealogy in the larger historical context of contemporary history. This also applies to history of the Clan Macnab.

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## **The History of the Clan Macnab:**

The history of the Clan Macnab is actually the genealogy of a single family and I have become satisfied that much of that genealogy been fabricated. I am also satisfied that the MacNab have no more basis for their claim to being a "clan" than many other Scottish families, who have not been acknowledged as such.

In the 1970s I acquired a copy of the Clan History, written by the current chief James Charles Macnab. By 2000 it had been long out of print and in order to add it to my family history; I started transcribing it as a Microsoft Word document. That little project eventually grew to be a collection of histories about the Clan Macnab and associated families of Perthshire. Some 10 years later, I began publishing it on CD as the "Clans of the Brea d'Alban, a collection of Scottish Histories." It contains, I think, all the different published versions of the history of the Clan Macnab.

However, in assembling these different versions of the Clan Macnab histories, and putting them into context with the larger history of Scotland, a number of inconsistencies became apparent. In time these inconsistencies lead to the conviction that major parts of the story were fabricated. The proof of this fabrication can partly be found in chapter VIII, "The Macnabs of Bovain" of the book titled "In Famed Breadalbane," by the Rev. William A. Gilles wherein he states as follows:

"The genealogy of the Macnabs, given in the Gaelic Manuscript of 1450, and printed in the Transactions of the Iona Club, 'Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis,' is quite absurd." The Rev. Gilles then goes on to state: "The fantastic genealogy prepared by John Macnab and his brother in this remarkable way bears on its face the marks of inaccuracy; yet, strange to say, it has been accepted as true by historians and has received the approval of John Macnab of Callander, who wrote a book, entitled 'The Clan Macnab,' published in 1907"

Just below I quote, in its entirety that portion of "In Famed Breadalbane" in which the Rev. William A. Gilles relates how and when John MacNab created the clan history.

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## **A Fantastic Genealogy**

The genealogy of the Macnabs has presented much difficulty owing to the absence of family papers. It is said that the Macnab writs were destroyed on two occasions, first in the time of King Robert the Bruce, and again when the castle of Ellanryne was burned down by the English during the Commonwealth. The genealogy given in the Douglas Baronage is fanciful and fictitious and has an extraordinary history behind it. When Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie was collecting material for his book, in 1768, he wrote to John Macnab of Bovain, then chief of the clan, for information concerning his family. Macnab prepared a genealogy, which Douglas stated to be pretty good so far as it went, and he himself undertook "to make it fuller and better." At the same time the historian asked Macnab to furnish him with further details regarding his immediate ancestors and their children, and any anecdotes concerning the clan that he could recollect. John Macnab thereupon wrote to his brother, Archibald Macnab, then a colonel and afterwards a general in the British Army, in the following terms:

"Dr. B. yours of the 6th June I had, and wou'd be extremely happy how soon your affairs would admitt of your being here. You see I lost no time in writting Mr. Douglass, and sent him the accompt of our Family in the very manner you sent me. On perusing it frequently with all attention I found

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you justly took care not to Incence or Raise the ill nature and Umbrage of the B.' [Campbell's of Bredalbane who actually owned the Bovain estate] family against us. You are, as well as I am, sensible the doing it att this time of day answered no ends, nor would Monk's Letters being so very recent add any Antiquity To the Family, and placing them or any pair of them of course behoved to rip up old sor's and Disgrace B's family. Mr. Douglass may indeed mention his having by him letters from Monk will prove that the Great Family kept possession of the whole of our Estate during the length of the Usurpation, and still hes some of it to this day, but does not incline to insert them at this juncture; this I intended to have inseart in the skeath, but delayed doing it till I had your thought thereon. I was also for Two or three days Endeavouring, but in vain, to get rid of the Etimologie of our name, I mean Abbot's son, Fearing that when published the Readers might Infer therefrom wee were bastards; Because noe Abbot or Kirkman in Orders befor the Reformation were allowed by their Canons marriage. To obviate this my Intention was to putt it on this footing, viz:--That as the Abbots of old amassed a deall of Riches, That this Abbot of Glendocharde had given all the lands he had acquired of Temporalities to his Nevay, or nearest Heir, and had got thereby the Appellation of M'nab Eyre (i.e. heir); by this we get quyt clear of the Imputation of bastardy, which to the utmost of our power wee ought to guard against. I have just now write to Mr. Douglass that I sent you a Coppy of what was sent him, and desyred he would print nothing till he heard from us, not knowing but we might make some alterations. If I send him what he wants I shou'd mention Achalader and Achlyne come of our Grandfather; let me have your opinion of this also. If you approve of thir remarks I have made, and as I believe you have kepted by you a Coppy of what you sent me, you may att conveniency Extend it a new and remit to me. Frank is just now at Ednr. pushing and procuring of some £100 pounds mentioned in my last. I expect he'll meet with success. Wee are all in good health, and Jamie is become a Father, but I doe not think his son will live any Time. My wife, Rob, and Don. Campbells wife, who is here, joyne in compliments. To you, and I ever remaine.

Your affect. Brother,

Kinnell 3d July, 1768" John Macnab.

The fantastic genealogy prepared by John Macnab and his brother in this remarkable way bears on its face the marks of inaccuracy; yet, strange to say, it has been accepted as true by historians, and has received the approval of John Macnab of Callander, who wrote a book, entitled "The Clan Macnab," published in 1907. In 1768 John Macnab, in making up his genealogy, reckoned himself to be eleventh in descent, tracing from father to son, from Gilbert Macnab to whom a charter was granted in 1336. This allows a period of possession of thirty-nine years and three months for each of his predecessors, and if each chief was twenty-one years of age when he succeeded, each must have attained an average age of sixty years. Between the years 1488 (when King James III. was murdered), and 1606, if we are to credit this genealogy, there were only three Macnabs in succession as chiefs. As a matter of fact, however, there were six chiefs during that period.

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One can see by this that John Macnab, in writing the history of his family was more concerned with not offending the Bredalbane Campbells and avoiding the imputation of bastardy than he was with historical accuracy.

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Then when he sent it to Sir Robert Douglas, it was in turn made it "fuller and better." In other words padded so it made a better read!

## **Other proofs:**

Independently of the Rev. Gilles book, it is possible to confirm much that is fraudulent about the story of the Clan Macnab:

## **The Macnab as hereditary Abbot of Glendochart**

The Lord Lyon King at Arms, the supreme heraldic authority of Scotland, supposedly recognizes The Macnab Chief as the hereditary Abbot of Glendochart, an ancient office of the Celtic church which over time became secularized into a hereditary title for the holder of the barony (estates) of Glendochart. However, as is stated in the published Clan Histories, in 1314, after King Robert Bruce won the battle of Bannockburn, the Abbot of Glendochart was one of those whom the king declared forfeit, for opposing him and supporting the English. Accordingly the Abbot's writs were burnt; his lands and offices, including his barony of Glendochart were taken from him and given to one Alexander Menzies of Weem. Thus, the Lord Lyon notwithstanding, it is the descendants of this Alexander Menzies of Weem, who have the better claim of being the hereditary Abbot of Glendochart, not the chief of the Clan Macnab.

## **Clann an Abba:**

The first mention of the surname which became Macnab is supposedly in a lost charter given to one Gilbert M'Nable in 1336, for the barony of Bothmachan. From this date until 1406, there is no other evidence of the existence of the family until one Alexander of Bovain received a charter for lands in Glendochart. From this there is no apparent connection of the chiefly family to the ancient Abbots of Glendochart thus it follows that Macnab is not derived from the Gallic phrase "clann an abba" meaning "children of the abbot."

In fact the spelling of Macnab has varied wildly, through the centuries, and in the earliest published clan history by William Anderson, writing in "The Scottish Nation" (quoted in "The Clan History, part one) he stated that the name derived from "Nab" a round headed height or cone after the mountain called Ben Mor or "Great Head" an assertion that makes a great deal more sense than "children of the abbot!" In fact "children of the abbot" is little more than an attempt to legitimize the connection with the abbots of Glendochart and the fictionalized history of the family.

## **Abbot and Abbotson**

It also follows that Abbot and Abbotson are not anglications of MacNab. This assertion is pure myth based solely on the supposed connection with the ancient Abbots of Glendochart. Abbot and Abbotson are instead purely English names derived from an ancestor who played an abbot in a religious play or who was a serf belonging to an abbot.

## **Gilfillan and Gilland**

Likewise, Gilfillan and Gilland have no connection to Macnab or St. Fillan. Instead these surnames are most likely variations on the word gillie, and were adopted long after St Fillan was forgotten. They could have originated anywhere in Scotland and should not be associated with any particular clan.

## **Why there are so few Macnabs:**

The reason there are so few Macnab's is because the "clan" really consisted of no more than a single family, the holders and tenants of the multiple estate (called in Scotland a "Barony") of Bovain in Perthshire. I have no doubt that DNA testing would show most bearers of the surname

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Macnab, or its variants, have a common ancestor. Unfortunately the chief does not believe in DNA testing and has not supported the creation of such a project. Our loss, not his gain!

## **The Clan Territory:**

In spite of the many colorful clan maps showing the territory of the Clan Macnab territory running along the south shore of Loch Dochart and up through the Glendochart, it is doubtful that the clan could ever claim, as its own, any more than the lands that made up the barony of Bovain. A Barony, which, by the way has been held of the Campbell's of Bredalbane for the past four centuries and recently, once more, lost by the chief, sold to pay estate taxes.

## **The current line of Clan chiefs:**

The late Archibald Corrie Macnab obtained the chieftainship of the Clan because he had the money, the ambition, possession of the Bovain estate and moreover, the ability to persuade the Lord Lyon to rule in his favor. However, correspondence with descendants of the Dundurn and Callander branches of the family has convinced me that each has a stronger claim to the chieftainship than the current holder. Unfortunately, my opinion does not count in this matter nor do I have the ear of the Lord Lyon.

## **Conclusion:**

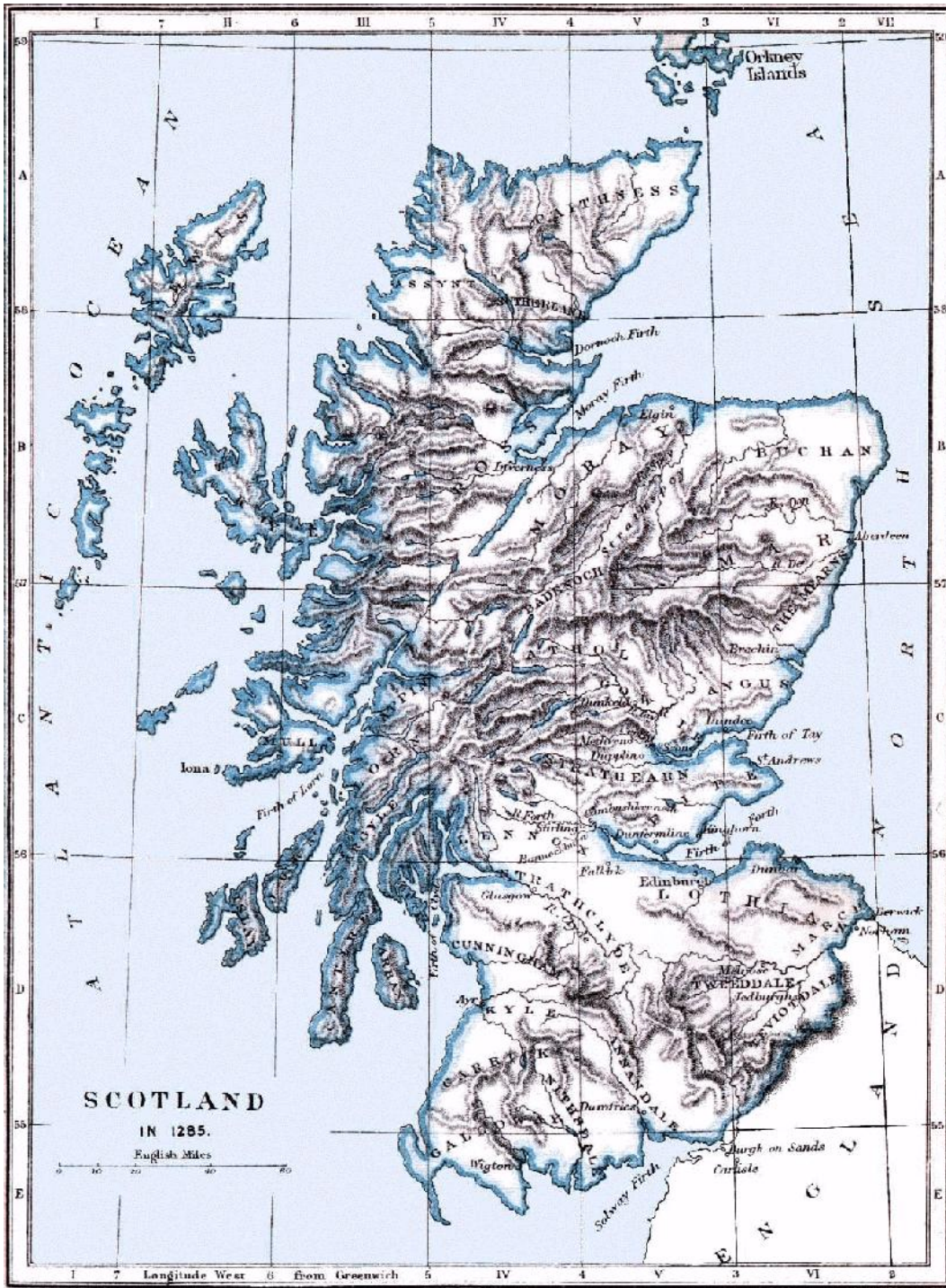
It is quite frankly a disappointment to end this project, in this fashion. Some of you-all may disagree with my conclusions, however, I have been a student of history for more than half a century and have learned to view others assertions in the wider context of documented history and not to trust any single source or author.

This project has consumed nearly two decades and it is time to put the Macnab's aside and move on. I do not know if I will pick up the story again there are other genealogies and subjects that I wish to pursue and at age 72 I have become aware that my time here is not infinite.

Be well, do good works and perhaps we will talk again on another subject.

March 15, 2012  
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Map of Scotland about the year 1285

Lorn, Kintyre and Argyre, where the Irish DalRiata settled, are on the long peninsula hanging down from the western coast in the area D-III on the map. Loch Tay, the center of MacNab territory is not marked but is the long blue lake just to the west of Dunkled, between Athol and Strathern at C-IV.

The line of the Macnab chiefs is historically thought to descend from a younger son of Kenneth MacAlpine, the king who united the DalRitan kingdom with that of the Picts to eventually form the Kingdom of Scotland.





## MacNab

Coat of Arms: Sable, on a chevron argent, three crescents vert,, in base an open boat with oars argent sailing in a sea proper.

Crest: The head of a savage affronte proper.

Supporters: Two dragons sable, armed and langued Or, having wings elevated Argent Semeé of crescents vert.

Motto: "Timor omnis abesto" (Be all fear absent).

Plant Badge: Stone Bramble

Slogan: Bovain

Lyon Register, I, 229; XL

In English: A black (shield), on which is a silver chevron containing three green crescents. In the base of the shield is shown an open boat with silver oars sailing on a sea rendered natural. Note: there are two men shown in the boat and each should be handling a pair of oars unlike the single pair shown. This refers to the sons of the chief taking their boat to Nish Island in pursuit of the Macnishes.

The crest is the head of a savage facing front rendered natural, though this is generally understood to represent the head of the MacNish which was cut off and brought back to the Chief by his sons, after the massacre on Nish Island.

The supporters are two black dragons, with claws and tongues (armed and langued) of gold, with erect wings of silver. On each wing are three more green crescents. The origins of the dragons are unknown and it is not known what they signify. Some illustrations of the coat of arms show a pair of highlanders as supporters, however, this is incorrect.

The motto, which is sometimes translated as Dreadnought, is displayed on a ribbon above the coat of arms which is tangled in the draperies depending from the helmet which is plain and unadorned since the Macnab has no title.

The plant badge, stone bramble is defined as a european type of trailing bramble with red berrylike fruits [syn: Rubus saxatilis]. The Clan Macnab is considered part of the family of clans descended from the family of Kenneth MacAlpin, the badge of whom is a sprig of evergreen, which also may be displayed as plant badge.

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The slogan "Bovain" refers to the name of the estate held by the chief since ancient times.

The Lyon Register entry is that of the matriculation of this version of the coat of arms. (Note: arms are granted to individuals not to whole families, though anyone related to the clan can display the arms)



**Clans of the Brea d'Alban**  
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In 1977, The Clan Macnab Society published a history of the clan known as the "Green Book" from the color of its cover. Unfortunately, it has been out of print for many years.

A few years ago, I began transcribing the text of the "Green Book" as a computer file so that I could share it with those of my family who were interested in our historical roots. While doing so, I kept coming across unfamiliar terms and thinking that if I had to look them up, then others who are even less familiar with Scottish History would not know the meaning either. Therefore, I began to footnote the text, adding so many, that fully a third of the text is now footnotes.

In addition to the official Clan history, I have also transcribed other historical accounts relating to the Clan Macnab and other families associated with it, and assembled them all into a collection of histories and stories. Due to the expense of printing these histories will instead be burned onto CDs and given to those who are interested.

Recently the Clan Macnab Society, headquartered in the United States, in cooperation with the Chief have produced a somewhat updated version of the Clan History, titled "An Outline of The History of Clan Macnab and its Lands." This can be obtained through the Clan Macnab website at [www.macnab.org](http://www.macnab.org).

This is an evolving collection and there are a number of books and articles that I intend to include as time permits. Herewith, I submit to you-all this first edition of Clans of the Brea d'Alban, a Collection of Scottish Histories.

*David Rorer, March 3, 2015*

*drorer@fuse.net*

The first published history of the Clann-an-Abba or Clan Macnab appears to have been "*The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch*" by John McNab of Callander, Historian of the Clan Macnab Association, published in 1907 by the Clan Macnab Association, 13 South Charlotte Street, Edinburgh, printed in Glasgow by Archibald Sinclair, at the Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street.

This work has been cited numerous times since, including the current clan history by James Charles Macnab of Macnab the 23<sup>rd</sup> chief and "In Famed Breadalbane" by William A Gillies. Long out of print a copy of this book is available as both a text and PDF download from [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)

The text of this important book is given here, without alteration except for the modernization of some of the spelling. There were some illustrations in the original but those will have to be viewed in the PDF file.

### **"The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch" by John McNab of Callander**

#### **PREFACE:**

IN these days when so much interest is taken in the revival of all matters of a Celtic character, a clear and concise statement of the history of the Clan Macnab cannot be considered out of place. This volume is the outcome of the decision of the Clan Macnab Association at one of its meetings, to ask Mr. John M'Nab of Callander to undertake the task of writing a history of the Clan. A complete and exhaustive history is not possible until the re-organization of the Clan by the Association has made the collection of materials for that purpose easier than at present. Any attempt at compiling a more complete and exhaustive history has consequently been deferred to a later time, when the members of the Clan can more easily unite, through the medium of the Association, in attaining that purpose. Meanwhile, should this work be a means to that end, its mission is largely accomplished.

If due consideration be given to the present position of affairs, the wisdom of the limited scope of this work will be apparent. Since the emigration of Chief Francis to Canada, and the ultimate failure of his male issue, the Clan has not known whom to look to as the hereditary Chief, and from one cause and another, particularly through the Clan's active participation in the dynastic and other troubles which have from time to time disturbed the peace of the Scottish nation, its members here for a long time been scattered far and wide, its organization destroyed, and the extensive lands, which once were the property of its Chiefs, have passed into the hands of strangers indeed, were it not for the existence of the ancient burial ground at Inchbuie, an island on

the river Dochart, the geographical position of the at one time extensive territory of the Macnabs would probably be unknown to a large number of the Clansmen of to-day.

Amongst other objects, the Clan Association aims at the revival of the study of the history of the Clan, and already, thanks the kindness of the Marquis of Breadalbane; facilities are afforded to its members at the Annual Gatherings, to visit places and object of interest to them.

This book, as already stated, is no attempt at a complete history but it is hoped that it may assist in furthering the aims of Association, and awaken in the hearts of the scattered Clansmen the feeling that they are descended from those who in their past worthily bore the name of Macnab, and as warriors had a say in the making of the history of Scotland.

R. A. M'Nab

#### **HISTORY OF THE CLAN MACNAB**

THE Clan Macnab is acknowledged by all Highland historians and genealogists to be of very great antiquity, but unfortunately, its origin, like that of many others of our Scottish Baronial Houses, is lost in the mists of the by gone centuries.

There are several reasons to explain why this unsatisfactory state of affairs should exist. The Public Records of the country through stress of time and war have not been over-well preserved, and many valuable documents were destroyed when the monasteries were overthrown at the time of the Reformation.

To give in detail the various accounts of the early genealogy of the Macnabs would be entirely beyond the scope of this epitome of the history of the Clan.

In the 8th century (A.D.) St. Fillan founded the monastery of Strathfillan, and became its first abbot. From this centre he preached Christianity to surrounding tribes, and founded other ecclesiastical houses in Glendochart and Strathearn.

In course of time the ancestor of the Macnabs became Abbot of St. Fillan's Church. Under the Celtic system the office of abbot was hereditary, so there may have been several abbots in the family, but eventually there came one abbot in particular, who founded the Clan and whose descendants became lay abbots. This abbot flourished in the reign of King William the Lion, and held extensive possessions in Breadalbane and Strathearn, and was joined with the Earl of Athole in the management of Argyllshire. The Act entrusting him with the rule over the rebellious families of that district is named Claremthane, and is to be found among the Scots Acts of Parliament in the time of King William.

He was succeeded by his son who was known as "*Mac-an-aba (Oighre)*" or son and heir of the abbot, a designation common to all the Macnab chiefs. His descendants had become a strong and numerous clan before the time of Alexander III.

In 1297 the Western Clans (of Perthshire and Argyllshire), under the leadership of Wallace, defeated and exterminated the Anglo Irish Army of M'Fadyean whilst advancing to seize Argyllshire for Edward I. of England.

In 1306 the Macnabs and their followers, along with the Macnaughtons, joined the Macdougalls of Lorn in their attack on the Bruce. The two parties met at Dalrigh, near Tyndrum, and in the conflict which ensued, the Macnabs, under their stalwart chief, Angus Mor, are said to have displayed great prowess and ferocity. It was in this battle that the celebrated brooch of Lorn was lost by the Bruce. Barbour speaks of Bruce's assailants as "*Makyn Dorsers,*" and, if such they were, then they were followers of Macnab, as they were the hereditary

door-keepers of St. Fillan's Church. The Lorn tradition varies somewhat from Barbour's account; but, strange to say, there was also a Macnab tradition which agreed with Barbour's version, and there was a Macnab brooch which was said to have been won from the Bruce. The tradition that is generally accepted as correct is, that Bruce was suddenly attacked by three powerful followers of Macnab. The King dispatched two of his opponents, and hurled the third backward; but the man in falling seized the King's mantle or plaid, and to save himself the King was obliged to abandon his garment, and with it the brooch which secured it. It was a moment for haste, too, for Angus Mor was coming up in hot pursuit, and had he and the Bruce met in mortal combat, it is probable that Scottish history would have been changed, for Angus was Herculean in stature and strength, and in swordsmanship he ranked with Wallace.

The Macnab brooch remained in the possession of the family of the Chief until the time of the Commonwealth, when it passed into the hands of the Campbells of Glenlyon, whose descendants retained it until a few years ago, when it was purchased for the British Museum.

Many of the place names in the neighborhood of Dalrigh owe their origin to this battle. About this time Barbour ascribes to a Macnab the credit of seizing and delivering Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of Bruce, into the hands of the English.

In 1308 the cause of Bruce was prospering, and he resolved to wipe off all old scores against the Lord of the Isles and his allies. Collecting a strong force, he marched into Argyllshire in quest of his enemy. John, the son of Alexander Macdougall of Lorn, had timely notice of the King's intentions, and accordingly prepared to give him a warm reception. He posted his men and their allies in ambush in the Pass of Brander, where the road was so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. It was the scene of M'Fadyean's defeat; but Bruce was acquainted with the country, and he was, moreover, an abler and a craftier soldier than the Irish adventurer. He divided his force into two portions; one



of these he sent under Douglas to scale the heights which commanded the Highlanders' position, and the other he led in person into the Pass. The King, on entering the defile, was at once attacked by Lorn and his men, who hurled rocks and arrows upon his force. It seemed a critical moment, but Douglas, having reached his appointed place, in turn attacked the Highlanders, and threw them into confusion. The fighting was sternly contested, but eventually the allies had to seek safety in flight. They attempted to secure their retreat by breaking down a bridge over which they passed; but in this endeavor they were foiled, as the victors were too close upon their steps. This defeat, sharp and decisive though it was, did not suffice to overthrow the power of the Macdougalls and Macnabs, nor did it subdue their martial ardor. For, in 1314, we find them once more along with the Comyns arrayed under the English Standard at Bannockburn. This latter defeat placed the Macnabs in a rather delicate position; but concentrating their strength round a portion of their once great possessions, they were able to maintain themselves by their swords until the arrival of better and more tranquil times.

Bruce, after his triumph, granted the greater part of the Macnab lands to many of his loyal supporters, and also to certain ecclesiastical houses. The Dewars had seceded from the Macnabs after the battle of the Pass of Brander, and were in active opposition to them at Bannockburn. So, in the division of the Macnab lands, Bruce remembered their services, and granted them certain lands and privileges. It is interesting to note, that Charters for Glendochyre and Finlargis were granted to Alexander Menzies.

Although we find the Macdougalls and Macnabs thus harassing, or in turn harassed by Bruce, we must not regard them as utter traitors to their King and country. On the contrary, they are to be looked upon as loyal partisans, first of the Baliols; and secondly, of the Comyns, whose claims to the Crown (through their Baliol blood) were prior to those of Bruce. Much of this opposition to Bruce must be set down to

their horror of his sacrilegious slaughter of the Red Comyn in Dumfries.

It may be interesting at this stage to quote the genealogy of the Macnabs as given in the old Gaelic MS. of 1403-1467. It is as follows:

Do Genealach mhic an aba egre--Gillamure mac Eogain mhic Aengusa mhic beathed mhic Aengusa mhic Gillamure loganaig mhic Ferchair mhic Finlace mhic Donnchaich mhic Firtiread mhic Gillafaelan mhic Gillamartan mhic Firtiread mhic Loairn mhic Ferchair mhic Ccrrmac Airbeartaigh mhic Ere mhic Donnaill duin mhic Ferchair Abraruadh mhic Feradaig.

From 1314 until 1336, there is a blank in the history of the Clan. That it was a period of great stress and trouble is well known. To what straits the Macnabs were reduced at that time is shown by one tradition which asserts that at one time they, or the majority of them, were forced to take refuge in Inchbui, the picturesque island situated on the Dochart, near Killin, and which is known to the present day to the Macnabs, scattered as they are all over the world, as "The Burial place." From that position they were able to beat off all attacks, and eventually they emerged from those trials with a certain amount of success. For, in 1336, we find Gilbert Macnab of Macnab making his peace with King David II., and obtaining from that monarch a Charter under the Great Seal for the Barony of Bovain.

Heretofore, as we have seen, there has been little continuity in the annals of the Clan. That we are of old descent is abundantly proved. It is common knowledge, too, that we claim to have navigated, during the Deluge, an opposition boat of our own. The boast of one of our Chiefs, "that where Macnab sits is the head of the table," is now an old tale. But, as it is from the time of Gilbert that we have to deal with a continuous history, supported by well authenticated documents, it is to him that is generally conceded the style and honor of being the first chief of the Clan Macnab.

Of GILBERT MACNAB I, Chief, very little is known. He is without doubt identical with Gillamure, whose name is the first

on the Macnab genealogy of 1400 - 1467. He would thus be grandson to Angus Mor, who had so ably aided the Comyn interests in the wars of the Bruce, and who is one and the same with Aengusa, whose name is the third on the genealogy. That Gilbert had some ability is proved by his being in a position to acquire a Charter, and that he had some foresight is shown by his securing a Charter for Bovain.

He died in the reign of Robert II, and was succeeded by his son, FINLAY II, who was designed of Macnab and Bovain. Of Finlay we know little, save that he flourished in the reign of Robert II and Robert III, and died in the reign of James I. Some historians assert that he was a famous bard, and composed one of the poems which MacPherson attributed to Ossian. About this time the Macnabs had a feud with the Macgregors; it was occasioned, no doubt, by the loss of their lands during the War of Independence. The final battle took place in the vicinity of Crianlarich in 1426. The battle was fiercely contested, and victory fell to neither side. So much reduced were the combatants by this encounter that Glenurghy, considering himself capable of over-powering them, actually obtained letters of fire and sword against the rival clans. In this instance, however, he had overestimated his strength, for the Macnabs successfully resisted all his attempts to dispossess them of their lands. Often in the years that followed did the successive lairds of Glenurghy renew their efforts to dispossess the Macnabs of their lands, but during the good old fighting days, those attempts ended in failure and disaster.

Finlay was succeeded in the Chieftainship by his son, PATRICK III, who was confirmed in 1467 in the Office of Ferbaloscip of Auchlyne, by the Prior of the Charter-house in Perth. Ten years later the Prior granted him a new Charter for Auchlyne, as the former one had been lost. In 1487 Patrick resigned his lands and Chieftainship to his son, FINLAY (IV.), who is said to have been a celebrated bard, and who is supposed to be identical with Finlay Macnab, and Finlay, the red-haired bard, whose names and some of whose works are mentioned in *"The book of the Dean of Lismore."* It is

strange how those three names should be considered as representing one person. For Finlay, the red-haired, was clearly a member of the Clan Gregor, and is stated to have been the family bard of Macgregor. The Macnab of that time could scarcely bring himself to play the role of bard to a rival chief.

At this time the Macnabs seem to have set about the recovery of those of their possessions which had been lost in their struggle with the Bruce. They became involved in a feud with the Dewars concerning certain relics of St. Fillan; and, at the same time, they commenced that struggle with the Neishes which culminated, many years afterwards, in the defeat of the Clan Neish at the battle of Glenboultachan, about two miles north of the lower end of Loch Earn. The Dewars were neither numerous nor warlike, and in their extremity they applied to the Crown for protection. In 1487 they obtained a Charter confirming them in their possessions, and from that date they had no further trouble with the Macnabs. It was probably due to those clan feuds and his own advanced age, that Patrick resigned his honors to his son. Be that as it may, Patrick died at Auchlyne, in the year following his resignation in favor of his son.

In 1486 Finlay Macnab obtained a Charter from King James III, under the Great Seal, of the lands of Ardchyle and Wester Durnish, in Glendochart. Again, in 1502, he received from James IV a Charter of the lands of Ewer and Leiragan, in Glendochart. At the same time he obtained from the Prior of the Carthusian Monastery at Perth a grant of a croft in Killin, paying, therefore, "Yearly to the parish of Killin three pounds of wax in honor of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Fillan, and All Saints, for the increase of St. Fillan's light before his image, one pound whereof at the Feast of St. Fillan in Summer, and another at the Feast of St. Fillan in Winter."

Soon after that date, Finlay died, in the reign of James IV, and was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (V, Chief), who seems to have been satisfied with merely safeguarding the property which had been recovered by his father. He appears as a witness to a Charter under the Great

Seal to Duncan Campbell of Glenurghy, which is dated September 18th, 1511, and wherein he is designated "Finlaus MacNab dominus de eodem." It was in the time of this Chief that the Neishes were at last defeated, and reduced to a small band of reckless outlaws. Mr. Christie, in one of his articles, quotes the following notice from the chronicle of Fothergill:-- "Finlay MacNab of Bowayne, died at Ilia Rayne, and he was buried at Killin, 13th April, 1525."

He was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (VI Chief), who was evidently a man of another stamp, and who lacked the ability and energy of his father and grandfather. His mother, Mariot Campbell, was life-rented in the lands of Ewer and Leiragan, and on her death, in 1526, these lands passed to her second son, John, in terms of a Charter in his favor.

Finlay mortgaged the greater part of his estate to Colin Campbell of Glenurghy, under a Charter dated 24th November, 1552, and this Charter is confirmed by a Charter under the Great Seal from Mary, dated 27th June, 1553. It was from this transaction that Glenurghy claimed to have "conquessit the superiority of M'Nabb his haill landis." But that claim was never acknowledged by the Macnabs.

In the records of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1552, we find mention is made of a member of the Clan, a certain Allister Macnab. In that year the Council gave orders for the raising of a body of Scottish soldiers to assist the King of France in his wars. Two regiments of Highland foot soldiers were included in the composition of this force, and among those who were enrolled was Allister Macnab. Who this Allister was, and what was his ultimate fate, we are not informed; but in all probability he was some near connection of the Chief.

On August 27th, 1578, at Stirling Castle, Colin Campbell of Ardbaith, became caution for Allister Barryth Macnab, son of Allister Macnab, that he would appear upon the third day of the next Justice Air of the Sheriffdom of Perth, or sooner elsewhere upon fifteen days' warning to underlye the law for all crimes that may be imput to him.

About this time the Macnabs had, apparently, been bringing themselves within the reach of the law. In the "Roll of the Clannis (in the Hielands and Isles), that her Capitaines, Cheffis, and Chieftaines, quhome on they depend oft tymes agais the willis of their landislordis, and of sum special persons of branchis of the saidis Clannis, 1587," we find mention is made of the " M'Nabbis."

Patrick Dow M'Nab, Wester Ardnagald, is one of the witnesses to a Bond of Manrent between the Fletchers of Auchallader and Duncan Campbell of Glenurghy, dated "at Finlarig, 8th November, 1587." Ardnagald is now a portion of the farm of Bovain, in Glendochart.

The M'Nabbis are also named in the Roll of the broken Clans in the Highlands and Isles, 1594, in an act "for the punishment of theft, reiff, oppression, and soirning."

Finlay, the Mortgager, was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (VII Chief), who entered into a bond of friendship and manrent with his kinsman Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordell, on July 12th, 1606. This bond is dated at Uir, and is witnessed by " James MacNabb, Robert MacNabb, Duncan Dow MacNabb, Archibald MacNabb, Gibbie MacNabb, John MacDhonnell reuich, and Ewan Mackinnons, with uthers," and is signed " Lauchland Mise (*i.e.*, myself) Mac Fingon."

Finlay married Catherine Campbell, daughter of the laird of Glenurghy, and had a family of twelve stalwart sons, of whom the weakest is said to have been able to drive his dirk through a two-inch board.

In 1610 two hundred chosen men of the Campbells, Macnabs, Macdonalds, and Camerons, attacked and defeated a great number of Macgregors at Bintoich. The Macgregors fled to Ranefray, in Glenorchy, where they were again overtaken and overcome by their foes. Seven men of the pursuers were killed, whilst twenty of the Macgregors were slain, along with five of their chief men. At Bintoich fell Patrick Dow Mor Macnab of Acharn.

At Christmas tide, 1612, Macnab sent some of his clansmen to the neighboring town of Crieff to purchase the necessary stores for the approaching festivities. On their homeward way, the Macnabs were ambushed by a party of the Neishes, who sallied from their island fortalice in Loch Earn, and captured the supplies. Dire was the wrath of Chief and Clansmen when the plundered messengers returned to Eilean Ran and reported their mishap. Enraged, as the Macnabs were, they could think of no method by which they could punish the reivers. In the evening the twelve strong sons of Macnab were assembled in the hall of Eilean Ran and busily engaged in planning some signal vengeance on their foes, when their father entered and said in Gaelic: "Si an nochd an oidhche nam b'iad na gillean na gillean"--"This night is the night if the lads were the lads." In an instant the twelve lads were on their feet and arrayed in their war gear. Then hurrying down to the waterside they crossed the stream and took up the family barge, which they bore on their shoulders across the hills to Loch Earn, by way of Glentarken. Having reached the loch, they launched their boat and rowed to the island, where the robbers were holding their carousal with the stolen supplies. On their arrival at the island the grim avengers sunk all the boats in the little harbor, and then proceeded to the habitation of the Neishes. In the keep was a scene of revelry and confusion, for holding all the boats on the loch in their own keeping, the Neishes deemed their hold to be impregnable! Strange, therefore, must have been the thoughts which passed through their minds, when loud above the din of their noisy mirth they heard a sharp and sudden knocking at the outer door. Immediately their noisy merriment ceased, all became silent, and then in a quavering voice the terrified Neish demanded the name and mission of the one who had thus disturbed their orgy. Swiftly came the answer, "Whom would ye least desire?" The speaker was *Iain Min*, or "Smooth John," the heir of Macnab, and the strongest and fiercest man in all Braidalbin. With that stern voice sounding in his ears, and with a foreboding of his doom rising before him, the Neish replied, "*Iain Min*." Sharp through the midnight air came

again that grim voice: "Then I am he, but rough enough I'll be this night." Trusting in the strength of the stout door the robbers attempted to treat for terms. But spurning all thought of parleying, *Iain Min*, with one swift blow sent the door reeling off its hinges; and next instant he and his brothers were dealing death to the hereditary foes of their House. The Neishes surprised and demoralized by the rapidity and ferocity of their assailants, offered but little resistance. When the fighting, if such it can be called, was over, there remained of the Neishes but two survivors. One was a young lad who had succeeded in concealing himself in time to avoid the vengeance which overtook his family. The other was a female child who escaped the notice of the Macnabs by being under an overturned cradle. Their task having been accomplished, the young Macnabs secured the gory head of the Neish as a trophy of their victory; they then recovered their boat and retraced their journey of the previous night. Ere they left Glentarken they abandoned their boat as it retarded the news of their triumph. The boat was never removed from the place where it was left by the Macnabs, and men born within the past century have talked with men who have viewed its well-bleached fragments. Some time early in last century a portion of the keel was dug out of the moss in which it was embedded. Part of it was given to Mrs. MacNaughton who lived near St. Fillans, and she had it made into a bicker and a walking stick. She was Margaret Macnab, daughter of James Macnab, Milmore, near Killin, and was known as "Margaret Innishewen." The bicker and certain Macnab heirlooms which belonged to her father are still preserved by her descendants. But this is a digression from our narrative. In the morning the chief was delighted to find that the mission of vengeance had been successful. The proof was convincing when *Iain Min* cast Neish's head at his feet and said in Gaelic, "*No, biodh fiamh oirbh*" or dread nought. And Macnab acknowledged as he received the gruesome trophy that the night had been the night and the lads were the lads.

From this deed are derived the modern arms of the Macnabs. There is a local tradition to the effect that but three of the sons took part in the enterprise, and that the chief in giving the signal for the attack on the Neishes only acted at the instigation of his wife who had some real or fancied cause of grievance against the three eldest sons. It is said that she hoped that they would be slain so that her favorite son should be heir to the estates. And according to the same tradition, the three sons were by an earlier marriage. History, however, makes no mention of a second wife.

In 1633 there is an act in favor of the Laird of Glenurghy granting him certain lands in the Lordship of Glendochart and elsewhere. About 1640 a battle was fought on the hills above Killin, between the followers of Angus Og XVI, of Keppoch, and a body of Braidalbin men consisting of Campbells, Macnabs, and Menzies. There appears to be some doubt as to the cause of the contest. One version is that Angus was on his homeward way from a foray in Stirlingshire and intended to "lift" the Glenurghy cattle in passing. Another version states that the foray was one in retaliation for a raid made into Keppoch in the previous year by the Braidalbin men. Whatever may have been the *casus belli* Finlarig was the scene of marriage festivities when Angus was first despoiled, but chief and clansman promptly forsook the groaning board to try their fortunes in the field. The fight was brief, but sanguinary, and was won by the Braidalbin men, who, by their superior knowledge of the ground, had their foes at a disadvantage. The Keppoch men managed to save their booty, but so closely were they pursued by the victors that they were obliged to leave Angus Og, sorely wounded, in a shealing where he was afterwards discovered and slain by a Campbell.

There is a tradition that Finlay Macnab outlived his stalwart son, and died at an advanced age after the battle of Worcester 1653 is given as the date of his death. But as John certainly acted as chief, and as he is styled the Laird of Macnab in several state papers, we are therefore entitled to regard him as the VIII chief.

John Macnab (Iain Min) who married Mary Campbell, daughter of Duncan Campbell, Laird of Glenlyon, and by her he had a son Alexander, and a daughter Agnes who married Captain Alexander Campbell, of the House of Achallader.

During the civil war the chief, with the majority of his clansmen, fought for the royal cause. Joining Montrose after the battle of Alford, Macnab remained with him until after the battle of Kilsyth, when he was commissioned by his leader to defend the Castle of Kincardine. The castle held out until the 14th day of March, 1646, and was then abandoned by its defenders through lack of food and water. Macnab and his servant were captured, but the rest of the garrison escaped in the sally.

In December, 1645, whilst many of the clansmen were holding Kincardine, Campbell of Ardkinglass collected a strong body of Argyllshire men and raided Glendochart. There he was joined by the Glenorchy Campbells and the disaffected Menzies and Stewarts. Unable to stem the force of this motley host, a small party of Macgregors and Macnabs captured the Castle of Edinample from its owner, Colin Campbell, and therein they fortified themselves. Whilst the covenanting force lay around the castle, Montrose, who was then in Strathspey, was notified of the state of affairs around Lochearn, and he promptly gave orders to his kinsman Graeme of Inchbrakie to raise a body of Athole men and advance against the besiegers. His commands were carried out by Inchbrakie, whose sudden appearance alarmed the Whigs and forced them to seek safety in flight. Reinforced by the small party in the castle, Inchbrakie moved in pursuit of the Campbells and overtook them at Callander. Having crossed the Teith at that place the fugitives rallied under the belief that they could hold the fords of the river against their pursuers. But Graeme speedily undeceived them, for splitting up his force and sending a small party to attack the enemy in front while a stronger body crossed by a ford higher up the river, he attacked the Whigs in front and flank and rooted them from their position. The defeated force scattered in almost all directions and fled by devious ways towards Stirling, and so hotly were they



pursued by Graeme that the pursuit ceased only when they were within a mile of that town.

About this time the names of several Macnabs occur in the Scots Acts of Parliament. In an Act of exemption, in 1649, is the name of a certain John Baine M'Nab. In 1650 there is a supplication from Jonat Campbell, relict of John M'Nab, anent the adjustment of her umphile husband's compts. In the same volume (vi.) there are the names of Capt. John M'Nab, keeper of Garth, and Capt. Wm. M'Nab.

Macnab and his servant after being captured in the sally from Kincardine were conveyed to Edinburgh, and there they were thrown into the castle. After a brief trial Macnab was condemned to death, but on the night previous to the day fixed for his execution he escaped from the castle and made his way back to Glendochart.

In 1650 Charles II was received by the Scots, and amongst those who joined his standard was John Macnab with 300 of his men. On the 3rd of September, 1651, Macnab was slain at the battle of Worcester, and was succeeded by his son

ALEXANDER (IX CHIEF), then a boy of about four years of age. At this time the Campbells, taking advantage of the pupilarity of the Chief, and the unsettled state of the country, plundered the lands of the Macnabs, and destroyed the castle of Eillean Rou. They also took away many of the heirlooms of the family. All this was done under the name of justice, and to enable Glenurghy to make up losses sustained by him at the hands of the Macnabs. The order authorizing this travesty of justice was granted to Glenurghy by General Monk, and dated from Dalkeith on the 21st November, 1654. Campbell of Glenlyon, who was brother of Macnab's widow, was one of the foremost leaders in this raid. The widow was obliged to petition General Monk for a portion of her late husband's lands by which she could support herself and her children. Monk wrote to Captain Gascoigne, who commanded the troops of the Commonwealth stationed at Finlarig, and on the 18th of the same month another letter was written by Monk to

Glenurghy " desiring him to forbear to trouble the widow of the deceased laird of M'Nab, as she has paid sesse and lived peaceably since her husband's death." This protection was also given to "Archibald MacNab of Agharm." Nothing came of those letters until the Restoration in 1661.

Alexander married a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem by whom he had

ROBERT (X CHIEF) who married Anne Campbell. Robert Macnab accompanied Glenurghy in his expedition against Caithness (1680-1681), and took part in the series of battles which culminated in the total defeat of the Caithness men at Altimarloch, three miles from the town of Wick.

During the time of this Chief a robber on his way home from a creach in Strathearn was met at the south end of the Bridge of Dochart by Macnab who refused to allow him to pass through the Macnab Lands. The robber drew his sword and so furious was his attack that Macnab was obliged to give way before him; but Donald Mandach Macnab in the Sliochd of Kinnell taking his chiefs place forced the robber to surrender his sword and give up his booty. The creach thus recovered was restored to the plundered victims in Strathearn.

Among the Government documents of 1678 is a "list of the names of the Heads and branches of families that are to come to Inverlochry and give bond to the Commissioners of Council betwixt and on the twenty day of November next," and first on the list is Archibald MacNab of Aucharn; 3rd on the list is Finlay M'Nab of Innis Ewen, and 4th last on the list is James M'Nab in the Kirkton of Strathfillan.

It was probably about that time that a robber who lurked among the rocks at the head of Glenogle and preyed upon unwary travelers was met and slain by a member of the Clan.

In 1714 (March 13-22) James MacNab was prosecuted for the slaughter of one MacHomish by the sword.

During the brief Campaign of the "Fifteen" the Earl of Breadalbane and his brother-in-law Macnab of Macnab remained at home, but their respective

clans are reported to have been "out" for the House of Stewart. At that time the Jacobites had a large permanent Camp in Strathfillan; and in 1719 a body of Highlanders from that Camp marched north to Glenshiel where they joined a party of Spanish troops and fought against the Government forces under General Whightman. The Highlanders claimed to have beaten the Government forces; but shortly afterwards the Spaniards, disheartened by their wild surroundings, were glad to surrender.

In 1724 General Wade moved through the Highlands making his roads and collecting the arms of the Clans. Next year he called upon the Macnabs to surrender their arms, but in this instance he had to content himself with a refusal.

Throughout the troubles of the "Forty-five" the Chief and his own immediate family were staunch supporters of the Government. John Macnab his eldest -son fought as a Captain of the 42nd Regiment at Prestonpans where he was taken prisoner by the Jacobites and committed to Doune Castle for safe keeping.

The Clan at large under Alexander Macnab of Innishewen, Archibald Macnab of Acharn and Alan Macnab of Dundurn fought for the Stewarts. Donald MacNab, Brae Leing (sic), is the only Macnab whose name is given in the "Lists of Rebels" supplied to the Government by the Supervisors of Excise. He was a younger brother of Macnab of Innishewen. That other Macnabs were not named in the "Lists" is due to the fact that in those days Glendochart was beyond the reach of the Law and Excise.

After Culloden some of the Soldiers stationed at Finlarig set out to burn the house of Corrychaoroch on the north side of Benmore. As they reached their destination they were observed by a member of the Innisewen family who divining their object placed himself under cover and opened fire on them and so unerring was his aim that seven (or as some reports say nine) soldiers fell ere the others abandoned their task as impossible.

When the government troops were scouring the Braes of Balquhidder in search of Jacobites the daughter of Finlay Macnab

in Craighuie is said to have saved the life of Stewart of Glenbuckie who was then an infant, by carrying him to a place of concealment in the hills.

In the Appendix to Chambers History of the Rebellion there are several references to Alexander Macnab of Innishewen, in the papers of Murray of Broughton Secretary to Charles.

According to M' Lay's Rob Roy, "the Grants Mackinnons, Macnabs and Mackays and others who had departed from the M'Gregors held several conferences with them in 1748 (during a meeting which lasted for fourteen days in Athole) for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to repeal the attainder that hung over them, but some disagreement having taken place among their chiefs as to the general name under which all of them should again be rallied, their meetings and resolutions were broken off and no further notice taken of the proposal."

Robert MacNab had a numerous family but only two sons survived him. They were John who became eleventh Chief (after referred to), and Archibald who died at Edinburgh 2nd January 1790 and was buried at Inchbui. Archibald followed the profession of arms and his Commissions date, as ensign in the 43rd Regiment raised in May 1740; as Captain in Loudon's Highlanders 1745; as Major in John Campbell of Dunroons Highlanders 1757; and Lt.-Colonel in 1777. He served in the Wars in Europe and America, and was at the taking of Quebec. At the time of his death he was a Lieutenant-General.

Of the Kinnell ladies of this time one, Anne, married John Stewart 7th of Fasnacloich; another named Christian married Alan Stewart of Innerhadden 2nd son of Rev. Duncan Stewart of Innerhadden and Strathgarry. Another daughter is said to have married a member of the Dundurn family. Patrick Campbell son of Duncan the disinherited and Patrick Campbell XXI of the House of Craignish are also said to have taken their wives from the family of Kinnell. One of the 151 Witnesses called by the Crown in the Trial of James Stewart of the Glens in 1752 for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure was Anne Roy MacNab, daughter to the deceased

Alexander MacNab, who was brother to John Macnab, of Bovain.

JOHN MACNAB XI. Chief married Jean Buchanan only sister of Francis Buchanan laird of Arnprior who was executed at Carlisle in 1746.

Anne Campbell widow of Robert MacNab of Macnab died at Lochdochart 6th September 1765.

Pennant in his Tour of 1769 mentions that "in Glenurghy dwells M'Nab a smith whose family have lived in that humble station since the year 1440 being always of the same profession.

The first of the line was employed by the lady of Sir Duncan Campbell who built the Castle of Kilchurn when her lord was absent. Some of their tombs are in the Churchyard of Glenurghie; the oldest has a hammer and other implements of his trade cut on it."

These Smiths were famed for the manufacture of swords, Highland dirks and *sgian dubhs* the temper and style of blade being unrivalled.

John Macnab died at Kinnell 19th February 1778 aged 80 years and was survived by his widow, two sons and two daughters. His sons were Francis who succeeded him, and Robert who was a Doctor and married Anne Maule. His daughters were Elizabeth and Marjory, of whom one married Dick Miller, Esq., and the other married Colonel Campbell of Balyveolan.

FRANCIS MACNAB XII Chief was quite a celebrity in his day. In stature and appearance he was a man cast in nature's largest mould, and his strength was enormous. He was strong in will, and was witty and original in his ideas. At one time he was a farmer on a large scale, and his extensive holdings stretched from the "Varied realms of fair Menteith" to his own rugged scenery of Glendochart and Lochtayside. Humorous and eccentric he might be ; but he was beloved by his clansmen, and well might it be so, for he was a typical Macnab, and the ideal of what a Highland chief should be. He was of a humane disposition, and many of his kindly deeds as well as his witty sayings are still treasured in the memories of those whose forefathers claimed kinship or

acquaintance with him. As a Justice of the Peace for Perthshire, he was ever sympathetic with the poor, and remarkably subtle in his decisions. It was to his foresight in the early years of last century that Callander owes its famous "Dreadnought Hotel." His many business ventures kept him in a state of perpetual worry; and to the cares of business he added the excitement of several good going law pleas.

At Fuentes d' Onora (Almeida) on May 3rd, 1811, Lieutenant Allan MacNab, died of his wounds, and to his memory a small tablet was inserted in the wall of the enclosure at Inchbui by his cousin, Archibald MacNab. In Messrs. W. & A. Keith Johnston's Work on the Clans, published some years ago Allan is erroneously named Francis Maximus MacNab. Francis Maximus was a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh and the author of several works. He and Allan were half brothers.

Dr. Robert MacNab, brother of the Chief, and styled of Bovain, died at Killin, June 8th 1814, and was buried at Inchbui.

Anne Maule MacNab, daughter of Dr. Robert MacNab, and wife of R. Jamieson, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh, died in Edinburgh 4th October 1814.

According to Bishop Gleig's "Lists" the following Macnabs were present at Waterloo:

30 Regt. Foot 2nd Batt. (Cambridge) Captain M'Nab, killed. 52 Regt. Foot 1st Batt. (Oxfordshire) Ensign J. MacNab. Commissariat D. Macnab.

During those warlike times several members of the Clan served with honor in various parts of the world. Among those who fought in India were Captain James and Captain Robert Macnab who were of the House of Kinnell and were brothers to Allan MacNab who died at Almeida.

Robert was in the Buffs and on two occasions saved the Colors.

Francis Macnab died at Callander, Perthshire, in his 82nd year, May 25th 1816. After his death several sketches of his sayings and doings appeared in Chamber s Journal, and the Literary Gazette, and even at this late date

anecdotes concerning him crop up in the Press. Many of the modern tales however are utterly spurious.

He was succeeded in the Chieftainship by his nephew ARCHIBALD MACNAB XIII. Chief, who was son of Dr Robert Macnab of Bovain. In early life Archibald had studied law, and on succeeding to the estates, he combined the profession of a private banker with his duties as a chief and landed proprietor. He married a Miss Robertson whose father was a Writer to the Signet, and one of the Clerks in the Register House, Edinburgh. By her he had eight children of whom but one Sarah Ann survived him; the others all died in infancy. His speculations turned out disastrously, and in order to make ends meet he was obliged to dispose of some of his lands. But his troubles increased, and owing to his own folly and extravagance his creditors, of whom Lord Breadalbane was the principal one, were forced to take strong measures against him in order to protect their own interests. They obtained a decree from the Court of Session, and for some time the Chief was a fugitive from Justice. In 1821 he and many of his clans people emigrated to Canada where he had obtained a land grant. His changed condition carried no lesson to the Chief, and in Canada he proceeded to live over again his old life of foolish extravagance.

In 1828 the old estate of the Macnabs passed from the family in virtue of a Decree from the Court of Session.

In Canada his tenants imbibed the Western air of freedom and soon began to object to his control over their land. Troubles multiplied and by 1837, the year of the Rebellion, they were in open revolt against his authority, and refused to enlist in the regiment he was commissioned to raise. His kinsman, Allan Napier M'Nab of Dundurn, Hamilton, Ontario, was more fortunate, and prompt suppression of the Rebellion was due mainly to his energetic measures. In recent years there have been several articles written on Macnab; but they showed in most instances a decided bias against the Chief. Faults he certainly had, but at the same time it ought to be remembered that he had also many good

qualities, and that his opponents were not wholly free from blame.

In 1853 Macnab returned to Europe and after revisiting his native land retired to the Continent, where he died at Lannion, Cotes-du-Nord, Bretagne, France, 12th August, 1860, aged 83. Like all his predecessors he was stately in appearance, and courtly and affable in his manner; he was strong willed and of a proud passionate disposition. He lacked the great stature and strength of his uncle Francis, and he lacked that uncle's grim regard for the lands and honor of Macnab. Whilst he was a bitter and relentless foe he was kindly disposed to the needy and hospitable to all who entered his house. With him passed away the last acknowledged Chief of the Clan. His widow died at Florence in 1868; and his daughter Sarah Ann who styled herself of Macnab and wore the triple plumes denoting the headship of the Clan, died at the same place in January, 1894.

Sprung from the Macnabs, and of collateral descent with them, are the Macnairs, a family well known in certain parts of Perthshire. Their ancestor simply dropped the Macnab from the old designation of "Macnab Oighre," and retained the latter portion of Oighre or Eyre (Heir) as his surname. The Macnairs are mentioned on the records in the 14th century.

In the various accounts of the Macnabs of Macnab we find that they intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kinfauns, Graeme of Inchbrakie, Drummond of Balloch, Robertson of Struan, and Haldane of Gleneagles.

#### SEPTS OF CLANN AN ABA:

MacNabs, MacNabbs, Macnabs, MacNairs, Macnairs, M'Nabs, M'Nabbs, M'Nairs, Abbots, Abbotsons, Abbotts, certain Dewars, Dows, Gows, Baines, Gilfillans, Macgowans, M'Clagans, M'Intyres, &c.

DESIGNATION OF CHIEF. Mac an ABA, Oighre, or son and heir of the Abbot, MacNab, The M'Nab, M'Nab of M'Nab, MacNab of Bovain.

CADETS. Aucharn, Dundurn, Innishewen, Strathfillan, Suie, Newton, Cowie, Jamaica, &c.

FAMILY SEAT. Anciently Eilean Ran, at the junction of the Dochart and Loch Tay, modern residence dating from the time of the Commonwealth, Kinnell.

BANNER. The Green one common to the Clans of the Siol Alpin Confederacy.

ARMS. Sa. on a Chev. Ar. 3 Crescents vert, in base an open boat in a Sea ppr.

CREST. A Savage's head affrontee ppr.

MOTTO. " Na bitheadh fiamh oirbh," or " Bitheadh eagal fada bho gach duine," Dreadnought, Timor Omnis abesto.

SUAICHEANTAS OR BADGE. Ruiteag, Roebuck berry (*Rubus saxatilis*, Stone bramble).

CATH-GHAIRM OR WARCRY.

PIPE Music. "FMIte Mhic an Aba," or Macnab's Salute. "Cothional Chloinn an Aba," The Gathering of the Clan Macnab. The March of the Clan Macnab. The Retreat of the Clan Macnab.



# The Clan Macnab

Transcribed by David Rorer 2004

Preface by James Charles Macnab of Macnab, J.P.

There are a number of early Histories of the Clan, including that written by John McNab of Callander for the Clan Macnab Association in 1907, Roland Wild's fanciful "Macnab the Last Laird" and "the Last Laird of MacNab - an episode in the Settlement of Macnab Township, Upper Canada", edited and published by Alexander Fraser in Toronto. Some of what was in these early attempts has by subsequent research been found to be incorrect<sup>1</sup>

In 1951, at the time of the Festival of Britain, my great-uncle Archibald Corrie (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief) produced a pamphlet on behalf of the Clan society entitled "A Brief Outline of the Story of the Clan Macnab." In 1954, he added a supplement to bring it up to date and to correct errors. While doing this, the supplement has also made it extremely difficult for the layman to follow!

Throughout his life, my great uncle corresponded with many clansmen around the world and collected much information about various Macnab families. Some of this he collated into a preliminary draft for a full Clan History but there still remains a lot more to be done, which will require a great deal of time.

Because of this, the Council of the Clan society has decided as an interim step that this new short History should be produced for 1977, the year of the International Gathering of the Clans. They asked me to edit it.

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<sup>1</sup>Roland Wild published "Macnab the Last Laird" in 1938. In spite of his claim of having consulted clan records, he gives Francis and Archibald the incorrect succession numbers. I have made a copy from a volume in the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library. The fictionalized account of the taking of the McNishes on Nish Island is worth reading for itself. Eventually it will be transcribed and added to this collection. *David Rorer*

In this task I have been greatly assisted by great-aunt Alice Macnab of Macnab, who completely rearranged and corrected the text of the 1951 "Brief Outline," much of which is included. I am also indebted to Peter A. McNab, a past President of the Clan Society and writer about things Scottish, who went through, typed and arranged my uncle's notes and drafts. Both have done more work than I have.

This History is of necessity short and omits much that is of interest. This is particularly so in the account we give of the life of that most colorful of characters, Francis, the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief and of his nephew, Archibald, (17<sup>th</sup> Chief), about whom there are numerous stories. Also omitted are many accounts of Macnab families who emigrated to the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of the world. These will need to be pieced together and included in the full History which the Clan Society hopes to publish in due course.<sup>2</sup>

Today, there are far more Macnabs living overseas than are left in the U.K. It is interesting to observe that although there are still some Macnab descendants living in Killin and Glen Dochart, my family is the only one of the "name." The nearest other families of the name "Macnab" live in Strathyre or Aberfeldy.

We hope this "Short History will be of interest. Apart from the contributions made by Brigadier John McNab of Barravorich and the late Ian McNab of Barachastalain, all the material used has been taken from the writing and research left behind by my great-uncle, Archibald Corrie Macnab, 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief.

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<sup>2</sup>This was never done, the clan society fell apart and the Chief apparently did not have time however, the present U.S. society has been working with him on an expanded history. In the meantime the chief has published "An Outline of The History of Clan Macnab and its Lands. It is available from the Clan Macnab Society at [www.macnab.org](http://www.macnab.org)

This publication is dedicated to his memory.

### Introductory Notes:

For the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the terms "of" and "in" it should perhaps be explained that "of" indicates either the Head of a family or clan or the owner of a place whereas "in" indicates that the person is the tenant in a place. For example "Gilbert of Bovain" was head of the family which lived at and owned Bovain while "Iain McNab of Barachastalain" is the representer of the Macnab family which used to live at and own the place, Barachastalain. Patric Macnab "in" Acharn" indicates that he was only the tenant of the place Acharn. Titles to denote the Chief, such as "Laird of Macnab," "Macnab of that Ilk" or "of Macnab" are of comparatively recent origin.

Except where inappropriate, we have used the spelling Macnab with a small "n" which is the normal accepted modern collective spelling. It should, however, be stressed that the name has been spelt in the different variations over the centuries, all of which are equally correct. The name, when used collectively today, is spelt with a small "n" because this is the spelling used by the Lord Lyon<sup>3</sup> when the Arms were first matriculated. There is perhaps some merit in the Argument put forward by some men of "letters" that the "n," being derived from the second letter of the Gaelic "an" (of), should be small. Those who spell their name with a capital "N" and/or "Mc" should not however allow themselves to be in any way put out by those who advance such theories. They are in good company for we know that Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) used to sign his name "Fran: McNab".

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<sup>3</sup>Lord Lyon King at Arms, the chief heraldic officer for Scotland. *David Rorer*

The Clan Macnab Society, by whom this short History is published, was founded in 1904. In its early days, it had three branches: -- Glasgow (the parent body), Edinburgh and London and used to be very active with social functions, dances, etc. More recently, since the decline of public transport, the movement of the town's populations to suburbs and the advent of television, the number of these functions has diminished.

The Society today is centered on Kinnell Estate Office. It has a fairly extensive membership throughout the United Kingdom and overseas and holds one major annual function, usually at Killin, in May or June. An annual Newsletter is published and sent out to every member. Membership is open to all Macnabs as well as those who are of any of the recognized septs of the Clan and to their descendants. Those interested in joining the Society should contact the Secretary, Clan Macnab Society at the current address: Kinnell Estate Office, Killin, Perthshire FK21 8SR.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Remember this was written in 1977 and I am transcribing it in 2004. The society, referred to here, is no longer in existence, it no longer publishes a newsletter and the Kinnell estate is no longer in the possession of the Chief James Charles Macnab of Macnab. *David Rorer*

## The Origins and Early History of the Clan

The name Macnab, which is spelt in various different ways, is a rendering of the Gaelic Mac-an-Aba (or Abba), which in English means the children of the Abbot. In those days there were lay Abbots<sup>5</sup> as well as clerical Abbots and even the latter were allowed to marry. It was the Celtic custom for abbots to be chosen from the Founders Kin, and the old Gaelic manuscript genealogies trace the mediaeval Macnab chiefs through some twenty generations from Saint Fillian's brother Ferchar mac Feradach. Indeed the Chief of the Clan MacNab is still recognized by Scotland chief heraldic officer The Lord Lyon King-at-Arms as hereditary Abbot of Glendochart. One of two such titles still recognized.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>A sixteenth century source tells us of three bishops at Mortals before the bishopric founded at Aberdeen c. 1140, and both here and at other medieval sees the succession of bishops must surely reach back to the effective acceptance of Christianity, in the seventh century, as at Glasgow and, even earlier, at Whithorn. But in the eleventh century several Sees were probably vacant, their endowments passing into the hands of laymen; it is understandable that this should have happened under Macbeth or even Malcolm II, who needed to buy support, but it is remarkable that it seems also to have occurred under Malcolm III. Similarly, the abbacies of Culdee and other houses were laicized, probably because they became heritable in a single family or fell into the patronage of aristocratic families who dispensed them to younger sons. In the Twelfth century there are abbots at Turriff, Kilspindie and Glendochart of whose abbays no other trace is known, and this was the most extreme consequence of secularization;... *Scotland, The making of the Kingdom; Archibald A. M. Duncan, Barnes & Noble Books 1975*

<sup>6</sup>The Macnabs should probably be recognized as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of

According to tradition the original ancestor was the younger son of Kenneth McAlpine, the King of the Scots who united the Picts and the Scots. This younger son was Abbot of Glendochart and Strathern, and the Macnab's derive from a holder of that Abbacy in his reign.<sup>7</sup> Their early possessions lay in Glendochart the valley of the river Dochart the southern and western shore of Loch Tay, down to Killin, where the seat of the Clan was Macnab Castle on Eilan Ran, an island on the north bank of the River Lochay, at the western end of Loch Tay<sup>8</sup>. A point of great importance when there were no roads and water was the quickest means of transport. Their castle stood where the Dochart emptied into the loch. The clan burying-place is the island of Innis Buie, in the River Dochart just before it issues into Loch Tay. The residence of the chief was at Kinnell house, on the south bank of the river Dochart near the town (see map of Killin).

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St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighboring Earls of Atholl and Menteach. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney, Johnson & Bacon, 1965*

<sup>7</sup>The founder of the Abbey, Ferchar Og, known as the Red Abbot, came from Ireland in the 7th Century A.D., to found a religious settlement in Glendochart (the glen or valley of the river Dochart) in what is now Scotland. Ferchar Og, a member of the Celtic Christian Church, which grew up in Ireland quite separate from the Church of Rome, was one of many Irish missionaries who traveled northern Europe converting the pagans. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney. Johnson & Bacon, 1965*

<sup>8</sup> Eilean = Island The Dochart merges with the river Lochay at this point then flow into the Tay a few yards beyond.

The Macnab's are members of a larger clan grouping; Siol-an-Alpine<sup>9</sup> otherwise called Clan Alpine, together with the MacGregor, the MacKinnons,<sup>10</sup> the Grants, the Mcquarries and the MacAulays.

Skene's "Celtic Scotland" 1880, Volume III, pages 338 and 362-5 and Appendix VIII explains that the Books of Ballimote (1383 A.D.) and Leccan (1407 A.D.) appear to derive from the same original; but that the two former sources only give information about a few of the Clans. The manuscript of 1467 alone gives the descent of the Clan Macnab from Feradach, the father of Saint Fillan, through Ferchar Og Abraruadh the nephew of Saint Fillan, Donald Dom and Cormac to Gilbert of Bovain. These early manuscripts are,

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<sup>9</sup> From Alpin, king of DalRiata, father of Kenneth MacAlpine, who traditionally united the Pictish kingdom with that of DalRiata.

<sup>10</sup>There is known to have been a bond of fellowship between the chiefs of the Clan MacNab and the Clan Mackinnon in 1606. This curious document made between Lachlan Mackinnon, then chief, and Finnla' MacNab, of Bowain, having met in Glenurchai', in Braidálban, and taken into consideration that they were both "come of ane house, and being of ane surname and lienage, notwithstanding this lang time bygone" they had "oversean, their ain duties till udders, in respect of the lang distance betwixt their dwelling places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all tyme coming, are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance and service that lies in them, ilk ane to uthers, &c. And baith the saif parties grants them faithful, that ane surer firm band anc contract be made betwixt them by advice of men of lae, and that quhasoon the said Lachland shall come either to Stirling, Perth or Glasgow or any part of the lowland quhair they may easiest meet." These worthy patriarchs, " for sure keiping and performing of this present minute" agreed to subscribe the document "with their hands led to the pen." (Writing was an unnecessary qualification for such personages in the opening of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.) "The Clans of The Scottish Highlands" by R.R. MacIan reprint edition of 1980 by Webb & Bower (Publishers) Limited. First published 1845 and 1847

however, suspect and contain anomalies. Too much store should not be set by them. The genealogy as contained in the 1467 manuscript, if this is accepted, is set out in Appendix A. The number of generations shown would suitably fill the gap between St. Fillan and Gilbert the first Chief (i.e. 703-1336).

Other Clans shown as descended from Cormac are the Clan Andres (Ross), the MacKenzies, the Mathesons, the Macduffys, the MacGregor, the MacQuarries, the MacKinnons, the MacMillans and the MacLennans.

Shown as descended from Donald Donn are the MacLarens, the MacNaughtons and the Mackays, and from Ferchar Og Abraruadh the MacLeans, in addition to the Macnabs.

Clan Chattan, the MacKintoshes and the Camerons are shown as descended from Feradach, through Ferchar Fada, brother of St Fillan and King of DalRiada<sup>11</sup> (died 697) and father of Ferchar Og Abaruadh.

Unconnected with these are the Campbells, MacLeods, Nicolsons, Macdonalds, MacAlisters, MacIans, MacDougalls, MacRorys, Lamonts, MacClachans, Somairle (unidentifiable), Mac Ewens and Lennoxes (MacFarlanes).

#### **St. Fillan**

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<sup>11</sup>DalRiada, the name of two ancient Gaelic kingdoms, one in Ireland and the other in Scotland. Irish DalRiada was the district which now forms the northern part of county Antrim, and from which about A.D. 500 some emigrants crossed over to Scotland, and founded in Argyllshire the Scottish kingdom of DalRiada. For a time Scottish DalRiada appears to have been dependent upon Irish DalRiada, but about 575 King Aidan secured its independence. One of Aidan's successors, Kenneth, also became king of the Picts about 843, and gradually the name DalRiada both in Ireland and Scotland fell into disuse. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

There were two saints called Fillan<sup>12</sup>. The earlier was an Irish Celt of the race of Aengus, King of Leinster. He died on June 22, 520 A.D. His chapel and grave are at Dundurn at the eastern end of Loch Earn. His Font is in Dundurn Church and his "chair" is on St. Fillans Hill, where are also his spring and "basin."

The later St Fillan was a Scot, the son of Eerach or Ferdach of the race of Fiatach Finn. He succeeded St. Mundus as Abbot of Kilmun and then moved to Glendochart whence his mother Kentigerna, the most devout of women, retired to the Nun's Island on Loch Lomond and died in 734 A.D. The name Fillan (Faolan) means "Wolf Cub". The ruins of his chapel are at Kirkton between Tyndurm and Crianlarich in Strathfillan. His "pool" and "stone bed," which were supposed to cure the insane, are still there. His pastoral staff, or crozier, (the Quigreach), which was carried before the Clan in battle, and his bell are in the National Museum in Edinburgh. His left arm, which was luminous enough to help him to write at night, was enshrined in a casket after his death.

It is said that King Robert the Bruce wished to have the relic of his arm with him at Bannockburn.<sup>13</sup> The casket was sent empty but the arm followed it miraculously and was considered by the King to have helped him greatly to gain the victory. His "healing stones" are at the Tweed Mill, Dochart Bridge, Killin<sup>14</sup>. He died on 9 January 703 A.D. Other relics of St. Fillan, important to the Clan still exist.

#### **The Clan**

The Macnab country stretched from Tyndrum, west into Argyll and east, down Glendochart to Killin, where the old Macnab castle of Eilean Ran was originally situated on an island on the north bank of the River Lochay.<sup>15</sup> This was a point of great commercial importance at the western end of Loch Tay at a time when there were no roads and a boat was the quickest means of

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<sup>12</sup>Saint Fillan, or Faelan, the name of two Scottish saints of Irish origin, whose lives are of a legendary character. The St. Fillan whose feast is kept on June 20 had churches dedicated to him at Ballyheyland, Queen's county, Ireland, and at Loch Earn, Perthshire (see map of Killin and Glendochart). The other, who is commemorated on Jan 9, was specially venerated at Cluain Mavscua, County Westmeath, Ireland, and about the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century at Strathfillan, Perthshire, Scotland, where there was an ancient monastery dedicated to him. This monastery became a cell of the abbey of canons regular at Inchaffray, and was supposed to possess the Saint's crozier, the head of which is now deposited in the National museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

The legend of the second saint is given in the Bollandist *Acta SS.* (1643) see also D. O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints* (Dublin 1825)

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

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<sup>13</sup>Yet, see below, the Macnabs were on the other side of this battle, having allied themselves with the Bruce's bitterest enemy. *David Rorer*

<sup>14</sup> See the photograph taken from the Scottish Field issue of June 1973 in the section on the Dewars. The Tweed Mill is now the Breadalban tourist center.

<sup>15</sup>See map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.



transport. Various Macnab families also possessed land at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Dundurn, Newton, Torry, Callander, Bochastle, Kilmahog in the neighborhood of Doune, and near Coupar Angus in East Perthshire. Others settled in the area of Ballinluig near Pitlochry.

The early history of the Clan is scanty. The name of Macnab as a surname was first found in a chartulary of 1124 AD in the reign of David I<sup>16</sup>. The records of the Abbeys were destroyed during the Reformation and the Macnab "Writs" were lost when the English burned the Castle of Eilean Ran in 1654. With the final breakup of the clan in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a further dispersal of the records.

In 1138 A.D., John de Glendochart witnessed a charter granted by Malduin, third Earl of Lennox. Later the Abbot of Glendochart and the Earl of Atholl governed a part of Argyle<sup>17</sup>. In 1296, Malcolm de Glendochart's name was shown in the "Ragmans Roll"<sup>18</sup> acknowledging

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<sup>16</sup>David I, b. 1080-85, king 1124-85

<sup>17</sup> William the Lion, as part of his policy of asserting his authority over the wild lands of the west, made the Earl of Atholl and the Abbot of Glendochart responsible for administering the law in Argyle. *The Lords of the Isles, The Clan Donald and the early Kingdom of the Scotts*, by Ronald Williams

<sup>18</sup>Ragman Rolls, the name given to the collection of instruments by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland were compelled to subscribe allegiance to Edward I of England between the conference of Northam in May 1291 and the final award in favor of Baliol in Nov 1292, and again in 1296. Of the former of these records two copies were preserved in the chapterhouse at Westminster (now in the Record Office, London), and it has been printed by Ryder (*Foedera*, ii 542). Another copy, preserved originally in the Tower of London, is now also in the Record Office.

Edward I of England as Lord Paramount of Killin, the village, which grew up around Eilean Ran.<sup>19</sup>

Angus Macnab, incensed by the murder of his brother-in-law, The Red Comyn<sup>20</sup>, by Robert the Bruce,<sup>21</sup> naturally joined the Red Comyn's son-in-law, MacDougall of Lorn<sup>22</sup>, the Bruce's bitterest enemy, and helped defeat the Bruce at the Battle of Dalrigh<sup>23</sup> in Strathfillan in 1306 A.D. But they were defeated by him at the Pass of Brander, (1308 A.D.,) and at

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*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

<sup>19</sup>See the History of Killin Village  
<sup>20</sup> John Comyn the Younger of Badenoch, styled Red Comyn because he was head of the senior line of the Comyn family. The junior line, the Earls of Buchan were styled the Black Comyn

<sup>21</sup>Early in 1306 Robert Bruce and John Comyn, the Younger of Badenoch, both of them ex-guardians of Scotland, met secretly in the Greyfriars church at Dumfries. Comyn was a nephew of John Balliol, who had been appointed King of Scotland by Edward I of England, and was regarded as the representative of the Balliol claims to the throne. There was a quarrel, and Bruce stabbed Comyn; his followers dispatched the wounded man. It was impossible for Bruce to conceal his real aims from Edward and he was crowned in March, 1306 at Scone.

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

<sup>22</sup>Lame John McDougall, Lord of Lorn, was on the losing side in the contest for the Scottish throne between Bruce and Baliol. An episode in that contest is the story of the Brooch of Lorn, won by one of the McDougalls of Lorn from Bruce at the battle of Dalrigh.

*The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk, Albany Herald; published by Barrie & Rockliff, 2 Clements Inn, London W.C.2.

<sup>23</sup>On the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, the Dal Righ is marked just south of Tyndrum on the bank of the River Lochy

Bannockburn<sup>24</sup>. When John Balliol<sup>25</sup> and the English were driven from Scotland, the Macnab lands were forfeited and their writs burned; but in 1336 A.D., Gilbert received a charter from King David II. Gilbert belonged to Bovain, in Glendochart,<sup>26</sup> and the Bovain family remained chiefs for many centuries. He is generally regarded as the first chief. The senior line -Macnab Oire- of

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<sup>24</sup>In 1314, Edward II made a serious effort to recover his father's conquest of Scotland and suffered defeat at the battle of Bannockburn June 24, 1315. The only successful battle on a great scale ever won by the Scots over the English, when Robert the Bruce vindicated Scottish independence. Edward, however stubbornly declined to admit the accomplished fact, and for many years Bruce carried terror into the northern counties. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

<sup>25</sup>When Alexander III died in 1286 his only heir was an infant granddaughter, by his daughter, who had married the king of Norway. However, she was in Norway and died on the voyage to Scotland. The succession was disputed by John Balliol, a great-grandson of David of Huntingdon, youngest son of Malcolm III 1058-1093 and Robert Bruce, a great grandson (and grandfather of the Robert the Bruce who eventually became king). Edward I of England claimed overlordship of Scotland and placed John Balliol on the throne. Within three years, however, John was in revolt against Edward. In 1296 Edward assembled an army and annexed the country taking John back to England with him. Subsequently William Wallace and then Robert the Bruce fought the English, Robert the Bruce finally succeeded in expelling the English for good after the battle of Bannockburn in 1315. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>26</sup>See the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, Bovain is several miles west of Killin on the north bank of the river Dochart.

Innishewan<sup>27</sup> thereafter subsisted only as a cadet.

The history of the Clans before Bannockburn is chiefly derived from early Irish genealogies. If authentic, the Macnab genealogy is shown as going back from Gilbert through Ewen and Angus to Ferchar, nephew of St. Fillan and the late Archibald Corrie Macnab of Macnab C.I.E. (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief) suggested to the Lord Lyon that Gilbert should in fact be regarded as the 20<sup>th</sup> Chief. The Lord Lyon, however, has decreed that Gilbert should be regarded as the first authentic chief.

The genealogy, thus pieced together and reproduced in Appendix "A", would suggest that Gilbert of Bovain was a direct descendant of the old chiefs, against the theory that the old chiefs before Gilbert were of the Innishewan branch. Be that as it may, as happened after 1745, those in authority must have found that only the old family could control the countryside, and its surviving representative was restored to power. Gilbert would have been alive when the genealogies were recorded. They show other Clans also descended from Ferchar, presumably through different sons.

#### **The Early Chiefs**

The early History of the clan after the charter of 1336, granting the lands of Bothmachan (Bovain) to Gilbert (1<sup>st</sup> Chief) is fragmentary. Some early historians suggest that Gilbert was succeeded by Finlay, then Patrick, followed by Sir Alexander. However, in 1954, the Lord Lyon when deciding the succession of the chiefs decided that Alexander should be regarded as 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief. He died before 1407, leaving three sons, John, Maurice and Alexander. John (3) succeeded him and the next recorded name is that of Finlay (4), who was alive in 1450. In 1464, Patrick (5) succeeded and in 1487 conveyed his property to his son Finlay (6), who was in turn succeeded by his son John (7) in

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<sup>27</sup>Inneshevan is about 6-7 miles west of Killin on the north bank of the river Dochart

1499 and was in turn succeeded by his son Finlay (8).

It seems that the Macnabs moved slowly down the River Dochart. Before Bannockburn, the Chief probably lived at Innishewan; Gilbert (1), the grandson of Angus<sup>28</sup>, lived at Bovain. About the year 1400, Macnab lands included Ardchyle,<sup>29</sup> Invermonichele, Bovain, and Downich. Patrick (5) died at Auchlyne<sup>30</sup> in 1488. In 1522, the lands of Ewer and Leiragan were granted in life rent to Mariat Campbell by her husband Finlay Macnab (8), who died at Elan Ran on 13 April 1525 and was buried at Killin. His eldest son was probably killed at Flodden<sup>31</sup> in 1513. The second son, John (9) (who succeeded his father finally) granted a tack<sup>32</sup> for nine years of Auchessan to John Campbell of Glenorchy. John Macnab died before 1558 and left a widow, Eleyne Stewart. In her probably lay the origin of the claim made by the Epping branch of the Clan Macnab to the Stewart Earldom of Strathearn.

John's son Finlay (10) married Katherine, a natural daughter of John Campbell of Glenorchy. Their tombstone is still to be found in the Burial Enclosure in the island of Inch Buie at Killin and it bears the inscription "This Burial Apertines to Finlay Macnab of Bovain". Finlay's son John died before him and he was succeeded by his brother Alexander (11), whose

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<sup>28</sup> The brother-in-law of the Red Comyn

<sup>29</sup> Archyle is on the map just west of Bovain and on the south side of the Dochart.

<sup>30</sup> Archlyne is on the north side of the Dochart about 2 miles west of Bovain.

<sup>31</sup> In alliance with France, King James IV went to war with England and in sept 1513 he was defeated and killed at the battle of Flodden. His heir was an infant, and Scotland was again subjected to the intrigues of a minority. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

<sup>32</sup> In *Scots Law*, a "tack" is a lease. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language* 1980

extravagances greatly embarrassed the family.

Alexander had at least two sons, Finlay and Patrick Mor of Acharn. Finlay (12) was the father of "Smooth John," famous warrior, and Duncan, by his first wife, Katherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. By a second wife, Alexander had ten more sons; from the eldest of these, John Roy or Baine, the present Chief is descended.

From Gilbert to Finlay, the father of Smooth John, the previously accepted descent may have had some gaps, but most of these seem to have been filled. (See Genealogy Appendix B)

#### **Smooth John -- The end of Eilean Ran Castle - The Beginning of Kinnell House**

The Macnab country from Dalmally<sup>33</sup> in the west to Killin in the east, vies in beauty with any part of the Highlands. The twin peaks of Ben More and Stob Buinlin<sup>34</sup> near Crianlarich and of Ben Lawers to the east of Killin rise to nearly 4000 feet. Glendochart and the tumbling waters of the River Dochart falling into the great expanse of Loch Tay, attract many thousands of visitors each year.

The problem for the Macnabs was that their lands lay astride one of the main routes to the west and the north. Only two ranges of hills lie between Glendochart and the Lowlands. Stirling is less than forty miles away, Edinburgh about seventy-five and Glasgow, even less. Thus they lay in the path of advancing armies and the tides of war flowed disastrously over the Clan, culminating in Eilean Ran Castle being burnt by the English in 1654. It was also difficult for a small clan to withstand their powerful neighbors, the

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<sup>33</sup> Dalmally is at the very western edge of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

<sup>34</sup> See the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings. Ben More and Stob Binnein are south of the river Dochart and to the west of Killin.

Campbells of Breadalbane<sup>35</sup> who enjoyed financial strength and influence at Court.

"*In Famed Breadalbane*"<sup>36</sup> contains stories of the surrender of various portions of the Macnab lands to the "Lairds of Glenorchy" (i.e. the Breadalbane Campbells); but these tales and others before them do not take account of the practice of "subinfeudation", whereby a landowner might recognize someone else as his overlord, who was strong enough to protect him and act as a buffer between him and the Crown.

Finlay, the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief, married Katherine, a natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. They had a daughter and two sons, Smooth John (Iain Min) and Duncan. By a second wife (name unknown), he is believed to have had a further ten sons. The names of six have been traced. The eldest, John Roy or Baine (red or fair-haired) is the ancestor of the present chief' the other five were Patrick, Archibald, Finlay, Donald and Alexander. Tradition has it that the weakest of the twelve sons could drive his dirk through a twelve-inch board.

If Finlay MacNab (d. 1556) was a man of peace and intervened successfully to protect the homes of the populace who were being plundered by the wild rabble that followed the Marquess of Montrose<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>This story is set out in the book "In Famed Breadalbane by William A. Gilies, Perth, The Munro Press Ltd, 36 Tay Street 1938

<sup>36</sup>See map of Breadalbane

<sup>37</sup>James Graham Montrose, Marquess of, (1612-1650) In Feb 1644, during the wars between the king and Parliament, when a Scottish army entered England to take part against the king, Montrose was appointed lieutenant-general in Scotland by Charles I. He made his way in August to the Highlands, where the clans rallied to his summons. He defeated his opponents, with great military skill, at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochry, Auldearn, Alford, Kilsyth and Dundee.

in 1644, his son, Smooth John (Ian Min), was a man of war. He and the fighting men of the Macnabs joined Montrose, during the wars between King and Parliament, and played a notable part in the victory of Kilsyth.

John was then appointed to garrison Montrose's own Castle of Kinkardine. There he was so closely besieged by General Leslie that he found it impossible to stand out. He therefore sallied forth with his 300 clansmen, sword in hand, during the night, and all got clear off but the Chief and a private, who were taken prisoners and sent to Edinburgh. Macnab was condemned to die; but the night before his execution, he contrived to make his escape and joined King Charles in England. John was with the Royalist forces at the battle of Worcester, on 3 September 1651 and survived the battle but not for long. Various Highland Chiefs and Lowland noblemen met in Killin in May 1653. A party of horse and foot from the Commonwealth Army in Perth came to find out what was going on. John Macnab found them lifting cattle and was killed in the ensuing affray. Thus fell the most heroic figure of the house of Bovain.

His father, Finlay, in 1633 had given Kinnell House to his daughter-in-law, Mary, who was the daughter of Duncan Campbell, fourth Laird of Glenlyon. After the castle of Eilian Ran was burnt by the English in 1654, and all the Macnab's charters and other documents destroyed, the property then was given to Campbell of Glenurchai', who alleged that he had sustained heavy losses by the Macnab. So reduced was the family by these reverses, that during the minority of her son, the widow of Macnab made supplication to General Monk<sup>38</sup> for relief, who directed the Governor of

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*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

<sup>38</sup> Monk (or Monck), George, commander of the Commonwealth army in Scotland for Cromwell.

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

Finlarig castle to "preserve the rights that to them (those who were peaceable) belong, and to enter and receive them into their lands as if the said order (for depriving them of their estates) had never been made." the widow and John's eldest son, Alexander, were permitted to live in Kinnell House. This attempt to repair the injuries inflicted on the Macnabs had, unfortunately, little effect; but on the restoration of Charles II the Scottish parliament awarded them a portion of their estates, which they had so long enjoyed.

In 1655, Finlay (12) gave his grandson a charter of his lands, and died after 1656. In 1662, Alexander, (13<sup>th</sup> Chief) obtained a charter from John Campbell, the first Earl of Breadalbane, of all the lands except the land of Eilean Ran (Ellanryne) which was never afterwards recovered. He had three brothers, Patrick and Archibald, who died unmarried and James who married Katherine, daughter of George MacFarlane of Roseneath and lived at Auchessan. He had also six daughters, three of whom married respectively Gregor MacGregor, John MacGregor and Black Sandie Campbell of Achallader.

Smooth John's widow later on married Malcolm MacGregor, tutor<sup>39</sup> of the Clan MacGregor, an old comrade in arms of her husband and took the lands of Ewer in life rent in exchange for Kinnell, which from this time onwards was the seat of the family. Alexander (13<sup>th</sup> Chief), on November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1662 married Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan Menzies of Weem. We know he died before 1683, because his widow was then wife of Duncan, brother of Mungo Campbell of Kinloch.

Alexander's children were Robert, 14th Chief and John (who died without heirs before 1689) and two daughters, Jean and Anges, who died unmarried.

**The Neishes and the coat of arms**



ian of children in children up to 12 ys)

Trouble with the Clan Neish produced the Chief's crest, "a savages head erased," and the motto "Dread nought," or in Latin, Timor Omnis Abesto. After their defeat by the Macnabs in 1522 at the battle of Boultachan<sup>40</sup> between St. Fillans and Comrie, the remnants of the Clan Neish, a sept of the MacGregor, took refuge on an island in Loch Earn near St. Fillans. Here they occupied the ruins of an old royal castle dismantled by the King for fear that some evilly disposed person might seize it, as had actually happened.<sup>41</sup> They possessed the only boat on the loch and so were able to raid the surrounding countryside with impunity. In December 1612, they learned that a consignment of provisions for the Macnabs would be crossing from Callander past the west end of Loch Earn. Lying in wait, they intercepted the packhorses and their loads but the servants escaped and brought work of the loss back to Eilean Ran.

Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) and his second wife<sup>42</sup> were very much incensed and in the heat of the moment, the Chief poured out his wrath on his sons: "The night is the night", he cried, "if the lads were the lads". Smarting under this reflection at least four of his sons took up the

<sup>40</sup> This story can be found in it's own section.

<sup>41</sup> At the east end of Loch Earn is a beautiful small wooded island, known for many centuries by the name of Neish Island. It is an artificial isle, which appears to date back to the era of the lake-dwellers.

In after ages, according to tradition, the island became a Royal fortalice of many of the kings or chiefs of Fortrenn. The island was a residence of the Clan Neish at an early period, probably from circa 1250 to 1420; after that date it was probably only in occupation by the Neishes at periods until 1622, the date of the massacre.

*The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway* by DAVID MACNISH, M.A., M. B. & WILLIAM A. TOD, F.S.A. SCOT. WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

<sup>42</sup> See above, her name is not known.



challenge and there followed the famous incident, which is commemorated in the Clan Crest and Coat of Arms. Afterwards, spiteful people said that as the two eldest were not her own sons and that as leaders of the expedition they might well be killed, the Lady would not have been too unhappy as that would ensure that one of her own sons would thus become his father's heir.

Lead by Smooth John, or Ian Min Macnab, fiar<sup>43</sup> of Bovain, the sons carried their boat own from the head of Loch Tay, overland some eight miles over the hills and a two thousand foot pass, through snow, to the head of Glen Tarken and down the glen to the shore of Loch Earn<sup>44</sup>. Here they launched the boat and rowed quietly along to Neish Island (as it is now called). There they destroyed the Neishes' boat, thus cutting off any line of escape.<sup>45</sup>

Within the ruined keep, the Neishes were holding carousal with the stolen supplies, deeming themselves safe from all attack, when a loud hammering at the outer door silenced the company and brought fear into every heart. The old Neish summoned up courage enough to demand who was there and what was his mission. In reply, there came the question - "Whom would you least desire?" Terrified, the Neish answered "Iain Min" (Smooth John). Then in the night came the great voice of Smooth John "He it is and a rough man you will find him tonight!" At this the Macnabs beat in the door of the keep and setting about the Neishes, who were in a poor condition to defend themselves, they quickly slaughtered them to the last

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<sup>43</sup> Fiar, the ultimate and absolute possessor of a property as distinguished from a life-renter of it; one who has the reversion of property.

<sup>44</sup> I recall reading that this incident was once commemorated, as a military exercise, by some members of the Black Watch who carried a boat across the pass and launched it on Loch Earn.

<sup>45</sup> Loch Earn is to the south of Loch Tay, see the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

man. In fact, a small girl and a small boy managed to survive by hiding among the overturned furnishings. The boy grew up and had a large family.<sup>46</sup>

The Macnab brothers rowed back along the shore and began to retrace their outward journey up Glen Tarken. However, finding the boat too heavy, they set it down and continued their journey unencumbered. It remained where it was left for some centuries, until the remaining timbers were made into a cradle and walking stick by a member of the Clan Macnab.

When the undaunted brothers reached Eilean Ran after their incredible feat and were challenged by the look-out, Smooth John shouted out "Gun Eagal", literally 'Fear Nought' or as the Clan Motto has it, *Timor Omnis Abesto*<sup>47</sup>. It must not be forgotten that Gaelic would have been the universal tongue in those days and the English words quoted can be a loose translation of the original. As Smooth John entered the hall of Eilean Ran, he was asked what he had in the sack he was carrying on his shoulder. Opening it up he rolled out the heads of some of the Neishes, including the old Chief: "boules for the bairns", he replied, implying that his little brothers could have them for playthings<sup>48</sup>. He is also said to have ended the night's proceedings by stating proudly to his father, the Chief, "The night was the night and the lads were

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<sup>46</sup> Though in fact many MacNishes, who could not have been descended from this boy are documented in *The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway* by David Macnish, M.A., M. B. & William A. Tod, F.S.A. Scot. William Blackwood and Sons, which is a part of this collection.

<sup>47</sup> As rendered in Latin

<sup>48</sup> Probably play "bowls" with them. I think a reference to an early form of the game now known as lawn bowling. David Rorer

the lads!" There was no more trouble from the Neishes.<sup>49</sup>

Later on, it was prescribed that by the Act of 1672; all who had a Coat of arms should register them in Edinburgh. The Macnab Arms were duly registered with a boat on water and a savage's head and the motto, "Timor Omnis Abesto" (Dreadnought). They were matriculated afresh in 1765 and 1954. It is an interesting heraldic feature to note that in the differenced arms of Barravorich and Barachastalain, their motto is in effect a reply to that of the Chief. I.e. Barravorich's is-"I fear no man" while Barachastalain's is "Fear? I do not know it".

The Highlands at that time were a very turbulent area. Acts were passed in 1587 and 1594 for dealing with the turbulent clans, of which the Macnabs were mentioned as one. Behind the school at Killin, there is a small eminence still known as Execution Hill, although most of the executions took place at the Glenorchy Castle of Finlarig, where the pit to receive the heads of the 'Better sort' is still shown and where the 'lesser people' were hanged on the branch of a sycamore tree. The branch - which has now disappeared - bore a deep grove cut by the rope thus used.

*Note:* Those who wish to study the early history of Clan Macnab and their powerful neighbors the Breadalbane Campbells should read "in Famed Breadalbane" by the Rev. William A. Gillies B.D. Unfortunately, this excellent book is no longer in print, but there are copies in some public Libraries.<sup>50</sup>

#### **Robert the 14<sup>th</sup> Chief**

Robert, grandson of Smooth John and the 14<sup>th</sup> Chief, was apprenticed to Colin Campbell of Carwhin, Writer to the

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<sup>49</sup> For more on the Clan MacNeish see The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway.

<sup>50</sup> I have been given a copy of this book and intend to add it to this collection. It is a treasure trove of information on Breadalbane, the Campbells and the Macnabs' *David Rorer*

Signet, the Earl of Breadalbane's man of business, on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1686. His cautioner was Robert Menzies of that Ilk. He married first the daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenlyon. Their son died young. He then married Anna, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy by his third wife. They were proclaimed in the Kirk at Killin on October 10<sup>th</sup> 1697. Her brother was John, the first Earl of Breadalbane. The Earl refused to rise for the Stuarts in 1715; Robert Macnab also held back; but many of the Clan were out in that brief incident. Robert had seven sons and five daughters. The eldest, John (15<sup>th</sup> Chief) was born in 1698. The second, Archibald, served in the Army, becoming a Major General on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1781. He died in Edinburgh on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1790. These were the only two sons who were alive in 1769. The sixth son, Allan, died at the age of 19 on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1735 and lies buried in the Church of Tarland in Aberdeenshire. The eldest daughter, Mary, married John Campbell Younger of Baleveolan in 1720. Robert himself died before November 17<sup>th</sup> 1725 but his widow survived until September 6<sup>th</sup> 1765.

#### **John the 15<sup>th</sup> Chief**

John, 15<sup>th</sup> Chief, was a major in the Hanoverian<sup>51</sup> army and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1745 and confined to Doune Castle. His brother, Archibald, also fought for the Hanoverians. Some of the Clan supported the Rising,<sup>52</sup> two of them afterwards being listed as rebels. After their earlier sacrifices and

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<sup>51</sup> So-called because King George I, of the House of Hannover was born in Hanover, Germany, and was Duke of Caltenberg and elector of Brunswick-Luneburg before succeeding as king of Great Britain and Ireland. He became heir to the throne in 1714 by right of his mother, under the terms of the Act of Settlement of 1701, which excluded Catholics from the succession. *David Rorer*

<sup>52</sup> "The '45" = 1745, when Charles Edward Stuart, pretender to the Scottish throne attempted to retrieve it from the Hanoverian King George I. *David Rorer*

especially after the losses, which they had suffered at the battle of Worcester in 1651, many of the Clans held that they had done enough for the Stuarts and had received few tokens of gratitude. John's chief connection with the Stuart cause was his brother-in-law, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, locally known as the "King of Kippen", who accompanied Prince Charlie<sup>53</sup> until he finally took ship for France, when the Prince gave him a ruby ring and a sword. (Miss Sarah Anne Macnab of Macnab, 18th Chief du jure subsequently presented the ring to the National Museum in Edinburgh.<sup>54</sup> The sword went with her father, Archibald, 17th Chief, to Canada, was subsequently purchased by Donald, brother of James William, (19th Chief), and is in family hands. Francis Buchanan was later captured and beheaded at Carlisle on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1746. John Macnab married his sister, Jean. They had two sons, Francis and Robert (who was a doctor and married Anne Maule and lived at Bovain) as well as two daughters; Elizabeth, who married Dick Miller and Marjory, who married Colonel Campbell of Baleveolan. John Macnab died at Kinnell on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1778 and his widow on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1789.

#### **Francis the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief**

John's son, Francis, (16th Chief), was born in 1734 and is the best known of all the Chiefs of the Clan. The famous picture of him by Raeburn "The MacNab." is now to be seen in John Dewar & Sons' office in the Haymarket in London, where

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<sup>53</sup> Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir Stuart (1720-1788) called the "Young Pretender" the grandson of King James II of England and elder son of James Charles Stuart, the "Old Pretender." He sailed for Scotland in the summer of 1745. After initial successes the Hanoverian forces proved too strong and he was decisively defeated at Culloden on April 16, 1746. Returning to France Charles spent the remainder of his life intriguing for his throne and died in Rome on Jan 30 1788.  
*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

<sup>54</sup> *Du jur* = in law

some of the best Scotch whisky in the world may be purchased. Francis was notable both as a producer and as a consumer of whisky<sup>55</sup>. He lived in Kinnell House, battling manfully against the rising tide of indebtedness, which for some generations past had crippled the family. The rich lands, which he had inherited from his mother at Arnprior and his successful enterprise in founding the Dreadnought Hotel in Callander,<sup>56</sup> could not for long support the weight of his extravagance. He lived the life of an old fashioned chief at Kinnell House, admired and revered by all around him but sinking deeper and deeper into debt.<sup>57</sup> The story is well

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<sup>55</sup> He had his own distillery at Killin; and Heron, who toured Perthshire in 1792, wrote that The Macnab produced the best whisky to be found in Scotland. *The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk, Albany Herald; published by Barrie & Rockliff, 2 Clements Inn, London W.C.2.

<sup>56</sup> Still in existence and still in business as a hotel, there is a photo at the end that was taken from the Macnab website. *David Rorer*

<sup>57</sup> Described, as a most eccentric but good-hearted man, Francis Macnab, was the last specimen, in Perthshire at least, of the old Highland Laird. He was of a remarkably tall and robust frame, and spurned all suggestions to keep on the march of improvement, which he only viewed as innovation on the good old mode of living and acting with plainness and blunt sincerity. He had the highest opinion of the dignity of a chief and could not be persuaded that his will should not be law. Having raised a body of Fencibles, he proudly marched at their head to Edinburgh, but was met by some excise men who unceremoniously ordered a halt that they might make a search as they had received information that a great quantity of Whisky was concealed among the baggage. Macnab indignantly refused to stop, and the gaugers resolutely maintained their right as being on his Majesty's service. "I also," exclaimed the offended chief, "am on his Majesty's service, halt!"

known how his housekeeper suspended a dummy by a rope round its neck from the branch of a great wych elm<sup>58</sup> near the house, while the Laird made a temporary disappearance. The bailiff who had come to serve a writ upon him was lavishly entertained overnight. When he woke with a splitting headache and bleary eyes the next morning and asked what was the grisly sight, she told him: "Oh, that's just a wee bit baillie body that angered the Laird". Whereupon, the Bailiff fled without daring to serve the writ. Many other stories have been told about and against him.

Six foot three in height and of herculean strength; he was one of the most notable figures in that part of the country. He never married<sup>59</sup>, but his numerous pogeny acquitted themselves nobly on many a battlefield. There is a tablet to one of them. Lieutenant Allan Macnab, outside the burial enclosure on the island of Inchbuie. When he died at Callander on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1816, he left thirty-five thousand pounds worth of debts.

His brother, Robert, had died at Killin on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1814. Robert left a son, Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) and a daughter, Anne Maule, who married Robert Jameson, an Advocate, in Edinburgh on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1811 and died there on October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1814.

#### **Archibald the 17<sup>th</sup> Chief**

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This, my lads, is a serious affair, load with ball!" The officers of excise knowing the character of the leader, and disposition of the clan, prudently allowed them to proceed.

*The Clans of The Scottish Highlands*, R.R. McIan, originally published in 1845-47 by Ackermann, London reprinted by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York 1980

<sup>58</sup> The Wych Elm or Scots Elm, is a large deciduous tree native to Europe, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus.

<sup>59</sup> So he never married though he had 32 children and it was rumored that several lasses in the district got 'the bad disorder.' from him.

*The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk.

Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) was born in 1778, in which year the Macnabs had acquired the property of Easter Torry. He married Margaret Robertson, the daughter of a Writer to the Signet and of Miss Murdoch of Gartincaber. All their three sons and three daughters died unmarried. Alexander died in Edinburgh aged 11 on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1828. William died at Pisa aged 20 on November 23 1833. Margaret died at Florence aged 18 on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1834. Two other children died as infants. Alexander was buried in Edinburgh in the Greyfriars Churchyard. William and Margaret were buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Florence, as were also their mother who died on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1868. Sarah Anne, the eldest of the children, who was born on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1803 and died at Florence on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1894.

Archibald had studied law in his youth and traveled on the Continent. His uncle had made a disposition of the Macnab lands in his favor in 1812. When his uncle died, Alexander found that the estate was hopelessly encumbered. He made desperate efforts to extricate it; but in 1823, a writ of foreclosure was issued. Part of the property had already been sold. An effort was then made to sell the remainder but no purchaser could be found. Archibald went out for a walk one morning with his gun and his two dogs as if all was usual and then disappeared. He took refuge with his cousin, Dr. Hamilton Buchanan of Leny but was discovered and fled to London and thence to Canada, where eventually he obtained a grant of 81,000 acres of land in the Valley of the Ottawa River. Eighty-five men, women and children arrived at Montreal on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1825 and were settled by him in the estate to which he had given the name of Macnab. As in all such cases, the early years of such a settlement were full of difficulties and discomforts and Archibald had promised more than he could perform. The settlers had to endure many privations.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> A fuller account of this is given in "MacNab The Last Laird" by Raymond Wild

It is one of the lessons of history that when the Highland Chiefs lost their lands they lost everything. Archibald's dominant idea was that some day he might redeem his ancestral lands. In 1828, these lands were sold to the fourth Earl of Breadalbane, the principal creditor, including Kinnell House, the farms of Sleoch, Achrine, Bovain and Craitchur, the Grey Street and Clachaig houses on the south side of the River Dochart and parts of the village of Killin on the north side, together with the superiorities over Ewer, Suie, Cragnave and Arnfinlay. Even the islands of Garbh-innis and Inch-buie (which contains the burial ground of the Clan Macnab) in the River Dochart, were sold. Nothing was left. The contents of Kinnell House, which remained in Campbell hands until 1949, were included in the sale and for long were an object of interest to visitors to the house until they were auctioned in the year 1935. Some are now in the possession of John Dewar & Son Ltd. at their London office in the Haymarket as is Raeburn's portrait of Francis.

Archibald was no exception to this rule. Once his estates were finally lost to him, everything went from bad to worse. He had established friendly relations with those in authority in Canada; but he tried to use his influence to oppress the members of his Clan and to extract rents from them, which were not due. Lord Durham took over charge as Governor General in 1838 and ordered an enquiry to be held. Archibald was compelled to refund his illegal exactions and was left a ruined man, in 1853 he returned to Britain. His wife, who had left him when he fled to Canada, made him a small allowance. He lived for a while at Rendall in the Orkneys, made a bigamous marriage in London, and then moved to France where he died at Lanion in the Department of Cotes du Nord on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1860 at the age of 83.

His daughter, Miss Sarah Anne Macnab of Macnab (b 1803), was recognized as the 18<sup>th</sup> chief, *de jure* until her death in Florence in 1894; thereafter it was dormant.

### **The 'Houses' or Branches of the Clan Auchessan Branch<sup>61</sup>**

It is indeed unfortunate that the ancient records of the clan were destroyed, first as a result of the punitive measures adopted by King Robert the Bruce against the Macnabs and again following their active support of Montrose during the Civil War. In 1654, the castle of Eilean Ran was destroyed with all the remaining writs and records and the clan is said to have been driven to a last foothold on the burial island of Inch Buie at Killin. The oldest record available states that in 1336, Gilbert Macnab of Bovain achieved reconciliation with King David II, who granted a Charter, under the Great Seal, of the Barony of Bovain. Further charters were granted to successive chiefs until a sizeable number of their former holdings were restored.

The extinction of those holdings during the Civil War of the seventeenth century was temporary, for much was again restored through legal processes and other portions came as marriage settlements from neighboring influential clans.

From Gilbert in 1336, successive chiefs followed in the direct line of the House of Bovain until Archibald, 17<sup>th</sup> chief and last of his line, for when he died in 1860 he left no successor. It will be shown how the restoration of a Chief *de jure* involved research going back the family of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief).

Next in seniority to the House of Bovain is the Auchessan Branch but no records at all remain to tell us their history. The next in order of remoteness is the Innishewan Branch but before tracing its history, perhaps we should consider the Arthurstone Branch, which is the line of the present chief.

### **The present Chief and the Arthurstone Branch**

With the death of Miss Sarah Anne Macnab in Florence on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1894 the

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<sup>61</sup> Auhessian can be found on the Map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, it is on the river Dochart about 10 miles to the west of Killin.

old line of Chiefs ends. The question of who should succeed is one, which caused a lot of discussion and argument within the clan for many years thereafter.

We know that Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) considered he should be succeeded by Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn and handed certain record and documents over to him. We know also that these papers were lost by Sir Allan when shipwrecked in the *North Briton* and he had intended to hand them over to James Munro Macnabb of Arthurstone.

The matter was not finally resolved until 1954 when James Munro's grandson, Archibald Corrie, completed several years of research and was recognized by the Lord Lyon as 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief.

The following is a brief account of the story of the Arthurstone family. A table showing their descent from John Roy or Bane, third don of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) will be found in Appendix C. (A much more detailed account of the family is contained in a book "Unto the Third and Fourth Generation" by A.C. Macnab of Macnab C.I.E., copies of which may be purchased through the Secretary of the Clan Society).

Katherine, first wife of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief), a natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, had a daughter and two sons, Smooth John who was Baillie to Sir Duncan, and Duncan, who was referred to as the "brother german"<sup>62</sup> to Smooth John. The name of the second wife is not known but she was responsible for inciting the young men to the extermination of the Neishes. The third son, John Roy or Baine, was the servitor, baillie<sup>63</sup> and eventually son-

<sup>62</sup> Having the same father and mother, as a full brother or sister (usually used in combination): Example; a brother-german.

*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

<sup>63</sup> In Scotland the word bailiff denotes an inferior officer locally appointed to watch and ward. In the form "bailee" the word signifies an official appointed to exercise a local delegated jurisdiction, civil or criminal. The feudal bailies,

in-law of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, the cousin, brother-in-law and rival of Sir Duncan. His wife, Janet, brought him a dowry of land in Carie and Carwhin, on the north side of Loch Tay. Captain John Baine commanded the Castle of Garth, which was the obstacle to the advance of Montrose from the north by the pass over the shoulder of Schiehallion into Glenlyon. His widow applied in 1649 for the payment of the grant of £3,000 sanctioned by the Scots Parliament in compensation for the damage of £15,000 caused by the Irish soldiery of Montrose; but it appears that, although several times sanctioned, this was never paid. Archibald, their eldest son, succeeded to a load of debt, including a loan of a thousand marks<sup>64</sup> from his brother Robert, who had married the heiress of Hew Campbell of Lix<sup>65</sup>. Archibald married Isobel, the daughter of William Anderson in Ceres. He married a second wife, Marie Carmichael, before 1687. His son John married Anne, the daughter of Alexander Robertson of

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formerly appointed by the superiors of regality or of barony lands to exercise jurisdiction within those lands have disappeared in consequence of the abolition of feudal jurisdictions. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

<sup>64</sup> In England the "mark" was never a coin, but a money of account only, and apparently came into use in the 10th century through the Danes. It first was taken as equal to 100 pennies, but after the Norman Conquest was equal to 160 pennies (20 pennies to the oz.) = two thirds of the pound sterling, or 3s. 4d., and therefore in Scotland 13 1/2d English; the mark (merk) Scots was a silver coin of this value, issued first in 1570 and afterwards in 1663. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>65</sup> There is a Lix Toll depicted on the Map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, it is at the intersection of the main roads through Glendochart and Glen Ogle. I do not know if this is the same Lix. *David Rorer*



Balnaguard in 1680. Both Archibald and John died in about 1697, leaving John's sons, Archibald, Donald and Patrick (b.1697). In 1714, Archibald had to surrender the feu<sup>66</sup> of Mullion in Redgorton Parish to liquidate debts over £3,000 owed by his father and grandfather to Sir Thomas Stewart of Grantully. Archibald left no descendants, except perhaps a daughter Katherine, who married, as her second husband, Archibald MacNab of Newton. (See below)

Donald the second son married Margaret Ferguson and lived first at Donavoured and then at Balindrome. He was probably "out"<sup>67</sup> in the "45". He died in 1750, aged 60. His wife had died in 1747. Both were buried in the churchyard at Logierait. The gravestone in Logierait Churchyard is surrounded by a low iron chain railing. Originally, such a railing enclosed a large lair running down to the river. The inscription reads "*Here lyes the Dust of Donald McNab, husband to Margaret Ferguson, who departed this life June the 3<sup>rd</sup> day 1750. Aged 60 years. She died November 13 day 1747? Years. This stone is erected by James McNab and Anne Cowan his spouse in Argyle in memory of his parents.*" They had two sons, James and Robert, the latter of whom lived on at Balindrome, while his elder brother lived first at Balnald and then at Argile, where he died in 1798. He married Anne Cowan in 1749, when he was 18 and she was 16, and they both died on the same day. Of their ten children, a daughter, Grizel, married Thomas Butter in Craigbea and is still represented in the female line by Lt.-Col. Elliott Carnegy of Lour, Angus; Donald was a

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<sup>66</sup> Feu an estate held on feudal tenure, a system according to which grants of land were made by the sovereign to the nobles, and by them to an inferior class, on the condition that the possessor should take an oath of fealty. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

<sup>67</sup> Meaning he joined the forces who fought for Charles Edward Stuart. *David Rorer*

successful attorney in Calcutta but died soon after retiring to England. James, born in 1759, succeeded his father as the eldest surviving son. He married Mary, daughter of Alexander MacLaren of East Haugh in 1788 and was a surgeon in the East India Company's service from 1789 to 1816 when he retired and bought, first East Haugh and Dalshian and then Arthurstone, the former residence of the abbots of Coupar Angus. He died in 1826. East Haugh and Dalshian were settled on his daughter, Eliza Ann, the wife of Major General Sir Robert Dick, the son of Dr William Dick of Tullymet and of Charlotte, the eldest daughter of Alexander MacLaren.

The only surviving son, James Munro, was born in 1790. He was brought up by his grandfather at Ardigie until 1798 when he went to England under the guardianship of Mr. Neville Reid, the banker. After leaving Harrow School, where he was a contemporary of Sir Robert Peel<sup>68</sup> and the poet Byron, he went to India in 1806 and later became City Magistrate of Calcutta, where in 1820, he married Jane Mary Campbell, the daughter of the Reverend Dr. Donald Campbell of Kilninver and Mary, the ninth daughter of John McLeod of Raasay. She had been brought to India by her cousin, Flora, Countess of Loudon, the wife of the Marquess of Hastings, the Governor General of India, to whom James Munro later became Private Secretary. He left India in 1829 and settled at Arthurstone until 1837, when he sold the property. In 1847, his mother died and he rented Highfield Park, the dower house of Strathfieldsaye in Hampshire, in 1850. There he was visited by Sir Allan Macnab and his daughter Sophia. Sir Allan had brought over the Clan

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<sup>68</sup> Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) English statesman had a long career in government holding many posts including that of Prime Minister. His greatest accomplishment may have been the forming of the regular Irish Constabulary, nicknamed "Peelers" and the later introduction of the same improved system of police into London. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

Records to hand them over to James Munro, as the next in succession to himself. He was the grandson of Robert Macnab of Dundurn, who's father Robert was a younger brother of John (15<sup>th</sup> Chief). Unfortunately, Sir Allan had lost his luggage in the wreck of the *North Briton*. It is fortunate that Sophia's grandson, the present Earl of Albemarle, has discovered a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan, giving a list of the cadet houses of the Clan in order of nearness to his own line and mentioning the House of Arthurstone.

James Munro spent much of his time, to the great detriment of his health, as executor and trustee of the Marquess of Bute, who had married Lady Sophia Hastings and left an infant son. James Munro died in 1860. Of his ten children, his four surviving daughters, Mary, Charlotte, Flora and Sophia married James Erskine of Linlathen, William Fuller Maitland of Stansted Park, Essex, John Walter (III) of Bearwood and "The Times", and Henry Hugh McNeile of Parkmount, Belfast. His widow died in 1886.

Of his sons, the youngest, Campbell, was murdered at Meerut on May 10<sup>th</sup> 1857 at the age of 19 as a young Indian Cavalry officer. The second surviving son, Sir Donald Campbell Macnabb, K.C.I.I., C.S.I., born in 1833, died in 1913. The eldest surviving son, James William, served like his father and younger brother, in the East India company. He has been recognized by the Lord Lyon King of Arms as, *de jure*, 19<sup>th</sup> Chief of the Clan, following upon the decease of Miss Sarah Anne in 1894. In 1860, he married Amy, daughter of Sir James Weir Hogg, the last Chairman of the East India Company and secondly Alice Mary, daughter of William Byron Corrie, who was descended in the female line from James II of Scotland and thus from the victor of Bannockburn. James William was born in 1831 and died in 1915.

James William Macnabb was succeeded, *de jure*, by his eldest son, James Frederick, at one time Vicar of Isel, Cumberland and later for many years Rector of Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire. He

was born in 1863 and died in 1937. There were three other sons; Donald, who is survived by male issue; Rawdon who's only son died in 1943 without issue and the youngest Archibald Corrie (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief).

James Frederic was succeeded, *de jure*, as 21<sup>st</sup> Chief by his only son James Alexander, born in 1901. He also had three daughters who are still living and have issue: Mary Margaret who married R.P.R. Brocklebank; Jean Elizabeth who married Richard P. Holland, Dorothy Campbell who married Lt. Col. Victor Elsmie.

James Alexander Macnabb, OBE, TD, (*de jure* 21<sup>st</sup> Chief), was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He qualified as a chartered accountant and then spent most of his working life in the field of Charitable Housing in London. He was famous in rowing circles. He was in the Cambridge eight which won the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race in 1924 and then went on to the Olympic Games in Paris where as a member of a four, he won a Gold Medal. He served in WW II in the Royal Artillery in West Africa and Burma, reaching the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

James Alexander had four children; James Charles, the present chief; Francis David, born 1927, killed 1972, who has left a son Ian and a daughter Alexandra; Charles Robert, born 1929 who has one son Jonathan; Angela born 1929 who married David Goschen and has two sons and two daughters.

In 1949, Archibald Corry MacNab bought back Kinnell House (whose wife on this event renounced the tainstry<sup>69</sup> of Macleod); and 7,000 acres from the Breadalbane Estate. In 1954, James Alexander surrendered his claim to the succession in favor of his uncle and on the evidence of a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan Macnab of

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<sup>69</sup>By Tainstry, the ruling chief-like the Hebraic patriarchs—could nominate his successor, and thus interregnum and dispute were avoided.  
*The Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands.*

Dundurn and of information detailed in the foregoing and derived from the records of Sasines etc. in Register House Edinburgh, Archibald Corrie was recognized as Archibald MacNab of MacNab, 22nd chief of the clan, *The MacNab*.

Archibald Corrie was born in London on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1886. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1911. Except from 1914-17 when he was in Delhi as City Magistrate and Municipal Secretary, all his service was in the Punjab. He was Deputy Commissioner of Karnal, Ampala Shahpur and Attock Districts; Commissioner of Rawal Pindi 1934-36; Administrator of Lahore Municipality 1937-40; Commission of Jullunder 1940-45 and Financial commissioner of the Punjab 1945-46. He left the Service on leave prior to retirement in December 1946 but returned in 1948-49 to help displaced persons and refugees after the Partition of India and Pakistan. He finally retired to Kinnell in April 1950 where he devoted most of his time to clan and family affairs and to running his estate. He died on November 13<sup>th</sup> 1970 and is buried on the Island of Inchbuie just outside the old enclosure.

In 1931, he married Alice, elder daughter of Hubert Walter (son of John Walter III of "The Times" and of Flora Macnabb, sister of James William, *de jure* 19<sup>th</sup> Chief) and of Dame Flora MacLeod of MacLeod D.B.E. They had no children.

James Charles, the present chief was born in 1926 in London. He was educated at Radley College and at Ashbury College, Ottawa, Canada. From 1944-45, he served in the R.A.F. and the Scots Guards. In 1945, he was commissioned into the Seaforth Highlanders and served in India, Java and Singapore. In 1948, he joined the Colonial Service and served in the Federation of Malaya Police Force as an Assistant Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent. He retired in 1957 after

the independence of Malaya and has been farming at Kinnell since then.<sup>70</sup>

In 1959, he married the Hon. Diana Mary Anstruther-Gray, elder daughter of Lord and Lady Kilmany, Kilmany, Cupar, Fife. They have four children: Virginia Mary born 1960; James William Archibald born 1963; Geoffrey Charles born 1965; Katharine Monica born 1968.<sup>71</sup>

#### **The Innishewan Branch**

In a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan Macnab written in 1847, the Chief gives a list of the cadet branches of the family in order of seniority. Next to the Auchessan Branch, of which there is now no trace, the most remote is the Innishewan Branch, which was dispossessed by the Bruce and became a cadet family.

The earliest specific reference is to Finlay, the son of Ian, who was tenant of Innishewan in 1599. In 1661, Alexander, the son of Finlay and grandson of Ian, gave his bond to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy for himself and his two brothers Duncan and John Dow in Ardchyle.<sup>72</sup> This Alexander was a juror in the Barons' Court held at Killin in 1615. In 1618 he was fined by the Privy Council for illegally carrying arms. In 1661 his name appeared in a list of landlords and chiefs who had failed to report to the Privy Council and eight years later he and his sons were required to give their bonds to the Privy Council.

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<sup>70</sup> He subsequently sold the estate and moved to West Kilmany. The Island of Inchbuie, containing the ancient Macnab Burial Ground, is the only remaining Clan land in Clan hands. The Chief retained it when he sold Kinnell, and conveyed it to Clan Macnab. To that end a Clan trust has been set up to assure its possession to the Clan in perpetuity, and as a burial place for Chiefs and their families. From the Clan MacNab website. [www.macnab.org](http://www.macnab.org)

<sup>71</sup> Inneshewan is on the south bank of the river Dochart some 6-7 miles west of Killin.

<sup>72</sup> Between Bovain and Auchlyne

Innishewan was not shown in the Perthshire Rent-roll of 1649-50 as a separate property. It is today part of Auchlyne Estate as is Bovain.<sup>73</sup>

Alexander's son Finlay married the eldest daughter of Finlay Macnab of Bovain and his wife who was the eldest natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy.<sup>74</sup> He was thus the brother-in-law of 'Smooth John' and of his brother german Duncan in Tulloch. This Duncan had a son also Duncan by name, but there is no trace of further descendants of this brother-german of Smooth John.

Finlay's eldest son John married Catherine, daughter of George MacFarland of Roseneath in 1658. John died in 1676 and his widow married James Macnab in Auchessan,<sup>75</sup> the fourth son of Smooth John.

Finlay's second son Alexander married a Miss MacFarlane and had four children. There is no trace of the third son, but his daughter married Duncan Campbell son of Archibald McCarlich in Morenish.

On 28 March 1683 John's eldest son Finlay made over his lands of Innishewan and Bothuachdar to his brother Alexander, who had also married a Miss MacFarlane.

On 26 April 1703 Alexander assigned a bond of 2,000 merks<sup>76</sup> from the first Earl of Breadalbane to his sister-in-law Catherine, to his elder son John and Duncan in Succession, and then to Robert. The two elder sons died without issue. In October 1724, he applied to

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<sup>73</sup> See map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings

<sup>74</sup> Glen Orchy runs generally north and east from Dalmally to Loch Tulla.

<sup>75</sup> The western-most of the estates marked on the map, Auchessan is at the east end of Loch Lubhair through which the river Dochart runs.

<sup>76</sup> in Scotland the merk (merk) Scots was a silver coin worth 13 ½d, issued first in 1570 and afterwards in 1663. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

the second Earl of Breadalbane for a "precept of Clare Constant" as heir to his brother John, who married Jean Campbell in December 1714.

On 20 December 1732 Robert Macnab of Innishewan was prosecuted for marrying Jean Campbell irregularly, and without proclamation of banns, and was fined 500 merks Scots.

Robert appears to have been succeeded by John, 'Possessor of Inchoane' who erected in 1759 the burial enclosure at Suie in Glendochart. John's tombstone shows that he died in 1766.

Alexander, younger of Innishewan, fought in the battle of Falkirk for Prince Charles Edward as a Captain in Keppoch's regiment. In 1759 he was listed as a man 'fit for service'. On 22 November 1767 it was recorded that his father John had bequeathed four guineas for behoof of the poor of the parish of Killin.

A notice appeared that on 2 July 1810 Alexander Macnab, late of Innishewan, had died aged 91 years, 'the last of that family of residence who have been proprietors and wadsetters<sup>77</sup> and

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<sup>77</sup> Tacksman were the resident members of the upper ranks in Highland Society. Properly speaking many tacks men were wadsetters, a distinction not always made by contemporaries or in later analyses of the Highlands. The landowner had borrowed money, and the lender possessed the land until the mortgage (or wadset) was extinguished. In many instances wadsets were granted in satisfaction of family provisions to close relatives of the chief, who could not afford to setup his relatives as independent landholders. By the second half of the eighteenth century a significant decline in interest rates had combined with an increase in the value of land to make redemption of the wadset by the landowner an increasing possibility.

Historically the tacksman had acted as a military lieutenant of the head of the clan. He farmed part of his tack or wadset, often upon land, which had been in his family for generations, and let

leaseholders of it for upwards of 400 years'.

Robert Macnab, late at Innishewan, married Catherine, fourth daughter of John MacDiarmid, tenant in Kencock in Glenlochay, and had two sons and three daughters, who were baptized at Killin between 1762 and 1778.

It is believed there are descendants of this branch in the male line who might be able to give more information. They have not matriculated their Arms as a cadet branch, as has been done by the Barravorich and Barachastalain branches.<sup>78</sup>

**The Cadet House of Barravorich in the Clan Macnab** from notes by Brigadier John Francis Macnab of Barravorich, C.B.E., D.S.O.

The letter written by Archibald Macnab of Macnab to Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn, Hamilton, Ontario in 1847 sets out "A true record of the different Houses and Families of the Clan Macnab as they descend from the original stock and by whom are now represented". In this record, the Barravorich House is placed as the third senior cadet preceded by Innishewan and followed by Barachastalain.

We know from the interesting account written by Iain Macnab of Barachastalain that his house claims descent from Duncan, second son of Finlay of Macnab who's father was Gilbert of Bovain who was granted the Barony of Bovain in 1336. Gilbert was counted as the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief of the Clan after the events following the Battle of Bannockburn. Although the writer<sup>79</sup> has so far been unable to substantiate this, it would

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the remainder to subtenants who paid rent to him rather than to the chief. *The People's Clearance, Highland Emigration to British North America*, by J.M. Bumsted, Edinburgh University Press, 1938, pp 34

<sup>78</sup> Barravorich is at the top of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, just to the east of Loch Tulla.

<sup>79</sup> Brigadier John Francis Macnab of Barravorich

appear that the Barravorich Macnabs are descended either from a younger son of Gilbert or from the Innishewan, traditionally the Chief's family, prior to the Macnab lands being forfeited after Bannockburn.

Barravorich (Barr a Bhuridh - The point of Roaring) is some two miles North East from the main road as it passes East of Loch Tulla on the way to Glencoe. The house, when it existed, was on the right bank of the water of Tulla, the best approach to it being through Achallader. The railway after skirting Beinn Dorain and Beinn Achaladair follows this valley today. The origin of the name - The Point of Roaring - could either have been due to the noise of the water of Tulla in spate or the roaring of the wind in the corries of Beinn Achaladair to the East. Both are equally appropriate. As with Barachastalain,<sup>80</sup> also in Argyll, the original stones of the house were used for the building of shelter for the laborers building the railway.

Unfortunately, up to the present time, nothing is known for certain about the Barravorich family prior to 1753 when the records of Glenorchy begin. By 1763 there are no further references to Macnabs of Barravorich in the Glenorchy records and the writer assumes that his great-great-great-grandfather Doctor James Macnab emigrated to the New World about that year.

From this date onwards, thanks to the kindness of Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Canada, Doctor H. Townely Douglas M.D. also of Ottawa, and Mrs. Eleanor Macnab, widow of Canon Arthur Wellesley Macnab of Toronto in Canada, there is a great deal known about the family. Most of the information comes from Photostat copies of pages from volume one of "Ontario Families of Upper Canada (Toronto 1894)" by Edward Marion Chadwick. The

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<sup>80</sup> Located just under Dalmally on the far western edge of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

Barravorich Macnabs appear in this volume as Macnab of Belleville U.E.L.<sup>81</sup>

Doctor James Macnab, having emigrated circa 1763, took up land in Vermont and was the then Representer of the family. On the outbreak of the American War of Independence he became a surgeon to His Majesty's Forces serving under General Burgoyne, and upon the failure of that expedition, rather than forswear allegiance to the British Crown, retired to Canada, suffering a total loss of property in the state of Vermont, America. He died at Machiche, Quebec in 1780 leaving four sons.

The sons had a mill at Niagara on the lake. Colin became a collector of customs at Niagara and died in 1810 having had a daughter Maria who married George Phillpotts, Captain R.E. and Lieutenant Colonel, A.D.C. to Sir John Colborne. He was the son of John Phillpotts of Gloucester, England and a brother of a well-known Bishop of Exeter.

James of Belleville, the writer's great-great-grandfather, served in the Commissariat Department in 1812, became a member of the legislative assembly for the County of Hastings and died in 1820 having petitioned for and received 600 acres in Belleville in compensation for the loss of property sustained by his father during the American War of Independence. He left one son, James the writer's great-grandfather, who became a Captain of Militia and was killed in the Canadian Rebellion of 1836-38. He had married a Miss Harriet Clark of Fredericksburg, Upper Canada and had one surviving son, Alexander, the writer's grandfather. Sir Allan Macnab (Dundurn) had distinguished himself in command of the loyalists in this same rebellion meriting the eulogy from the Duke of Wellington "that owing to the loyalty, zeal and active intelligence of Sir Allan Macnab the Canadas had been preserved to the British Crown". As the

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<sup>81</sup> U.E.L = United Empire Loyalist, an hereditary order of persons who remained loyal to the crown during the American Rebellion. Many of them settled in Canada after the end of the war.

result of the widowhood of Harriet Macnab, Sir Allan took on the guardianship of her son, Alexander and helped him considerably in his career, but alas, the 600 acres in Belleville had to be sold!

To return to the two other sons of Doctor James Macnab, Simon Fraser became a Lieutenant Colonel of Militia and died in 1821 leaving an only son, Alexander born 1810, died 1891, who became Canon of St. Albans Cathedral, Toronto. In 1868 he was one of the founders of the Royal colonial Institute, England. He married Eliza-Ann daughter of James Dougall of Picton County and they had two sons, both in Holy Orders, and two daughters. The eldest son was accidentally drowned at Montreal in 1872. Alexander Wellesley, the second son, traveled extensively in Europe as preacher and then became Rector of St. Matthias, Omaha, Nebraska and finally Canon of Toronto Cathedral. There are no descendants of this family in the male line but the eldest daughter, Mary, married Frederick Roche. They went to Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia and she died in 1870 leaving four sons and two daughters. The second daughter, Matilda married John Carter of Toronto and founded a large family.

Alexander, the remaining son, but not the youngest, of Doctor James Macnab, was clerk to the Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1797, entered the Queen's Rangers in 1800, transferred to 26<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1803; was gazetted Lieutenant in 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment 1804 and Captain 1809. He served with distinction in the Peninsular War and was A.D.C. to General Picton<sup>82</sup> at the Battle of Waterloo where he was killed along with his General. A plaque was subsequently put up in 1976 in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, to his memory by his nephew and great-nephew and he is believed to have been the only Canadian United Empire Loyalist to have been killed in the Battle of Waterloo. This is the first instance of allowing any

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<sup>82</sup> See other notes on the house of Barachastalain and the Macnabs at Waterloo

colonial monument to be erected in that great Valhalla of the British Empire. His Waterloo medal has been presented to the Toronto Museum by Mrs. Eleanor Macnab, widow of Canon Alexander Wellesley Macnab of Toronto, his great-nephew. Also in the museum on Bloor Street, Toronto are Captain Alexander Macnab's watch and sword worn at Waterloo and some buttons worn by Archibald Macnab of Macnab handed down to his daughter, Sarah-Anne "Miss Macnab of Macnab" and given to Canon Arthur Wellesley Macnab when visiting her in Florence. Captain Alexander had no heirs other than his nephews.

Alexander, the writer's grandfather, previously mentioned, became a Civil Engineer in Canada. He was born at Belleville, Ontario in 1836. He began his career in 1853 on the engineering staff of the Great Western Railway (now forming part of the Grand Trunk) then in course of construction. In 1861 he received from the Imperial Government the appointment of surveyor of Public Works in the Island of Grenada, West Indies. In 1865 he became Chief Engineer to the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia. In 1872 he received the additional appointment of chief Engineer of the Maintenance of the Way Department of the Inter-colonial Railway, about 750 miles in length. After a visit to England for his health he returned to Canada to run the management, engineering and otherwise, of the Prince Edward Island Railway, but he was obliged to take a rest for the sake of his health and for ten years lived in England. In 1887 he became chief engineer to a Mr. T.G. Walker then engaged in heavy contracts concerning the Berry Dock and Railways, the Buenos Aires harbor works, the Preston Docks and the Manchester ship Canal. He died in 1891 whilst engaged on the Manchester Ship Canal contract. He had married Elizabeth Gilpin Smith, daughter of a St. John's New Brunswick Banker in 1863 and had three sons and a daughter. His wife and family all accompanied him to England and never returned to Canada, except for visits, after his death.

His eldest son Colonel Allan James (the writer's father) was born in 1864 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was educated at Winchester College, England. He received his medical training at King's College Hospital where he was a House Surgeon to Lord Lister. He became an F.R.C.S. and joined the Indian Medical Service in 1890. He saw active service at Hazara 1891, the relief of Chitral 1895, N.W. Frontier Campaign of 1897-98 and Somaliland in 1902-03; was surgeon to the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, Regimental medical officer to the Guides' Infantry; and on the outbreak of World War I he saw service in France, Palestine and Syria where he was successively A.D.M.S of the division and D.D.M.S. of a Corps, the Desert Mounted Corps and Northern Force. He was mentioned three times in dispatches and was made a C.B. in 1918 and a C.M.G. the following year. He returned to India after the war on Sir Charles Monro's staff, then C-in-C in India, and retired in 1921. He married in 1895 Honora, daughter of Lieutenant General Sir Lewis Dening, K.C.B., D.S.O., and had two daughters and two sons. Only two survive with heirs; Mrs. Elsie O'Neill and myself. In World War II he returned to work in uniform with various duties in connection with the training of medical personnel and met the writer and his family at Southampton on their arrival from abroad in 1946. He was still in uniform at the age of 82. He died the following year.

The second son Arthur Alexander, born 1867, died 1936, was a solicitor<sup>83</sup> in the City of London who never married. The third son Colin Lawrence, born 1870, was gazetted into the Border Regiment, specially promoted into the Northumberland Fusiliers and again specially promoted to command the Royal Sussex Regiment. In the South African

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<sup>83</sup>In Britain, a Solicitor is a lawyer who prepares legal documents, gives legal advice and, in the lower courts only, speaks on behalf of clients.

*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*



War of 1899 - 1901 he took part in the relief of Ladysmith and the battles of Colenso, Vaal Krantz, Spion Kop and Pieter's Hill, being mentioned three times in dispatches and given the Brevet<sup>84</sup> of Major for his services. In India he took part in operations against the Afridi and Mohmand tribesman 1912 - 1913. Promoted Brigadier General in 1915 he commanded the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade in the Mesopotamia Campaign and later 201 Infantry Brigade in France, and was awarded the C.M.G. before illness - from which he died in 1917 at the early age of 47 - put an end to what had promised to be a very distinguished Army career. He married Beatrice, daughter of the Reverend W.B. Bliss of Wicken, Essex, descended from a well known Canadian Branch of the family, and had two sons, the late Brigadier Sir Geoffrey Macnab K.C.M.G., C.B. and Maurice who farmed for many years in Anglesy and died in 1963.

Geoffrey, born 1899, was gazetted into the Royal Sussex Regiment in 1919 and was given accelerated promotion into the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders in 1931. At the outbreak of World War II he was British Military Attaché in Bucharest. From there he rejoined his regiment as second in command taking part in operations in the Western Desert, Greece and Crete where he was taken prisoner. After severe illness and operations in Germany he was repatriated and subsequently commanded the School of Military Intelligence and the British Military Mission to Hungary, having been promoted Brigadier. He then became Brigadier General Staff Intelligence at Middle East Headquarters and then successively British Military Attaché in Rome and Paris. He retired in 1954. He was awarded the C.B. in 1951, C.M.G. in 1955 and K.C.M.G. in 1962. In 1930 he married Norah, daughter of H.A. Cramer

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<sup>84</sup>A commission promoting a military officer to a higher rank without increase of pay and with limited exercise of the higher rank, often arranged as an honor immediately before retirement.  
*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

Roberts of Folkestone, Kent. They had no children. From 1957 he was for sometime employed by the British Government as Secretary of the Government Hospitality Fund.

The fourth and last child of Alexander (the writer's grandfather) was Mary Winifred, born 1873, died 1947. She married Walter Bellhouse of Altrincham, Cheshire and had one daughter, Betty, and a son, Michael who is a steel executive married and with children.

To return to the direct line: Colonel Allan James' (my father) eldest surviving daughter, Elsie, married Squadron Leader W.H.L. O'Neal who was killed in the R 101 disaster in 1932. They had a daughter Molly, (since married to Peter Earle of Itchen Abbas, Hampshire, with three daughters and a son), and a son, Patrick, killed in action in the R.A.F. during the war. The Colonel's second daughter Barbara (deceased) married Lieutenant Colonel Stockley of the Indian Army and had one son John Allan Veasy D.F.C. also killed in action in the R.A.F. My father's eldest son Alex died unmarried in 1934.

This leaves the writer as the present Representor of the Barravorich Macnabs. He is married to Margaret, only daughter of C.M. Treadwell, late of Meopham, Kent, and they have a son John Alexander Hamish at present unmarried, and a daughter Margaret Ann Honoria married to Captain Edward Arundell of the Somerset and Cornwall Light Infantry.

It will be seen from this record that the writer's son, Hamish, is at present the last of the Barravorich Macnabs in the male line.<sup>85</sup>

**The House of Macnab of Barachastalain**  
This account is a shortened version of the one written by the Late Ian Macnab of Barachastalain, P.R.O.I., R.E. for the Clan Society Newsletter of 1961

The Macnabs of Barachastalain, Hereditary Armourers and Standard

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<sup>85</sup> To be found on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings as Barr a Chalstealain near Dalmally, on the far western edge.

Bearers of the Chiefs of the Clan and fourth senior Cadet Branch are together with Barravorich one of the two Argyll Branches of the Clan. They claim descent from Duncan, second son of Finlay, who succeeded Gilbert of Bovain, the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief (See "note" in Appendix B)

Duncan was born c.1400. When his elder brother Patrick (see Appendix B) succeeded Finlay, Duncan and his brothers had, in accordance with custom, to fend for themselves. Tradition says that having great natural skill, he chose to become a maker of swords and armor and went to Italy to perfect his craft.

His younger brother, Malcolm also went abroad, accompanying "The Laird of Glenurchy"<sup>86</sup> to fight the Moors in Aragon.

On completion of his apprenticeship, Duncan returned to Scotland and in 1440, he was commissioned by the Lady of "Glenurchy" to make the iron work and to supervise the building of Kilchurn Castle, while Sir Duncan Campbell was still in Spain crusading against the Moors. So he built his house and forge at Barr-a-Chaistealain, the Hill of the Castles, above where Dalmally now stands. The castles were three Pictish Brochs,<sup>87</sup> one of which can still be traced and is marked on Ordinance maps as a fort. He achieved a considerable reputation as an armorer and sword smith and is said to have made swords for the Kings of Scotland.

It is sometimes claimed that Duncan was the son of an earlier chief and that his descendants practiced their craft for seven centuries. The guidebook to St. Conan's Kirk, Loch Awe, describes the carved stalls in the chancel, which "show the full coat-of-arms complete with crests and badges of the chiefs who in the old days held land in the neighborhood" and included in the list of eight is Macnab of Barachastlain. After the name, it adds in parenthesis

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<sup>86</sup> Glen Orchy on the modern maps.

<sup>87</sup> Hilltop forts built by the Pictish peoples who occupied Scotland in prehistory

"a family of Smiths who lived above Dalmally for 600 years and helped to build Kilchurn Castle".

On the other hand, John Hay Allan, who published "Bridal of Caolchairn" (Kilchurn) in 1822, speaks of a visit to Glenorchy Kirkyard where he saw Duncan's gravestone incised and then still decipherable with his initials, a hammer, a pair of pincers and a Highland galley as indeed were the gravestones of such of his descendants who were buried there. He describes it as "a stone who's device, aided by oral tradition, has perpetuated the memory of him over whom it was laid. Duncan Macnab the Smith, who in 1440 assisted in the rebuilding of the Castle Caolchairn and was ancestor of the Macnabs of Barachastlain. His memory is still remarkable in the glen". The words "oral tradition" are important, for Malcolm, the last of the race of sword smiths to live on the hill was still there. He died in 1828 aged ninety.

This agrees with the tradition I had from my father. My father was born in 1847 and when a boy in Oban, knew Glenorchy well and many of the old people; and Highland memories are long. For nearly four hundred years, Duncan's descendants practiced the art and craft of armory, handing it on from generation to generation. Some accounts say they were hereditary armourers and jewelers to the Campbells of Breadalbane. They certainly worked for them as indeed they did for all who wanted good craft.

Their young were unruly at times. In 1621 Patrik McAgowin (Mac-a-Gobhainn, son of the smith), was sued by Malcolm McOldonycat (Mac Mhol Domhaich, son of the servant of the Lord) "*for striking him with ane sword and for hurting of his hand, also for spoyleing him of his bow and durk and taking away Xxs from out of his purse. The Assysis having tryit and examinit this blood and wray, convictit the defender in blood and the persewar in trubulance*". The Black Book of Taymouth records two more such misdemeanors for which Patrik had to

find canton for his good behavior in "fourtie pundes<sup>88</sup> money".

Eleven years later when he had succeeded his father and become Patrik Gow (Gobha, the smith) another entry states: "*Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurghay, Kinght sets to Patrik Gow - for the shortest liver of the two - the two merklands of Barrachastellan*".

Patrick's son styled himself Donald McNuer of Barachastalain, Clachan Dysart McNeur is possibly some variant of Mac Dighre or perhaps McNair (Heir) for Patrik his father must have been approaching eighty or more when he died in 1681. Clachan Dysart means the place of the High Gods and is the old name for where Dalmally now stands.

Donald McNuer died in 1690, leaving three sons, Patrik, John and Calum. It was this Patrik's son, another Donald; on who's death the prophecy of the tree came true. There was a vast elm by the smithy at the foot of the hill and it had been prophesied long before that when this tree fell, then would the last of the sword smiths die and his sons and their sons would scatter, some even to the ends of the earth. Donald grew old. One night, there arose a mighty storm. The gale came sweeping down the glen while up on Barachastalain, at the height of the storm, the old man lay dying. In the morning, the tree lay before the smithy and the sons mourned their father.

Donald died after the Forty-five and by then, with the ban on wearing of swords and of the kilt, the day of the Highland swordsmith was over. Before the Forty-five, there were sons, brothers, nephews and cousins all working, some in the foundry and others on the farm. Some went to fight for Prince Charles with a body of Breadalbane men under Campbell of Glenlyon, for there were Campbells on both sides as there were Macnabs. Others settled elsewhere or went soldiering.

Donald had four sons, Patrik Dow, Donald, Alexander (my great-great-grandfather) and Malcolm. Patrik Dow's daughter married a Duncan Ferguson and

they went to North Carolina. Their great-grandson, General Willard Ferguson of the U.S. army, died in 1937. Donald's son, Duncan, served at Waterloo and was made Deputy Commissary General on going to Canada in 1832 in connection with the building of the Rideau Canal. His grandson, Colonel Alexander James Macnab Ret. U.S. army, died in 1956. He was *de jure* Representer and Chieftain of the House of Barachastalain, although he never matriculated the arms.

Alexander (my ancestor) went no further than Oban but his grandson my grandfather was shipwrecked and drowned on his way to the Far East in 1869. Another grandson, John, was Chairman of the Oriental Bank while my father spent a great part of his life with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank in China and the Philippines, where I myself was born. Incidentally, my great-uncle Peter built most of Oban on the coming of the railway.

Of the youngest of the four brothers, Malcolm, I know little except that he wrote Gaelic verse and was a friend of Duncan Ban MacIntyre.

The other Duncan who fought at Waterloo as an ensign in the 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot, was I believe, Malcolm's grandson but I have no written evidence of this. However, he is buried with his forebears in Glenorchy. He left a daughter Christina.

In 1792, Robert Heron in his "Observations" tells of being shown by Donald and Malcolm a coat of mail and two headpieces made by their forefathers. These may have been taken away by Patrik Dow's son, Alexander, who lived in Barran. As head of the Family, he was justified in doing so. He too, is buried in Glenorchy with the Macnab Arms carved on his tombstone. It is said that at one time he possessed the m/s of Macpherson's Ossian.

This Alexander's son, John, left the forge and smithy to a McNichol one of who's descendants once told me that when he was a boy, he used to see in the smithy an old broadsword hanging on the wall and left there by the Macnabs. John's family died out, except for a Peter, the illegitimate son of one of

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<sup>88</sup> Forty pounds cash money

his daughters. Peter took the name of MacNab although his father was a McGregor. He had a son, the Rev. John McNab, Minister of Skegness, who died in 1939.

Years ago, I used to have a cutting from the "Oban Times" reproducing a drawing of the interior of the house by a geologist, St. Foud, who went there to see the chain mail and other relics. Now the house has gone for its stones were used for the cottages of the Irish Navvies who built the railway. These too are now in ruins with most of the stones taken away. The descendants of Duncan are scattered, the railway runs over the land they farmed and sheep and cattle graze among the ruins on the hill. The prophecy of the tree has been fulfilled.

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Iain, the author of this story was born on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1890 in the Philippines. He matriculated the Arms of Barachastalain in 1958. He died on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1967 in London. During the First World War, he served with the Glasgow Highlanders until commissioned into the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. In 1916, he was invalided out after being blown up at the battle of Loos. In the Second World War he was an Air Raid warden during the blitz on London and then served in the Royal Air Force until once again invalided out in 1944.

He took great pride in the fact that there had been an artist-craftsman in every succeeding generation of his family for certainly over four hundred years. He was himself an artist and engraver of great repute. Those who would like to know more about him and the Barachastalain family, should acquire the book by Albert Gerrett called "Wood Engravings and Drawings of Iain Macnab of Barachastalain" published by Midas Books

The present representer of the family is Ian's brother, Hector Archibald Macnab of Barachastalain.

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"Other Notes on the House of Barachastalain"

## Waterloo

Four Macnabs were officers at Waterloo. In addition to the two Duncan of the Barachastalain family, there was Captain Alexander Macnab of the 30<sup>th</sup> Foot, who belonged to the Barravorich House. He was A.D.C. to Picton<sup>89</sup> and was killed with him. Fighting on the other side, was the head of the French Macnabs who, it is said, was A.D.C. to Napoleon<sup>90</sup>. He was taken prisoner and there is a nice story that the English regiment, who had captured him, wanted to shoot him as a traitor. Duncan then a Captain in the Commissariat, stormed into their mess full of indignation. They said "But he was fighting against the English". Duncan replied: "Dammit. We've always fought against the English since the days of Wallace". Not quite a true statement but it worked. One likes to think this story is true.

In the census return for 1872, there were at Barachastalain: Males 9, Females 16. So it must have been a sizable place.

## The Dundurn Branch

Robert Macnab (14<sup>th</sup> Chief) and Anna Campbell of Glenorchy (sister of the first Earl of Breadalbane<sup>91</sup>) had seven

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<sup>89</sup> Sir Thomas Picton (1758-1815) British general, one of Wellington's principal subordinates in the Peninsular War. He was severely wounded at Quatre Bras but concealed his wound and retained command of his troops, and at Waterloo, two days later was shot through the head by a musket ball and killed. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>90</sup> Aid-de-Camp, on Napoleon's staff such officers were frequently of high military qualifications, and acted both as his "eyes" and as the interpreters of his mind to subordinate commanders, even on occasion exercising a delegated authority. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>91</sup> Grey John Campbell of Glenorchy (1635-1717) described as "cunning like a fox, wise as a snake and slippery as an eel."

sons. One of them, who's name probably was Robert, had a son also called Robert, who while serving in the Army in Canada left behind him a son called Allan (after his grandfather's brother Allan, who died as an officer in the Army at the age of nineteen and was buried in the churchyard at Tarland, in Aberdeenshire). Robert, on his return to Scotland, became the Forester of the Royal Forest of Glenartney, and lived at Dundurn. He married Jean Stewart of Ardvorlich; they had a son who married and three daughters who never married. The last surviving member of this family accompanied her half nephew Sir Allan to the Burial Island at Killin in 1842 and pointed out to him who was buried in which grave. The portrait of Jean Stewart and her Macnab tea service, comprising a teapot, sugar bowl and milk jug are now in Ardvorlich House. There are letters in the MacGregor collection in Register House in Edinburgh from Robert to his uncle, General Archibald, brother of John 15<sup>th</sup> Chief) expressing the hope that his cousin Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) would begin to behave himself; also reference to his sending money for the support of 'the boy' in Canada.

The son Allan married Ann Napier in Quebec in 1792 and their son Allan Napier Macnab was born on 19 February 1798. In the war of 1812--13, he served with his father and then became a sailor, a carpenter, an actor, and finally a lawyer. His father, who died in 1830, became Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Assembly. He married Elizabeth Brooks, and his children Robert Allan and Anne Jane were born in 1823 and 1825. Their mother died in 1825. In 1832, when Cholera broke out in Hamilton Jail, he stood bail and secured the temporary release of the debtors.

In 1829 he refused to answer questions in the House of Assembly about an effigy of the New Governor, Sir John Colborne and was sent to prison for a fortnight. This made him a martyr and helped his election to Parliament of the United Canadas as member for Wentworth, which he represented for the next 27 years. He became leader of the Opposition in Parliament from 1841 to 1854 when he

became Prime Minister, until Sir John MacDonald replaced him on the resignation of the Cabinet in 1856. He then became Speaker of the Assembly.

In the Mackenzie rebellion of 1837, a clash between the landed gentlemen and industrialists, with their vested interests, he gathered together the "Men of Gore" and routed the rebels in Toronto. He then went to the Niagara frontier and saw the American ship *Caroline* moored off the American fort. He ordered it to be cut out, which was duly effected and the ship sent in flames over the Niagara Falls. That was the end of the rebellion, despite American indignation. In 1838 Queen Victoria knighted him and made him a baronet. The Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords said that it was owing to the 'loyalty, zeal and active intelligence of Sir Allan Macnab that the Canadas had been preserved to the British Crown.'

In 1834 his only son was killed in a shooting accident. In 1831 he had married Mary Stuart. Earlier, in 1830 onwards, he had started and completed the building of Dundurn Castle<sup>92</sup>, where in 1855 his daughter Sophia married Viscount Bury, later the Earl of Albemarle. Six years later his youngest daughter married George the second son of Sir Dominick Daly. In 1860 he entertained the Prince of Wales at Dundurn. He died on 8 August 1862, being looked after at the end by his sister-in-law, wife of his brother David and sister of his wife who had died in 1842.

In 1859, on 28 February, he had called on James Munro Macnabb and invited him to return with him to Canada in June. A hundred and eight years later, James Munro's grandson, Archibald (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief), attended the reopening celebrations of Dundurn Castle, for which the Corporation of Hamilton had voted about half a million dollars, in gratitude for the bringing of the Great Western Railway to the City and the foundation of its prosperity - negotiations in which Sir Allan had played a considerable part.

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<sup>92</sup> Located in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

A full account of the colorful life and varied career of this famous man appears in two books, (1) by Rev. T.M. Bailey, published by W.L. Griffin Ltd., of Toronto, (2) 'Macnab of Dundurn', by Marion Macrae - Clarke Irwin & Co. Ltd., - 1971, Marion Macrae's book is based on information supplied by the ninth Earl of Albemarle and from two deed boxes of Macnab papers missing for over sixty years.

A man exceedingly proud of his heritage, Sir Allan fought against and overcame the financial hardships of his early years, finally acquiring a fine piece of ground where he set himself up as a landed gentleman, building the magnificent Regency type mansion he called Dundurn. This was a fitting residence for the lineal head of the Macnabs of Dundurn; he even constructed a family burying place nearby that he called Inchbuie.

His pride and ambitions were certainly influenced at an impressionable age by meeting The Macnab - Archibald, the 17<sup>th</sup> Chief - who traveled in full Highland dress, accompanied by a piper and two personal bards, much impressing Montreal society. However, Sir Allan was aware of and secretly deplored the true character of the exiled Chief. The incident is quoted where on seeing the bold signature 'The Macnab' in a hotel register where the Chief had stayed, Dundurn signed himself 'The Other Macnab'. By 1850 their friendship became strained over financial transactions and soon after that the Chief left for Scotland.

In 1861 he turned his enthusiasm to the affairs of the Clan, Seeking to establish his claim to the Chiefship, following the death of Archibald, in Florence. Packing all the relative documents in a tin box he sailed for Britain in the North Briton, which was wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Although Sir Allan was safely rescued, the valuable papers were lost, a tragedy for Clan Historians as well as for his own ambitions. He died in 1862. Perhaps the Clan motto "*Timor Omnis Abesto*" gave him that sublime confidence and

doggedness that brought realism into almost all his dreams.

The mansionhouse - or castle - of Dundurn stands today as a monument to Sir Allan, restored, renovated and housing every relic of his life's work that could be preserved in the interests of the history of Canada.

### **The Acharn Branch<sup>93</sup>**

On 28 July 1553 Donald Macnab, son of Archibald Macnab in Acharn, was in possession of Acharn. On 18 April 1568 John Bane McGillespie Macnab married Isobel MacFarlane, 'mayer' of Patrick Dow Mor; and on 12 November 1573 John Bane was sued by Finlay (10<sup>th</sup> Chief) and on 12 October 1574 by Finlay's brother and successor, Alexander Macnab of Macnab (11<sup>th</sup> Chief) for the rents of Sleoch and Acharn. Alexander's younger son, Patrick Dow More, then succeeded to the two-merk land of Acharn and the twenty-shilling<sup>94</sup> land of Sleicht (Sleoh), of which John Bane McGillespie had received a tack<sup>95</sup> on 18 April 1568. This had been surrendered to Patrick and on 15 April 1605 Gilbert succeeded his father in this tack.

The eldest of Gilbert's three sons, Archibald, is shown in the Perthshire Rent-roll of 1649 as being assessed to £45 for Acharn. He married a daughter of Grahm of Duchray Castle and Rednock and Blairinack.

Archibald had two sons, John and Duncan. John was infeft<sup>96</sup> on 6 October 1655 in

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<sup>93</sup> Acharn is located on the south side of the river Dochart a mile or so southwest of Kinnell House.

<sup>94</sup> This derives from the Norse method of measuring land against a standard based on the weight of silver. Thus twenty penny land amounted to an 'ounce land' and eight ounces then became 'one pound (one merk land.' *The Lords of the Isles*, by Ronald Williams

<sup>95</sup> In Scots law, a tack is a lease. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

<sup>96</sup> Infefit = to be granted the fief of...

the two-merk land<sup>97</sup> of Achaharne on a charter dated 4 October 1655 from Finlay Macnab of Bovaine (12<sup>th</sup> Chief). The Acharn Bowl of 1672 in the Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh, dates from this time. Failing John, the grant by Alexander Macnab of Bovain (13<sup>th</sup> Chief) was to John's half brother Duncan, by his father's second marriage. The boys must have been very young at the time. It was not until 13 July 1731 that Patrick, John's son, was granted a Precept of Clare Constal by John Macnab of Bovain, (15<sup>th</sup> Chief).

On 15<sup>th</sup> February 1731 Patrick was prosecuted for a clandestine marriage performed by Mr. Alexander Comrie, the deposed minister of Kenmore. There is no further trace of this family.

Gilbert's second son James was the ancestor of the Macnabs of Newton.

His third son Duncan Dow, on 25 February 1619, received certain lands in the lordship of Stragartney from Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, through Finlay Macnab of Bovain as attorney to Sir Duncan. Duncan Dow married a daughter of Campbell of Linia and had two sons, James and John.

James married his cousin Helen Macnab of Innishewan. His son John had three sons, the eldest of whom married a Miss Macdonald of Glenaladale. This son (Alexander) died young. James also had two daughters, Margaret and Catherine, one of whom married John Macdonald of Bunadap and had four sons and three daughters.

John's second son Donald was the ancestor of the French Branch. His third son Duncan married Mary, daughter of Campbell of Drumsynie, and Mry, sister of the first Earl of Breadalbane. Duncan's daughter was alive in 1787.

Patrick, who was granted the Precept in 1731 may have had a brother John in Acharn who married Anne Campbell of Tuerachan and Innisdamsh. She was baptized in 1692. They had six sons and two daughters; both daughters died unmarried. Of the sons, Duncan (baptized

1728) married Janet McNaughton of Glendochart and had four sons, John, Robert, Alexander and Peter, and two daughters, of whom one died young and the other married a McCallum in Kintyre. The second son James died unmarried. John, the third son, married a daughter of James Walker in Acharn and had three sons, Alexander, Patrick (deceased) and Robert (unmarried in 1803). The fourth Alexander (baptized 1731). Who was alive in 1805, baillie of Inverneill and Ross, married Christian, daughter of Nicol McNicol in Killin. They had a son, Major Robert of the 91<sup>st</sup> Regiment 1772-1833. The fifth, Patrick, was unmarried. The sixth, Robert (baptized 1737 was Collector in Argyll.

#### **The Newton Branch**

This branch was descended from Patrick Mor Macnab in Acharn. It was mentioned by Archibald as being nearer to the senior line than to the Arthurstone Branch. An explanation of this has been suggested.

Archibald, who surrendered the feu of Mullion in 1714, disappears from history; but if he had married and had a daughter Katherine, she might have been the same as the Katherine McNab, relict<sup>98</sup> of the deceased John Stewart of Bennoid. She had Sasine in 1761 of some land from her new husband, Archibald Macnab of Newton. Since she had not changed her maiden name, she could have carried on the succession to her children.

The Newton branch was descended from Gilbert, the son of Patrick Mor Macnab in Acharn, and the daughter of Buchanan of Mochaster near Callander. Gilbert married a daughter of Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers, which would account for the family having lands in Strathfillan.

Gilbert's second son James married a daughter of the laird of Dunblean (according to the French pedigree table). His son was also James, late wadsetter of the Kirkton of Strathfillan. He held land in Marchfield and Blaerinack, and married Jean MacFarlane. He died before 1743. His son

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<sup>97</sup> See previous footnote!

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<sup>98</sup> Relict = surviving spouse



Archibald of Marchfield and Newton married Katherine Stewart (nee Macnab) about 1761

His son John Macnab of Newton, W.S., was apprenticed to John Davidson on 4 July 1783 and was served as heir general to his father Archibald Macnab of Newton on 23 June 1800. John died on 4 August 1801.

Ann Macnab was served as heir of provision-general to her father John Macnab, W.S., on 27 January 1803. On 27 June 1822 she married the Rev. J.H. Sperling (see Burkes "*Landed Gentry*") and died on 27 December 1846, leaving issue. On 14 September 1822 she granted land in Balquhiddier to her sister Charlotte Jane, who was still alive and unmarried at Old Newton, near Doune, in 1863.

The Newton Macnabs have died out in the male line.

#### **The French Branch**

Donald, the second son of John Macnab of Acharn, married Anne Shower in 1740. She was the only daughter of Edward Shower, Mariner, and Tacksman<sup>99</sup> of Lurgavoin. He had met his wife while on Military duty in Exeter. His father-in-law took part in the rebellion of 1745, in the course of which he was taken prisoner and confined at Perth, where he was forgotten in prison and died of hunger. His daughter, on 10 August 1752, was served as heir to her father of Lurgavoin, which lies at the west end of the Kirkton of Callandr in Menteith, on a feu charter to Edward Shower from James Drummon of Perth and a bond of £100 from Edward Shower to MacNab in Inneshevan.

Donald, who was born about 1715 and had entered the army at the age of eighteen, retired in 1741, and took the farm of Brae Leny near the Bracklinn Falls. After his death his son Alexander enjoyed the possession of the same farm.

Donald with his military education and physical strength played a considerable part in the battle of Falkirk.

After the battle of Culloen he was a fugitive and took refuge in Ben Cruachan, where the daughter of the famous Macnab armorer of Dalmally brought him food. One day when he was visiting his house he was surprised by a party of soldiers who had come to hunt for him. He leapt out of a back window, seized a billet of wood, came round to the door, slew two of the soldiers and made good his escape. His name is to be found in the list of proclaimed fugitives as Donald of Braeleing

On the occasion of the fair at Dound he met a sergeant of the garrison at Stirling, who had been deputized to arrest a certain Donald Macnab, whom, he had been told, would be found at the fair. Donald remarked that he knew him well, and if the sergeant would dine with him at the inn, the infamous Donald would be delivered into his hands. Arrived at the inn, Donald called for whisky and invited the sergeant to join him while they waited for their dinner.

*'You know the custom of the country',* remarked Donald; *'Before having a drink we shake hands. Here's to your good health'*, and he gave his hand to the unsuspecting English sergeant. However, Donald squeezed his victim's hand with such force that he smashed his fingers and blood spurted from under the nails. *'I promised to put Donald's hand in yours - and you have my hand for I am Donald!'* So saying he fled, leaving the unhappy sergeant to nurse his mutilated hand. After the amnesty Donald settled down on his farm and brought up a numerous family.

Edward Daniel was born in 1740. He had two sisters, Jane and Catherine, and three brothers, Alexander, James and John. It seems certain that this Alexander was born in 1745, and was saved from the redcoats as a baby by his nurse, and became ancestor of the Epping Branch.

Anne Shower was a Roman Catholic and grieved to bind herself to a Protestant family. At the age of twelve her eldest son Edward Daniel was sent to the Scottish College at Douai, in France, to become a priest; but when his education

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<sup>99</sup> Tacksman = leaseholder see footnote above

was complete, he sought a commission as an ensign in the Royal Scottish Regiment<sup>100</sup> in which his uncle Duncan was a captain. He served throughout the Seven Years' War and in the campaign of Hanover he was wounded by a bullet in the leg, which never afterwards healed properly, and caused him much trouble in his later years.

In the peace of 1763 the officers of the regiment were put on half pay. Some returned to Scotland. Lord Nairn and Lord Lewis Drummond persuaded Edward Daniel to remain in France, and suggested that he should enter the Bodyguard of King Louis XV. He was the last Scotsman to enter this corps, twenty-four years of age, five feet nine in height and a fine figure of a man.

He married Marguerite Suzanne Verquillot of Sancerre, the heiress of the lands of Ste. Bouize, the daughter of Sylvain Verquillot. In 1782 he was named a Knight of St. Louis. M. le Bain, of Espagnac, nominated him to the charge of waters and woods in the county of Sancerre. Each year he spent three months at the Court of Versailles, three more at the depot at Beauvais, and six months on leave with his family.

During the Terror he was accused of Correspondence with Pitt, the British Prime Minister, by Legendre, the deputy of La Charite. He was taken to Bourges and thence dispatched to Paris with M. de Gamaches and M. Cardinet de Poinvilles. On the way, between Aubigny and Argent, one of the guards offered to let them escape, but M. de Gamaches protested that he was too ill to escape with them, so the others refused to leave him behind. In Paris the other two were condemned and executed, but Edward Daniel, while under sentence of death, obtained a pair of scissors and cut off his own hair. When he was called out for execution, his name was ill written and

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<sup>100</sup> One of the "foreign" regiments in the French Royal army of this period. These regiments were "foreign" not because they were recruited from other countries but composed of largely of natives of foreign countries = Royal Scots Regiment, Regiment of Swiss Guards, etc.

indecipherable, so he did not answer and was passed over. The next day the revolution of the Ninth of Thermidor took place; executions were suspended, and his life was saved.

In prison he made friends with Clery, the valet de chambre of Louis XVI, who gave him some articles, which had belonged to the King, notably his lorgnette, the last object from which he had been separated. This was carefully preserved in the family.

After his release Edward Daniel retired to the small house of St. Bouize, and occupied himself with the education of his son Edward Alexander, who on 1 May 1810 married Marie Rose Aimee de Francieres. He also had two daughters Henriette, who died in 1787 aged twenty, and Marguerite Suzanne, who married Sylvain Gaillant, Lord of Guardefort.

Edward and Marie Rose had seven children, three sons and four daughters. The elder son, Edward, born in October 1811, married in Paris on 23 July 1850 Marie Beatrice de Panfentyou de Cheffontaine, daughter of the Governor of Bourbon Island, and died on 25 September 1885. Of their children, Maurice, the writer of popular songs, and Donald were twins born on 4 January 1856. They died unmarried on 4 January 1893 and 24 December 1889.

The daughter Clothilde was born on 1 October 1857. The youngest son, Allan was born on 23 October 1859 and died 20 August 1891. The third son Georges was born on 16 April 1858. He married Adeline Gerard and died on 2 October 1902. They had three sons.

The eldest, Allen, was born in 1892 and married Gisele Gerin. He died about 1945, leaving a daughter. The second Alexander, was born on 14 January 1896. He had a son and a daughter, both of whom are married. The youngest, Donald, born on 13 May 1898 is married, but has no children.

Now, Edward Alexander's four daughters, Phillipe, Henriette, Anna and Sarah married respectively M. Chenu, M. Dissander de la Vilatte, M. Boursault du Tronçay and M. de Beuregard. His younger son Alexander Henri was born on 4

October 1818. He married in Paris 1855 Mrie-Augustine d'Anglars. He served as a Forest Inspector and died on 17 September 1904 and was buried in St. Bouize. He had two children, Noeme, born 1855, who died unmarried on 11 March 1905: his only son Jean Francois Charles, born on 23 December 1859, Married Ernestine Champetier de Ribes on 7 May 1884. He became a Colonel of Infantry and died in 1936. His widow was still alive in 1962 at the age of 100, but died shortly afterwards.

They had two children. Marie Paulle Jeanne was born on 25 September 1885 and married George Tipsier on 9 July 1912 and they had three children, daughters Helene, Colette and Nicole, born in 1913, 1917 and 1920, also a son Robert born in 1925. The second child Mrie Edouard Jacques, was born on 22 December 1886 and married Germaine le Chatelier on 31 May 1920. He won the Croix de Guerre in the 1914-18 war and was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. He died on 20 December 1961. They had six children.

Antoinette was born on 2 March 1921, married in 1942 M. le Comte Louis de Rouville. They have six children.

Madeline, born in 1925, is a nun in Canada.

Jean, born in 1925, married Denise Frange. They have three children, Bernard, Monique and Anne, born respectively about 1947, 1950 and 1953/

The third daughter Marguerite was born in 1927 and died in 1959.

The fourth daughter Therese was born in 1929

The second son Francis was born about 1936. He visited Kinnell House and is a Life Member of the Clan Society.

The principal family seat is at Santrages in the Department of Cher, but the family live for most of the year at 108 rues de Bac, Paris VII.

The detailed information about this branch has been preserved in an account written by Edward Macnab, who was born in 1811. His grandfather Edward Daniel was prevented by the Revolution, old age

and infirmity, and eventually his death in 1814 from returning to his native land. Since his uncle Duncan had returned to Scotland he had not seen anyone of his own name, although he had often seen Major Buchanan of Cambusmore and 'Mr Ophilan" (Olifant?) Of Condie. At last in 1814, a few days before his death, he was visited by Duncan Macnab, who belonged to the family of armourers of Dalmally (Barachastalain). He was also disappointed in not being able to accept a commission offered to him by Louis XVIII of a Sub-Lieutenancy in the Scottish Company at the Royal Bodyguard in June 1814, only a month before his death. He did, however, exact a promise from his son Edward Alexander that he should visit Scotland.

In 1820 Uncle Alexander (of Millbank) sent his son 'Sandy' to spend a year with his French relatives, who were to bring him back. Edward Alexander and his small son Edward took a month to reach Aberdeen.

They spent eight days in Paris, where they were present at the festivities for the baptism of Henri, Duke de Bordeaux. The small son was greatly impressed by his sight of Louis XVIII with his remarkable blue eyes, which he never forgot. They arrived in London just before the Coronation of George IV.

In Aberdeen they were met at the port by their uncle Alexander and his son-in-law 'Mr. Mellie'. At Westertown they found their aunt Mrs. Macnab and her seven daughters, and their cousin 'Stewart' and several friends. This was a great family reunion, never forgotten by the small boy, who recorded it all many years afterwards.

#### **The Epping Branch**

Donald Macnab and Anna Shower had a son Alexander. The records of the French Branch make it probable that this Alexander was the baby saved by his nurse from the redcoats in 1746. Perceval Humphry, of The Grove, Cophtholme, Sussex, who was born in 1867, communicated the following information.

The Humphrey pedigree table shows that MacNab of Kyllyin, born at Kinnell House and buried there, married a daughter of

Steward (added in the hand writing of Catherine Macnab/Bulley) of Stratherne. (This may be a reference to Eleyne Stuart, mother of the chiefs Finlay and Alexander. Their family consisted of Donald, Alexander, seven other sons and a daughter.

It is to be remembered that a French pedigree table calls the ancestor of the French Branch 'Edward Donald'; but the notes, including a copy of the manuscript by Edward Macnab (born 1811), call him 'Edward Daniel', which is probably correct. Donald may have been another brother. It is notable that the next generations of the Epping Branch contained the unusual name of Daniel.

Alexander was born in 1745 and died in Sheffield, Yorkshire, in September 1795, at Furnace Hill, near Scotland Street. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Oliver, Proctor of the City of Worcester and Eleanor Swift of Worcester. They had six children.

Alexander, the eldest, was born on 1 September 1780. In 1810 his address was 132 St. Martin's Lane, London. His first wife was Jane Farquharson, whose father lived in London, but had previously lived at Moulbaie in Scotland. They had a daughter Eliza, who married Francis Oliver French. His second wife was Mary Ann Barron, daughter of Barron, Esq. Of the Exchequer. They had two children, Mary (who married Hubert Williams, RA) and Donald.

The second child was William Macnab, of Ware, Hertfordshire, who married Harriet Heather. Their daughter Harriet Elizabeth married the Rev. Richard Parrott.

Alexander also had by his first wife a son, Alexander (probably the 'Sandie' who spent a year in France). He married Elizabeth Heron. On 7 December 1899 their son Alexander Heron McNab bequeathed a copy of 'Perthshire Illustrated', Volume II to his wife and to his daughter Eugenia Alexandre Heron McNab and Violet Elsie McNab. He died on 18 May 1905 at 131 Gleshurst Road, Brentford, Middlesex, aged 68 years, as reported by his daughter Eugenia. His grand-daughter is Miss A. Dreghorn, 7

Cuthbert Place, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. Alexander Heron McNab was an actor.

The next three children, Daniel, Archibald and Robert, died without issue.

Alexander, and Elizabeth's sixth son Daniel Robert McNab, of the Place, Epping, Essex was born in Sheffield on 4 June 1791. He married Mary, daughter of Swan Tabrum, of Jarvis Hall, Roothing, Essex. They had six children. In 1875 he died of Cholera, after retiring from fifty years of practice as a doctor.

He handed over to his son; but to avoid the risk of his son's carrying infection he visited a little girl patient and was found dead in the morning.

The eldest of the six children was Duncan Robert, of Epping, who married Hannah Challice and had four daughters, Clara, Annie Stuart, Hannah Challice and Jessie Theodora.

All these three, William Daniel Robert and Duncan Robert were doctors.

The Epping Branch died out in the male line with Alexander Heron McNab. Duncan, and Robert's brother William, died without issue.

They had four sisters; Elisabeth married Thomas Boycott of Exeter and had three children. Jessie Elisabeth, Henry Aden and Elisabeth.

William came next, and then Mary, who married George Murry Humphry, MO, FRS, of Cambridge. Their three children were Alfred Paget, Catherine and Edith. Alfred Paget had two sons, Martin George of Horham Hall, Essex, (see Burke's Landed Gentry) and Stewart, who has two sons, Alaric and Wallace Boycott McNab.

Jessie Oliver compiled the Pedigree table of the Epping Branch. She married Sir George's brother Joseph Thomas Humphry, born 10 December 1816, of Lincoln's Inn, on 29 December 1853, and had seven children, Hugh McNab, Laurence, Ethel, Catherine Maud, Janet Stewart, Perceval (who communicated this pedigree table) and Godfrey.

The youngest daughter Catherine married Ashburnham Bulley, who had changed his

name from Toll (see Sir C. Toll, Baronet-Burke's *Peerage*).

Jessie Oliver Humphry, of 26 Princes Square, recorded a note on 26 January 1895 as follows: "D.C. Macnabb Esq. Of Macnabb (Donald Campbell?), Arthurstone, Bracknell, lived formerly at Highfield Park, Heckfield, where tablets are in memory of his father and mother. His father succeeded to the Chieftainship after Archibald and Alan Macnabb's death, but the papers, which confirmed this, were lost in a shipwreck. He was descended from one of seven brothers. We think we are descended from another of the seven, but have no proof. My grandfather Alexander MacNab, Presbyterian minister of Sheffield (born 1745, died 1795) was saved after the rising of 1745 by his nurse "while he was quite an infant".

Sir Allan Macnab was wrecked in the North Briton and lost all his baggage when he was bringing the Clan records over from Canada. He and his daughter Sophia stayed with James Munro Macnabb at Highfield, but could not deliver the Clan records to him as Sir Allan had intended.

#### **The Seat of the Clan Chiefs**

The castle of Eilean Ran (Ellanryne) was situated on what used to be an island north of the River Lochay<sup>101</sup> and commanded the Port of Island Ran. All that is now left of it is a low ridge about 250 yards long running in a northeasterly direction from the north bank of the river Lochay just below the railway bridge. In time of flood it is once more an island; but the intervening ground has silted up and connects it with the castle of Finlarig. This was originally in the hand of the Drummonds of Stobhall, but was sold to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in 1503 and then became one of the principal Breadalbane strongholds. A rival castle within a quarter of a mile was not to be tolerated, and the English were instigated to burn Eilean Ran in 1654. Nothing now remains above ground. The stones were carried off to build the

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<sup>101</sup> See the aerial photograph

adjacent stonewalls, and the neighboring buildings; but the line of the circumvallation<sup>102</sup> can still easily be traced.<sup>103</sup>

Kinnell House thereafter became the headquarters of the clan. The original building can readily be discerned, since its walls are from three to five feet thick. When it became the seat of the Chief, more rooms were built to the east and in the eighteenth century, the two western rooms in the two upper story's were thrown into one with a raised ceiling and another large room was built out at the back overlooking the large walled garden, the south side of which is contained by the house in the middle. The gardener's house and dairy are to the east and the vinery to the west. The latter contains the famous Black Hamburg vine, planted in 1832 and at one time 190 feet long and considered to be the largest vine in the world. Though its branches at both ends have been cut back, it still produces about 60 bunches a year. The front of the house faces a little east of south and has lost one of its dormer windows as the result of the raising of the western room. This served as a bedroom for Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief). Its pillared alcove surmounted by three plaster masks of robber's heads commemorates the final victory over the Neishes, with the motto "Dreadnaught". In front of the vinery is a collection of millstones, querns, knocking stones and baptismal fonts, collected from the neighborhood. An avenue of beech and oak trees, 300 years old or more leads from the house up the hill to the south to a pillared entrance and to the west the main avenue from the Dochart Bridge runs through three other pairs of solid stone pillars, the last pair surmounted by a

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<sup>102</sup> Circumvallation, the act of surrounding with a rampart; a line of field fortifications consisting of a rampart or parapet with a trench. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 1980

<sup>103</sup> Refer to the map of Killin, which shows a semicircular arc of water about the location where the castle of Eilean Ran would have been located. *David Rorer*

pair of lions. In the field close to these, is a circle of six Standing Stones, like a miniature Stonehenge. In front of the gardener's house is a courtyard enclosed on the east and west by two ancient barns of great size, which now serve as a row of stables with a hayloft overhead and a garage. To the east on the bank of Loch Tay, at the boat house where Queen Victoria landed in 1842 on her way to Auchmore House, there used to be a battery of ten cannon with which she was welcomed by the then Marquis of Breadalbane. These are now in front of Kinnell House.

#### **Clan Burial Ground - Inchbuie<sup>104</sup>**

The island of Inchbuie is reached through an iron gate where the middle of the Dochart Bridge rests on the western tip of the Island. Opposite, to the west is the picturesque island of Garbh-Innis round which the waters of the Dochart come dashing down in a series of small cascades. The gate opens on to steps near which are two stone pillars like those leading to Kinnell House. The old accounts speak of two immense dragons crouched on top of these. Possibly these were the lions now on top of the last pair of pillars leading to Kinnell House<sup>105</sup>. Beyond the pillars is a stonewall with three open arches. The island slopes steeply on all sides to the river, which has cut a deep cleft through the rocky strata. It is divided into three sections by, firstly, an earthen ridge, and secondly, about 150 yards further on, an ancient stonewall. The whole island is about 350 yards long, and is covered with Scots pines, larches, beeches and sycamores. In the middle, lay an old iron fireplace, reputed to have come from Kinnell House. It has since disappeared. Beyond the stonewall lies the burial ground with a square stone enclosure, open to the sky and guarded by a massive iron gate.

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<sup>104</sup> See the engraving by Iain Macnab of Barachastlain

<sup>105</sup> There again the arms of the clan have two winged dragons as supporters. See the coat of arms pictured on the frontispiece.

The walls of the enclosure used to be surmounted with four stone balls and two antique stone heads on the middle of the eastern and western walls. Inside are fifteen graves in three rows of the Chiefs, some covered with slabs of stone and some merely mounds of earth. One slab bears a representation of a coffin and crossbones. Another has a hole drilled through it and bears a shield with the arms of Macnab of Bovain, now undecipherable and the initials F.M. and K.C. with the symbols of death and an inscription "This burial appertains to Finlay Maknab of Bovain" who died in 1573-4. His wife was Katherine Campbell of Glenorchy. Adjoining this is a slab of Mica schist with the effigy of a warrior in chain mail and with a round top to his helmet. This is supposed to have come from the shoulder of Ben Lawers<sup>106</sup> and to mark the grave of one of the earliest chiefs; but Sir Allan Macnab wrote that it marked the grave of Francis (16<sup>th</sup> chief) when he saw it in 1842 (see below). There is one later grave with the date 1834 of one who was not a chief. It bears the arms with a four-oared boat and a robber's head and the inscription "Sacred to the memory of Colin Macnab Esq., late of Suie, who died 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1832, aged 69 years". This humble tribute of affection is erected by his brother Allan Macnab, Ardeoniag. Outside the enclosure to the east are many stone slabs and mounds and two erect headstones to "Patrick Macnab in Taylor in Aucharn who died 1777" and "Dun McNab Likernside who died 1800 aged 18 years".

The prophecy of the Lady of Lawers, delivered in about 1680, that, when a great storm blew a branch of a pine tree against the trunk of another, and grafted it onto the trunk, the Macnabs would lose their lands, came true in 1828, after a great storm, which happened in about 1820. In 1849, the branch was still alive. Now that the Macnabs have come back, it has died; but it still hangs where it was.

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<sup>106</sup> Ben Lawers is a mountain near by. The names of many Scottish mountains begin with "Ben"

In the early summer, when the young green of the larches and beeches is first showing itself and again in the autumn, when the flaming splendor of the beech leaves contrasts most effectively with the pale yellow of the larches and the greenish black of the pines, it is easy to understand how Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) in his one known attempt to enter the hallowed bonds of matrimony, pleaded in vain with the object of his attentions that he owned the most beautiful burial ground in Scotland.

A letter from Sir Allan Macnab written the day after his visit (now with the Earl of Albemarle) reads: "8<sup>th</sup> June 1842. I visited Inchboye..... I enquired for James McGibbon a man of 78 years of age..... He keeps the key of the burial ground..... On entering within the wall the first slab to the left is Major General Archibald MacNab, Col. Of the 41<sup>st</sup> Regt. Of Foot aged 80 years. (The second slab) Francis MacNab aged 80 years (a full length figure of the Chief with their doubled edged sword and spear). Robert MacNab aged 45 years (on this stone there is a long description but I cannot read it). On his left lie his wife and two daughters. The third and last accompanied me to the spot - she wept bitterly."

A further letter of June 26<sup>th</sup> 1842 from Sir Allan Macnab to a colleague, also in the possession of the Earl of Albemarle reads: "There is a fine avenue of trees approaching the sacred spot. The first object which engaged my attention was a marble slab at the end of the avenue, which was inscribed "in memory of a man, all honor to his name, Lt. Allan McNab 92 Regt, who after serving his country in Holland, Portugal and Spain at last on the field of Almeida gloriously fell, 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1811. This stone was erected by his affectionate cousin, Archibald McNab". On entering within the wall, the first slab to the left was marked, Major General Archibald MacNab, Col. 41<sup>st</sup> Regt. Of Foot aged 81 years. Still farther on the left is the tombstone of my grandfather Captain Robert MacNab, with the inscription too effaced to be legible, and between these two graves lies Francis MacNab of MacNab aged 81

years. On the stone covering his grave is a full-length figure of the old chief with a double-edged sword in one hand and a spear in the other. Old McGibbon told me there were nine chiefs buried within the walls. On the left of my grandfather's tomb lies his wife "(Jean Stewart of Ardvorlich)" and daughter. The third and last of the family now living accompanied me to the spot and was much affected by the scene."

#### **The Present Chief**

James Charles Macnab of Macnab, the present (23rd) Chief, is the son of James Alexander, 21st Chief. He was born in 1926, educated at Radley College and at Ashbury College, Ottawa, Canada. He served in the RAF and Scots Guards 1944-45. In 1945 he was commissioned into the Seaforth Highlanders and served in India, Java and Singapore. In 1948 he joined the Colonial Service and served in the Federation of Malaya Police Force as Assistant and Deputy Superintendent. He retired in 1957 and farmed at Kinnell until he had to sell it and move to West Kilmany. He now works with an international financial conglomerate, the Hill Samuel Group.<sup>107</sup>

The Island of Inchbuie, containing the ancient Macnab Burial Ground, is the only remaining Clan land in Clan hands. The Chief retained it when he sold Kinnell, and recently conveyed it to Clan Macnab. To that end a Clan trust has been set up to assure its possession to the Clan in perpetuity, and as a burial place for Chiefs and their families.

#### **Cadet (junior) houses of Clan Macnab:**

Innishewan  
Dundurn  
The French Branch  
Barravorich Acharn  
The Epping Branch  
Barachastalain  
Newton  
Edinample

#### **Septs of The Clan an Aba**

In "The clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands" by Frank Adam

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<sup>107</sup> c 1977 I believe he now fully retired lives on his farm in Fife. David Rorer

and Innes of Learney (who was the Lord Lyon), septs of Clan Macnab are given as "Abbott, Abbotson, Gilfillan, Dewar and Macandeoir".

These are the normally recognized septs. Certain Dows, Gows, Baines, MacNairs, MacGowands, MacClagans etc. may also be septs of the Clan

Abbot or Abbotson are simply Anglicized renderings of MacNab.

Gilfillan has obvious connections with St. Fillan. The name means servant of St. Fillan

Dewar, means roughly "custodian" and is derived from the Gallic "Deoradh", a word originally meaning "stranger" or "wanderer", probably because they carried St. Fillan's relics far afield for special purposes. Later, the meaning of the word altered to "custodian". The relics they guarded were the Quigrich (Pastoral staff); the Bernane (chapel Bell), the Fergy (possibly St. Fillan's portable altar), the Mayne (St. Fillan's armbone), the Maser (St. Fillan's manuscript).

There were several Dewar families living in Strathfillan and Glendochart at the time of Bannockburn and before, each being responsible for a different relic. There is a Croftandeoir (Dewar's croft) shown on the 1832 plan of Kinnell Estate.<sup>108</sup>

In 1336, Alexander Menzies, Lord of Glendochart issued a missive confirming to "donald Mcsobrell Dewar Cogerach" part of the lands of Ewich in Strathfillan.

In 1428, an enquiry by the Ballie of Glendochart found that Finlay Jore (Doire or Dewar) should have for all time have a "boll" of meal from every inhabitant of Glendochart holding more than a half merkland<sup>109</sup> of ground.

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<sup>108</sup> Several of these crofts are marked on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings. Also see the article on the Dewar's and its accompanying map.

<sup>109</sup> See above for the definition of "Merk". *Merkland* refers to the amount of rent paid by the tenant. *David Rorer*

These rights were confirmed by James III by charter in 1487 to one Malise Doir.

In 1551, queen Mary issued an order assessing for tax "Malise Dewar, the forty shilling land of Ewich...". At that time there were five hereditary Dewar's with land in Strathfillan and Glendochart. Dewar quigrech at Ewich; Dewar Bernane at Suie; Dewar Fergy at Audilyne, Dewar Messer at Killin.

There are other Dewars who settled along Loch Tay and east to the area of Weem and Aberfeldy. Some of these regard themselves as part of Clan Menzies.

### **The Macandeoir**

The Mac-an-deoirs or Dewar's of Glendochart were the hereditary custodians of the *Bachuil*, crozier, or *cuigreach*<sup>110</sup> of St. Fillan. This crozier is a relic of the greatest antiquity, and also bore the designation of the *Fearachd*. Hence the Mac-an-deoirs were also known as *Deóraich-naFearachd*. The crozier of St. Fillan, of which the Dewars were the hereditary custodians, is one of the most venerable of Scottish relics. It dates back to the seventh century A.D. and is only exceeded in antiquity by the famous Coronation Stone of Destiny of Scone. The custody of the holy relic conferred some very important privileges on its custodians. These were confirmed and added to by King Robert the Bruce after the Battle of Bannockburn. Though on that occasion the Macnabs were opponents of the Bruce, the Dewars were present on the Scottish side and had the crozier along with them. It is traditionally reported that previous to the Battle of Bannockburn King Robert the Bruce and his army received the sacrament, during the administration of which the corzier of St. Fillan was elevated in full sight of the army. In 1314, as a thank offering for the victory on Bannockburn, King Robert erected a church at Tyndrum in Strathfillan, and dedicated it to St. Fillan. After the Reformation the

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<sup>110</sup> Another spelling is *Quigrich* and on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings can be found Dewar Quigrich's Croft, between Tyndrum and Crianlarich near St. Fillian's Priory.



crozier was faithfully guarded by its hereditary custodians, the Dewar's, and was passed on from father to son. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sept was broken up and left the country. Some of the emigrated to America, among them the custodian of the cuigreach, and so the relic was lost sight of for a time. Some years ago, however, Sir Daniel Wilson, while hunting on the shores of Lake superior, took refuge in the hut of a Scottish settler named Alexander Dewar. Sir Daniel found that the settler's family had once lived in Inch Buie, that he was the custodian of St. Fillan's crozier, and that he had the relic in the house. It was then exhibited to Sir Daniel, and in 1876 was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in whose museum at Edinburgh it has now found a resting-place. The hereditary keeper of the cuigreach of St. Fillan duly received in 1930, armorial insignia indicative of his ancient office (Lyon Register, XXVII., p 128), although he no longer holds St. Fillan's crozier. The inquest of 1428 shows that the *Deoir-Cuigreach* (heir) of St. Fillan, i.e. in the Celtic sense, Hereditary Abbot. He and the Baron of the Bachuil of (St. Moluag of Lismore) seem to be the only surviving prelates of the old Celtic Church

#### **Gilfillan, "servant of St. Fillan"**

In D. Mitchell's *History of the Highlands* he states:  
The Macnabs should probably be recognized as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighboring Earls of Atholl and Menteath. (He was, or course, not a "lay" abbot, but a hereditary tribal abbot.)

MacLellan, derived from the same source as Gilfillan, is a clan rather than a sept name. A colony of Macellans is to be found in Morar, Inverness-shire. There are also some MacLellans to be

found in the Aberfeldy district of Perthshire. The Clelands of Cleland, who were hereditary foresters to the Earls of Douglas, likewise derive their name from St Fillan.

#### **The Relics of St. Fillan**

The relics of the Founder Saint were the essential insignia of a Celtic abbacy, and were sometimes given in hereditary custody with a toft<sup>111</sup> of land to younger branches of the abbatial family. Such hereditary custodians were styled "dewars", which often became their surname. In Glendochart there were five separate hereditary Dewars, each with a separate relic of St. Fillan (the pastoral staff, the bell, the armbone, the 'meser' and the 'fearg': they were presumably cadets of the hereditary Abbots of Glendochart, whose principal heirs were the Macnabs of Macnab.

The Bell of St. Fillan, known as the *Bearnan*<sup>112</sup> or 'Little Capped One'. As late as 1488, it was carried in the sacred pageant at King James IV's Coronation. It was in the hereditary custody of a Dewar whose toft is referred to in 1640 as "Dewar-Vernan's Croft"<sup>113</sup>, at Suie in Glendochart.

*Feart* means 'Wrath', and it is uncertain what relic acquired this by-name. Its

<sup>111</sup> Toft, a Scandinavian word meaning an enclosed field near a house. Or a house and homestead.

*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of The English Language.*

<sup>112</sup> On the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings is Dewar Bernane's Croft, is marked on the south bank of the river Dochart near Inneshevan.

<sup>113</sup> Croft, a small holding of land. The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) act 1880, defines a crofter as the tenant of a holding who resides on his holding, the annual rent of which does not exceed £30 in money and which is situated in a crofting parish. The O.E. word, meaning originally an enclosed field, seems to correspond to the Dutch *kroft*, a field on high ground or downs. The ultimate origin is unknown.  
*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

hereditary Dewars had their toft at Dewar-na-fargs-croft, which is referred to as late as 1632, and was at Auchlyne in Glendochart where the ruins of their *Icaibel-na-Fairg* or Chapel of the Fearg can still be seen. It has been suggested that the 'meser' was a *meise* or portable alter, but it seems more likely that it was the saint's missal, miraculously written by night. In 1468 a MacGregor certified to the Bailie of Glendochart that he held the tact of the lands of Corehynan from the 'Deore of the Meser'.<sup>114</sup>

The saint's armbone was known as the *Main*, and his toft at Killin is referred to in 1640 as 'Dewar-na-Mans-croft' and in 1670 as 'Dewar-na-Maynes-croft'. King Robert Bruce prayed in the Priory of Strathfillan while a fugitive, and attributed his escape from the MacDougalls to the saint's intervention. Accordingly the silver shrine of the saint's arm bone was brought to spend the night in the king's tent on the eve of Bannochburn, and was born to the battlefield by the Abbot of Inchaffray himself. This enshrined arm-bone must have been an especially interesting relic, as we are told that once upon a time, 'when the saint was in his cell after sundown, a lay brother was sent to call him to supper. The messenger, curious to know what St. Fillan was doing, looked through a chink in the wall, and was astonished to see him writing by means of a light that streamed from his left arm.<sup>115</sup> Next day a tame crane that was kept by the holy fraternity pecked out the eye of the lay brother who was guilty of spying upon the saint, and rendered him quite blind, but at the request of the rest of the brethren St. Fillan restored his sight to the erring one'.

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<sup>114</sup> Dewar Meser's Croft is marked on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings as being just south of Kinnell House.

<sup>115</sup> A good story, however, my thought is that the abbot held in his hand a tiny clay lamp with a bit of dried moss for a wick and butter or sheep fat for fuel!  
*David Rorer*

In 1549, the Privy Council protected "Malise Doir of Quickrich: (malise Dewar of *Coigreach*, the saint's pastoral staff) "Archibald Doir of Fargy" and "Malcolm Doir of Bernane" (*Bearnan* was the saint's bell) from having to hand over their sacred relics to the Prior of Strathfillan. St. Fillan's bell and pastoral staff are now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, in Edinburgh.

The elaborate silver crozier-head was added to encase St. Fillan's pastoral staff<sup>116</sup>, probably in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1336, the Menzies chief, as then overlord of Glendochart, confirmed Donald McSobrell, dewar Cogerach, in the lands of Ewich in Strathfillan. The saint's staff was known as the *Coigreach* or 'Stranger', because it was so often carried by its hereditary Dewar to far places; for if any inhabitant of the parish of Glendochart should have goods or cattle carried off from him and 'be unable to follow them, wether from doubt of the culprit, or feud of his enemies, then he might send a messenger to the Dewar of the coygeracch, with four pence, or a pair of shoes, and food for the first night, and the said Dewar should follow the goods or cattle, wherever they might be found within the bounds of the Kingdome of Scotland'. The inquest that reported this to the Bailie of Glendochart in 1428 declared that "the office of bearing the said relic was given to a certain progenitor of Finlai Jore" (i.e. Finlay Dewar) "the present hereditary bearer, by the coarb of St. Fillan" i.e. an ancient Celtic hereditary Abbot of Glendochart); and that in return for his services, the

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<sup>116</sup> Crozier or Pastoral Staff, a crook-headed staff conferred on bishops at consecration and on mired abbots at investiture; probably derived from the *Illituus* of the Roman augurs, and so called from Old French *crocier*, Medieval Latin *crociarius*, crook-bearer. The "crook" was formerly called "crozier's staff," afterwards abridged to "crozier" (see . T. Taylor in *Archaeologic*, lii.) *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

dewar was due certain specified quantities of meal from each inhabitant of the parish<sup>117</sup>. In 1487 the then bearer of the 'Quegrich', Malise Doire (i.e. Dewar) was confirmed in possession by King James III. After, a later 'Malise Doire of Quickrich' in 1549 got the Privy Council to prevent the Prior of Strathfillan from forcing him to surrender his hereditary charge, the "annoyance of the Church at being defeated in its action against the Dewars may account for the fact that in the following year the Crown authorities stepped in and imposed certain charges upon the lands which Malise Dewar of the quigrich and his ancestors had always held free". As a result, in 1575, the next Dewar of the *Coigreach* was obliged to sell all his lands of Eyicht, Cryt-in-dewar in Auchincarne and the half merkland called Cragwoken, to Campbell of Glenorchy. In the reign of Charles II, the then dewar was so poor that he had to sell the *Cogreach* itself to MacDonell of Glengarry, who venerated the relic as a Catholic. But the Dewars "never rested until they regained possession of the Quigrich, and brought it back from Locaber to Breadalbane". In 1782 its then bearer, Malise Dewar was a day laborer living in *Straid Glas* (Grey Street) at Killin. As late as 1795, Presbyterian highlanders were wont to come "over a hundred miles to Killin to procure water that had been passed through the interior of the crozier".

In 1818 Archibald Dewar of the *Coigreach* immigrated to Canada, taking the relic with him; and Highlanders settled in Canada used to come to him to get water in which it had been dipped to cure their sick cattle. But in 1876, Alexander Dewar of the *Coigreach* (with the consent of his own son) was induced to transfer the saint's pastoral staff to the Society of Antiquities of Scotland, "on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and

<sup>117</sup>See above, the "boll of meal" he was due from every inhabitant of Glendochart holding more than a half merkland of ground

enjoyment of the Scottish Nation". However, the present representative of the Dewars or Keepers of St. Fillan's crozier, Robert St. Fillan Dewar, bears as heraldic insignia two such pastoral staves in saltire behind his arms.

#### **Clan Relics**

##### **The British Museum, London**

A copy of the Macnab brooch taken from Robert the Bruce in the Battle of Lorn and purchased by the Museum from the Campbells of Glen Lyon who had held it from the time of the Commonwealth.

##### **Dewar House, Haymarket, London**

1. Two forks showing Captain MacNab's crest
2. One silver teaspoon showing Captain MacNab's crest
3. One silver buckle
4. Captain MacNab's presentation watch (George III)
5. One pair spectacles
6. Heart shaped ornament
7. Ram's horn snuff mull
8. MacNab's horn snuff mull
9. Gilt fob seal of MacNab crest
10. Two pronged instrument used by Francis MacNab
11. Old Highland brass brooch
12. Six plated buttons bearing 'Glenfalloch Crest'
13. One arrow head and iron link
14. Francis MacNab's Blunderbuss
15. Two swords made by smith at Dalmally

##### **The National Museum Edinburgh**

1. The Quigoich or Crozier of St. Fillan in its silver case
2. The Bernane or Bell of St. Fillan
3. Prince Charles's ring
4. Prince Charles's spurs (now no longer forthcoming)
5. The Acharn Bowl, 1672

##### **Killin**

1. St. Fillan's stones at the Tweed Mill near the Dochart Bridge
2. Fingal's grave on the rising ground north-west of the town
3. Prince Charles's broadsword, given by him to Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, now in possession of the Chief
4. The Kinnell Bottle in which Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) kept his whisky

5. The Scarlet Sash worn by Lt. Allan McNab 92 Regt. When killed at the Battle of Almeida in 1811
6. Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief)'s sugar basin
7. Two inscribed pewter mugs
8. Wooden punch bowl with silver insets and bone ladles dated 1756
9. Francis's stick

#### **Pipe Music**

There are two well known and popular Piobaireachd<sup>118</sup> namely "The Macnab Salute" and "The Gathering of the Macnabs". The Clan society is very grateful to John MacFadyen, world famous piper who has recorded these tunes. The cassette can be purchased in record shops, distributed by Multi-Media (AV) Services Ltd., of Edinbrugh. Members of the Clan Society may obtain them at a discount on application to the Secretary.

There are two other lesser-known tunes, "The March of Clan Macnab" and "The Retreat of Clan Macnab."

#### **Banner and Badge**

The green Banner common to the Clans of the Siol Alpin confederacy is the banner used by the clan. The Clan Badge is Ruiteag, Roebuck berry (*Rubus Saxatilis*, stone banble).

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<sup>118</sup> Bagpipe tunes

## Appendix A

Genealogy from Abaruadh (The Red Abbot) back to King Fergus, First king of DalRiada and forward to Gilbert of Bovain

King Fergus, son of Erc. (d. 501) 1<sup>st</sup> King of DalRiada in Scotland

Learn, brother of Fergus

Muredaig

Ethach (Eochaid)

Deadan (d. 581)

Fiachach (d. 608)

Colman

Sneachtan

Fergus

Feradaig (or Feriach of Feradach), father of St. Fillan (d. 703), King of DalRiada

Ferchar Fada (Tall) (d. 697) (ancestor also of Clan Chattan, the Mackintoshes and the Camerons).

**Abraruadh (The Red Abbot) or Ferchar Og (Young)** Son of Ferchar Fada, nephew of St.

Fillan, he is held to be the father of Clan Macnab, (ancestor also of the Macleans)

Donald Dom (ancestor of the Maclarens, MacKays and the MacNaughtons)

Erc

Aibertach

Cormac (ancestor also of Clan Andreas (Ross), MacKenzies, Macduffys, MacGregor, MacQuarries, MacKinnons, MacMillans and Macleennans)

Ferchar

Lorn

Firtred I

Gillemartan

Gillefaelan

Firtred II

Duncan

Finlay I

Ferhar III

Gilbert Loganalg

Angus

MacBeathad (probably ms-recorded in place of Malcolm de Glendochart whose name is written in the Ragman Rolls of 1296)

Angus (brother-in-law of John Comyn the Younger of Badenoch commonly called the Red Comyn)

Ewen

Gilbert of Bovain (granted a charter in 1336 by King David II)

## Appendix B

Commencing with Gilbert of Bovain and the 1336 charter the succession of Clan chiefs has been pieced together as follows. Some of the dates of death have been recorded in the Chronicles of Fortingall

1. Gilbert of Bovain note: Douglas says he was succeeded by "Finlay" (4<sup>th</sup>) and the "Patrick" (5<sup>th</sup>) but the Lord Lyon has counted Alexander as the Second Chief
2. Alexander died before 1407
3. John brother of Maurice and Alexander. Alive in 1407.
4. Finlay died 1464, Possibly the poet in the Dean of Lismore's book.
5. Patrick died 1488 at Auchlyne
6. Finlay died 1499
7. John
8. Finlay died at Eilean Ran 12 April 1525, buried in Killin

9. John married Eleyne Stewart, died 1558
10. Finlay married Katharine, natural daughter of John Campbell of Glenorchy. Buried at Inchbuie, 1573-74. Their son pre-deceased them.
11. Alexander brother of Finlay, 10<sup>th</sup> Chief
12. Finlay brother of Patrick of Acharn and father of Smooth John. Died about 1656.

The line continues unbroken from Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) who died in 1860. After the death of his daughter, Sarah Anne in 1894, the family died out. The restoration of a chief of the clan involved research going back to the family of Finlay, the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief.

### Appendix C

Lists of Chiefs from Finlay the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief to the present day, showing the extinction of the old line and the establishing of the Arthurstone branch in its place.

#### Bovain

12. Finlay, d. after 1656
13. Alexander, son of Smooth John
14. Robert, married Anne Campbell of Glenorchy in 1697
15. John, born 1698, married Jean Buchanan of Arnprior
16. Francis, 1734-1816 (subject of the painting by Rayburn)
17. Archibald, 1778-1860
18. Sara Anne, 1803-1894 (The last surviving member of the old line of chiefs)

#### Arthurstone

- John Roy (Red) or Baine (Fair) son of Finlay 12<sup>th</sup> Chief and half brother of Smooth John or John Dow (black)
- Archibald, married Isobel Anderson John, died 1697, married Anne Robertson of Balnaguard
- Donald, 1690-1750, married Margaret Ferguson
- James, died 1798, married Anne Cowan
- Dr. James, 1759-1822
- James Munro, 1790-1860

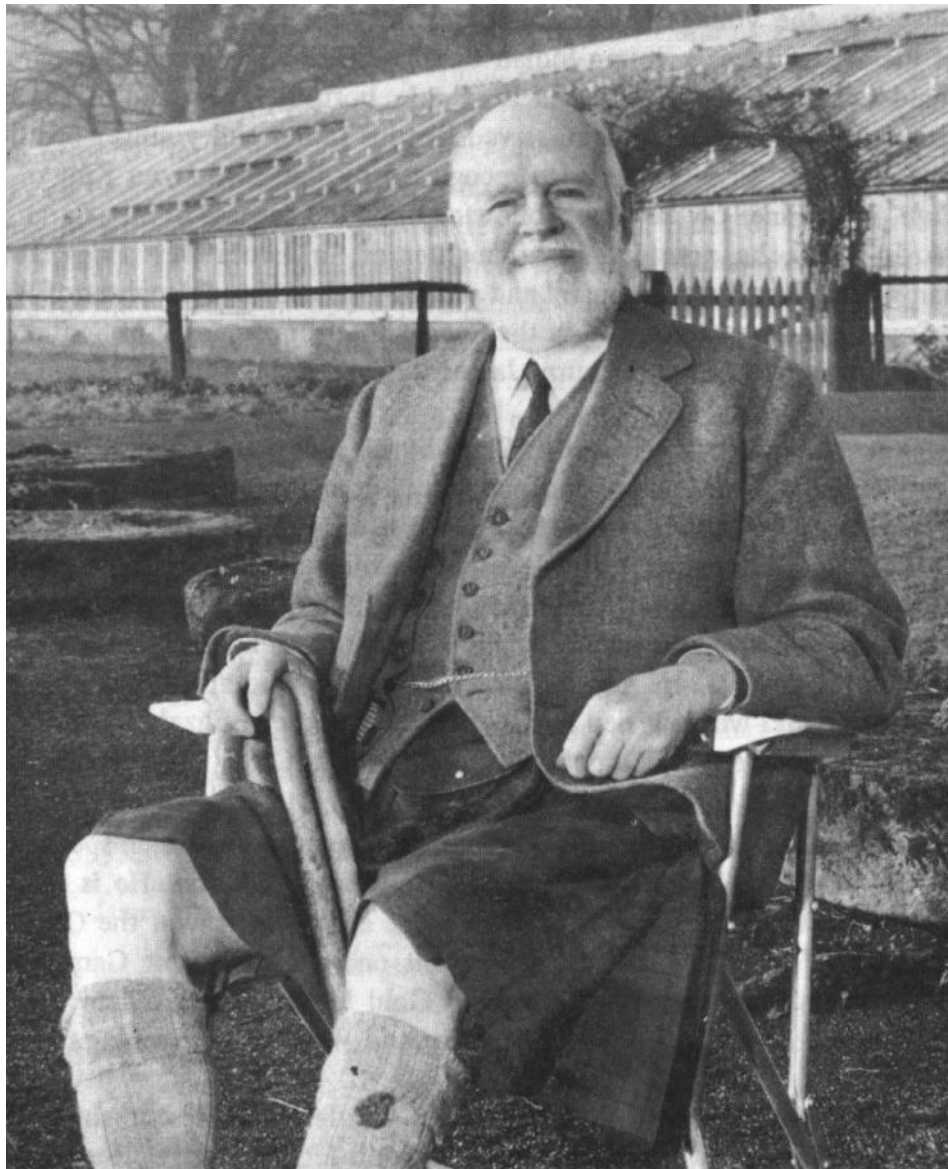
19. **James William**, 1831-1915, who with his son and grandson, were all accepted as chiefs *de jure* after Sara Anne
20. Rev. James Frederick, 1863-1937, *de jure*
21. James Alexander Macnab, born 1901, *de jure* (Resigned in favour of his uncle whose name follows)
22. Archibald Corrie Macnab, 1886-1971
23. James Charles Macnab, born 1926, present chief (son of James Alexander 21<sup>st</sup> chief)

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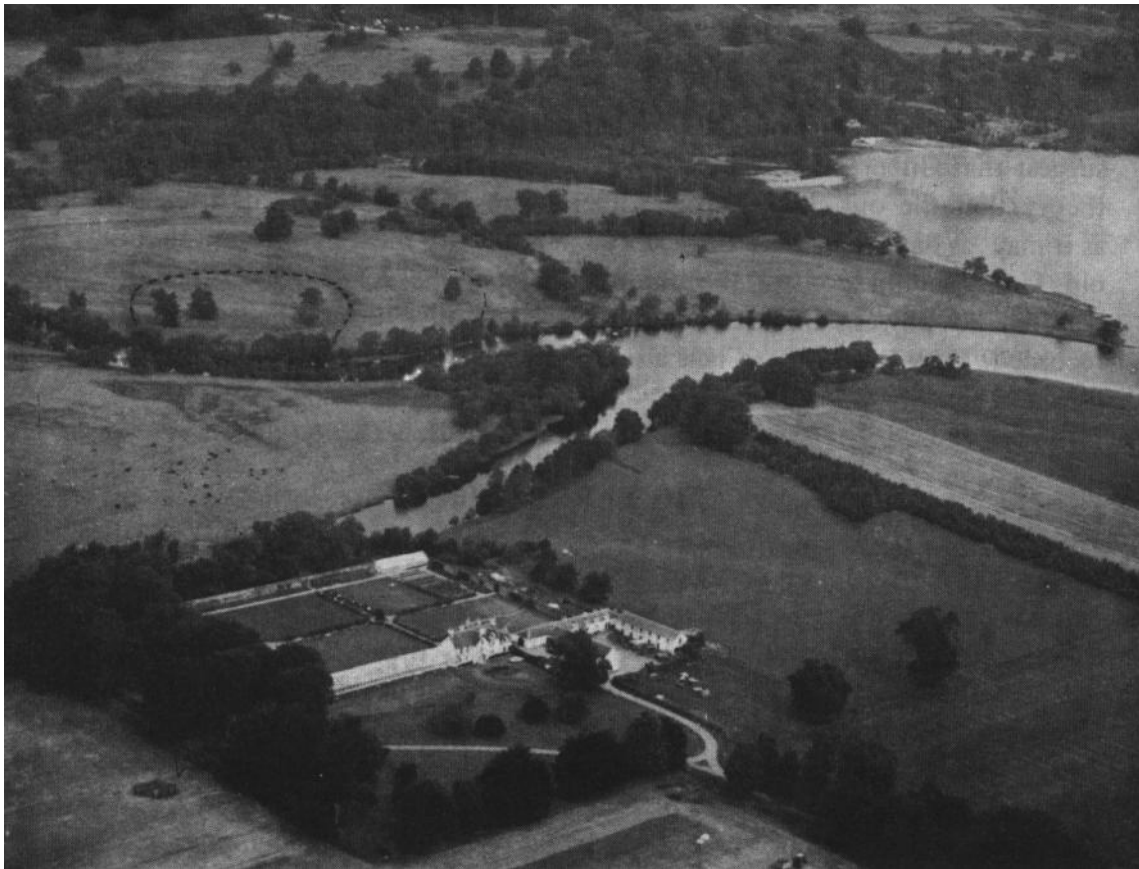




Archibald Corrie Macnab (1886-1971)  
22<sup>nd</sup> Chief of Clan MacNab  
Scanned from the Green Book

In 1949, Archibald Corrie Macnab bought back Kinnell House and 7,000 acres of land from the Bredalbane Trustees. In 1954, James Alexander Macnab, 21<sup>st</sup> chief de jure, relinquished his claim as chief to his uncle Archibald Corrie Macnab and on the evidence of a letter from Archibald Macnab (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn and of information detailed in the foregoing and derived from the records of Sasines etc. in Register House, Edinburgh, was recognized by the Lord Lyon as "de facto" 22<sup>nd</sup> the Macnab of Macnab.





### Kinnell House and the site of Eilean Ran

This aerial view of Kinnell House was scanned from the Green Book.

Note the dotted circle on the far bank of the river Lochart which denotes the site of Eilean Ran the one time stronghold of the Macnabs. There are no longer any remains at the site, the stones having been removed and reused for other buildings and all that remains is the surrounding ditch. Often referred to as a castle it is more likely that it was a large "black house", part dwelling, part barn, with dry stone walls and a thatched roof over cabers (timber beams).

"Eilean" is Gaelic for "island" so the site probably was once an actual island, surrounded by marsh and bog, long since drained and turned into meadow. The ditch would have been open to the river Lochay and served, along with the marsh that surrounded, it as the main defense of the inhabitants.

Finlarig Castle, the stronghold of the Breadalbane Campbells, built by Grey John (Ian Glas) Campbell, lay just a

quarter of a mile beyond Eilean Ran. They could not countenance the existence of a rival stronghold so close to their own and at their instigation Eilean Ran was burnt by the English in 1654. After this the Macnab chiefs moved to Kinnell House across the river.

The satellite photo on page three (taken from Google Earth), fuzzy as it is, shows the locations of Finlarig, Killin, Kinnell House and the western end of Loch Tay. A comparison of the photo above and the satellite image will show about where Eilean Ran lay, on the southward curve of the Lochay just before it joins the Dochart. The red dot labeled Kinnell is actually out of place. Kinnell House is at the end of the road going north from that intersection near where it forks. It is also apparent, from the shallowness of the water along the shore line that this end of the loch has silted up considerably. The land at this end of

the loch once must have consisted of marsh and bogs, now long since drained and converted into farm land.

Finlarig Castle still stands, though the ruins are unsafe as depicted in the photo on the last page.

The blue dots on the satellite image are links to photos uploaded to Google Earth, one of which is where the photo of Finlarig was taken from.

The following was adapted from an article written by Edward H. Nabb and published in the Dread Nought with additional information from "Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay" by Bernard Byrom, published by Stenlake Publishing [www.stenlake.co.uk](http://www.stenlake.co.uk)

No one knows when Kinnell House was built. It was standing in 1633 when Finley, the twelfth MacNab chief, gave it to his daughter-in-law, Mary, the daughter of Duncan Campbell fourth laird of Glenlyon, and is typical of country houses built at that time. Finley had married Katherine Campbell, a natural daughter of Sir Duncan and the house was probably standing largely in its present form in 1654 when his widow moved there, after Eilean Ran was burned by the English, along with all of the MacNab papers, records and documents, at the instigation of the infamous "Black Duncan of the Cowl" who lived at Finlarig.

In 1662 Alexander, the thirteenth chief, obtained a charter from John Campbell, the First Earl of Breadalbane, covering all of the MacNab lands except Eilean Ran which was never afterwards recovered. But the title to Kinnell House was somewhat confused smooth John's widow married Malcolm MacGregor who exchanged certain rights in lands known as Ewer in for any claim to Kinnell House. From that time onward it was the seat of the MacNabs until Francis, the sixteenth chief, took over at the death of his father, John, on February 19, 1778.

Francis inherited substantial debts, added to it greatly and at his death was thoroughly bankrupt. His nephew Archibald, the seventeenth chief, had a disposition of the MacNabb lands in his favor in 1812 and by 1823 a writ of foreclosure was issued and part of the property was sold. An effort was made to sell the remainder but no purchaser could be found. Shortly thereafter Archibald went for a walk one morning with his gun and two dogs as if all was quite usual and he simply disappeared finally ending up in Canada.

Kinnell House passed to the Campbells of Breadalbane by way of a mortgage foreclosure and was in their possession in 1940, when the ninth earl moved there after his home at Taymouth Castle was requisitioned by the government for a hospital.

The Campbells had fallen on hard times and by 1946 all that was left of the Breadalbane estates were Kinnell House and a farm at Killin. In 1948 the house and some seven thousand acres of land were bought back by Archibald Corrie MacNabb.

In 1954 Archibald Corrie was recognized as twenty-second chief, when James Alexander MacNabb, twenty-first chief du jure surrendered his claim to the succession in his favor, with the understanding that James's son, James Charles, would succeed Archibald. Archibald Corrie MacNabb and his wife, Alice Macleod MacNab - daughter of the Chief of the MacLeod's - greatly improved the property, both were oriented toward public relations and MacNabbs from all over the world were welcomed into Kinnell House, until his death in 1970.

James Charles MacNab became the twenty-third chief and his wife, Diana, the daughter of Lord Kilmany, was responsible for the very tasteful redecoration of Kinnell House and the restoration of its gardens. Unfortunately, at the death of Diana's father in 1985 they were forced to sell the estates for taxes and Kinnell House again passed out of MacNab ownership, while James and Diana moved to Kilmany, in Fife.

The following years brought about a great deal of confusion in the ownership and the title. A family named Morris bought the property, attempted to farm it and eventually failed. Several politically well connected joint owners followed in quick succession and at one time the makers of Dewar malt whisky considered buying the property but decided that they could not make justifiable use of it. In 1998 Bacardi Limited acquired John Dewar & Sons and the Dewar's brand and since it has been sold outside of the family that purchase is extremely unlikely.

It is generally considered that the Dormer in the upper floor of Kinnell was added by Francis in order to provide a large and spacious bedroom. During

Francis's lifetime a porridge cart used to set out every morning from Kinnell House and call at several houses in the village, dispensing breakfast for his bairns!

The entrance to Kinnell is a long, tree shaded drive with huge entrance columns made of fieldstone with a lion at the top of each. Off to the right is a pre-historic stone circle an outrider of which, is built into the walls of an old chapel which now serves as the estate office. A front entrance -- directly off the front of Kinnell House serves the cottage built by Alice Macleod MacNab when she moved out of Kinnell in 1970. It is also the site of the Queen Victoria fir tree planted by that Monarch during her visit. At one time there were 19 small cannons arranged around the semi circular drive in front of Kinnell House. These had been

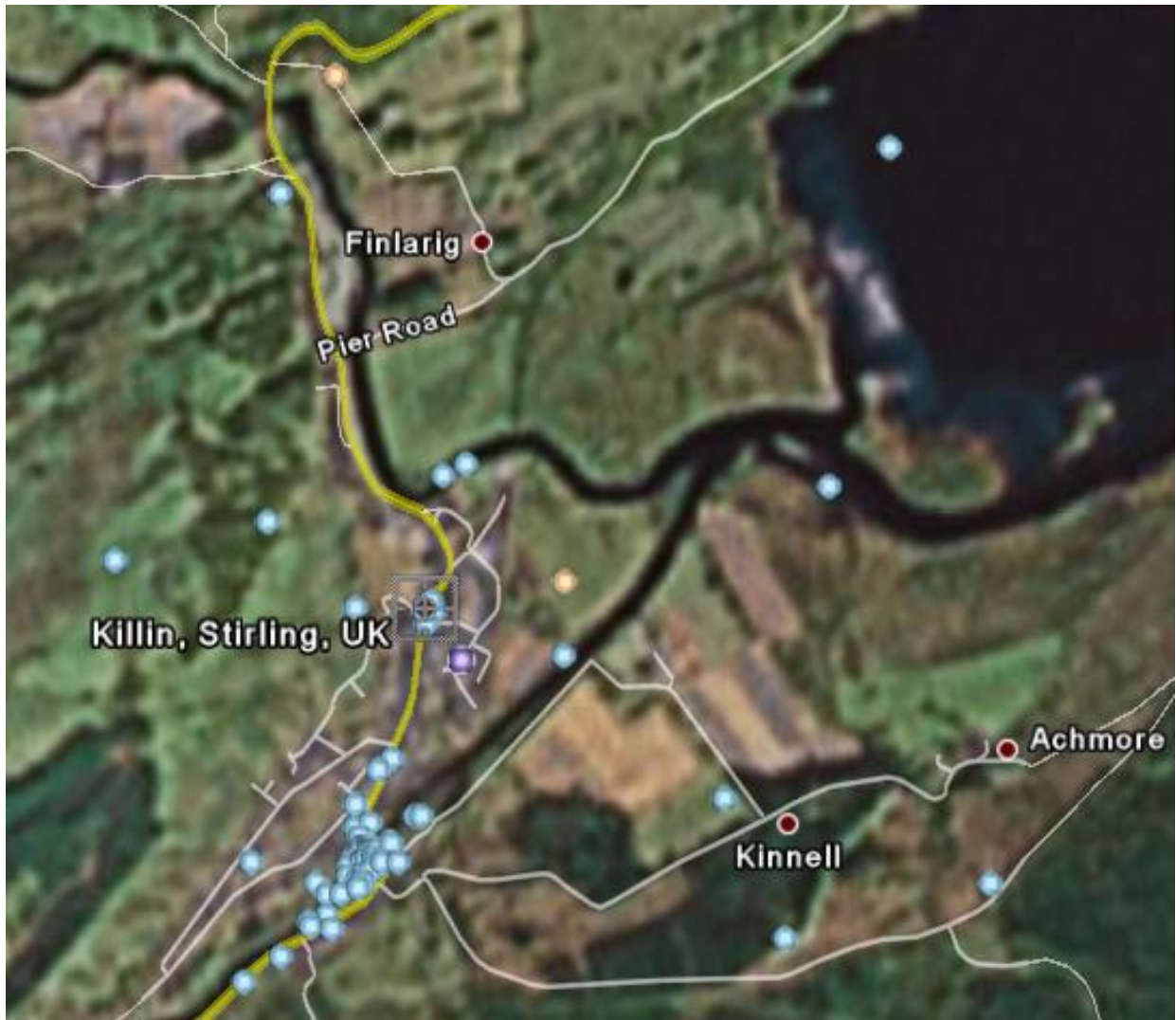
delivered and used to fire salutes for Queen Victoria during her visit and remained there for many years.

The contents of Kinnell House were included when the property was acquired by the Earl of Bredalbane and were an object of great interest to visitors to Kinnell until most were auctioned in 1935. Some of these possessions went to the Dewar whiskey family but some remained in Kinnell House and were turned over to the Macnab's when the lands were repurchased and some of the items have found their way into the ownership of the present chief.

It seems unlikely that Kinnell House will return to MacNab ownership in the foreseeable future. Only history can determine whether or not they will again inhabit this famous building which is home to every MacNab throughout the world.

There is an interesting prophecy having to do with the MacNab lands. The Lady of Lawers, also known as the witch of Lawers, was famous for her prophecies and in about 1680 she announced that when a branch of a pine tree grafted to another the Macnabs would lose their lands. Of course this was highly unlikely as pine trees do not graft; however, in 1828 there was a great storm

and a branch from one pine blew into the crotch of another pine, located on the MacNab burial grounds, and it indeed it did graft itself. It flourished and of course the Macnab's lost their lands then in 1949 the branch was still alive and the MacNab s had bought back their lands. It has since died and still hangs in its original position for all to see.



Satellite photo of Killin and the western end of Loch Tay. Note the shallowness of the water where the loch has been silted up over the centuries. Eilean Ran would have been in the bend of the Lochay (coming from the north) just before it joins the Dochart (coming from the southwest) to flow into the Loch Tay.





Finlarig Castle Ruins  
Photo taken from Google Earth

### **Macalpin or McAlpine<sup>1</sup>**

This clan is one of the chief branches of the Royal clan, "Soil Alpin." The seat of the chief of the clan is said to have been at Dunstaffnage, in Argyllshire. The clan is now, however, what their relations, the Macgregor, once were, "landless," and the family of their chief has been lost sight of. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney.* Johnson & Bacon, 1965

### **MacDougall<sup>2</sup>**

The founder of the Clan MacDonald was Somerled, son of Gillebride. Apparently through some political misfortune, Gillebride had been deprived of his possessions and forced to seek concealment with his son Somerled, in Morvern. About this time the Norwegians held the inhabitants of the Western Isles and western mainland seaboard in terror by their piratical incursions. Somerled put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Movern, expelled the Norwegians, and made himself master of the whole of Morvern, Lochaber, and North Argyll. He later reconquered southern Argyll. About 1135 King David I reconquered from the Norwegians the islands of Man, Arran and Bute. These islands seem to have been conferred on Somerled by King David.

After the death of Somerled, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Jura seem to have fallen to Dugall, Somerled's eldest son by his second marriage; Islay, Kintyre, and part of Arran were the portion of Reginald, the second son by the same marriage; while the remainder

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<sup>1</sup>Note that the Macnab's are members of this larger clan grouping Siol-an-Alpine otherwise called Clan Alpine  
*David Rorer*

<sup>2</sup>The Macnab's allied with MacDougall of Lorn in the struggle between the houses of Comyn and Bruce for the crown. The Macnab's reportedly let MacDougall know the Bruce was at the church of Strath Fillan and they set an ambush at Dal Righ where the Bruce only just managed to escape with his life. *From The Green Book*

of Arran as well as Bute came under the sway of Angus, the youngest of the three brothers. All three brothers were then styled Kings of the Isles. Dugall, besides the territories that he received by right of his mother, on the death of Somerled, obtained among other possessions the important district of Lorn as his paternal heritage. Events finally reduced the immediate descendants of Somerled, to the families of Dugall and Reginald. From Dugall sprung the Clan Dougal or MacDougall's of Argyle and Lorn.

MacDouglall of Lorn was on the losing side in the contest for the Scottish throne between Bruce and Baliol. An episode in that contest is the story of the Brooch of Lorn, won by McDougall of Lorn from Bruce at Dal Righ, the king's field near Tyndrum. After Bruce's accession to the throne the MacDougall's were deprived of the greater part of their lands. The chief of the clan appears, however, during the reign of David II, Bruce's successor, to have married a granddaughter of Robert the Bruce, and thereafter to have had his lands restored. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney.* Johnson & Bacon, 1965

### **CLAN MACNAB SEPTS**

From *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland*, Frank Adam and Innes of Learney. Johnson & Bacon, 1965

(1) **Abbof, Abbotson.**- Anglicised renderings of MacNab.

(2) **Dewar, Macandeoir.**- The Mac-andeoirs or Dewars of Glen- dochart were the hereditary custodians of the *Bachuil*, crozier, or *cuigreach* of St. Fillan. This crozier is a relic of the greatest antiquity, and also bore the designation of the *Fearachd*. Hence the Mac-an- deoirs were also known as *Deoraich-na-Feurachd*. Mr. MacLagan (*Scottish Myths*) states, that in the time of King Robert the Bruce the name of Dewar was spelt as *Jore*. The crozier of St. Fillan, of which the Dewars were the hereditary custodians, is one of the most venerable of Scottish relics. It dates back to the seventh century A.D., and is only exceeded in antiquity by the famous

Coronation Stone of Destiny of Scone. The custody of the holy relic conferred some very important privileges on its custodians. These were confirmed and added to by King Robert the Bruce after the Battle of Bannockburn. Though on that occasion the Macnabs were opponents of the Bruce, the Dewars were present on the Scottish side and had the crozier along with them. It is traditionally reported that previous to the Battle of Bannockburn King Robert the Bruce and his army received the sacrament, during the administration of which the crozier of St. Fillan was elevated in full sight of the army. In 1314, as a thank offering for the victor of Bannockburn, King Robert erected a church at Tyndrum in Strathfillan, and dedicated it to St. Fillan. After the Reformation the crozier was faithfully guarded by its hereditary custodians, the Dewars, and was passed on from father to son. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sept was broken up and left the country. Some of them emigrated to America, among them the custodian of the *cuigreach*, and so the relic was lost sight of for a time. Some years ago, however, Sir Daniel Wilson, while hunting on the shores of Lake Superior, took refuge in the hut of a Scottish settler named Alexander Dewar. Sir Daniel found that the settler's family had once lived in Inch Buie, that he was the custodian of St. Fillan's crozier, and that he had the relic in the house. It was then exhibited to Sir Daniel, and in 1876 was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in whose museum at Edinburgh it has now found a resting-place. The hereditary keeper of the *Cuigreach of St. Fillan* duly received, in 1930, armorial insignia indicative of his ancient office (Lyon Register, XXVIII., p. 128), although he no longer holds St. Fillan's crozier. The inquest of 1428 shows that the *Deo-r-Cuigreach* was the *Co-arb* (and, as it explains, heir) of St. Fillan, i.e. in the Celtic sense, Hereditary Abbot. He and the Baron of the Bachuil (of St. Moluag of Lismore) seem to be the only surviving prelates of the old Celtic Church.

(3) *Gilfillae*, "servant of St. Fillan." The Macnabs should probably be recognised as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighbouring Earls of Atholl and Menteath.

(He was, of course, not a "lay" abbot, but a hereditary tribal abbot.) Maclellan, derived from the same source as Gilfillan, is a clan rather than a sept name. A colony of Maclellans is to be found in Morar, Inverness-shire. There are also some MacLellans to be found in the Aberfeldy district of Perthshire. The Clelands of Cleland, who were hereditary foresters to the Earls of Douglas, likewise derive their name from St. Fillan.



**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part one:**

The Scottish Nation, or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honors and  
Biographical History of the People of Scotland"

The earliest history of the Clan MacNab, at least the earliest that I have found so far, appears to have been printed in "The Scottish Nation, or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honors and Biographical History of the People of Scotland" by William Anderson, printed in 1863 by A. Fullerton & Co of Edinburgh.

The most interesting part of this early history is the author's explanation of the origin of the name MacNab-Eyre to mean the seat of justice, or justice-place in the territory Macnab. And of Macnab itself as being a territorial name - from Nab, a round-headed height or cone after the mountain now called Ben Mor (or great head) which is conspicuous all along the glen of the Dochart (see the map of Glen Dochart). As the early origins of the Macnabs are poorly documented - this seems as good an explanation as the usual one - that the Macnabs are the descendants of the abbot of Glendochart - children of the abbot.

The original of this has been published on the Electric Scotland website at: <http://www.electricscotland.com/history/nation/macnab.htm> where it is described as a 3 volume publication with around 750 pages per volume. To go to the website follow the link given above.

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"The Scottish Nation, or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honors and  
Biographical History of the People of Scotland"

MACNAB, the name of a clan anciently located in the district of Breadalbane, Perthshire, the badge of which was the common heath. The Clan-an-aba or the Macnabs are erroneously held to belong to the Old Celtic race, or primitive Albionic stock of Scotland, which were among the clans included under the general denomination of Siol Alpin, of which the clan Gregor was the principal. The chief, styled Macnab of that Ilk, had his residence at Kinnell, on the banks of the Dochart, and the family possessions, which originally were considerable, lay mainly on the western shores of Loch Tay. In the reign of David I (1124-1153), the name was, it is said, Macnab-Eyre, and signified the son and heir of the abbot. According, however, to the view taken in this work of the prefix Mac<sup>1</sup>, as being no more than a contraction of "magnus" (great), and this legend cannot be admitted, although it has been stated that the founder of this

clan held the dignity of abbot of Glendochart.

From the frequent use of the words "of that Ilk," in the charters of the family of Macnab, it would appear, notwithstanding the received tradition as to the derivation of the name, that the origin of it is territorial or from land. There is not an instance in Scottish history where the words "of that Ilk" are employed; in which this is not the case. And if the form of the name be given correctly as Macnab-Eyre, the source of the territorial designation may with great probability be conjectured. The Gaelic word for heir is not Eyre, but Oighre. It is only an adaptation of its sound to the common English word heir, which is from the Latin word Hares. The word Ayre or Aire, a term of frequent use in early Scottish annals for the site, rather occasional than permanent, of a court of justice, is a corruption of the Norman-French Oyer, to hear. Macnab-Eyre may, therefore, be held to mean the seat of justice, or justice-place, in the territory Macnab, and is so stated in the private histories of the family. Tradition points, however, at a priory where the burial place now is placed. Whether there ever was an

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<sup>1</sup> The short article, also from "The Scottish Nation...", on the prefix "Mac" referred to here is appended at the end of this Clan Macnab History

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part one:**

abbot of Glendochart may well be doubted, yet there is every reason to believe that the abbots of Dunkeld held, as abthanes - (that is, abbot--thanes, a secular title, defined by Ducange, as abbates qui simul erant Comites - justiciary power over this portion of Perthshire. It seems, therefore, at least probable that Macnab-Eyre was the name given to the occasional seat of justice of some kind or other. The precise site of the lands bearing this particular name is now unknown, yet as in early times lands and districts received names from conspicuous natural objects lying in or near them, as Carrick, in Ayr, from the carrick or craig of Ailsa lying in the firth opposite to that district; so Macnab, the great Nab or Nob, may not improperly be held to mean the district around or near the mountain now called Benmore, (or great head,) which is conspicuous all along the glen of the Dochart, and very near its source. The occurrence of Nab in topography to designate a round-headed height or cone is familiar in Scotland and the north of England.

The Macnabs were a considerable clan before the reign of Alexander III. When Robert the Bruce commenced his struggle for the crown, the baron of Macnab with his clan, joined the MacDougals of Lorn, and fought against Bruce at the battle of Dalres. Afterwards, when the cause of Bruce prevailed, the lands of the Macnabs were ravaged by his victorious troops, their houses burnt, and all their family writs destroyed. Of all their possessions only the barony of Bovain or Bovain, in Glendochart, remained to them, and of it, Gilbert Macnab of that Ilk, from whom the line is usually deduced, as the first undoubted laird of Macnab, received from David II, on being reconciled to that monarch, a charter, under the great seal, to him and his heirs whomsoever, dated in 1336. He died in the reign of Robert II.

His son, Finlay Macnab, styled of Bovain, as well as "of that Ilk," died in the reign of James I. He is said to

have been a famous bard. According to tradition he composed one of the Gaelic poems which Macpherson attributed to Ossian. He was the father of Patrick Macnab of Bovain and of that Ilk, whose son was named Finlay Macnab, after his grandfather. Indeed, Finlay appears to have been, at this time, a favorite name of the chief, as the next three lairds were so designated. Upon his father's resignation, he got a charter, under the great seal, in the reign of James III, of the lands of Ardehyle, and Wester Duinish, in the barony of Glendochart and county of Perth, dated January 1, 1486. He had also a charter from James IV, of the lands of Ewir and Leiragan, in the same barony, dated January 9, 1502. He died soon thereafter, leaving a son, Finley Macnab, fifth laird of Macnab, who is witness in a charter, under the great seal, to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, wherein he is designed "Finlaus Macnab, dominus de eodem," &c., Sept. 18, 1511. He died about the close of the reign of James V.

His son, Finlay Macnab of Bovain and of that Ilk, 6th chief from Gilbert, alienated or mortgaged a great portion of his lands to Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the marquis of Breadalbane, as appears by a charter to "Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees whatever, according to the deed granted to him by Finlay Macnab of Bovain, 24th November, 1552, of all and sundry the lands of Bovain and Ardchyle, &c., confirmed by a charter under the great seal from Mary, dated 27th June, 1553." Glenorchy's right of superiority the Macnabs always refused to acknowledge.

His son, Finlay Macnab, the seventh laird, who lived in the reign of James VI, was the chief, who entered into the bond of friendship and manrent with his cousin, Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordell, 12th July, 1606. This chief carried on a deadly feud with the Neishes or M'Ilduys, a tribe which possessed the upper parts of Strathearn, and inhabited an island in

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part one:**

the lower part of Lock Earn, called from them Neish island. Many battles were fought between them, with various successes. The last was at Glenboultachan, about two miles north of Loch Earn foot, in which the Macnabs were victorious, and the Neishes cut off almost to a man. A small remnant of them, however, still lived in the island referred to, the head of which was an old man, who subsisted by plundering the people in the neighborhood.

One Christmas, the chief of the Macnabs had sent his servant to Crieff for provisions, but, on his return, he was waylaid, and robbed of all his purchases. He went home, therefore, empty-handed, and told his tale to the laird. Macnab had twelve sons, all men of great strength, but one in particular exceedingly athletic, who was called for a byname, Iain mion Mac an Appa, or "Smooth John Macnab." In the evening, these men were gloomily meditating some signal revenge on their old enemies, when their father entered, and said in Gaelic, "The night is the night, if the lads were but lads!" Each man instantly started to his feet, and belted on his dirk, his claymore, and his pistols. Led by their brother John, they set out, taking a fishing-boat on their shoulders from Loch Tay, carrying it over the mountains and glens till they reached Loch Earn, where they launched it, and passed over to the island. All was silent in the habitation of Neish. Having all the boars at the island secured, they had gone to sleep without fear of surprise. Smooth John, with his foot dashed open the door of Neish's house; and the party, rushing in, attacked the unfortunate family, every one of whom was put to the sword, with the exception of one man and a boy, who concealed themselves under a bed. Carrying off the heads of the Neishes, and any plunder they could secure, the youths presented themselves to their father, while the piper struck up the pibroch of victory.

The next laird, "Smooth John," the son of this Finlay, made a distinguished figure in the reign of Charles I, and suffered many hardships on account of his attachment to the royal cause. After the battle of Alford in 1645, he joined the army of Montrose, with his clan, and was of great service to him at the battle of Kilsyth. He was subsequently directed by Montrose to garrison his castle of Kincardine, and he continued there until besieged by General Leslie, when, their provisions failing, he endeavored, with 300 men, to make his escape, during the darkness of the night. Marching out, sword in hand, they all got off, except Macnab himself and one of his men, who were sent prisoners to Edinburgh. Macnab was condemned to death, but escaped the night previous to the day on which he was ordered for execution. He was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651. During the commonwealth, his castle of Eilan Rowan<sup>2</sup> was burned, his estates ravaged and sequestered, and the family papers again lost. Taking advantage of the troubles of the times, his powerful neighbor, Campbell of Glenorchy, in the heart of whose possessions Macnab's lands were situated, on the pretence that he had sustained considerable losses from the clan Macnab, got possession of the estates in recompense thereof.

This chief of the Macnabs married a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, and with one daughter, had a son, Alexander Macnab, ninth laird, who was only four years old when his father was killed on Worcester battle-field. His mother and friends applied to General Monk for some relief from the family estates for herself and children. That general made a favorable report on the application, but it had no effect. It was directed to Captain Gascoigne, governor of Finlarig, and was in the following terms: "I do hereby declare, that it was not intended by my order for repairing the laird of Glenurchy's losses by the Macnabs out of their

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<sup>2</sup> Eilan Ran

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
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estates, that the same should extend to the molesting or intermeddling with the estates of any of the Macnabs who live peaceably. And forasmuch as I understand that the widow of the laird of Macnab hath lived peaceably, you are hereby authorized, and I desire, in case any vexation be offered to the outing or dispossessing of the said widow and her children of the said lands, or anything that belongs to them, under color of the said order, to preserve the rights that to them belong, as if the said order had never been made, and to enter and receive them into their lands; and this favor also is to be extended for Archibald Macnab of Archarne. Given under my hand and seal at Dalkeith, 18th January, 1654.  
(Signed) S. S. George Monk."

After the Restoration, application was made to the Scottish Estates, by the Lady Macnab and her son, for redress, and in 1661 they received a considerable portion of the lands, which the family enjoyed till the beginning of the present century, when they were sold.

By his wife, Elizabeth, a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies, of Weem, baronet, Alexander Macnab of that Ilk had a son and heir, Robert Macnab, tenth laird, who married Anne Campbell, sister of the earl of Breadalbane. Of several children only two survived, John, who succeeded his father, and Archibald. The elder son, John, held a commission in the Black Watch, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans, and, with several others, confined in Doune Castle, under the charge of Macgregor of Glengyle, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden. The majority of the clan took the side of the house of Stuart, and was led by Alistair Macnab of Inshewan and Archibald Macnab of Acharne. They were mostly incorporated in the Duke of Perth's regiment, of which Alexander Macnab of Dundurn was the standard bearer. The others joined a body of Breadalbane men under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon. The younger son,

Archibald, obtained in 1740 a commission as ensign in the Black Watch (now the 42d Highlanders), on its embodiment, and served in Germany with that regiment. In June 1745 he was appointed captain of Loudoun's Highlanders, and in 1757 he distinguished himself at the battle of Fellinghausen. Under General Wolfe, he was present at the battle of Quebec. He served also throughout the American Revolutionary war, and on its termination was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and appointed Colonel of the 41st Welsh Regiment. He died in Edinburgh in 1791, and was buried at Killin.

John Macnab, the 11th laird, married the only sister of Francis Buchanan, Esq. of Arnprior, and had a son, Francis, twelfth laird.

Francis Macnab of Macnab, 12th laird, died, unmarried, at Callander, Perthshire, May 25, 1816, in his 82d year. One of the most eccentric men of his time, many anecdotes are related of his curious sayings and doings. He was a man of gigantic height and strong originality of character, and cherished many of the manners and ideas of a Highland gentleman, having in particular a high notion of the dignity of the chieftainship. He left numerous illegitimate children. There is a fine full-length portrait of him, in the uniform of lieutenant-colonel of the Breadalbane volunteers, by Sir Henry Raeburn, in the Breadalbane collection of paintings at Taymouth-castle.

The only portion of the property of the Macnabs remaining is the small islet of Innis-Buie, formed by the parting of the water of the Dochart just before it issues into Loch Tay, in which is the most ancient burial place of the family; and outside there are numerous gravestones of other members of the clan. The lands of the town of Callander chiefly belong to a descendant of this laird, not in marriage.

Archibald Macnab of Macnab, nephew of Francis, succeeded as 13th chief. The



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estates being considerably encumbered, he was obliged to sell the property for benefit of his creditors. Many of the clan having immigrated to Canada about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and being very successful, 300 of those remaining in Scotland were induced about 1817 to try their fortunes in America, and in 1821, the chief himself, with some more of the clan, took their departure for Canada. He returned in 1853, and died at Lannian, Cotes de Nord, France, Aug. 12, 1860, aged 83. Subjoined is his portrait, from a daguerreotype taken at Saratoga, United States of America, in 1848:

He left a widow, and one surviving daughter, Sophia Frances.

The next Macnabs by descent entitled to the chiefship are believed to be Sir Alan Napier Macnab, Bart., Canada; Dr. Robert Macnab, 5th Fusiliers, and Mr. John Macnab, Glenmavis, Bathgate.

The lairds of Macnab, previous to the reign of Charles I, intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kinfauns, Gleneagles, Inchbrace, Robertson of Strowan, &c.

The chief cadets of the family were the Macnabs of Dundurn, Acharne, Newton, Cowie, and Inchewen. Of one of the latter family the following exploit is related. In 1745, a party of soldiers, sent from the castle of Finlarig (which means the field or plain of Fingal) to burn the house of Coire Chaorach, near Benmore, were watched, on their march, by Macnab of Inchewen. After setting fire to the mansion, they commenced their return to Finlarig, when it was observed that the fire had gone out. One of them was ordered back to rekindle it, but was shot by Macnab from his place of concealment. On this, the rest of the party rushed down to the river, but other three fell victims by the way. Macnab then retreated to the rocks above, whence he fired, and killed three more of the redcoats. The others then gave up the pursuit. His rifle came into the possession of Mr. Sinclair, tenant in Inverchaggerine.

It is four feet long, and in the stock there is a recess for a supply of bullets. It was at one time used by the Gaelic poet, Duncan M'Intyre, when one of the foresters of Lord



Breadalbane, and is praised in his classic poem of 'Beinn Dourain.' Mr. Sinclair possessed also the celebrated bottle, long in use at Kinnell, which could hold nine gallons, and was known to many of Macnab's friends as 'the Bachelor.' (See New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. x. page 1089.)

Sir Allan Napier Macnab is descended from the Dundura branch. His grandfather, Robert Macnab of Dundurn, Perthshire, was cousin-german of John Macnab of Macnab, capt. 42d Highlanders. He married Mary Stuart of Ardvoirlich, and his eldest son, Allan Macnab, lieutenant 3d dragoons and principal aide-de-camp to General Simcoe, 1st governor of Upper Canada,

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married Anne, youngest daughter of Capt. William Napier, commissioner of the port of Quebec, of the family of Lord Napier, and had a son, Sir Allan Macnab, baronet of Dundurn-castle, Canada West, born Feb. 19, 1789; colonel of militia in Upper Canada, member and some time speaker of the legislative assembly of Upper and Lower Canada, and prime minister of that province; knighted July 14, 1838, for his efforts in putting an end to the rebellion there; created a baronet Feb. 5, 1858. Sir Allan married in 1821, Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant Daniel Brooke; issue a son (born in 1822, died in 1824), and a daughter. His wife having died in 1825, he married, 2dly, in 1831, Mary, eldest daughter of John Stuart, sheriff of Johnstown district, Upper Canada; issue, two daughters.

The elder, Sophia, born July 5, 1832, married in 1855, William Coutts, Viscount Bury, M.P., eldest son of earl of Albemarle

A branch of the family of Macnab settled in Jamaica.

[Portrait of Archibald Macnab]

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**MAC**

The following paragraph on the prefix MAC is also taken from "The Scottish Nation" by William Anderson, and can be found at:  
<http://www.electricscotland.com/history/nation/mac1.htm> It presents a somewhat different view of the meaning of the prefix than the modern one.

MAC, a prefix held, in modern Gaelic, to signify son, as Macdonald, son of Donald, MacFarlane, son of Farlane, &c. Under the head of CAMPBELL, instances are given where it cannot have implied originally son, but rather great, a corruption from the Latin magnus. In the similar Italian names in Mag and Mac, as Magliola, Macciavelli, and the Dutch and Portuguese Magallaen or de Magallaens, it also appears to signify great. Macallane is the Gaelic pronunciation of MacLean; and allane was, till the Reformation, a frequent form, in Scottish speech, for alienus, a foreigner. There is a passage in Gildas, in which this prefix, as given to Maglocune, originally a monk, afterwards a Pictish king in Wales, first appears in history; the reproaches addressed to whom, as is the manner of this satirist, consist of ironical play upon his corrupt Latin name of great placeholder, he having been nephew of the former king; such as being great in stature of body as in kingdom or station, &c. It was probably also originally territorial, with the same meaning, in some instances, as Macnab of Macnab, or of that Ilk. In this view it becomes descriptive, as names not hereditary are; and it occurs long prior to the use of surnames or hereditary names in Scotland.

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part two:**

**The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch**

The first actual history, of the Clan appears to have been a booklet published as "*The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch*", in 1907 by John McNab of Callander, Historian of the Clan Macnab Association, 13 South Charlotte Street, Edinburgh. It was printed by Archibald Sinclair, at the Celtic Press, 47 Waterloo Street, Glasgow.

The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch, has been cited numerous times since, including by William A Gillies in his history of Bredalbane titled "In Famed Breadalbane" and in the current clan history by James Charles Macnab of Macnab the 23<sup>rd</sup> chief. Long since out of print, a copy of "*The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch*", is available as both a text and PDF download from [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)

The text is presented here, without alteration except for some modernization of spelling and the presentation of the pictures on the last two pages instead of randomly within the text.

Note: this authors explanation of the origin of the name "Macnab" differs considerably from that given in "The Scottish Nation" by William Anderson, in The Clan History, part one. Mr. Anderson believed that it came from "Nab" a round-headed height or cone after the mountain called Ben Mor or "Great Head." John McNab of Callander states that it comes from Clan-an-Aba and means "Children of the Abbot" from the secular Abbots of Glendochart.

It is certainly possible that, as happened with many such offices of the ancient Celtic Church of early Scotland that the office of Abbot of Glendochart became secularized and hereditary within a single family, which eventually evolved into the chiefly family of the Clan Macnab. However, there simply are too few records to be able to say with any certainty exactly how the chiefly family came into being.

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**"The Clan Macnab, a Short Sketch" by John McNab of Callander**

PREFACE: IN these days when so much interest is taken in the revival of all matters of a Celtic character, a clear and concise statement of the history of the Clan Macnab cannot be considered out of place. This volume is the outcome of the decision of the Clan Macnab Association at one of its meetings, to ask Mr. John M'Nab of Callander to undertake the task of writing a history of the Clan. A complete and exhaustive history is not possible until the re-organization of the Clan by the Association has made the collection of materials for that purpose easier than at present. Any attempt at compiling a more complete and exhaustive history has consequently been deferred to a later time, when the members of the Clan can more easily unite, through the medium of the Association, in attaining that purpose. Meanwhile, should this work

be a means to that end, its mission is largely accomplished.

If due consideration be given to the present position of affairs, the wisdom of the limited scope of this work will be apparent. Since the emigration of Chief Francis to Canada, and the ultimate failure of his male issue, the Clan has not known whom to look to as the hereditary Chief, and from one cause and another, particularly through the Clan's active participation in the dynastic and other troubles which have from time to time disturbed the peace of the Scottish nation, its members here for a long time been scattered far and wide, its organization destroyed, and the extensive lands, which once were the property of its Chiefs, have passed into the hands of strangers indeed, were it not for the existence of the ancient burial ground at



## History of the Clan Macnab

### Part two:

Inchbuie, an island on the river Dochart, the geographical position of the at one time extensive territory of the Macnabs would probably be unknown to a large number of the Clansmen of to-day.

Amongst other objects, the Clan Association aims at the revival of the study of the history of the Clan, and already, thanks the kindness of the Marquis of Breadalbane; facilities are afforded to its members at the Annual

Gatherings, to visit places and object of interest to them.

This book, as already stated, is no attempt at a complete history but it is hoped that it may assist in furthering the aims of Association, and awaken in the hearts of the scattered Clansmen the feeling that they are descended from those who in their past worthily bore the name of Macnab, and as warriors had a say in the making of the history of Scotland.

R. A. M'Nab

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part two:**

**HISTORY OF THE CLAN MACNAB**

THE Clan Macnab is acknowledged by all Highland historians and genealogists to be of very great antiquity, but unfortunately, its origin, like that of many others of our Scottish Baronial Houses, is lost in the mists of the by gone centuries.

There are several reasons to explain why this unsatisfactory state of affairs should exist. The Public Records of the country through stress of time and war have not been over-well preserved, and many valuable documents were destroyed when the monasteries were overthrown at the time of the Reformation.

To give in detail the various accounts of the early genealogy of the Macnabs would be entirely beyond the scope of this epitome of the history of the Clan.

In the 8th century (A.D.) St. Fillan founded the monastery of Strathfillan, and became its first abbot. From this centre he preached Christianity to surrounding tribes, and founded other ecclesiastical houses in Glendochart and Strathearn.

In course of time the ancestor of the Macnabs became Abbot of St. Fillan's Church. Under the Celtic system the office of abbot was hereditary, so there may have been several abbots in the family, but eventually there came one abbot in particular, who founded the Clan and whose descendants became lay abbots. This abbot flourished in the reign of King William the Lion, and held extensive possessions in Breadalbane and Strathearn, and was joined with the Earl of Athole in the management of Argyllshire. The Act entrusting him with the rule over the rebellious families of that district is named Claremathane, and is to be found among the Scots Acts of Parliament in the time of King William.

He was succeeded by his son who was known as "*Mac-an-aba (Oighre)*" or son and heir of the abbot, a designation common to all the Macnab chiefs. His descendants had become a strong and

numerous clan before the time of Alexander III.

In 1297 the Western Clans (of Perthshire and Argyllshire), under the leadership of Wallace, defeated and exterminated the Anglo Irish Army of M'Fadyean whilst advancing to seize Argyllshire for Edward I. of England.

In 1306 the Macnabs and their followers, along with the Macnaughtons, joined the Macdougalls of Lorn in their attack on the Bruce. The two parties met at Dalrigh, near Tyndrum, and in the conflict which ensued, the Macnabs, under their stalwart chief, Angus Mor, are said to have displayed great prowess and ferocity. It was in this battle that the celebrated brooch of Lorn was lost by the Bruce. Barbour speaks of Bruce's assailants as "Makyn Dorsers," and, if such they were, then they were followers of Macnab, as they were the hereditary door-keepers of St. Fillan's Church. The Lorn tradition varies somewhat from Barbour's account; but, strange to say, there was also a Macnab tradition which agreed with Barbour's version, and there was a Macnab brooch which was said to have been won from the Bruce. The tradition that is generally accepted as correct is, that Bruce was suddenly attacked by three powerful followers of Macnab. The King dispatched two of his opponents, and hurled the third backward; but the man in falling seized the King's mantle or plaid, and to save himself the King was obliged to abandon his garment, and with it the brooch which secured it. It was a moment for haste, too, for Angus Mor was coming up in hot pursuit, and had he and the Bruce met in mortal combat, it is probable that Scottish history would have been changed, for Angus was Herculean in stature and strength, and in swordsmanship he ranked with Wallace.

The Macnab brooch remained in the possession of the family of the Chief until the time of the Commonwealth, when it passed into the hands of the Campbells of Glenlyon, whose descendants

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retained it until a few years ago, when it was purchased for the British Museum.

Many of the place names in the neighborhood of Dalrigh owe their origin to this battle. About this time Barbour ascribes to a Macnab the credit of seizing and delivering Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of Bruce, into the hands of the English.

In 1308 the cause of Bruce was prospering, and he resolved to wipe off all old scores against the Lord of the Isles and his allies. Collecting a strong force, he marched into Argyllshire in quest of his enemy. John, the son of Alexander Macdougall of Lorn, had timely notice of the King's intentions, and accordingly prepared to give him a warm reception. He posted his men and their allies in ambush in the Pass of Brander, where the road was so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. It was the scene of M'Fadyean's defeat; but Bruce was acquainted with the country, and he was, moreover, an abler and a craftier soldier than the Irish adventurer. He divided his force into two portions; one of these he sent under Douglas to scale the heights which commanded the Highlanders' position, and the other he led in person into the Pass. The King, on entering the defile, was at once attacked by Lorn and his men, who hurled rocks and arrows upon his force. It seemed a critical moment, but Douglas, having reached his appointed place, in turn attacked the Highlanders, and threw them into confusion. The fighting was sternly contested, but eventually the allies had to seek safety in flight. They attempted to secure their retreat by breaking down a bridge over which they passed; but in this endeavor they were foiled, as the victors were too close upon their steps. This defeat, sharp and decisive though it was, did not suffice to overthrow the power of the Macdougalls and Macnabs, nor did it subdue their martial ardor. For, in 1314, we find them once more along with the Comyns arrayed under the English Standard at Bannockburn. This latter

defeat placed the Macnabs in a rather delicate position; but concentrating their strength round a portion of their once great possessions, they were able to maintain themselves by their swords until the arrival of better and more tranquil times.

Bruce, after his triumph, granted the greater part of the Macnab lands to many of his loyal supporters, and also to certain ecclesiastical houses. The Dewars had seceded from the Macnabs after the battle of the Pass of Brander, and were in active opposition to them at Bannockburn. So, in the division of the Macnab lands, Bruce remembered their services, and granted them certain lands and privileges. It is interesting to note, that Charters for Glendochyre and Finlargis were granted to Alexander Menzies.

Although we find the Macdougalls and Macnabs thus harassing, or in turn harassed by Bruce, we must not regard them as utter traitors to their King and country. On the contrary, they are to be looked upon as loyal partisans, first of the Baliols; and secondly, of the Comyns, whose claims to the Crown (through their Baliol blood) were prior to those of Bruce. Much of this opposition to Bruce must be set down to their horror of his sacrilegious slaughter of the Red Comyn in Dumfries.

It may be interesting at this stage to quote the genealogy of the Macnabs as given in the old Gaelic MS. of 1403-1467. It is as follows:

Do Genealach mhic an aba egre--Gillamure  
mac Eogain mhic Aengusa mhic beathed  
mhic Aengusa mhic Gillamure loganaig  
mhic Ferchair mhic Finlace mhic  
Donnchaich mhic Firtiread mhic  
Gillafaelan mhic Gillamartan mhic  
Firtiread mhic Loairn mhic Ferchair mhic  
Ccrmac Airbeartaigh mhic Ere mhic  
Donnaill duin mhic Ferchair Abraruadh  
mhic Feradaig.

From 1314 until 1336, there is a blank in the history of the Clan. That it was a period of great stress and trouble is well known. To what straits the Macnabs

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were reduced at that time is shown by one tradition which asserts that at one time they, or the majority of them, were forced to take refuge in Inchbui, the picturesque island situated on the Dochart, near Killin, and which is known to the present day to the Macnabs, scattered as they are all over the world, as "The Burial place." From that position they were able to beat off all attacks, and eventually they emerged from those trials with a certain amount of success. For, in 1336, we find Gilbert Macnab of Macnab making his peace with King David II., and obtaining from that monarch a Charter under the Great Seal for the Barony of Bovain.

Heretofore, as we have seen, there has been little continuity in the annals of the Clan. That we are of old descent is abundantly proved. It is common knowledge, too, that we claim to have navigated, during the Deluge, an opposition boat of our own. The boast of one of our Chiefs, "that where Macnab sits is the head of the table," is now an old tale. But, as it is from the time of Gilbert that we have to deal with a continuous history, supported by well authenticated documents, it is to him that is generally conceded the style and honor of being the first chief of the Clan Macnab.

Of GILBERT MACNAB I, Chief, very little is known. He is without doubt identical with Gillamure, whose name is the first on the Macnab genealogy of 1400 - 1467. He would thus be grandson to Angus Mor, who had so ably aided the Comyn interests in the wars of the Bruce, and who is one and the same with Aengusa, whose name is the third on the genealogy. That Gilbert had some ability is proved by his being in a position to acquire a Charter, and that he had some foresight is shown by his securing a Charter for Bovain.

He died in the reign of Robert II, and was succeeded by his son, FINLAY II, who was designed of Macnab and Bovain. Of Finlay we know little, save that he flourished in the reign of Robert II and Robert III, and died in the reign of

James I. Some historians assert that he was a famous bard, and composed one of the poems which MacPherson attributed to Ossian. About this time the Macnabs had a feud with the Macgregors; it was occasioned, no doubt, by the loss of their lands during the War of Independence. The final battle took place in the vicinity of Crianlarich in 1426. The battle was fiercely contested, and victory fell to neither side. So much reduced were the combatants by this encounter that Glenurghy, considering himself capable of over-powering them, actually obtained letters of fire and sword against the rival clans. In this instance, however, he had overestimated his strength, for the Macnabs successfully resisted all his attempts to dispossess them of their lands. Often in the years that followed did the successive lairds of Glenurghy renew their efforts to dispossess the Macnabs of their lands, but during the good old fighting days, those attempts ended in failure and disaster.

Finlay was succeeded in the Chieftainship by his son, PATRICK III, who was confirmed in 1467 in the Office of Ferbaloscip of Auchlyne, by the Prior of the Charter-house in Perth. Ten years later the Prior granted him a new Charter for Auchlyne, as the former one had been lost. In 1487 Patrick resigned his lands and Chieftainship to his son, FINLAY (IV.), who is said to have been a celebrated bard, and who is supposed to be identical with Finlay Macnab, and Finlay, the red-haired bard, whose names and some of whose works are mentioned in "*The book of the Dean of Lismore.*" It is strange how those three names should be considered as representing one person. For Finlay, the red-haired, was clearly a member of the Clan Gregor, and is stated to have been the family bard of Macgregor. The Macnab of that time could scarcely bring himself to play the role of bard to a rival chief.

At this time the Macnabs seem to have set about the recovery of those of their possessions which had been lost in their struggle with the Bruce. They became

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involved in a feud with the Dewars concerning certain relics of St. Fillan; and, at the same time, they commenced that struggle with the Neishes which culminated, many years afterwards, in the defeat of the Clan Neish at the battle of Glenboultachan, about two miles north of the lower end of Loch Earn. The Dewars were neither numerous nor warlike, and in their extremity they applied to the Crown for protection. In 1487 they obtained a Charter confirming them in their possessions, and from that date they had no further trouble with the Macnabs. It was probably due to those clan feuds and his own advanced age, that Patrick resigned his honors to his son. Be that as it may, Patrick died at Auchlyne, in the year following his resignation in favor of his son.

In 1486 Finlay Macnab obtained a Charter from King James III, under the Great Seal, of the lands of Ardchyle and Wester Durnish, in Glendochart. Again, in 1502, he received from James IV a Charter of the lands of Ewer and Leiragan, in Glendochart. At the same time he obtained from the Prior of the Carthusian Monastery at Perth a grant of a croft in Killin, paying, therefore, "Yearly to the parish of Killin three pounds of wax in honor of the Blessed Virgin, and St. Fillan, and All Saints, for the increase of St. Fillan's light before his image, one pound whereof at the Feast of St. Fillan in Summer, and another at the Feast of St. Fillan in Winter."

Soon after that date, Finlay died, in the reign of James IV, and was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (V, Chief), who seems to have been satisfied with merely safeguarding the property which had been recovered by his father. He appears as a witness to a Charter under the Great Seal to Duncan Campbell of Glenurghy, which is dated September 18th, 1511, and wherein he is designated "Finlaus MacNab dominus de eodem." It was in the time of this Chief that the Neishes were at last defeated, and reduced to a small band of reckless outlaws. Mr. Christie, in one of his articles, quotes the following

notice from the chronicle of Fothergill:-- "Finlay MacNab of Bowayne, died at Ilia Rayne, and he was buried at Killin, 13th April, 1525."

He was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (VI Chief), who was evidently a man of another stamp, and who lacked the ability and energy of his father and grandfather. His mother, Mariot Campbell, was life-rented in the lands of Ewer and Leiragan, and on her death, in 1526, these lands passed to her second son, John, in terms of a Charter in his favor.

Finlay mortgaged the greater part of his estate to Colin Campbell of Glenurghy, under a Charter dated 24th November, 1552, and this Charter is confirmed by a Charter under the Great Seal from Mary, dated 27th June, 1553. It was from this transaction that Glenurghy claimed to have "conquessit the superiority of M'Nabb his haill landis." But that claim was never acknowledged by the Macnabs.

In the records of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1552, we find mention is made of a member of the Clan, a certain Allister Macnab. In that year the Council gave orders for the raising of a body of Scottish soldiers to assist the King of France in his wars. Two regiments of Highland foot soldiers were included in the composition of this force, and among those who were enrolled was Allister Macnab. Who this Allister was, and what was his ultimate fate, we are not informed; but in all probability he was some near connection of the Chief.

On August 27th, 1578, at Stirling Castle, Colin Campbell of Ardbaith, became caution for Allister Barryth Macnab, son of Allister Macnab, that he would appear upon the third day of the next Justice Air of the Sheriffdom of Perth, or sooner elsewhere upon fifteen days' warning to underlye the law for all crimes that may be imput to him. About this time the Macnabs had, apparently, been bringing themselves within the reach of the law. In the "Roll of the Clannis (in the Hielands

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and Isles), that her Capitaines, Cheffis, and Chieftaines, quhome on they depend oft tymes agains the willis of their landislordis, and of sum special persons of branchis of the saidis Clannis, 1587," we find mention is made of the " M'Nabbis."

Patrick Dow M'Nab, Wester Ardnagald, is one of the witnesses to a Bond of Manrent between the Fletchers of Auchallader and Duncan Campbell of Glenurghy, dated "at Finlarig, 8th November, 1587." Ardnagald is now a portion of the farm of Bovain, in Glendochart.

The M'Nabbis are also named in the Roll of the broken Clans in the Highlands and Isles, 1594, in an act "for the punishment of theft, reiff, oppression, and soirning."

Finlay, the Mortgager, was succeeded by his son, FINLAY (VII Chief), who entered into a bond of friendship and manrent with his kinsman Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordell, on July 12th, 1606. This bond is dated at Uir, and is witnessed by " James MacNabb, Robert MacNabb, Duncan Dow MacNabb, Archibald MacNabb, Gibbie MacNabb, John MacDhonnell reuich, and Ewan Mackinnons, with uthers," and is signed " Lauchland Mise (*i.e.*, myself) Mac Fingon."

Finlay married Catherine Campbell, daughter of the laird of Glenurghy, and had a family of twelve stalwart sons, of whom the weakest is said to have been able to drive his dirk through a two-inch board.

In 1610 two hundred chosen men of the Campbells, Macnabs, Macdonalds, and Camerons, attacked and defeated a great number of Macgregors at Bintoich. The Macgregors fled to Ranefray, in Glenorchy, where they were again overtaken and overcome by their foes. Seven men of the pursuers were killed, whilst twenty of the Macgregors were slain, along with five of their chief men. At Bintoich fell Patrick Dow Mor Macnab of Acharn.

At Christmas tide, 1612, Macnab sent some of his clansmen to the neighboring town of Crieff to purchase the necessary stores for the approaching festivities. On their homeward way, the Macnabs were ambushed by a party of the Neishes, who sallied from their island fortalice in Loch Earn, and captured the supplies. Dire was the wrath of Chief and Clansmen when the plundered messengers returned to Eilean Ran and reported their mishap. Enraged, as the Macnabs were, they could think of no method by which they could punish the reivers. In the evening the twelve strong sons of Macnab were assembled in the hall of Eilean Ran and busily engaged in planning some signal vengeance on their foes, when their father entered and said in Gaelic: "Si an nochd an oidhche nam b'iad na gillean na gillean"--"This night is the night if the lads were the lads." In an instant the twelve lads were on their feet and arrayed in their war gear. Then hurrying down to the waterside they crossed the stream and took up the family barge, which they bore on their shoulders across the hills to Loch Earn, by way of Glentarken. Having reached the loch, they launched their boat and rowed to the island, where the robbers were holding their carousal with the stolen supplies. On their arrival at the island the grim avengers sunk all the boats in the little harbor, and then proceeded to the habitation of the Neishes. In the keep was a scene of revelry and confusion, for holding all the boats on the loch in their own keeping, the Neishes deemed their hold to be impregnable! Strange, therefore, must have been the thoughts which passed through their minds, when loud above the din of their noisy mirth they heard a sharp and sudden knocking at the outer door. Immediately their noisy merriment ceased, all became silent, and then in a quavering voice the terrified Neish demanded the name and mission of the one who had thus disturbed their orgy. Swiftly came the answer, "Whom would ye least desire?" The speaker was *Iain Min*, or "Smooth John," the heir of Macnab, and the strongest and fiercest man in



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all Braidalbin. With that stern voice sounding in his ears, and with a foreboding of his doom rising before him, the Neish replied, "*Iain Min*." Sharp through the midnight air came again that grim voice: "Then I am he, but rough enough I'll be this night." Trusting in the strength of the stout door the robbers attempted to treat for terms. But spurning all thought of parleying, *Iain Min*, with one swift blow sent the door reeling off its hinges; and next instant he and his brothers were dealing death to the hereditary foes of their House. The Neishes surprised and demoralized by the rapidity and ferocity of their assailants, offered but little resistance. When the fighting, if such it can be called, was over, there remained of the Neishes but two survivors. One was a young lad who had succeeded in concealing himself in time to avoid the vengeance which overtook his family. The other was a female child who escaped the notice of the Macnabs by being under an overturned cradle. Their task having been accomplished, the young Macnabs secured the gory head of the Neish as a trophy of their victory; they then recovered their boat and retraced their journey of the previous night. Ere they left Glentarken they abandoned their boat as it retarded the news of their triumph. The boat was never removed from the place where it was left by the Macnabs, and men born within the past century have talked with men who have viewed its well-bleached fragments. Some time early in last century a portion of the keel was dug out of the moss in which it was embedded. Part of it was given to Mrs. MacNaughton who lived near St. Fillans, and she had it made into a bicker and a walking stick. She was Margaret Macnab, daughter of James Macnab, Milmore, near Killin, and was known as "Margaret Innishewen." The bicker and certain Macnab heirlooms which belonged to her father are still preserved by her descendants. But this is a digression from our narrative. In the morning the chief was delighted to find that the mission of vengeance had

been successful. The proof was convincing when Iain Min cast Neish's head at his feet and said in Gaelic, "*No, biodh fiamh oirbh*" or dread nought. And Macnab acknowledged as he received the gruesome trophy that the night had been the night and the lads were the lads.

From this deed are derived the modern arms of the Macnabs. There is a local tradition to the effect that but three of the sons took part in the enterprise, and that the chief in giving the signal for the attack on the Neishes only acted at the instigation of his wife who had some real or fancied cause of grievance against the three eldest sons. It is said that she hoped that they would be slain so that her favorite son should be heir to the estates. And according to the same tradition, the three sons were by an earlier marriage. History, however, makes no mention of a second wife.

In 1633 there is an act in favor of the Laird of Glenurghy granting him certain lands in the Lordship of Glendochart and elsewhere. About 1640 a battle was fought on the hills above Killin, between the followers of Angus Og XVI, of Keppoch, and a body of Braidalbin men consisting of Campbells, Macnabs, and Menzies. There appears to be some doubt as to the cause of the contest. One version is that Angus was on his homeward way from a foray in Stirlingshire and intended to "lift" the Glenurghy cattle in passing. Another version states that the foray was one in retaliation for a raid made into Keppoch in the previous year by the Braidalbin men. Whatever may have been the *casus belli* Finlarig was the scene of marriage festivities when Angus was first despoiled, but chief and clansman promptly forsook the groaning board to try their fortunes in the field. The fight was brief, but sanguinary, and was won by the Braidalbin men, who, by their superior knowledge of the ground, had their foes at a disadvantage. The Keppoch men managed to save their booty, but so closely were they pursued by the

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victors that they were obliged to leave Angus Og, sorely wounded, in a shealing where he was afterwards discovered and slain by a Campbell.

There is a tradition that Finlay Macnab outlived his stalwart son, and died at an advanced age after the battle of Worcester 1653 is given as the date of his death. But as John certainly acted as chief, and as he is styled the Laird of Macnab in several state papers, we are therefore entitled to regard him as the VIII chief.

John Macnab (Iain Min) who married Mary Campbell, daughter of Duncan Campbell, Laird of Glenlyon, and by her he had a son Alexander, and a daughter Agnes who married Captain Alexander Campbell, of the House of Achallader.

During the civil war the chief, with the majority of his clansmen, fought for the royal cause. Joining Montrose after the battle of Alford, Macnab remained with him until after the battle of Kilsyth, when he was commissioned by his leader to defend the Castle of Kincardine. The castle held out until the 14th day of March, 1646, and was then abandoned by its defenders through lack of food and water. Macnab and his servant were captured, but the rest of the garrison escaped in the sally.

In December, 1645, whilst many of the clansmen were holding Kincardine, Campbell of Ardkinglass collected a strong body of Argyllshire men and raided Glendochart. There he was joined by the Glenorchy Campbells and the disaffected Menzies and Stewarts. Unable to stem the force of this motley host, a small party of Macgregors and Macnabs captured the Castle of Edinample from its owner, Colin Campbell, and therein they fortified themselves. Whilst the covenanting force lay around the castle, Montrose, who was then in Strathspey, was notified of the state of affairs around Lochearn, and he promptly gave orders to his kinsman Graeme of Inchbrakie to raise a body of Athole men and advance against the besiegers. His commands were carried out by Inchbrakie,

whose sudden appearance alarmed the Whigs and forced them to seek safety in flight. Reinforced by the small party in the castle, Inchbrakie moved in pursuit of the Campbells and overtook them at Callander. Having crossed the Teith at that place the fugitives rallied under the belief that they could hold the fords of the river against their pursuers. But Graeme speedily undeceived them, for splitting up his force and sending a small party to attack the enemy in front while a stronger body crossed by a ford higher up the river, he attacked the Whigs in front and flank and rooted them from their position. The defeated force scattered in almost all directions and fled by devious ways towards Stirling, and so hotly were they pursued by Graeme that the pursuit ceased only when they were within a mile of that town.

About this time the names of several Macnabs occur in the Scots Acts of Parliament. In an Act of exemption, in 1649, is the name of a certain John Baine M'Nab. In 1650 there is a supplication from Jonat Campbell, relict of John M'Nab, anent the adjustment of her umphile husband's compts. In the same volume (vi.) there are the names of Capt. John M'Nab, keeper of Garth, and Capt. Wm. M'Nab.

Macnab and his servant after being captured in the sally from Kincardine were conveyed to Edinburgh, and there they were thrown into the castle. After a brief trial Macnab was condemned to death, but on the night previous to the day fixed for his execution he escaped from the castle and made his way back to Glendochart.

In 1650 Charles II was received by the Scots, and amongst those who joined his standard was John Macnab with 300 of his men. On the 3rd of September, 1651, Macnab was slain at the battle of Worcester, and was succeeded by his son

ALEXANDER (IX CHIEF), then a boy of about four years of age. At this time the Campbells, taking advantage of the pupilarity of the Chief, and the



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unsettled state of the country, plundered the lands of the Macnabs, and destroyed the castle of Eillean Rou. They also took away many of the heirlooms of the family. All this was done under the name of justice, and to enable Glenurghy to make up losses sustained by him at the hands of the Macnabs. The order authorizing this travesty of justice was granted to Glenurghy by General Monk, and dated from Dalkeith on the 21st November, 1654. Campbell of Glenlyon, who was brother of Macnab's widow, was one of the foremost leaders in this raid. The widow was obliged to petition General Monk for a portion of her late husband's lands by which she could support herself and her children. Monk wrote to Captain Gascoigne, who commanded the troops of the Commonwealth stationed at Finlarig, and on the 18th of the same month another letter was written by Monk to Glenurghy "desiring him to forbear to trouble the widow of the deceased laird of M'Nab, as she has paid sesse and lived peaceably since her husband's death." This protection was also given to "Archibald MacNab of Agharm." Nothing came of those letters until the Restoration in 1661.

Alexander married a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem by whom he had ROBERT (X CHIEF) who married Anne Campbell. Robert Macnab accompanied Glenurghy in his expedition against Caithness (1680-1681), and took part in the series of battles which culminated in the total defeat of the Caithness men at Altimarloch, three miles from the town of Wick.

During the time of this Chief a robber on his way home from a creach in Strathearn was met at the south end of the Bridge of Dochart by Macnab who refused to allow him to pass through the Macnab Lands. The robber drew his sword and so furious was his attack that Macnab was obliged to give way before him; but Donald Mandach Macnab in the Sliochd of Kinnell taking his chiefs place forced the robber to surrender his sword and give up his booty. The creach

thus recovered was restored to the plundered victims in Strathearn.

Among the Government documents of 1678 is a "list of the names of the Heads and branches of families that are to come to Inverlochry and give bond to the Commissioners of Council betwixt and on the twenty day of November next," and first on the list is Archibald MacNab of Aucharn; 3rd on the list is Finlay M'Nab of Innis Ewen, and 4th last on the list is James M'Nab in the Kirkton of Strathfillan.

It was probably about that time that a robber who lurked among the rocks at the head of Glenogle and preyed upon unwary travelers was met and slain by a member of the Clan.

In 1714 (March 13-22) James MacNab was prosecuted for the slaughter of one MacHomish by the sword.

During the brief Campaign of the "Fifteen" the Earl of Breadalbane and his brother-in-law Macnab of Macnab remained at home, but their respective clans are reported to have been "out" for the House of Stewart. At that time the Jacobites had a large permanent Camp in Strathfillan; and in 1719 a body of Highlanders from that Camp marched north to Glenshiel where they joined a party of Spanish troops and fought against the Government forces under General Whightman. The Highlanders claimed to have beaten the Government forces; but shortly afterwards the Spaniards, disheartened by their wild surroundings, were glad to surrender.

In 1724 General Wade moved through the Highlands making his roads and collecting the arms of the Clans. Next year he called upon the Macnabs to surrender their arms, but in this instance he had to content himself with a refusal.

Throughout the troubles of the "Forty-five" the Chief and his own immediate family were staunch supporters of the Government. John Macnab his eldest -son fought as a Captain of the 42nd Regiment at Prestonpans where he was taken

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prisoner by the Jacobites and committed to Doune Castle for safe keeping.

The Clan at large under Alexander Macnab of Innishewen, Archibald Macnab of Acharn and Alan Macnab of Dundurn fought for the Stewarts. Donald MacNab, Brae Leing (sic), is the only Macnab whose name is given in the "Lists of Rebels" supplied to the Government by the Supervisors of Excise. He was a younger brother of Macnab of Innishewen. That other Macnabs were not named in the "Lists" is due to the fact that in those days Glendochart was beyond the reach of the Law and Excise.

After Culloden some of the Soldiers stationed at Finlarig set out to burn the house of Corrychaoroch on the north side of Benmore. As they reached their destination they were observed by a member of the Innisewen family who divining their object placed himself under cover and opened fire on them and so unerring was his aim that seven (or as some reports say nine) soldiers fell ere the others abandoned their task as impossible.

When the government troops were scouring the Braes of Balquhiddier in search of Jacobites the daughter of Finlay Macnab in Craigruiie is said to have saved the life of Stewart of Glenbuckie who was then an infant, by carrying him to a place of concealment in the hills.

In the Appendix to Chambers History of the Rebellion there are several references to Alexander Macnab of Innishewen, in the papers of Murray of Broughton Secretary to Charles.

According to M' Lay's Rob Roy, "the Grants Mackinnons, Macnabs and Mackays and others who had departed from the M'Gregors held several conferences with them in 1748 (during a meeting which lasted for fourteen days in Athole) for the purpose of petitioning Parliament to repeal the attainder that hung over them, but some disagreement having taken place among their chiefs as to the general name under which all of them should again be rallied, their meetings

and resolutions were broken off and no further notice taken of the proposal."

Robert MacNab had a numerous family but only two sons survived him. They were John who became eleventh Chief (after referred to), and Archibald who died at Edinburgh 2nd January 1790 and was buried at Inchbui. Archibald followed the profession of arms and his Commissions date, as ensign in the 43rd Regiment raised in May 1740; as Captain in Loudon's Highlanders 1745; as Major in John Campbell of Duntroons Highlanders 1757; and Lt.-Colonel in 1777. He served in the Wars in Europe and America, and was at the taking of Quebec. At the time of his death he was a Lieutenant-General.

Of the Kinnell ladies of this time one, Anne, married John Stewart 7th of Fasnacloich; another named Christian married Alan Stewart of Innerhadden 2nd son of Rev. Duncan Stewart of Innerhadden and Strathgarry. Another daughter is said to have married a member of the Dundurn family. Patrick Campbell son of Duncan the disinherited and Patrick Campbell XXI of the House of Craignish are also said to have taken their wives from the family of Kinnell. One of the 151 Witnesses called by the Crown in the Trial of James Stewart of the Glens in 1752 for the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure was Anne Roy MacNab, daughter to the deceased Alexander MacNab, who was brother to John Macnab, of Bovain.

JOHN MACNAB XI. Chief married Jean Buchanan only sister of Francis Buchanan laird of Arnprior who was executed at Carlisle in 1746.

Anne Campbell widow of Robert MacNab of Macnab died at Lochdochart 6th September 1765.

Pennant in his Tour of 1769 mentions that "in Glenurghy dwells M'Nab a smith whose family have lived in that humble station since the year 1440 being always of the same profession.

The first of the line was employed by the lady of Sir Duncan Campbell who

## History of the Clan Macnab

### Part two:

built the Castle of Kilchurn when her lord was absent. Some of their tombs are in the Churchyard of Glenurghie; the oldest has a hammer and other implements of his trade cut on it."

These Smiths were famed for the manufacture of swords, Highland dirks and *sgian dubhs* the temper and style of blade being unrivalled.

John Macnab died at Kinnell 19th February 1778 aged 80 years and was survived by his widow, two sons and two daughters. His sons were Francis who succeeded him, and Robert who was a Doctor and married Anne Maule. His daughters were Elizabeth and Marjory, of whom one married Dick Miller, Esq., and the other married Colonel Campbell of Balyveolan.

FRANCIS MACNAB XII Chief was quite a celebrity in his day. In stature and appearance he was a man cast in nature's largest mould, and his strength was enormous. He was strong in will, and was witty and original in his ideas. At one time he was a farmer on a large scale, and his extensive holdings stretched from the "Varied realms of fair Menteith" to his own rugged scenery of Glendochart and Lochtayside. Humorous and eccentric he might be ; but he was beloved by his clansmen, and well might it be so, for he was a typical Macnab, and the ideal of what a Highland chief should be. He was of a humane disposition, and many of his kindly deeds as well as his witty sayings are still treasured in the memories of those whose forefathers claimed kinship or acquaintance with him. As a Justice of the Peace for Perthshire, he was ever sympathetic with the poor, and remarkably subtle in his decisions. It was to his foresight in the early years of last century that Callander owes its famous "Dreadnought Hotel." His many business ventures kept him in a state of perpetual worry; and to the cares of business he added the excitement of several good going law pleas.

At Fuentes d' Onora (Almeida) on May 3rd, 1811, Lieutenant Allan MacNab, died

of his wounds, and to his memory a small tablet was inserted in the wall of the enclosure at Inchbui by his cousin, Archibald MacNab. In Messrs. W. & A. Keith Johnston's Work on the Clans, published some years ago Allan is erroneously named Francis Maximus MacNab. Francis Maximus was a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh and the author of several works. He and Allan were half brothers.

Dr. Robert MacNab, brother of the Chief, and styled of Bovain, died at Killin, June 8th 1814, and was buried at Inchbui.

Anne Maule MacNab, daughter of Dr. Robert MacNab, and wife of R. Jamieson, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh, died in Edinburgh 4th October 1814.

According to Bishop Gleig's "Lists" the following Macnabs were present at Waterloo:

30 Regt. Foot 2nd Batt. (Cambridge)  
Captain M'Nab, killed  
52 Regt. Foot 1st Batt. (Oxfordshire)  
Ensign J. MacNab  
Commissariat, D. Macnab

During those warlike times several members of the Clan served with honor in various parts of the world. Among those who fought in India were Captain James and Captain Robert Macnab who were of the House of Kinnell and were brothers to Allan MacNab who died at Almeida.

Robert was in the Buffs and on two occasions saved the Colors.

Francis Macnab died at Callander, Perthshire, in his 82nd year, May 25th 1816. After his death several sketches of his sayings and doings appeared in Chamber s Journal, and the Literary Gazette, and even at this late date anecdotes concerning him crop up in the Press. Many of the modern tales however are utterly spurious.

He was succeeded in the Chieftainship by his nephew ARCHIBALD MACNAB XIII Chief, who was son of Dr Robert Macnab of Bovain. In early life Archibald had studied law, and on succeeding to the

## History of the Clan Macnab

### Part two:

estates, he combined the profession of a private banker with his duties as a chief and landed proprietor. He married a Miss Robertson whose father was a Writer to the Signet, and one of the Clerks in the Register House, Edinburgh. By her he had eight children of whom but one Sarah Ann survived him; the others all died in infancy. His speculations turned out disastrously, and in order to make ends meet he was obliged to dispose of some of his lands. But his troubles increased, and owing to his own folly and extravagance his creditors, of whom Lord Breadalbane was the principal one, were forced to take strong measures against him in order to protect their own interests. They obtained a decree from the Court of Session, and for some time the Chief was a fugitive from Justice. In 1821 he and many of his clans people emigrated to Canada where he had obtained a land grant. His changed condition carried no lesson to the Chief, and in Canada he proceeded to live over again his old life of foolish extravagance.

In 1828 the old estate of the Macnabs passed from the family in virtue of a Decree from the Court of Session.

In Canada his tenants imbibed the Western air of freedom and soon began to object to his control over their land. Troubles multiplied and by 1837, the year of the Rebellion, they were in open revolt against his authority, and

refused to enlist in the regiment he was commissioned to raise. His kinsman, Allan Napier M'Nab of Dundurn, Hamilton, Ontario, was more fortunate, and prompt suppression of the Rebellion was due mainly to his energetic measures. In recent years there have been several articles written on Macnab; but they showed in most instances a decided bias against the Chief. Faults he certainly had, but at the same time it ought to be remembered that he had also many good qualities, and that his opponents were not wholly free from blame.

In 1853 Macnab returned to Europe and after revisiting his native land retired to the Continent, where he died at Lannion, Cotes-du-Nord, Bretagne, France, 12th August, 1860, aged 83. Like all his predecessors he was stately in appearance, and courtly and affable in his manner; he was strong willed and of a proud passionate disposition. He lacked the great stature and strength of his uncle Francis, and he lacked that uncle's grim regard for the lands and honor of Macnab. Whilst he was a bitter and relentless foe he was kindly disposed to the needy and hospitable to all who entered his house. With him passed away the last acknowledged Chief of the Clan. His widow died at Florence in 1868; and his daughter Sarah Ann who styled herself of Macnab and wore the triple plumes denoting the headship of the Clan, died at the same place in January, 1894.



History of the Clan Macnab  
Part two:



JOHN MACNAB, Esq., of Kinglassie, Fife,  
Glenmavis, Bathgate,  
First President of the Society

Sprung from the Macnabs, and of collateral descent with them, are the Macnairs, a family well known in certain parts of Perthshire. Their ancestor simply dropped the Macnab from the old designation of "Macnab Oighre," and retained the latter portion of Oighre or Eyre (Heir) as his surname. The Macnairs are mentioned on the records in the 14th century.

In the various accounts of the Macnabs of Macnab we find that they intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kinfauns, Graeme of Inchbrakie, Drummond of Balloch, Robertson of Struan, and Haldane of Gleneagles.

SEPTS OF CLANN AN ABA:

MacNabs, MacNabbs, Macnabs, MacNairs, Macnairs, M'Nabs, M'Nabbs, M'Nairs, Abbots, Abbotsons, Abbotts, certain Dewars, Dows, Gows, Baines, Gilfillans, Macgowans, M'Clagans, M'Intyres, &c.

DESIGNATION OF CHIEF. Mac an Aba, Oighre, or son and heir of the Abbot, MacNab, The M'Nab, M'Nab of M'Nab, MacNab of Bovain

CADETS. Aucharn, Dundurn, Innishewen, Strathfillan, Suie, Newton, Cowie, Jamaica, &c

FAMILY SEAT. Anciently Eilean Ran, at the junction of the Dochart and Loch Tay, modern residence dating from the time of the Commonwealth, Kinnell.

BANNER. The Green one common to the Clans of the Siol Alpin Confederacy

ARMS. Sa. on a Chev. Ar. 3 Crescents vert, in base an open boat in a Sea ppr

CREST. A Savage's head affrontee ppr

MOTTO. " Na bitheadh fiamh oirbh," or " Bitheadh eagal fada bho gach duine," Dreadnought, Timor Omnis abesto

SUAICHEANTAS OR BADGE. Ruiteag, Roebuck berry (*Rubus saxatilis*, Stone bramble).

CATH-GHAIRM OR WARCRY.

PIPE Music. "Fmlte Mhic an Aba," or Macnab's Salute. "Cothional Chloinn an Aba," The Gathering of the Clan Macnab. The March of the Clan Macnab. The Retreat of the Clan Macnab

History of the Clan Macnab  
Part two:



Commander JOHN MACNAB, Royal Naval Reserve,  
First Vice President of the Society.



E. ROLLAND McNAB, Esq., J.P., S.S.C., Edinburgh,  
First Secretary of the Society.



Mrs. OGILVY REID.

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part three**

The Highland Clans of Scotland: Their History and Traditions

This version of the Clan History comes from volume two of "The Highland Clans of Scotland: Their History and Traditions" by George Eyre-Todd, printed in 1923 and published by D. Appleton and Company New York, the full text of which may be found on [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) both as a text and PDF file.

Interestingly, the narrative begins with several stories about Francis MacNab, it then continues with a description of the relics contained in Kinnel House before the contents were sold. The author then continues with the story of Smooth John (Ian Min Macnab) and the MacNish feud before giving a short account of the origins of the Clan.

CLAN MACNAB pages 382--388

BADGE: Giuthas (Pinus sylvestris) pine. PIBROCH: Failte mhic an Abba.

IT is recorded by Lockhart in his Life of Sir Walter Scott that the great romancer once confessed that he found it difficult to tell over again a story which had caught his fancy without "giving it a hat and stick." Among the stories to which Sir Walter was no doubt wont to make such additions were more than one which had for their subject the somewhat fantastic figure of Francis MacNab, chief of that clan, whose portrait, painted by Raeburn, is one of the most famous achievements of that great Scottish artist, and who, after a warm-hearted and somewhat convivial career, died at Callander on 25th May, 1816. It was one of these presumably partly true stories, fathered upon the Chief, which Scott was on one occasion telling at the breakfast table at Abbotsford when his wife, who did not always understand the point of the narrative, looked up from her coffee pot, and, with an attempt to show herself interested in the matter in hand, exclaimed "And is MacNab dead?" Struck of a heap by the innocent ineptitude of the remark, Scott, says Lockhart, looked quizzically at his wife, and with a smile replied, "Well, my dear, if he isn't dead they've done him a grave injustice, for they've buried him."

Another story of MacNab, told by Sir Walter, this time in print, had probably truth behind it, for it was in full agreement with the humor and shortcomings of the Chief. The latter, it is said, was somewhat in the habit of forgetting to pay all his outstanding debts before he left

Edinburgh for his Highland residence at the western end of Loch Tay, and on one occasion a creditor had the temerity to send a Sheriff's officer into the Highlands to collect the account. MacNab, who saw the messenger arrive at Kinnell, at once guessed his errand. With great show of Highland hospitality he made the man welcome, and would not allow any talk of business that night. In the morning, when the messenger awoke and looked from his bedroom window, he was horrified to see the figure of a man suspended from the branch of a tree in front of the house.

Making his way downstairs, he enquired of a servant the meaning of the fearful sight, and was answered by the man casually that it was "Just a bit tam messenger body that had the presumption to bring a bit o' paper frae Edinburgh to ta Laird." Needless to say, when breakfast time came the Sheriff's officer was nowhere to be found.

Many other stories not told by Sir Walter Scott, were wont to be fathered upon the picturesque figure of the MacNab Chief. One of these may be enough to show their character.

On one occasion, it is said, MacNab paid a visit to the new Saracen Head Inn in Glasgow, and, on being shown to his room for the night, found himself confronted with a great four-poster bed, a contrivance with which he had not hitherto made acquaintance. Looking at it for a moment he said to his man, "Donald, you go in there," pointing to the bed itself;" the



**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part three**

MacNab must go aloft." And with his man's help he made his way to the higher place on the canopy. After an hour or two, it is said, he addressed his henchman. "Donald," he whispered; but the only reply was a snore from the happy individual ensconced upon the feathers below. "Donald, ye rascal," he repeated, and, having at last secured his man's attention, enquired, "Are ye comfortable down there?" Donald declared that he was comfortable, whereupon MacNab is said to have rejoined, "Man, if it werena for the honor of the thing I think I would come down beside ye!"

The little old mansion-house of Kinnell, in which Francis, Chief of MacNab, entertained his friends not wisely but too well, still stands in the pleasant meadows on the bank of the Dochart opposite Killin, not far from the spot where that river enters Loch Tay. It is now a possession of the Earl of Breadalbane, but it still contains many curious and interesting pieces of antique furniture and other household plenishing which belonged to the old chiefs of the clan. Among these, in the little old low-roofed dining-room, which has seen many a revel in days gone by, remains the quaint gate-legged oak table with folding wings and drawers, the little low sideboard, black with age, with spindle legs and brass mountings, the corner cupboard with carved doors, the fine old writing bureau with folding top and drawers underneath, and the antique "wag at the wa' "clock still ticking away the time, between the two windows, which witnessed the hospitalities of the redoubtable Laird of MacNab himself. Among minor relics in a case in the drawing-room are his watch, dated 1787, his snuff-box, seal, spectacles, and shoe buckles, while above the dining-room door are some pewter flagons bearing the inscriptions, probably carved on them by some guest:

Here's beef on the board  
And there's troot on the slab,  
Here's welcome for a'  
And a health to MacNab.

and  
For warlocks and bogles  
We're nae carin' a dab,  
Syne safe for the night  
'Neath the roof o' MacNab

Besides old toddy ladles of horn and silver, great cut-glass decanters, silver quaichs, and pewter salvers, and a set of rare old round-bowled pewter spoons, some or all of which were MacNab possessions, there is the Kinnell Bottle bearing the following inscription: "It is stated the Laird had a bottle that held nine gallons (nine bottles ?) which was the joy of his friends. This holds nine bottles, the gift of a friend." The late Laird of Kinnell, the Marquess of Breadalbane, took great pains to collect and retain within the walls of the little old mansion as many relics as possible of its bygone owners, and amid such suggestive relics as " the long gun" of the MacNabs, a primitive weapon of prodigious length and weight; the old Kinnell basting-spoon, known as Francis's Porridge Spoon long enough to be used for supping with a certain personage; and the actual brass candlestick which belonged to the terrible Smooth John MacNab presently to be mentioned, it is not difficult to picture the life which was led here in the valley of the Dochart by the old lairds of MacNab and their house holds.

Kinnell is famous to-day for another possession, nothing less than the largest vine in the world. This is a black Hamburg of excellent quality, half as large again as that at Hampton Court. It has occupied its present position since 1837, and is capable of yielding a thousand bunches of grapes in the year, each weighing a pound and a half, though it is never allowed to ripen more than half that number.

Kinnell House of the present day, however, is not the original seat of the MacNab Chief. This was situated some hundreds of yards nearer the loch than the present mansion- house, and though no traces of it now exist, the spot is associated with not a few incidents which remain among the most



## History of the Clan Macnab Part three

dramatic and characteristic in Highland history.

Most famous of these incidents is that which terminated the feud of the MacNabs with Clan Neish, whose headquarters were at St. Fillans on Lochearnside, some twelve miles away. The two clans had fought out their feud in a great battle in Glen Boltachan, above St. Fillans. In that battle the Neishes had been all but wiped out, and the remnant of them, retiring to the only island in Lochearn, took to a life of plunder, and secured themselves from reprisals by allowing no boats but their own on the loch. After a time, however, encouraged by immunity, they went so far as to plunder the messenger of MacNab himself, as he returned on one occasion from Crieff with the Chief's Christmas fare. On news of the affront reaching Kinnell, MacNab became red with wrath. Striding into the room where his twelve sons sat, he told them of what had occurred, and ended his harangue with the significant hint, "The night is the night, if the lads were the lads." At that, it is said, the twelve got up, filed out, and, headed by Smooth John, so called because he was the biggest and brawniest of the household, proceeded to vindicate the honor of their name. Taking a boat from Loch Tay, they carried it in relays across the hills and launched it on Loch Earn. When they reached the island fastness of their enemies in the middle of the night, all were asleep but old Neish himself, who called out in alarm to know who was there. "Whom do you least wish to see?" Was the answer, to which he replied, "There is no one I would fear if it were not Smooth John MacNab." "And Smooth John it is," returned that brawny individual, as he drove in the door. Next morning, as the twelve young men filed into their father's presence at Kinnell, Smooth John set the head of the Neish Chief on the table with the words, "The night was the night, and the lads were the lads." At that, it is said, old MacNab looked up and answered only "Dreadnought!" And from that hour the

Neish's head has remained the cognizance and "Dreadnought" the motto of the MacNab Clan. A number of years ago, as if to corroborate the details of this narrative, the fragments of a boat were found far up on the hills between Loch Tay and Loch Earn, where it may be supposed Smooth John and his brothers had grown tired of carrying it, and abandoned their craft.

Many other warlike incidents are narrated of the clan. It has been claimed that the race were originally MacDonalds; but from its location and other facts it seems now to be admitted that the clan was a branch of the Siol Alpin, of which the MacGregors were the main stem. From the earliest time the chiefs possessed extensive lands in the lower part of Glendochart, at the western end of Loch Tay. A son of the chief, who flourished during the reign of David I. in the twelfth century, was abbot or prior of Glendochart, and from him the race took its subsequent name of Mac an Abba, or MacNab, "the son of the abbot." At the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, the MacNab Chief took part with his powerful neighbor, the Lord of Lome, on the side of the Baliols and Comyns, and against King Robert the Bruce. The king's historian, John Barbour, records that Bruce's brother-in-law, Sir Christopher Seton, was betrayed to the English and a fearful death by his confidant and familiar friend MacNab, and it is said the MacNabs particularly distinguished themselves in the famous fight at Dal Righ, near Tyndrum, at the western end of Glendochart, in which John of Lome nearly succeeded in cutting off and capturing Bruce himself. For this they came under Bruce's extreme displeasure, with the result that they lost a large part of their possessions. The principal message of the lands which remained to them was known as the Bowlain, and for this the chief received a crown charter from David II in 1336. This charter was renewed with additions in 1486, 1502 and at other dates.

## History of the Clan Macnab Part three

Already, however, in the fifteenth century, the MacNabs had begun to suffer from the schemes and encroachments of the great house of Campbell, which was then extending its possessions in all directions from its original stronghold of Inch Connell amid the waters of Loch Awe. Among other enterprises the MacNabs were instigated by Campbell of Loch Awe to attack their own kinsman, the MacGregors. The upshot was a stiff fight near Crianlarich, in which the MacNabs were almost exterminated. After the fight, when both clans were considerably weakened, the Knight of Lochow proceeded to vindicate the law upon both of them, not without considerable advantage to him.

In 1645, when the Marquess of Montrose raised the standard of Charles I in Scotland, he was joined by the Chief of MacNab, who, with his clansmen, fought bravely in Montrose's crowning victory at Kilsyth. He was then appointed to garrison Montrose's own castle of Kincardine, near Auchterarder in Strathearn. The stronghold, however, was besieged by a Covenanting force under General Leslie, and MacNab found that it would be impossible to maintain the defense. Accordingly, in the middle of the night, he sallied forth, sword in hand, at the head of his three hundred clansmen, when all managed to cut their way through the besieging force, except the Chief himself and one follower. These were made captive and sent to Edinburgh, where MacNab, though a prisoner of war, was accorded at the hands of Covenanters the same treatment as they meted out at Newark Castle and elsewhere [to the other adherents of Montrose, who had been captured] at the battle of Philiphaugh. MacNab was condemned to death, but on the night before his execution he contrived to escape, and afterwards, joining the young King Charles II, he followed him into England, and fell at the battle of Worcester in 1651. Meanwhile his house had been burnt, his charters destroyed, and his property given to Campbell of Glenurchy, kinsman of the

Marquess of Argyll, then at the head of the; Covenanting party and the Government of Scotland. So reduced was the state of the house that MacNab's widow was forced to apply for relief to General Monk, Cromwell's plenipotentiary in Scotland. That General ordered Glenurchy, one of whose chief strongholds was Finlarig Castle, close to Kinnell on Loch Tay side, to restore the MacNab possessions to the widow and her son. The order, however, had little effect, and after the Restoration only a portion of the ancient lands were restored to them by the Scottish Parliament.

These lands might still have belonged to the MacNabs but for the extraordinary character and exuberant hospitality of Francis, the twelfth Chief, already referred to. Two more stories of this redoubtable personage may be repeated. He was deputed on one occasion to go to Edinburgh to secure from the military authorities clothing and accoutrements for the Breadalbane Fencibles, then being raised. The General in Command ventured to express some doubt as to the existence of the force, and MacNab proceeded to further his case with the high military authority by addressing him again and again as "My little man. MacNab himself, it may be mentioned, was a personage of towering height, and, with his lofty bonnet, belted plaid, and other appurtenances, made a truly formidable figure. The Fencibles being raised, he marched them to Edinburgh, and was much mortified on being stopped by an excise party, who took them for a party of smugglers carrying a quantity of whisky, of which they had received intimation. MacNab, it is said, indignantly refused to stop, and on the excisemen insisting in the name of His Majesty, the Chief haughtily replied, "I also am on His Majesty's service. Halt! This, my lads, is a serious affair, load with ball." At this, it is said, the officers perceived the sort of personage they had to do with, and prudently gave up their attempt.

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
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By reason of the burdens accumulated on the estate by the twelfth Chief the greater part of the possessions of the family passed into the hands of the House of Breadalbane.

Then the last Chief who had his home at Kinnell betook himself to Canada. At a later day he returned and sold the last of his possessions in this country, the Dreadnought Hotel in Callander. When he died he bequeathed all his heirlooms to Sir Allan MacNab, Bart., Prime Minister Canada, whom he considered the next Chief. But Sir Allan's son was killed by a gun accident when shooting in the Dominion and since then the chief ship has been claimed by more than one person. Sir Allan MacNab's second daughter, Sophia Mary, married the seventh Earl Albemarle.

The chief memorial of the old MacNab family in Glendochart to-day is their romantic burying-place among the trees on the rocky islet of Inch Buidhe in the Dochart, little way above Kinnell. There, with the Dochart in it rocky bed singing its great old song for ever around their dust, rest in peace the once fierce beating hearts of the old descendants of the Abbot of Glendochart and the royal race of Alpin.

SEPTS OF CLAN MACNAB Abbotson Dewar  
Macandeoir



KINNELL HOUSE, NEAR KILLIN, ANCIENT SEAT OF THE MACNAB CHIEF

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
**Part four**

**In Famed Breadalbane, the Story of the Antiquities, Lands and People of a Highland District**

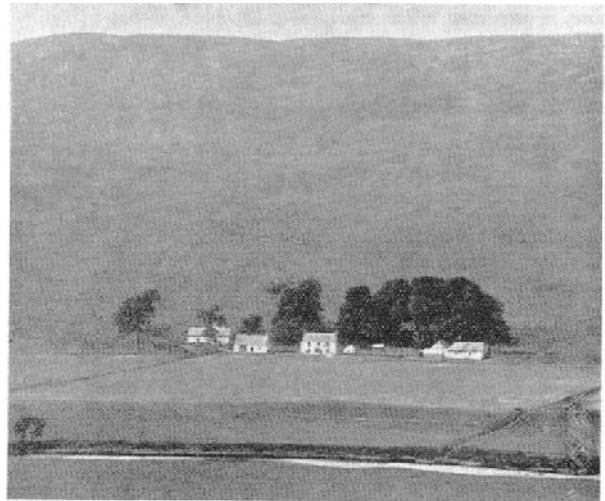
This version of the History of the Clan Macnab forms chapter VIII of "In Famed Breadalbane, the Story of the Antiquities, Lands and People of a Highland District" by William A. Gillies, Minister of Kenmore. This book was originally published in 1938 by The Munro Press, Perth. A modern facsimile edition has been published by Framedram Publishers, Ellon [www.northernbooks.co.uk](http://www.northernbooks.co.uk). Mr. Gillies has a strong opinion about the genealogy of the chiefly family, believing that, owing to the lack of documentation, it is largely made up and rather fantastical. One cannot deny that he has a point as, whatever Macnab family papers existed have been lost. That same absence of documents also means that the clan history, as given, cannot be disproved.

This book is referenced in the current Clan History and in the "Green Book" version that preceded it. The text is presented as in the book with the exception of some conversion of spelling from British to American English. The photos are also taken from the book and are roughly in the same locations as there.

**CHAPTER VIII**

**The Macnabs of Bovain**

For nearly a thousand years Glendochart was the home of the famous, and once numerous, Clan-an-Aba, or Macnabs; yet to-day there is only one occupier of land bearing that name in the stretch of twenty miles between the head of Loch Tay and Tyndrum. Skene<sup>1</sup> says that we may recognize in the Macnabs the descendants of the lay abbots of Glendochart. This appears to be a much more probable descent than that assigned to them by Buchanan of Auchmar, who claims that they were descended from the first abbot of Inchaffray, whose surname was MacDonal, in the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. Inchaffray, however, was founded in the reign of William the Lion, and the first abbot was Malis, presbyter and hermit.



Bovain, the Original Home of the Macnabs

The genealogy of the Macnabs, given in the Gaelic Manuscript of 1450, and printed in the Transactions of the Iona Club, "Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis," is quite absurd. This genealogy traces the origin of the family back to a period prior to the founding of St. Fillan's priory in Glendochart. The Macnabs, the Mackinnons, and the MacGregors appear to have had a common ancestry, and evidence of their kinship is found in two curious bonds of friendship that were drawn up between the chiefs of these respective clans in the seventeenth century. The first of these bonds is dated 12th July, 1606, and was entered into between Lauchlan

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<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM FORBES SKENE "Highlanders of Scotland," published in 1837

**History of the Clan Macnab**  
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Mackimion of Strathordel, in Skye, and Finlay Macnab of Bovain, who happened "to forger together with certain of the said Finlay's friends in their rooms, in the Laird of Glenurchy's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay, being come of ane house and being of ane surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygane oversaw their awn dueties till adderis, in respect of the long distance betwixt their dwelling places," agreed with the consent of their kin and friends to give all assistance and service to each other ; and are "content to subscribe the same with their hands led to the pen." Mackinnon signs his name—"Lauchland, mise (i.e. myself) MacFingon." The other bond of friendship, dated at Kilmorie, Skye, in 1671, was between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathordel and James MacGregor of MacGregor, and it is therein stated that "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully fra twa brethern of auld descent, wherefore, and for certain onerous causes moving, we wit ye we to be bound and oblesit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends, and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

**A Fantastic Genealogy**

The genealogy of the Macnabs has presented much difficulty owing to the absence of family papers. It is said that the Macnab writs were destroyed on two occasions, first in the time of King Robert the Bruce, and again when the castle of Ellanryne was burned down by the English during the Commonwealth. The genealogy given in the Douglas Baronage is fanciful and fictitious and has an extraordinary history behind it. When Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie was collecting material for his book, in 1768, he wrote to John Macnab of Bovain, then chief of the clan, for information concerning his family. Macnab prepared a genealogy, which Douglas stated to be pretty good so far as it went, and he himself undertook "to make it fuller and better." At the same time the historian asked Macnab to furnish him with further details regarding his immediate ancestors and their children, and any anecdotes concerning the clan that he could recollect. John

Macnab thereupon wrote to his brother, Archibald Macnab, then a colonel and afterwards a general in the British Army, in the following terms:

"Dr. B. yours of the 6th June I had, and wou'd be extremely happy how soon your affairs would admitt of your being here. You see I lost no time in writting Mr. Douglass, and sent him the accompt of our Family in the very manner you sent me. On perusing it frequently with all attention I found you justly took care not to Incence or Raise the ill nature and Umbrage of the B.' family against us. You are, as well as I am, sensible the doing it att this time of day answered no ends, nor would Monk's Letters being so very recent add any Antiquity To the Family, and placing them or any pairt of them of course behoved to rip up old sor's and Disgrace B's family. Mr. Douglass may indeed mention his having by him letters from Monk will prove that the Great Family kepted possession of the whole of our Estate during the length of the Usurpation, and still hes some of it to this day, but does not incline to insert them at this juncture; this I intended to have inseart in the skeath, but delayed doing it till I had your thought thereon. I was also for Two or three days Endeavouring, but in vain, to get rid of the Etimologie of our name, I mean Abbot's son, Fearing that when published the Readers might Infer therefrom wee were bastards ; Because noe Abbot or Kirkman in Orders befor the Reformation were allowed by their Canons marriage. To obviate this my Intention was to putt it on this footing, viz:—That as the Abbots of old amassed a deall of Riches, That this Abbot of Glendochard had given all the lands he had acquired of Temporalities to his Nevay, or nearest Heir, and had got thereby the Appellation of M'nab Eyre (i.e. heir); by this we get quyt clear of the Imputation of bastardy, which to the utmost of our power wee ought to guard against. I have just now write to Mr. Douglass that I sent you a Cobby of what was sent him, and desyred he would print nothing till he heard from us, not knowing but we might make some alterations. If I send him what he wants I shou'd mention Achalader and Achlyne come of our Grandfather; let me have your opinion of this also. If you approve of thir remarks I have made, and as I believe you have kepted by you a Cobby of what you sent me, you may att conveniency Extend it a new and remit to me. Frank is just now at Ednr. pushing and procuring of some £100 pounds mentioned in my last. I expect he'll meet with success. Wee are all in good health, and Jamie is become a Father, but I doe not think his son will live any Time. My wife, Rob, and Don. Campbells wife, who is here, joyne in compliments. To you, and I ever remaine.

Your affect. Brother,  
Kinnell 3d July, 1768" John Macnab .



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The fantastic genealogy prepared by John Macnab and his brother in this remarkable way bears on its face the marks of inaccuracy; yet, strange to say, it has been accepted as true by historians, and has received the approval of John Macnab of Callander, who wrote a book, entitled "The Clan Macnab," published in 1907. In 1768 John Macnab, in making up his genealogy, reckoned himself to be eleventh in descent, tracing from father to son, from Gilbert Macnab to whom a charter was granted in 1336. This allows a period of possession of thirty-nine years and three months for each of his predecessors, and if each chief was twenty-one years of age when he succeeded, each must have attained an average age of sixty years. Between the years 1488 (when King James III. was murdered), and 1606, if we are to credit this genealogy, there were only three Macnabs in succession as chiefs. As a matter of fact, however, there were six chiefs during that period.

For much of the following genealogy of the Macnabs of Bovain, as well as for the interesting letter of John Macnab to his brother here produced, I am indebted to the late Mr. John MacGregor, W.S., Edinburgh, who placed at my disposal the results of his long and careful searches for information concerning the clan among the charters and papers of many Highland families.

During the time of William the Lion (1165-1214) the Abbot of Glendochart was associated with the Earl of Atholl in the government of the neighboring part of Argyll. This goes to prove that even at this early period the Macnabs had attained to a position of considerable influence and power in West Perthshire. During the Scottish War of Independence the Macnabs supported the MacDougalls of Lorn in their opposition to Robert the Bruce. They fought against him at Dalree (1306), and at Bannockburn (1314). When Bruce gained control in Scotland, it is said that he punished the Macnabs by depriving them of the greater part of their lands and by burning their houses; but in the reign

of Bruce's son, David II, the Macnabs were reconciled to the Crown, and they remained loyal to the Throne ever after.

**The Chiefs of Bovain**

I. GILBERT MACNAB. In the reign of David II (1329-70) there is mention of a charter ("Index of Missing Charters") to Gilbert Macnabbe (printed M'Nable) of the lands of Bothmachan, in the sheriffdom of Perth. The date of this charter is 1336; and it may have been in existence in 1768, as it is stated in the article in the Douglas Baronage to have been omnibus et singulis terris de Bovain in dominatu de Glendochard infra vie de Perth anno 1336.

From the date of this charter, in the reign of King David, until the year 1406, there is no evidence as to the succession of the Macnabs of Bovain. It is true that the article in the Douglas Baronage assigns to Gilbert a son, Finlay, who lived in the reign of King James I., and who was father of Patrick Macnab of Bovain; but no evidence is given for this statement. King James I. began to reign on 4th April, 1406, but at that time he was a prisoner in England, and on the death of King Robert III., Robert Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Menteith, was appointed governor of the kingdom. The after-mentioned charter was obviously granted prior to Albany's appointment as governor, or regent, and subsequent to his marriage with Margaret, Countess of Menteith, the dispensation for which marriage is dated 9th September. 1361.

II. ALEXANDER MACNAB. For his useful service rendered, and to be rendered, Alexander Macnab had a charter ("Breadalbane Papers") from Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Menteith, and Lord of Glendochart. It is not dated, but the lands conveyed were Ardekelechy, Invermonekel, Bothmegan, and Dovniche, which may be identified as Ardchyle, Invermonichele, Bovain, and Downich. This was not the original grant of these lands. They had belonged to Alexander Macnab before, for they were resigned by him into the Duke's hands

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in his chamber at Stirling. and they were regranted, to be held by the said Alexander, and John Macnab, his son, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing by Maurice Macnab, also son of the said Alexander, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing by Alexander Macnab, the son of the foresaid Alexander, and the heirs male of his body, whom all failing, by the lawful heirs whomsoever of the said Alexander, of the said Duke and his heirs in fee and heritage, as is set down more at length in the charters of the said lands. Not only does this charter preserve the names of Alexander's heirs, but it shows that there were older charters of which there is now no trace. The Lairds of Macnab at that time did not hold of the Crown, but of the Earl of Fife and Menteith, who is also styled "Lord of Glendochart." The probability is that Robert, Duke of Albany, acquired right to lands in Glendochart through his wife, Margaret, Countess of Menteith, who had married Robert, as her fifth husband, and he therefore designed himself Lord of Glendochart in respect of that right. Alexander' Macnab was dead before 18th September, 1407, and is designed in the sasine to John, his son, as "the deceased Sir Alexander Macnab." His wife's name is unknown; but he had three sons mentioned in the above-quoted charter:-1. John; 2. Maurice; 3. Alexander.

III. JOHN MACNAB. On 16th September, 1407, the said Earl of Fife, now Governor of Scotland, granted a precept of sasine to his bailie of Glendochart, who was also named John Macnab, to give sasine of the lands of Bochrane, Ardeghulley, Duffince, with their pertinents, and of the office of "Farbaleschip" of Auchlyne in the barony of Glendochart to John Macnab, the son of the deceased Sir Alexander Macnab. He received infeftment four days later. John McAlastair Macnab' was one of the jurymen who made a declaration with regard to the rights and privileges, and also the duties of the hereditary Keeper of the Coygerach at Kandrochid (Killin) on 22nd April, 1428. John Macnab survived 21st

September, 1428, when in a court held at Logierait, Walter, Earl of Atholl and Caithness, after calling all parties interested, ordered a transcript to be made of the last mentioned precept of sasine. Why this precept was not in John's possession, and who the other interested parties were, is not known. Whether John was succeeded by his son is not known, but it seems probable that the next Macnab of Bovain was Finlay Macnab.

IV. FINLAY MACNAB. On 24th August, 1450, a notarial instrument was taken by Finlay Macnab, who is not designed, in the Chapel of St. Martin in the parish church of Perth. He insisted that he and Edana of Abercromby had agreed in the last Sheriff Court of Perth to meet on the said day and place, and settle their disputes by certain arbiters, and that the party failing to appear should lose his case, and be held liable in americiament, and therefore, protesting on the non-appearance of the said Edana, that he had gained his case, and was entitled to the stipulated fine. What was the nature of the dispute between them does not appear. Finlay may have been the father of Patrick, the next Laird. The authority of the Douglas Baronage, such as it is, would support this view.

V. PATRICK MACNAB. On the 18th November, 1464, "Patrick Mackynab of Bochtuane" was confirmed by the Prior of the Charterhouse in the office of Ferbaleschip of Auchlyne in such wise as he and his predecessors held the same. This office had been in the family for at least three generations. On 30th September, 1474, Patrick took an instrument that he had lost his titles of the lands of Auchlyne, and that having desired a new charter thereof with clauses and privileges as full as in his old deeds, his desire was granted, and on the same day he confessed before Patrick Russell, the Prior of the said Monastery, that he held the lands of Auchlyne, in the Lordship of Glendochart, of the said Prior and Convent in chief, in the same manner as his predecessors held



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them of any persons prior to the grant of them to the said Prior and Convent. The Prior and Convent granted a charter dated 1st October, 1474, to the said Patrick and his heirs male of the lands of Auchlyne, to be held of the Prior and Convent in fee and heritage, for the yearly payment to them of the sum of ten merks Scots, with a stockmart in manner used and wont. Apparently the lands of Auchlyne were held of the Monastery, while Bovain and other lands were held of the Crown.

The probability is that Patrick Macnab married considerably before the year 1483, for on 26th June of that year, at Perth, he granted a liferent charter of the lands of Easter Ardchyle in favor of "Marion Campbell, daughter of Duncan Campbell, the son of Charles Campbell." The grandfather of this lady was probably one of the Strachur family of Campbells, who about this time held Glenfalloch.

On 1st January, 1486-7, Patrick Macnab disposed to his son and heir, Finlay, the lands of Bovain, Ardchyle Easter, and Downich, and King James III confirmed this charter on 21st March following. According to the Dean of Lismore's Book and the Chronicle of Fortingall, Patrick Macnab died at Auchlyne in the year 1488; but the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse had granted a precept of dare constat in favor of his son and heir, Finlay, in the lands of Auchlyne, on 25th September, 1487. Whether Finlay was his son by the above Marion Campbell, or some former wife, is not known.

VI. FINLAY MACNAB, Patrick's heir and successor, received from his father the conveyance above mentioned of Bovain, and had the precept of care constat from the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse, as his heir in the lands of Auchlyne. He was infeft in the lands held of the Crown, and in Auchlyne. The latter infeftment was on 25th September, 1487. "Finlay Maknab of Bowayne" was a witness at Inverness to a charter on 29th January, 1497. He was dead before 6th July, 1499. There is no evidence as to his wife.

\*VII. JOHN MACNAB had a precept from King James IV., as heir of the deceased Finlay Macnab of Bovain, on 6th July, 1499. This precept covers the lands of Bovain, Craigchur, Downish, and Easter Ardchyle, security being taken for the sum of £8 6s. 8d, being the rents of said lands at the last term, and for two silver pennies for the doubling of the blench farm.

Note—In Douglas's Baronage after Patrick four Finlay Macnabs are shown in succession, and Finlay's, son, John, is omitted altogether

VIII. FINLAY MACNAB, son of John Macnab of Bovain, is designed "of Bovain" on 5th January, 1502-3, when he had from Patrick M'nabe of Monzie a procuratory of resignation in his favor of the lands of Ewer and Leiragin, extending yearly to four merks, and lying in the barony of Glendochart, and on the 9th day of the same month Finlay had a Crown charter of these lands. It does not follow from the above resignation that his father was then dead. On 3rd April, 1506, Finlay had a charter from the Prior and Convent of the Charterhouse of an acre, or croft, in the town of Killin. He is named as the first witness to a charter signed at Isle of Loch Tay on 18 September, 1511.

Finlay Macnab married Mariot Campbell, and on 18th January, 1522-3, he gave her a charter in liferent of the lands of Ewer and Leiragan. She died at Perth 9th July, 1526.

On 11 December, 1524, Finlay granted letters of baliary over his lands in favor of John Macnab, his son and heir. Again on 20 March, 1524-5, he granted a twenty-five shilling land out of the lands of Ewer and Leiragan to John Macnab, his "second son." On 1 April, 1525, with his wife's consent, Finlay granted a charter of the whole said lands of Ewer and Leiragan to the said John Macnab; and on the same day John granted a charter of the whole of the said lands to Mariot Campbell, his mother. It is probable that Finlay's eldest son was killed with Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, and his

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brother, John Campbell of Lawers, at Flodden. There are poems in the book of the Dean of Lismore ascribed to a Finlay Macnab. The 'author was probably this Finlay who was contemporary with the Dean, in whose Chronicle both his own death and the death of his wife are recorded. It has even been suggested that the Dean was inspired to take up the work of preparing his book by Finlay, and that the poem entitled, "The Sluggard's Book of Poetry," was intended to encourage him with the undertaking. Finlay died at Ellanryne, 13 April, 1525, and was buried at Killin.

IX. The ninth Laird was JOHN MACNAB, the second son of Finlay. At Perth, on 3 July, 1525, John was retoured by ten jurors, whose names are given, as lawful and nearest heir of the deceased Finlay, his father, in the lands of Bovain which had been in the hands of the Crown for three months. On the 8th of the same month the sheriff issued a precept for his infeftment, which was duly carried out on 11 July; but the Crown apparently raised a summons against the jury who had served him heir to his father, for on 30 December, 1529, John and five or six of the jurors granted a procuratory to answer the summons. John Macnab granted a tack for nine years of the two merk-land of Auchessan, on 9 April, 1545, to John Campbell of Glenorchy. He died before 10 July, 1558, and left a widow, Eleyne Stuart. John had at least two sons, Finlay and Alexander Macnab.

X. FINLAY MACNAB, the tenth Laird, appears to have been a man of mature age at the time of his father's death, for on 3rd November, 1552, he bound himself under a penalty of 500 merks Scots, at the ensuing feast of St. Andrew, to resign in the hands of the Regent at Edinburgh all his lands in Glendochart holden of the Queen, for new infeftment of the same, in favor of himself and his heirs male of him and his "moderne" (present) wife, Katryne Campbell, natural daughter of the deceased John Campbell of Glenorchy, and failing these heirs, in

favor of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy and his heirs; and providing that he, the said Finlay, shall have heirs as above specified, he should pay to the said Colin the sum of 300 merks Scots; and further leasing to the said Colin Campbell all the said lands, together with the feu and tack lands which the said Finlay held of the Prior of the Charterhouse within the said bounds of Glendochart, and that for the life-time of the said Finlay, and for the rent which his father, John Macnab, got out of these lands; the said Colin binding himself in return to defend the said Finlay, his heirs male above written, his friends and his kinsmen, in all their just causes. This agreement was either departed from, or Finlay was circumvented, for in the following charter, which is not a lease, nothing is said about it being only for Finlay's life-time.

Finlay granted a charter on 24th November, 1552, in favor of Colin Campbell, sixth Laird of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees, of the lands of Ewer, Leiragan, and the lands of Bovain, Ardchyle Easter, and Downich, for a pair of gloves yearly in blench farm, for a sum of money paid to him in his great and known necessity. Following thereon Colin Campbell had a charter under the Great Seal, dated 27 June, 1553, confirming this charter, and as he had already taken sasine there was a clause inserted in the charter of confirmation declaring it as valid as if granted prior to the sasine. Having now acquired the lands of the Laird of Macnab, Colin Campbell of Glenorchy disposed these lands to the said Finlay on 8 April, 1559.

The marriage contract of Finlay Macnab and Katherine Campbell, natural daughter of John Campbell of Glenorchy, is preserved among the Breadalbane Papers. It was drawn up at the Isle of Loch Tay on 13 March, 1547-8. There is a stone in the Macnab burial enclosure at Inchbuie, which may be taken as marking the grave of Finlay and his wife. This stone is 3 ft. 10 ins. by 1 foot 10 ins., and is of a coarse, hard material. Towards

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one end there is a hole, 3 ins, in diameter, drilled right through it. The central panel on the stone is occupied by a shield, which bore the arms of Macnab of Bovain (now defaced). The initial letters "F.M." and "K.C." are carved above and below the shield respectively. Below are symbols of death, and surrounding the central panel is the inscription, "THIS BURIEL APERTINES TO FINLAY MACNAB OF BOVAIN."

Finlay, the tenth Laird, appears to have had a son, John, who is described in the charter of 8 April, 1559, as his son and heir, but who must have predeceased Finlay, his father. The last reference to Finlay is in a Court' case on 12 November, 1573, when he sued John Bane Macnab for the rents of Sleoch and Acharn. The claim was not disposed of on that day, and when it came up again on 12th October, 1574, the pursuer was

XI. ALEXANDER MACNAB, Finlay's brother, who succeeded as the eleventh Chief. Alexander Macnab obtained a precept of *clare constat*, as heir to his brother, Finlay, of the lands of Ewer, Leiragan, Bovain, Downich, Achessan, and Craigchur, from Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, on 21 and 22 July, 1574. He continued the practice, begun by his brother, of disposing of his lands to the Campbells of Glenorchy. On 2 November, 1577, having borrowed from Colin Campbell, the sixth Laird, and Patrick, his third son, the sum of 500 merks, he interdicted' himself to them anent his lands of Kinnell and others. On the same day he also interdicted himself with respect to Bovain, Ewer, and other lands, to Colin Campbell, the second son of the Laird of Glenorchy, on account of another sum of 500 merks borrowed from him. Again, on 12 May, 1578, Alexander granted a charter of Ardchyle Easter and Downich to Katherine Ruthven, wife of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, in liferent, and to Colin Campbell, the second son of Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and to the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to Patrick Campbell, his

brother german, and the heirs male of his body, whom also failing, to Archibald Campbell, likewise his brother german, and to the heirs male of his body. It will thus be seen that Alexander Macnab involved himself hopelessly with the Glenorchy Campbells, and for his foolish actions his descendants had to suffer severely.

Alexander Macnab of Bovain signed a document at Kenmore on 10 April, 1585 relating to the repairing of the Kirk of Inchadney, and on 12 November, 1587, he witnessed a band of manrent, also at Kenmore. There is no evidence as to his wife, but he had at least two sons, Finlay, by whom he was succeeded, and Patrick.

XII. FINLAY MACNAB, the twelfth Laird, was the last of his line to bear the favorite family name of Finlay. He married Katherine Campbell, who is described in an incomplete Glenorchy genealogy of the end of the seventeenth century as "first daughter to Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh Laird of Glenorchy, of his other children." The term, "other children," is evidently a euphemism for natural children. There is no mention of this marriage in the Black Book of Taymouth, which records the marriage of another natural daughter, also a Katherine, of Sir Duncan. Tradition says that Finlay had twelve sons, the weakest of whom could drive his dirk through a two inch board. The only sons whose names appear in records are John, the eldest, and Duncan in Tullichcan. The Glenorchy genealogy above referred to states that Finlay had three daughters, one of whom married Finlay Mac-Alastair Macnab of Innishewan, and another married John Dow Macfarlane, son of the Laird of Macfarlane. Finlay is styled as a "sheriff of that part" (Glendochart) in a sasine granted on 25 February, 1619. The earliest reference to him as "of Bovain" is in a charter which he witnessed on 20 November, 1601, when Sir Duncan Campbell gave the lands of Mochaster to his second son, Robert Campbell, Finlay Macnab was entirely

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in the power of the Campbells. On 16 December, 1613, his brother, Patrick Macnab, renounced his title to Bovain and Wester Ardnagaul in his, Finlay's, favor; and on the following day these lands were granted in wadset to Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. On the same day the charter' of the superiority of the Campbells over the Macnab lands was confirmed. In 1618 Finlay Macnab of Bovain and his kinsmen, Alastair Macnab of Innishewan and Duncan Dow Macnab in Acharn, were arrested for the illegal carrying of arms, hakbuts, and pistols. Finlay was imprisoned within the Burgh of Edinburgh until he was released on the security of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. In the Muster Rolls for 1638 Finlay Macnab is stated to have possessed one sword and target, one hakbut, and one steelbonnet; while his son, John, fiar of Bovain, who was then resident at Auchlvne, had one sword, target, bow, arrows, and one hakbut.

### **The Macnabs and the Civil War**

Finlay Macnab's career as chief extended over the troublous period of the Civil Wars, in which he and his clan were deeply involved on the side of king Charles I under the Marquis of Montrose. Finlay survived 28 July, 1656, when he signed an agreement anent the lands of Inneshewan and Bovain with John Campbell apparent of Glenorchy. While the Macnabs no doubt united with the Campbells in support of the National Covenant in 1638, they deserted to Montrose in 1644. This action brought them into direct conflict with the Laird of Glenorchy and his family, to whom they were bound by feudal and financial obligations. The consequences for the Macnabs, as we shall see, were ruinous; and although they were able to survive as landowners in Breadalbane for another century and a half, they were always at the mercy of their powerful neighbors, the Campbells.

The appearance of Montrose in Perthshire in August, 1644, was the signal for the Macnabs to rise under Finlay's eldest son, John Macnab, fiar

of Bovain, who was called in irony lain Min Macanaba, or Smooth John Macnab<sup>2</sup>. According to the well-known Macnab legend Smooth John was the leader in the fierce and murderous attack upon the remnant of the clan Neish, who after their defeat at Boltachan, near Comrie, took refuge on the Isle of Lochearri, at St. Fillans.

John Macnab married Mary Campbell, daughter of Duncan Campbell, fourth Laird of Glenlyon. On the 15 October, 1633, she had a charter' from her father-in-law, Finlay Macnab, investing her in the liferent of Kinnell. In this charter Mary Campbell is described as the "betrothed spouse" of John Macnab. John Macnab and his wife had a family of four sons, Alexander, Patrick, Archibald, and James, and six daughters, three of whom married. Of the sons, Patrick and Archibald died unmarried; James married Katherine Macfarlane, daughter of George Macfarlane of Rosneath, and lived at Auchessan. On 6 September, 1676, the Laird of Glenorchy was commissioned to arrest James Macnab in Auchessan, Finlay Macnab in Innishewan, and Archibald Macnab of Acharn, and imprison them "until they presented John, Callum, and Duncan McGibbon." Margaret Macnab, John's eldest daughter, married Gregor MacGregor in Ruskich, Glenlyon; another daughter married John MacGregor, while Agnes, the third daughter, married Alastair Dubh Campbell of Achallader, who was known as "Black Sandie," and was father of John Campbell of Achallader, for fifty years chamberlain to the Earls of Breadalbane.

According to the account of the Macnabs in the Douglas Baronage, John Macnab was of great service to Montrose at the battle of Kilsyth, and immediately afterwards he was appointed to garrison Montrose's own castle of Kincardine, which held out against General Leslie until provisions began to fail. John Macnab

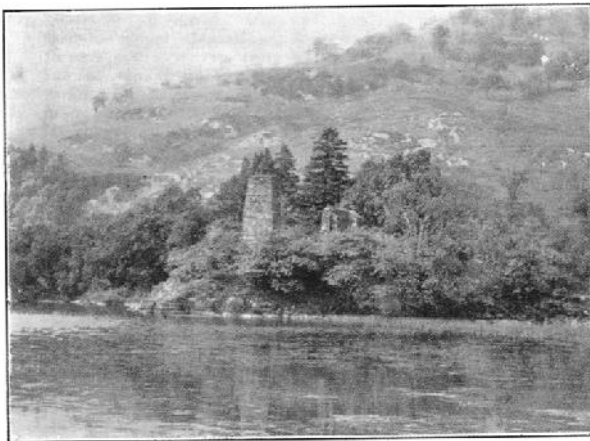
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<sup>2</sup> In irony because according to another account he was exceedingly hairy and hardly smooth at all!

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then managed to get the whole garrison of 300 men clear away; but he himself and one private were captured. John Macnab was sent to Edinburgh, where he was tried, and condemned to death. He, however, contrived to escape from prison on the night before the day appointed for his execution.

There is a tradition in Breadalbane to the effect that, when Finlay Macnab saw the terrible destruction that was being wrought by the wild host that followed Montrose through the district, he intervened on behalf of the poor people who were burnt out of their houses, while their cattle were driven away and they themselves chased to the hills to perish in mid-winter. This tradition receives some support from the fact that on 21 January, 1645, immediately after the historic raid, an agreement was drawn up at Finlarig between Alastair MacFinlay Macnab and his sons, Duncan and James, on the one side, and John Campbell, eldest son of Sir Robert Campbell, on the other. By the terms of this agreement the keys of Ellanryne were to be delivered to John Campbell, while the Castle of Lochdochart was to be placed in the custody of Alastair Macnab, so that he himself and his sons with their families might remain there until the present troubles were over. They were to regard themselves as the Laird's men and to hold the castle for his use. The Laird of Glenorchy on his part was to procure remissions for the sons of Macnab.



The castle of Loch Dochart

It would appear, however, that the above agreement was not observed. The Macnabs, on gaining possession of the island of Lochdochart, held it for themselves against the Campbells. In the Black Book of Taymouth it is stated that John Macnab, fier of Bovain, and Alexander MacFinlay Macnab in Inchewan, with the whole Clannab, joined with the enemies and took "the isle of Lochdochart, which isle of Lochdochart was violently tak from them again in 1646, and burnt through their default."

The above record receives confirmation from coins and various articles found among the ruins of the castle when they were explored' by the late Mrs. Place of Lochdochart some thirty years ago.

### Death of John Min Macnab

According to the notice in the Douglas Baronage of the Macnabs, John Min Macnab was killed at the battle of Worcester on 3 September, 1651, and this statement has been accepted by the clan historians ever since. From a memorandum anent the lands of Croftchoise and Ellanryne, which was evidently written at the end of the seventeenth century, and entitled "the oldest writs the Macnab hes by him," it appears that the writer had before him discharges for feu duties on the Macnab lands paid to the Laird of Glenorchy by the Macnabs. Among the items detailed is one to the effect that Sir John Campbell discharged "John Macnab, fier of Bovain, for 1651 and 1652 of the sum of £7 11s. 8d. as the yearlie dutty on the whole of lands." There is no mention of any payment being made for 1653, the reason for which will appear later, but the discharge for 1654 was granted to "Marie Campbell, relict of John Macnab, fier of Bovain." The memorandum proves that John Macnab survived till 1652, and could not therefore have been killed at Worcester, but evidently he was dead by 1654. How then did he meet his end?

The circumstances of John Macnab's death at the hands of the English are revealed by reports of the activities of the Commonwealth troops in Scotland



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during 1653. In the spring of that year some Highland chiefs and Lowland noblemen began to stir in the Royalist interest, and during the last week of May they held a meeting at Killin to resolve upon the movement that led to the rising under the Earl of Glencairn. Colonel Daniels, commander of the Commonwealth troops at Perth, having heard of the Royalist rendezvous, led a company of soldiers into Breadalbane and came into conflict with the Macnabs. It was in this encounter that John Min Macnab was killed.

Colonel Lilburne, commander of the Commonwealth army in Scotland, writing to Cromwell on 9 June, 1653, from Dalkeith, makes the following reference to the incident, "That little baffle which was put upon the Highlanders by Col. Daniells' partie hath much discouraged them, and was very seasonable to us, there being at that time in those parts divers great Lords and others complotting mischief, who since are discovered to us, and I hope to have some of them by the craigs: yet your Lordship may believe that many of them are in so desperate a condition that they would be glad to lay hold of the least opportunity to disturb us." In another communication' written two days previously, Colonel Lilburne gave the following details of the incident:—"Last week a partie of horse and foot being sent-forth from St. Johnstons (Perth) towards the Highlands, in Athole, to arrest the collector, the Lord MacKnab, one of the great Montrossians, with his whole clan, did rise upon our partie ; and coming to them, after some little parley (we having got some of their cattel together) they offered our partie free quarter, if they would lay down arms and return in peace. But our men, not willing to be so affronted, stood upon their defence ; which the Highlanders perceiving, sent a flight of arrows and a volley of shot among them ; and ours letting fly again at them, killed MacKnab, the great chieftain of that wicked clan, with four more, and fell upon them and routed them all." There can be no doubt that the "great Montrossian" who thus met his death was the fierce and dauntless warrior, John Min Macnab, who by his deeds added Neish's head, the boat, and the motto, "Timor omnis abesto," to the armorial bearings of his clan.

**General Monk and the Macnabs**

The Macnab's castle of Ellanryne, with a half merk of land attached to it,

stood on the east bank of the river Lochay and within half a mile of the Laird of Glenorchy's stronghold at Finlarig. The presence of a hostile clan at their very door had been a source of much trouble and annoyance to the Campbells during recent years; and they no doubt gave every encouragement to the English, when in 1654 the latter gained control in Breadalbane, to burn and destroy the ancient castle, and to carry away the Macnab writs. General Monk gave over the Macnab lands to the Laird of Glenorchy and his people, granting them full permission to help themselves to the property of the rebel clansmen. On 21 November, 1654, Monk sent the following letter' to the commanders of the garrisons at Finlarig, Balloch, and Weem, instructing them to assist Glenorchy in the work of spoliation:—"In regard of the manie insolences and depredations off the Maknabs and ther pairtie and uther under ther Comand upon the Laird of Glenorquhay, and his tenents, thes ar therf or to authorize you to be assisting unto the said Laird of Glenorquhay to mak up his said Losses out off the chieffs of the Maknabs estaits, and also quhatt farder Losses they sail sustene ; to be Lykwise assisting unto the said Lord Glenorquhay to put the hail! Macknabs out off the countrie till such tyme they give good securitie off Low Countrie Gentle-men, that the said Laird Glenorquhay sall be in securitie in tyme coming : unto all ther presents sail be your warrant ; given under my hand and seall att Dalkeith , "

The Campbells, in their merciless attack upon the Macnabs, seem to have awakened strong resentment in certain quarters, and very soon after the above orders were given representation was made to Monk on behalf of the widow of John Macnab and her children and other members of the clan. The result was that on 18 December following Monk' wrote as follows to the Laird of Glenorchy :—"Understanding that by virtue of my late order for your having satisfaction out of the estates of the McNabbs you are proceeding against the widow of the Laird of McNabb deceast, I desire you will forbear to trouble her, in regard shee has paid sense, and lived peaceably since her husband's death ; nor would I have you extend that order to any that live peaceably at home ; but such as are obstinate and continue out in arms against the

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Commonwealth. I desire you also to forbear to meddle with any of the Magrignors. "

Monk followed up this communication with an order to Captain Gascoigne, in charge of the garrison at Finlarig, commanding him to see that Lady Macnab and her children were protected from the Campbells. The order to Gascoigne, sent from Dalkeith, dated, 18 January, 1654-5, was in the following terms: -- "I do hereby declare that it was not intended by my order for repairing of the Laird of Glenorchy's losses by the Macnabs out of their estates that the same should extend to the molesting or intermeddling with the estates of any of the Macnabs who live peaceably. And forasmuch as I understand that the widow of the Laird of Macnab hath lived peaceably, you are hereby authorized and I desire, in case any vexation be offered to the outing or dispossessing of the said widow and her family of the said lands or anything that belong to them under colour of said order to preserve the rights that to them belong, as if the said order had never been made, and to enter and to receive them into their lands ; and this favor also is to be extended to Archibald Macnab of Acharn. " By 1655, Alexander, eldest son of the deceased John Macnab, fiar of Bovain, attained his majority. In that year we find him being put in possession of his ancestral lands by his grandfather, Finlay. On 14 September, 1655, at Kinnell, Finlay Macnab of Bovain gave charter to Alexander Macnab, his grandson, of all and whole the lands of Kinnell, Ardnagaullbeg, Bovain, Auchessan, Ewer, Suie, Acharn, and the half-merk land of Ellanryne, all lying in the Lordship of Glendochart and parish of Killin. On 23 September following, Archibald Macnab of Acharn, as bailie of Finlay Macnab, gave sasine to Duncan Macnab in Tullochcan, Finlay's lawful son, as attorney for Alexander in the above mentioned lands. There is no evidence as to the date of Finlay's death, but, as already stated, he signed an agreement with John Campbell, apparent of Glenorchy, anent the lands of Innishewan and Bovain, on 28 July, 1656.

**The Appeal to Parliament**

Alexander Macnab, who succeeded his grandfather as thirteenth Laird of Macnab, had no charter to prove that his lands belonged to him. His writs

had either been destroyed or were in possession of the Laird of Glenorchy. He was therefore compelled to submit a petition' to the Scottish Parliament on 14 March, 1661, craving Parliament to force the Laird of Glenorchy to invest him in the Macnab lands in terms of several acts that had been passed by Parliament for assisting Royalists who had suffered during the period of the Commonwealth. The commissioners ordered the Laird of Glenorchy to be called before them, and in May, 1662, Glenorchy and Alexander Macnab submitted the differences between them to lawyers, the Earl of Glencairn, Chancellor of Scotland, being oversman, but no decree ensued on the submission.

Alexander had to deal with John Campbell younger of Glenorchy, afterwards first Earl; and he found that the latter would make no concession until the feu duties outstanding for the years from 1656 to 1661 were paid. When these had been discharged, John Campbell, acting for his father, granted Alexander Macnab a charter of his lands, on the narrative "that his father, John Macnab, fiar of Bovain, had been killed by the English and his writs destroyed, it was not reasonable that the said Alexander should be deprived of the loss thereof through a public calamity." The half-merk land of Ellanryne, which Finlay had made over to Alexander, in the charter of 1655, was not included in the charters. John Campbell evidently did not wish to see the Macnabs rebuilding the ruined castle of Ellanryne, or having any possession on the east side of the river Lochay.

On the 29 April, 1660, Mary Campbell, widow of John Min Macnab, married Malcolm MacGregor, Tutor of the Clan MacGregor, who had been associated with her late husband in the Royalist army. By an agreement with her son, Alexander Macnab, Mary Campbell renounced her liferent of the six-merk land of Kinnell, which had been secured to her. In return Alexander disposed to her and her husband in conjunct liferent and to himself (her son) in fee, the lands of Ewer, in Glendochart.



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Alexander Macnab married Elizabeth Menzies, third daughter of Duncan Menzies of Weem. Their marriage contract is dated 14 November, 1662. Alexander must have died before 16 August, 1683, for by that date Elizabeth Menzies, his widow, was the wife of Duncan Campbell, brother to Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, one of the Earl of Breadalbane's bailies. Alexander Macnab's family consisted of two sons, Robert, who succeeded, and John, who died without heirs before 23 January, 1689; and two daughters, Jean and Agnes, neither of whom appears to have married.

NIV. ROBERT MACNAB, who succeeded as Fourteenth Laird of Macnab, was apprenticed to Colin Campbell of Carwhin, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, the Earl of Breadalbane's man of business, on 1 February, 1686. Robert Menzies of that Ilk was his cautioner. It would appear from the Glenorchy genealogy, already referred to, that Robert married, as his first wife, a daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, by whom he had a son who died young. Robert's second wife was Anna, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy by his third marriage. Robert was thus brother-in-law to John, first Earl of Breadalbane. He and Anna Campbell were proclaimed at the Kirk of Killin on 10 October, 1697. They had a family of seven sons and five daughters. John, the eldest son, born in 1698, succeeded as fifteenth Laird.

Archibald Macnab, Robert's second son, died at Edinburgh, 2 January, 1790, after having had a long and honorable career, as a soldier in the British army. He was commissioned a lieutenant in the Marine Regiment of Foot, 26 January, 1740; appointed captain in the Highland regiment, 7 December, 1745; and promoted to the rank of Colonel of the 41st Regiment of Foot, 29 August, 1777. He was commissioned a Major-General in the army, 19 October, 1781.

Allan Macnab, the sixth son of Robert, was a soldier in Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell's Independent Company, and

died 9 March, 1735, at the age of 19 years. He was buried in the churchyard of Tarland, Aberdeenshire, where a stone marks his grave. On the stone is the following inscription, "Humanity with pity, both virtues shining clear and those indeed are in a youth of birth and worth lies here." Of Robert Macnab's daughters, Mary, the eldest, married John Campbell younger of Baleveolan. Their marriage contract is dated 8 June, 1720. According to the account of the family in Douglas' Baronage, only two sons, John and Archibald, survived in 1769. Robert Macnab died before 17 November, 1725: but his widow survived until 6 September, 1765.

**Litigation and Increased Debts**

XV. JOHN MACNAB, who succeeded as Fifteenth Laird, served as a soldier in the Hanovarian army at the Forty-five, with the rank of major. He was taken prisoner at Prestonpans, on 21 September, 1745, and confined in Doune Castle until the rebellion was well over. It has been said that while the Laird of Macnab and his brother, Archibald, took the side of the government, the clan rose in support of Prince Charlie and fought at Culloden with the Duke of Perth's men. In the list of persons who were involved in the rebellion, and who were wanted afterwards, there are only two Macnabs mentioned, and neither of them belonged to Glendochart. With the Laird and his brother opposed to the rebellion, it is unlikely that many of their kinsmen and tenants would respond to the call of the fiery cross when it was sent round Loch Tay by Archibald Menzies of Shian and John Campbell of Glenlyon.

John Macnab married Jean Buchanan, only daughter of Francis Buchanan of Arnprior. Her brother, Francis, who joined the army of Prince Charlie, was executed at Carlisle on 18 October, 1746. John Macnab had a precept of *care constat* for his lands on 17 November, 1725. During his time the family debts went on accumulating, but this fact did not prevent him from carrying on many lawsuits against his powerful cousin and neighbor, the Earl

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of Breadalbane. Macnab disputed with the Earl about the maintenance of the banks of the river Dochart. He raised actions in the Court of Session over the rights and multures attaching to the meal mills of Auchlyne, and Millmore, at Killin. He further contended that the Ear) had still part of the Macnab lands in his possession. At length John Macnab decided that he must give up the fight against his powerful opponent, and on 24 June, 1756, he sent the following letter to John, the third Earl of Breadalbane :—  
"My Lord, I am sorry that so many suits and disputes are subsisting betwixt your Lordship and me, and to put an end to all these, I am perfectly willing to enter into a general submission of all disputes betwixt your Lordship, your wadsetters, tenants, tacksmen, and me. And if agreeable to your Lordship, to be determined by Mr. James Ferguson of Pitfour, your Lordship's lawyer.  
My Lord,  
Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,  
John Macnab."

John Macnab and Jean Buchanan, his wife, had a family of two sons and two daughters. Francis, the elder son, succeeded as sixteenth Laird of Macnab. Robert was a doctor, and resided at Bovain. Elizabeth, the elder daughter, married Dick Miller, and Marjory, the younger, married Colonel Campbell of Baleveolan. John Macnab died at Kinnell on 19 February, 1778, at the age of eighty years. His widow survived until 20 April, 1789.

Francis Macnab



XVI . FRANCIS MACNAB, the sixteenth Laird, was born in 1734, and died at Callander on 25 May, 1816. The grim face and massive form of the Laird of Macnab have been made familiar by Raeburn's famous full length portrait, which was painted at Taymouth for John, fourth Earl of Breadalbane. Francis inherited the family debts and estate burdens, but he sat lightly under the weight of his financial obligations and treated with contempt the numerous demands that came to him for payment. He went on living the life of a feudal lord at Kinnell, waited upon by a few faithful retainers, as if he were the greatest man in the kingdom. His habits and eccentricities provided much amusement for his own generation; and numerous stories about him have been preserved.

Francis Macnab remained unmarried, but he is reported to have had numerous natural children. On 8 August, 1786, Janet Buchanan, daughter of Robert Buchanan, sometime of Leny, and her

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son, Francis, raised an action of declarator of marriage against the Laird of Macnab, on the ground of an alleged marriage, which took place by mutual declaration on 2 November, 1781. Macnab was, however, assoilzied by the court. Mrs. Murray of Kensington, in her book describing a tour in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century, referring to the Macnab burial-ground on Inchbuie, says, "It belongs to a Highland chief hard by, who once on laying his pretensions and possessions at the feet of a fair lady, whom he courted for his bride, told her as an irresistible charm that he had the most beautiful burying-ground in the world. Whether the lady preferred beauties she could enjoy in life to those offered her after death, I cannot say, but the chief was not accepted; nor has he ever worn the chains of matrimony, though he has added to his family thirty-two children."

Francis Macnab, discovering that he could not find sale for surplus barley that he grew at Kinnell, started a distillery of his own at Killin, and according to Heron, who toured Perthshire in 1792; he produced the best whisky to be found in Scotland. He held the rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Breadalbane Volunteers, and on the parade ground at Taymouth he used to give his commands to his men in voluble and forcible Gaelic.

**The Last Laird of Macnab**

XVII. On the death of Francis Macnab in 1816, the chiefship of the clan and the Macnab lands with their heritage of debt devolved upon his nephew, Archibald Macnab, only son of Doctor Robert Macnab, who died at Kiln on 8 June, 1814. Robert Macnab had been married to Anne Maule, and besides Archibald he had a daughter, Anne, who married Robert Jameson, Advocate, on 28 July, 1811.

Four years before his death, Francis Macnab had made a disposition of the Macnab lands in favor of his nephew, Archibald, who is designed in the deed as of Easter Torry, a property which

the Macnabs had acquired about 1778. Archibald Macnab had married Margaret Robertson, whose father was a Writer to the Signet, and a clerk in the Register House, Edinburgh. They had a family of three sons and three daughters, two of whom appear to have died in infancy. Of the others, Alexander died at Edinburgh on 20 May, 1828, in his eleventh year; William died at Pisa on 23 November, 1833, at the age of twenty years; Margaret died at Florence on 31 January, 1834, aged eighteen years; Sarah Anne, the eldest born of the family, survived until 19 January, 1894, when she died at Florence at the age of eighty-six years. Alexander was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, and the last three mentioned members of the family were interred in the Protestant cemetery at Florence, where their mother, who died there on 20 June, 1868, was also laid. A stone marks their graves.

The career' of Archibald Macnab, the Seventeenth and last undoubted chief of his clan, was remarkable and strange in the extreme. He had been brought up with the expectation of being a Highland chief, inheriting lands that had been in the possession of his ancestors for at least six centuries. When he came to succeed as Laird he discovered that his lands were mortgaged beyond redemption, the chief creditor being John Campbell, fourth Earl of Breadalbane. By 1823 Archibald Macnab's position had become desperate. The Court had issued a writ of foreclosure, and numerous creditors were threatening to imprison him for debt. He took refuge for a time with his cousin, Dr. Hamilton Buchanan of Leny; but his retreat was discovered, and he had to flee. Macnab made his way to Dundee, where he boarded a ship that was sailing to London. In London he borrowed sufficient money from some friends to pay his passage to Canada. On his arrival at Montreal the Macnab was given a great welcome and entertained to a dinner by some of the best people in the city. As he moved about the country he was honored everywhere for the sake of the name

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that he bore. Through Bishop MacDonell of the Roman Catholic Church; who had founded the settlement of Glengarry in Canada, Macnab obtained introductions to persons of authority in the government. The Governor-General at the time was Sir Peregrine Maitland, who was greatly attracted by the chief's personality and engaging manners, and when Macnab asked for a grant of land on which to settle clansmen, whom he intended to bring out from Glendochart, he was given eighty-one thousand acres in the valley of the Ottawa River. He lost no time in taking possession of the estate, to which he gave his own name of "Macnab." He then built for himself a villa on a charming site commanding a view of river, lake, and mountain scenery, such as would appeal to the heart of a Highlander. In the meantime he got into communication with his former tenants in Glendochart and others in west Perthshire, through his cousin, Dr. Buchanan of Callander. The bright prospects and wonderful advantages offered to settlers on the Macnab's lands were widely advertised, and some eighty-five men, women, and children arrived at Montreal on 27 May, 1825, bound for the land of promise. They were met on landing by the chief himself, who had brought his piper with him to give them a right Highland welcome.

The journey from Montreal to their destination was slow and toilsome and took them two months, although it is covered to-day by train in a few hours. On arrival the Macnab allocated homesteads to the emigrants, and they proceeded to erect shacks and to clear the land of timber. It was altogether an arduous task, and when the chief failed to fulfill his promise to provide them with a year's food, they began to regret that they had ever left Scotland. For the winter they had to subsist on flour and potatoes, and not too much of that. The more independent men among the settlers began to grumble and complain of the treatment they received: and as they discovered from other settlers near them that Government land in Canada

was free, while they had bound themselves to pay rent to the chief, discontent became more wide-spread and intense. The protests of the Highlanders were met by the chief with acts of tyranny and oppression, and it was apparent that he was endeavoring to transfer the feudalism of Scotland to the free lands of Canada.

Macnab was on very friendly terms with the governing powers, and being himself a Justice of the Peace, with authority to hold courts; he was able to deal in a summary way with those of his tenants who gave signs of disloyalty. With the arrival of a new company of settlers the spirit of insubordination spread, and at length one man sent an anonymous communication to the Governor-General, complaining of the Macnab's acts of oppression. The letter was sent to the chief, and he at once concluded that it had been written by a certain Alexander Macnab, who had been giving him trouble. Without delay he sent the following extraordinary epistle to the suspected man:

Kinnell Lodge,

"Alexander Macnab, 13 March, 1829.

Degraded Clansman,—you are accused to me by Sir John Colborne of libel sedition and high treason. You will therefore compeer before me at my house of Kinnell, and there make submission; and if you show a contrite and repentant spirit, and confess your faults against me, your legitimate chief and your crime against his Majesty King George, I will intercede for your pardon. Your offended Chief, Macnab."

It turned out, however, that the man accused was not the writer of the offending epistle; but he answered his chief's summons, and appeared at his house. Alexander Macnab protested his innocence, but all to no purpose. He was convicted in the chief's court and sent to his prison. On getting out the aggrieved man went to an able lawyer, who appealed against the conviction, and had the man cleared of all blame.

The Macnab was indignant, but his position became more and more difficult with the arrival of each new company of emigrants from the homeland. After the passing of the Reform



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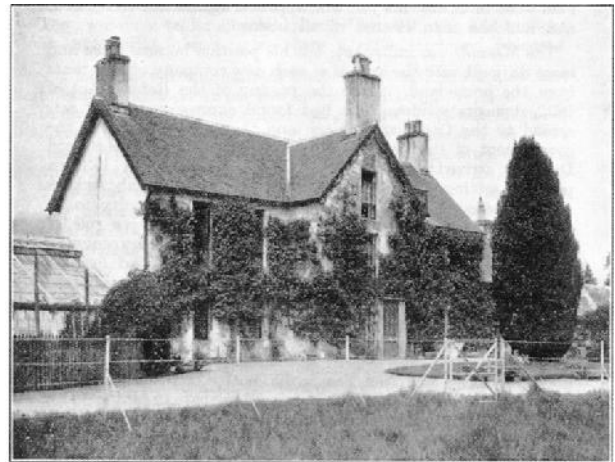
Act of 1832, democratic ideas, that had found expression in that act, spread to the Canadian settlers, and they rebelled against the government of the proud and tyrannous Macnab. When Lord Durham arrived in Canada as Governor General in 1838, a petition setting forth the grievances of the Macnab settlers was presented to him. He at once ordered an inquiry to be made, with the result that the illegal and oppressive rule of the Macnab was exposed. It was shown that he had wrongfully withheld the land patents from the people; he had exacted rents from them, when none was due; and he had restricted their freedom. He was compelled to refund the rents and to make restitution to those whom he had wronged; and by the time he had done this Macnab was a ruined man. He remained in Canada until 1853, when he returned to Scotland to find himself landless and friendless in his native country. His wife and surviving daughter, who had refused to share in his Canadian adventure, were living in Florence, and for some years he was left to live a lonely and miserable life. His wife at length made him a small allowance, and with this he went to live at Lanion, Cotes du Nord, in France, where he died on 12 August, 1860.

### **Disposal of the Macnab Lands**

After the departure of Archibald Macnab for Canada in 1823, his creditors proceeded to dispose of what remained of the Macnab estate. Some of the lands had already been sold; Ewer had been purchased by Mr. Edward Place of Lochdochart; Suie by Mr. Colin Macnab; and Craignavie by Dr. Daniel Dewar. The remaining portions consisted of Kinnell with the grounds and parks around the mansion-house; the farms of Sleoch and Acharn, and the houses in Grey-street, all on the south side of the River Dochart; Millmore and several houses in the village of Killin, and the farms of Bovain and Craitchur on the north side of the Dochart. These subjects were all let and yielded an annual rental of £942 15s. Each tenant was under obligation to lead a load of coals

from Stirling to the House of Kinnell. The burdens on the lands and the family debts amounted to the sum of £35,000. Although the estate was advertised for sale in June, 1823, it was not until 1828 that the properties, along with the superiorities over Ewer, Suie, Craignavie, and Arnfinlay, were sold to the fourth Earl of Breadalbane. The islands in the river Dochart, Garbhinnis, and Inchbuie, also became the property of Lord Breadalbane. The old burying-ground of the Macnabs is on the latter island.

### **Kinnell House**



Kinnell House is a plain building of some ten rooms, situated on the south side of the River Dochart, almost opposite the village of Killin. It faces the south, and the front walls are covered with ever-green creepers. The oldest part of the house probably dates from the seventeenth century, and, after the destruction of the Castle of Ellanryne, Kinnell became the seat of the chiefs. The ceilings of the house are very low, and it is probable that the rooms have undergone little or no alteration since they were occupied by Francis Macnab. The house was vacant for many years after it came into the possession of the Breadalbane family. Gavin, the third Marquis, and the Marchioness had the house re-furnished, and they resided there for a few weeks each year. They collected various articles of furniture and other antiques that had at one time been in the possession of

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the Macnabs, and displayed them in the rooms and on the walls of the staircase. The family sideboard stood in the dining-room. Beside it was a brass candlestick that was said to have been in the family since the days of Iain Min. Silver shoe-buckles, spectacles, and a snuff-box that had belonged to Francis, were also shown, as well as several relics that had been associated with the name of Rob Roy. At the front of the house there used to be a large collection of mill-stones, querns, knocking-stones, and one or two ancient baptismal fonts, all of which Lord and Lady Breadalbane had gathered in from the district around. For most of the year the house was thrown open to visitors, and large numbers came to view the house that was once the home of the chiefs of Bovain. At the west end of the House of Kinnell is the famous Kinnell vine, which was planted by the second Marquis of Breadalbane in 1832. This Black Hambro vine rivals the celebrated vine at Hampton Court and has never been known to miss a crop. Note.—Kinnell House was renovated, and part of the Macnab relics sold, October, 1935.

**Inchbuie**

Inchbuie, or Innis Buidhe, the Yellow Island, situated in the River Dochart, has from time immemorial been the burial-place of the Macnabs. It is approached down a flight of stone steps from the east side of the Bridge of Dochart. The whole island measures some two hundred yards from east to west. Near the steps are two massive pillars, and a little beyond them is a high wall that stretches across the island, having in it three open arches. The entire island' is divided into three sections by two artificial earthen mounds that run parallel to each other across it, at a distance of about one hundred and fifty yards apart. These mounds were no doubt thrown up at some remote period in the past, when the island was used for defensive purposes. The burying-ground proper is in the east most section of

the island. Here within a walled enclosure are the graves of the chiefs. On a great slab of mica-schist these is carved the effigy of a warrior. The art is rude and primitive. Tradition says that this slab was taken from the shoulder of Ben Lawers, and that it marks the grave of one of the earliest chiefs. Another stone, also recumbent, covers the grave of Finlay Macnab, the tenth Laird, and his wife, Katherine Campbell. The ordinary members of the clan admitted for burial to Inchbuie were interred outside the enclosure to the east. Here there are many grave-mounds, some of them covered with rough stone slabs. There are two erect head-stones, with quaint carvings and inscriptions, dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth.

As the visitor treads upon the soft, golden turf that has given the name, Innis Buidhe, to this sacred spot, and proceeds under the shade of the somber firs to the graveyard, he cannot but be filled with regret at the failure and almost entire disappearance of the wild warrior clan which for so many centuries dominated Glendochart, and played so prominent a part in Scottish history. The Macnabs are now scattered to the ends of the earth, but the traditions of the chiefs and their clan will cling to this beautiful and romantic countryside so long as the waters of the Dochart continue to surge and roar around the rocky foundations of the island where the dust of their dead reposes.

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This chapter of the clan history contains the text of "Clan Macnab, a short history" by James C. Macnab of Macnab the 23'd chief, published in 1977. This version was known as the "green book" to distinguish it from a later reissue known as the "red" book, from the color of their covers. It had been a long held ambition to share the clan history with my McNab relatives and since the clan history was out of print, I began in the year 2000 to convert it into a computer document. The intention at the time was to add it to our family history as background. As I went through the text I began adding footnotes to bring the history up to date and to explain terms that would not be familiar to my relatives who were not familiar with Scottish history or culture. Eventually I added other documents related to the clan history which has become the e-book "Clans of the Brea d"Alban"

The text is as presented in the Green Book, the footnotes are my own. There were illustrations and a map but I have presented those in their own chapters with, in some cases, extensive explanatory text.

David Rorer

**The Clan Macnab, a short history**

Preface by James Charles Macnab of Macnab, J.P.

There are a number of early Histories of the Clan, including that written by John McNab of Callander for the Clan Macnab Association in 1907, Roland Wild's fanciful "Macnab the Last Laird" and "the Last Laird of MacNab - an episode in the Settlement of Macnab Township, Upper Canada", edited and published by Alexander Fraser in Toronto. Some of what was in these early attempts has by subsequent research been found to be incorrect<sup>1</sup>

In 1951, at the time of the Festival of Britain, my great-uncle Archibald Corrie (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief) produced a pamphlet on behalf of the Clan society entitled "A Brief Outline of the Story of the Clan Macnab." In 1954, he added a supplement to bring it up to date and to correct errors. While doing this, the supplement has also made it extremely difficult for the layman to follow!

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<sup>1</sup>Roland Wild published "Macnab the Last Laird" in 1938. In spite of his claim of having consulted clan records, he gives Francis and Archibald the incorrect succession numbers. I have made a copy from a volume in the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Public Library. The fictionalized account of the taking of the McNishes on Nish Island is worth reading for itself. Eventually it will be transcribed and added to this collection. *David Rorer*

Throughout his life, my great uncle corresponded with many clansmen around the world and collected much information about various Macnab families. Some of this he collated into a preliminary draft for a full Clan History but there still remains a lot more to be done, which will require a great deal of time.

Because of this, the Council of the Clan society has decided as an interim step that this new short History should be produced for 1977, the year of the International Gathering of the Clans. They asked me to edit it.

In this task I have been greatly assisted by great-aunt Alice Macnab of Macnab, who completely rearranged and corrected the text of the 1951 "Brief Outline," much of which is included. I am also indebted to Peter A. McNab, a past President of the Clan Society and writer about things Scottish, who went through, typed and arranged my uncle's notes and drafts. Both have done more work than I have.

This History is of necessity short and omits much that is of interest. This is particularly so in the account we give of the life of that most colorful of characters, Francis, the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief and of his nephew, Archibald, (17<sup>th</sup> Chief), about whom there are numerous stories. Also omitted are many accounts of Macnab families who emigrated to the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and other parts of the world. These will need to be pieced together and included in the full



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History which the Clan Society hopes to publish in due course.<sup>2</sup>

Today, there are far more Macnabs living overseas than are left in the U.K. It is interesting to observe that although there are still some Macnab descendants living in Killin and Glen Dochart, my family is the only one of the "name." The nearest other families of the name "Macnab" live in Strathyre or Aberfeldy.

We hope this "Short History will be of interest. Apart from the contributions made by Brigadier John McNab of Barravorich and the late Ian McNab of Barachastalain, all the material used has been taken from the writing and research left behind by my great-uncle, Archibald Corrie Macnab, 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief.

This publication is dedicated to his memory.

**Introductory Notes:**

For the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the terms "of" and "in" it should perhaps be explained that "of" indicates either the Head of a family or clan or the owner of a place whereas "in" indicates that the person is the tenant in a place. For example "Gilbert of Bovain" was head of the family which lived at and owned Bovain while "Iain McNab of Barachastalain" is the representer of the Macnab family which used to live at and own the place, Barachastalain. Patric Macnab "in" Acharn" indicates that he was only the tenant of the place Acharn. Titles to denote the Chief, such as "Laird of Macnab," "Macnab of that Ilk" or "of Macnab" are of comparatively recent origin.

Except where inappropriate, we have used the spelling Macnab with a small "n" which is the normal accepted modern collective spelling. It should, however, be stressed that the name has been spelt in the different variations over the centuries, all of which are equally correct. The name, when used collectively today, is spelt with a small "n" because this is the spelling used by the Lord Lyon<sup>3</sup> when the Arms were first matriculated. There is perhaps some merit in the Argument put forward by some men of "letters" that the "n," being derived from the second letter of the Gaelic "an" (of), should be small. Those who spell their name with a capital "N" and/or "Mc" should not however allow themselves to be in any way put out by those who advance such theories. They are in good company for we know that Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) used to sign his name "Fran: McNab".

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<sup>2</sup>This was never done, the clan society fell apart and the Chief apparently did not have time however, the present U.S. society has been working with him on an expanded history. In the meantime the chief has published "An Outline of The History of Clan Macnab and its Lands. It is available from the Clan Macnab website

<http://macnabclanuk.org/history.html> or  
the Clan Macnab Society of North America  
<http://www.clanmacnab.com/>

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<sup>3</sup>Lord Lyon King at Arms, the chief heraldic officer for Scotland

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The Clan Macnab Society, by whom this short History is published, was founded in 1904. In its early days, it had three branches: -- Glasgow (the parent body), Edinburgh and London and used to be very active with social functions, dances, etc. More recently, since the decline of public transport, the movement of the town's populations to suburbs and the advent of television, the number of these functions have diminished.

The Society today is centered on Kinnell Estate Office. It has a fairly extensive membership throughout the United Kingdom and overseas and holds one major annual function, usually at Killin, in May or June. An annual Newsletter is published and sent out to every member. Membership is open to all Macnabs as well as those who are of any of the recognized septs of the Clan and to their descendants. Those interested in joining the Society should contact the Secretary, Clan Macnab Society at the current address: Kinnell Estate Office, Killin, Perthshire FK21 8SR.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Remember this was written in 1977 and I am transcribing it in 2000. The society, referred to here, is no longer in existence, it no longer publishes a newsletter and the Kinnell estate is no longer in the possession of the Chief James Charles Macnab of Macnab

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**The Origins and Early History of the Clan**

The name Macnab, which is spelt in various different ways, is a rendering of the Gaelic Mac-an-Abba (or Abba), which in English means the children of the Abbot. In those days there were lay Abbots<sup>5</sup> as well as clerical Abbots and even the latter were allowed to marry. It was the Celtic custom for abbots to be chosen from the Founders Kin, and the old Gaelic manuscript genealogies trace the mediaeval Macnab chiefs through some twenty generations from Saint Fillian's brother Ferchar mac Feradach. Indeed the Chief of the Clan MacNab is still recognized by Scotland chief heraldic officer The Lord Lyon King-at-Arms as hereditary Abbot of Glendochart. One of two such titles still recognized.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>A sixteenth century source tells us of three bishops at Mortals before the bishopric founded at Aberdeen c. 1140, and both here and at other medieval sees the succession of bishops must surely reach back to the effective acceptance of Christianity, in the seventh century, as at Glasgow and, even earlier, at Whithorn. But in the eleventh century several Sees were probably vacant, their endowments passing into the hands of laymen; it is understandable that this should have happened under Macbeth or even Malcolm II, who needed to buy support, but it is remarkable that it seems also to have occurred under Malcolm III. Similarly, the abbacies of Culdee and other houses were laicized, probably because they became heritable in a single family or fell into the patronage of aristocratic families who dispensed them to younger sons. In the Twelfth century there are abbots at Turriff, Kilspindie and Glendochart of whose abbeys no other trace is known, and this was the most extreme consequence of secularization;...  
*Scotland, The making of the Kingdom;*  
Archibald A. M. Duncan, Barnes & Noble Books 1975

<sup>6</sup>The Macnabs should probably be recognized as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of

According to tradition the original ancestor was the younger son of Kenneth McAlpine, the King of the Scots who united the Picts and the Scots. This younger son was Abbot of Glendochart and Strathern, and the Macnab's derive from a holder of that Abbacy in his reign.<sup>7</sup> Their early possessions lay in Glendochart the valley of the river Dochart the southern and western shore of Loch Tay, down to Killin, where the seat of the Clan was Macnab Castle on Eilan Ran, an island on the north bank of the River Lochay, at the western end of Loch Tay. A point of great importance when there were no roads and water was the quickest means of transport. Their castle stood where the Dochart emptied into the loch. The clan burying-place is the island of Innis Buie, in the River Lochay just before it issues into Loch Tay. The residence of the chief was at Kinnell house, on the south bank of the river Dochart near the town (see map of Killin).

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St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighboring Earls of Atholl and Menteach.  
*Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland;*  
Frank Adam and Innes of Learney, Johnson & Bacon, 1965

<sup>7</sup>The founder of the Abbey, Ferchar Og, known as the Red Abbot, came from Ireland in the 7th Century A.D., to found a religious settlement in Glendochart (the glen or valley of the river Dochart) in what is now Scotland. Ferchar Og, a member of the Celtic Christian Church, which grew up in Ireland quite separate from the Church of Rome, was one of many Irish missionaries who traveled northern Europe converting the pagans.  
*Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland;*  
Frank Adam and Innes of Learney. Johnson & Bacon, 1965

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The Macnab's are members of a larger clan grouping; Siol-an-Alpine<sup>8</sup> otherwise called Clan Alpine, together with the MacGregor, the MacKinnons,<sup>9</sup> the Grants, the Mcquarries and the MacAulays.

Skene's "Celtic Scotland" 1880, Volume III, pages 338 and 362-5 and Appendix VIII explains that the Books of Ballimote (1383 A.D.) and Leccan (1407 A.D.) appear to derive from the same original; but that the two former sources only give information about a few of the Clans. The manuscript of 1467 alone gives the descent of the Clan Macnab from Feradach, the father of Saint Fillan, through Ferchar Og Abraruadh the nephew of Saint Fillan, Donald Dom and Cormac to Gilbert of

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<sup>8</sup> From Alpin, king of DalRiata, father of Kenneth MacAlpine, who traditionally united the Pictish kingdom with that of DalRiata.

<sup>9</sup>There is known to have been a bond of fellowship between the chiefs of the Clan MacNab and the Clan Mackinnon in 1606. This curious document made between Lachlan Mackinnon, then chief, and Finnla' MacNab, of Bowain, having met in Glenurchai', in Braidálban, and taken into consideration that they were both "come of ane house, and being of ane surname and lienage, notwithstanding this lang time bygone" they had "oversean, their ain duties till udders, in respect of the lang distance betwixt their dwelling places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all tyme coming, are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance and service that lies in them, ilk ane to uthers, &c. And baith the saif parties grants them faithful, that ane surer firm band anc contract be made betwixt them by advice of men of lae, and that quhasoon the said Lachland shall come either to Stirling, Perth or Glasgow or any part of the lowland quhair they may easiest meet." These worthy patriarchs, " for sure keiping and performing of this present minute" agreed to subscribe the document "with their hands led to the pen." (Writing was an unnecessary qualification for such personages in the opening of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.) "The Clans of The Scottish Highlands" by R.R. MacIan reprint edition of 1980 by Webb & Bower (Publishers) Limited. First published 1845 and 1847

Bovain. These early manuscripts are, however, suspect and contain anomalies. Too much store should not be set by them. The genealogy as contained in the 1467 manuscript, if this is accepted, is set out in Appendix A. The number of generations shown would suitably fill the gap between St. Fillan and Gilbert the first Chief (i.e. 703-1336).

Other Clans shown as descended from Cormac are the Clan Andres (Ross), the MacKenzies, the Mathesons, the Macduffys, the MacGregor, the MacQuarries, the MacKinnons, the MacMillans and the MacLennans.

Shown as descended from Donald Donn are the MacLarens, the MacNaughtons and the Mackays, and from Ferchar Og Abraruadh the MacLeans, in addition to the Macnabs.

Clan Chattan, the MacKintoshes and the Camerons are shown as descended from Feradach, through Ferchar Fada, brother of St Fillan and King of DalRiada<sup>10</sup> (died 697) and father of Ferchar Og Abaruadh.

Unconnected with these are the Campbells, MacLeods, Nicolsons, Macdonalds, MacAlisters, MacIans, MacDougalls, MacRorys, Lamonts, MacClachans, Somairle (unidentifiable), Mac Ewens and Lennoxes (MacFarlanes).

**St. Fillan**

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<sup>10</sup>DalRiada, the name of two ancient Gaelic kingdoms, one in Ireland and the other in Scotland. Irish DalRiada was the district which now forms the northern part of county Antrim, and from which about A.D. 500 some emigrants crossed over to Scotland, and founded in Argyllshire the Scottish kingdom of DalRiada. For a time Scottish DalRiada appears to have been dependent upon Irish DalRiada, but about 575 King Aidan secured its independence. One of Aidan's successors, Kenneth, also became king of the Picts about 843, and gradually the name DalRiada both in Ireland and Scotland fell into disuse. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

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There were two saints called Fillan<sup>11</sup>. The earlier was an Irish Celt of the race of Aengus, King of Leinster. He died on June 22, 520 A.D. His chapel and grave are at Dundurn at the eastern end of Loch Earn. His Font is in Dundurn Church and his "chair" is on St. Fillans Hill, where are also his spring and "basin."

The later St Fillan was a Scot, the son of Eerach or Ferdach of the race of Fiatach Finn. He succeeded St. Mundus as Abbot of Kilmun and then moved to Glendochart whence his mother Kentigerna, the most devout of women, retired to the Nun's Island on Loch Lomond and died in 734 A.D. The name Fillan (Faolan) means "Wolf Cub". The ruins of his chapel are at Kirkton between Tyndurm and Crianlarich in Strathfillan. His "pool" and "stone bed," which were supposed to cure the insane, are still there. His pastoral staff, or crozier, (the Quigreach), which was carried before the Clan in battle, and his bell are in the National Museum in Edinburgh. His left arm, which was luminous enough to help him to write at night, was enshrined in a casket after his death.

It is said that King Robert the Bruce wished to have the relic of his arm with him at Bannockburn.<sup>12</sup> The casket was sent empty but the arm followed it miraculously and was considered by the King to have helped him greatly to gain the victory. His "healing stones" are at the Tweed Mill, Dochart Bridge, Killin<sup>13</sup>. He died on 9 January 703 A.D. Other relics of St. Fillan, important to the Clan still exist.

**The Clan**

The Macnab country stretched from Tyndrum, west into Argyll and east, down Glendochart to Killin, where the old Macnab castle of Eilean Ran was originally situated on an island on the north bank of the River Lochay.<sup>14</sup> This was a point of great commercial importance at the western end of Loch Tay at a time when there were no roads and a boat was the quickest means of transport. Various Macnab families also

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<sup>11</sup>Saint Fillan, or Faolan, the name of two Scottish saints of Irish origin, whose lives are of a legendary character. The St. Fillan whose feast is kept on June 20 had churches dedicated to him at Ballyheyland, Queen's county, Ireland, and at Loch Earn, Perthshire (see map of Killin and Glendochart). The other, who is commemorated on Jan 9, was specially venerated at Cluain Mavscua, County Westmeath, Ireland, and about the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century at Strathfillan, Perthshire, Scotland, where there was an ancient monastery dedicated to him. This monastery became a cell of the abbey of canons regular at Inchaffray, and was supposed to possess the Saint's crozier, the head of which is now deposited in the National museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The legend of the second saint is given in the Bollandist *Acta SS.* (1643) see also D. O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints* (Dublin 1825)  
*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

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<sup>12</sup>Yet, see below, the Macnabs were on the other side of this battle, having allied themselves with the Bruce's bitterest enemy. David Rorer

<sup>13</sup> The Tweed Mill is now the Breadalban tourist center.

<sup>14</sup>See map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

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possessed land at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at Dundurn, Newton, Torry, Callander, Bochastle, Kilmahog in the neighborhood of Doune, and near Coupar Angus in East Perthshire. Others settled in the area of Ballinluig near Pitlochry.

The early history of the Clan is scanty. The name of Macnab as a surname was first found in a chartulary of 1124 AD in the reign of David I<sup>15</sup>. The records of the Abbeys were destroyed during the Reformation and the Macnab "Writs" were lost when the English burned the Castle of Eilean Ran in 1654. With the final breakup of the clan in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was a further dispersal of the records.

In 1138 A.D., John de Glendochart witnessed a charter granted by Malduin, third Earl of Lennox. Later the Abbot of Glendochart and the Earl of Atholl governed a part of Argyle<sup>16</sup>. In 1296, Malcolm de Glendochart's name was shown in the "Ragmans Roll"<sup>17</sup> acknowledging

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<sup>15</sup>David I, b. 1080-85, king 1124-85

<sup>16</sup> William the Lion, as part of his policy of asserting his authority over the wild lands of the west, made the Earl of Atholl and the Abbot of Glendochart responsible for administering the law in Argyle. *The Lords of the Isles, The Clan Donald and the early Kingdom of the Scotts*, by Ronald Williams

<sup>17</sup>Ragman Rolls, the name given to the collection of instruments by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland were compelled to subscribe allegiance to Edward I of England between the conference of Northam in May 1291 and the final award in favor of Baliol in Nov 1292, and again in 1296. Of the former of these records two copies were preserved in the chapterhouse at Westminster (now in the Record Office, London), and it has been printed by Ryder (*Foedera*, ii 542). Another copy, preserved originally in the Tower of London, is now also in the Record Office.

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

Edward I of England as Lord Paramount of Killin, the village, which grew up around Eilean Ran.<sup>18</sup>

Angus Macnab, incensed by the murder of his brother-in-law, The Red Comyn<sup>19</sup>, by Robert the Bruce,<sup>20</sup> naturally joined the Red Comyn's son-in-law, MacDougall of Lorn<sup>21</sup>, the Bruce's bitterest enemy, and helped defeat the Bruce at the Battle of Dalrigh<sup>22</sup> in Strathfillan in 1306 A.D. But they were defeated by him at the Pass of Brander, (1308 A.D.,) and at Bannockburn<sup>23</sup>. When John Balliol<sup>24</sup> and

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<sup>18</sup>See the History of Killin Village

<sup>19</sup> John Comyn, younger of Badenoch, styled the Red Comyn because he was head of the senior line of the Comyn family. The junior line, the Earls of Buchan were styled the Black Comyn

<sup>20</sup>Early in 1306 Robert Bruce and John Comyn, the Younger of Badenoch, both of them ex-guardians of Scotland, met secretly in the Greyfriars church at Dumfries. Comyn was a nephew of John Balliol, who had been appointed King of Scotland by Edward I of England, and was regarded as the representative of the Balliol claims to the throne. There was a quarrel, and Bruce stabbed Comyn; his followers dispatched the wounded man. It was impossible for Bruce to conceal his real aims from Edward and he was crowned in March, 1306 at Scone.

<sup>21</sup>Lame John McDougall, Lord of Lorn, was on the losing side in the contest for the Scottish throne between Bruce and Baliol. An episode in that contest is the story of the Brooch of Lorn, won by one of the McDougalls of Lorn from Bruce at the battle of Dal Righ.

*The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk, Albany Herald; published by Barrie & Rockliff, 2 Clements Inn, London W.C.2.

<sup>22</sup>On the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, the Dal Righ is marked just south of Tyndrum on the bank of the River Lochy

<sup>23</sup>In 1314, Edward II made a serious effort to recover his father's conquest of Scotland and suffered defeat at the battle of Bannockburn June 24, 1315. The



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the English were driven from Scotland, the Macnab lands were forfeited and their writs burned; but in 1336 A.D., Gilbert received a charter from King David II. Gilbert belonged to Bovain, in Glendochart,<sup>25</sup> and the Bovain family remained chiefs for many centuries. He is generally regarded as the first chief. The senior line -*Macnab Oire*- of Innishewan<sup>26</sup> thereafter subsisted only as a cadet.

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only successful battle on a great scale ever won by the Scots over the English, when Robert the Bruce vindicated Scottish independence. Edward, however stubbornly declined to admit the accomplished fact, and for many years Bruce carried terror into the northern counties.

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition  
1926

<sup>24</sup>When Alexander III died in 1286 his only heir was an infant granddaughter, by his daughter, who had married the king of Norway. However, she was in Norway and died on the voyage to Scotland. The succession was disputed by John Balliol, a great-grandson of David of Huntingdon, youngest son of Malcolm III 1058-1093 and Robert Bruce, a great grandson (and grandfather of the Robert the Bruce who eventually became king). Edward I of England claimed overlordship of Scotland and placed John Balliol on the throne. Within three years, however, John was in revolt against Edward. In 1296 Edward assembled an army and annexed the country taking John back to England with him. Subsequently William Wallace and then Robert the Bruce fought the English, Robert the Bruce finally succeeded in expelling the English for good after the battle of Bannockburn in 1315.

*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition,  
1929.

<sup>25</sup>See the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, Bovain is several miles west of Killin on the north bank of the river Dochart.

<sup>26</sup>Inneshewan is about 6-7 miles west of Killin on the north bank of the river Dochart

The history of the Clans before Bannockburn is chiefly derived from early Irish genealogies. If authentic, the Macnab genealogy is shown as going back from Gilbert through Ewen and Angus to Ferchar, nephew of St. Fillan and the late Archibald Corrie Macnab of Macnab C.I.E. (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief) suggested to the Lord Lyon that Gilbert should in fact be regarded as the 20<sup>th</sup> Chief. The Lord Lyon, however, has decreed that Gilbert should be regarded as the first authentic chief.

The genealogy, thus pieced together and reproduced in Appendix "A", would suggest that Gilbert of Bovain was a direct descendant of the old chiefs, against the theory that the old chiefs before Gilbert were of the Innishewan branch. Be that as it may, as happened after 1745, those in authority must have found that only the old family could control the countryside, and its surviving representative was restored to power. Gilbert would have been alive when the genealogies were recorded. They show other Clans also descended from Ferchar, presumably through different sons.

#### **The Early Chiefs**

The early History of the clan after the charter of 1336, granting the lands of Bothmachan (Bovain) to Gilbert (1<sup>st</sup> Chief) is fragmentary. Some early historians suggest that Gilbert was succeeded by Finlay, then Patrick, followed by Sir Alexander. However, in 1954, the Lord Lyon when deciding the succession of the chiefs decided that Alexander should be regarded as 2<sup>nd</sup> Chief. He died before 1407, leaving three sons, John, Maurice and Alexander. John (3) succeeded him and the next recorded name is that of Finlay (4), who was alive in 1450. In 1464, Patrick (5) succeeded and in 1487 conveyed his property to his son Finlay (6), who was in turn succeeded by his son John (7) in 1499 and was in turn succeeded by his son Finlay (8).

It seems that the Macnabs moved slowly down the River Dochart. Before Bannockburn, the Chief probably lived at Innishewan; Gilbert (1), the grandson of



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Angus<sup>27</sup>, lived at Bovain. About the year 1400, Macnab lands included Ardchyle,<sup>28</sup> Invermonichele, Bovain, and Downich. Patrick (5) died at Auchlyne<sup>29</sup> in 1488. In 1522, the lands of Ewer and Leiragan were granted in life rent to Mariat Campbell by her husband Finlay Macnab (8), who died at Elan Ran on 13 April 1525 and was buried at Killin. His eldest son was probably killed at Flodden<sup>30</sup> in 1513. The second son, John (9) (who succeeded his father finally) granted a tack<sup>31</sup> for nine years of Auchessan to John Campbell of Glenorchy. John Macnab died before 1558 and left a widow, Eley Stewart. In her probably lay the origin of the claim made by the Epping branch of the Clan Macnab to the Stewart Earldom of Strathearn.

John's son Finlay (10) married Katherine, a natural daughter of John Campbell of Glenorchy. Their tombstone is still to be found in the Burial Enclosure in the island of Inch Buie at Killin and it bears the inscription "This Burial Apertines to Finlay Macnab of Bovain". Finlay's son John died before him and he was succeeded by his brother Alexander (11), whose extravagances greatly embarrassed the family.

Alexander had at least two sons, Finlay and Patrick Mor of Acharn. Finlay (12) was the father of "Smooth John," famous warrior, and Duncan, by his first wife,

Katherine, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. By a second wife, Alexander had ten more sons; from the eldest of these, John Roy or Baine, the present Chief is descended.

From Gilbert to Finlay, the father of Smooth John, the previously accepted descent may have had some gaps, but most of these seem to have been filled. (See Genealogy Appendix B)

**Smooth John -- The end of Eilean Ran Castle - The Beginning of Kinnell House**

The Macnab country from Dalmally<sup>32</sup> in the west to Killin in the east, vies in beauty with any part of the Highlands. The twin peaks of Ben More and Stob Buinlin<sup>33</sup> near Crianlarich and of Ben Lawers to the east of Killin rise to nearly 4000 feet. Glendochart and the tumbling waters of the River Dochart falling into the great expanse of Loch Tay, attract many thousands of visitors each year.

The problem for the Macnabs was that their lands lay astride one of the main routes to the west and the north. Only two ranges of hills lie between Glendochart and the Lowlands. Stirling is less than forty miles away, Edinburgh about seventy-five and Glasgow, even less. Thus they lay in the path of advancing armies and the tides of war flowed disastrously over the Clan, culminating in Eilean Ran Castle being burnt by the English in 1654. It was also difficult for a small clan to withstand their powerful neighbors, the Campbells of Breadalbane<sup>34</sup> who enjoyed financial strength and influence at Court.

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<sup>27</sup> The brother-in-law of the Red Comyn

<sup>28</sup> Archyle is on the map just west of Bovain and on the south side of the Dochart.

<sup>29</sup> Archlyne is on the north side of the Dochart about 2 miles west of Bovain.

<sup>30</sup> In alliance with France, King James IV went to war with England and in sept 1513 he was defeated and killed at the battle of Flodden. His heir was an infant, and Scotland was again subjected to the intrigues of a minority. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

<sup>31</sup> In *Scots Law*, a "tack" is a lease. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language* 1980

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<sup>32</sup> Dalmally is at the very western edge of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

<sup>33</sup> See the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings. Ben More and Stob Binnein are south of the river Dochart and to the west of Killin.

<sup>34</sup> This story is set out in the book "In Famed Breadalbane by William A. Gilies, Perth, The Munro Press Ltd, 36 Tay Street 1938

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"*In Famed Breadalbane*"<sup>35</sup> contains stories of the surrender of various portions of the Macnab lands to the "Lairds of Glenorchy" (i.e. the Breadalbane Campbells); but these tales and others before them do not take account of the practice of "subinfeudation", whereby a landowner might recognize someone else as his overlord, who was strong enough to protect him and act as a buffer between him and the Crown.

Finlay, the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief, married Katherine, a natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. They had a daughter and two sons, Smooth John (Iain Min) and Duncan. By a second wife (name unknown), he is believed to have had a further ten sons. The names of six have been traced. The eldest, John Roy or Baine (red or fair-haired) is the ancestor of the present chief' the other five were Patrick, Archibald, Finlay, Donald and Alexander. Tradition has it that the weakest of the twelve sons could drive his dirk through a twelve-inch board.

If Finlay MacNab (d. 1556) was a man of peace and intervened successfully to protect the homes of the populace who were being plundered by the wild rabble that followed the Marquess of Montrose<sup>36</sup> in 1644, his son, Smooth John (Ian Min), was a man of war. He and the fighting men of the Macnabs joined Montrose, during the wars between King and Parliament, and played a notable part in the victory of Kilsyth.

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<sup>35</sup>See map of Breadalbane

<sup>36</sup>James Graham Montrose, Marquess of, (1612-1650) In Feb 1644, during the wars between the king and Parliament, when a Scottish army entered England to take part against the king, Montrose was appointed lieutenant-general in Scotland by Charles I. He made his way in August to the Highlands, where the clans rallied to his summons. He defeated his opponents, with great military skill, at Tippermuir, Aberdeen, Inverlochry, Auldearn, Alford, Kilsyth and Dundee. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

John was then appointed to garrison Montrose's own Castle of Kinkardine. There he was so closely besieged by General Leslie that he found it impossible to stand out. He therefore sallied forth with his 300 clansmen, sword in hand, during the night, and all got clear off but the Chief and a private, who were taken prisoners and sent to Edinburgh. Macnab was condemned to die; but the night before his execution, he contrived to make his escape and joined King Charles in England. John was with the Royalist forces at the battle of Worcester, on 3 September 1651<sup>37</sup> and survived the battle but not for long. Various Highland Chiefs and Lowland noblemen met in Killin in May 1653. A party of horse and foot from the Commonwealth Army in Perth came to find out what was going on. John Macnab found them lifting cattle and was killed in the ensuing affray. Thus fell the most heroic figure of the house of Bovain.

His father, Finlay, in 1633 had given Kinnell House to his daughter-in-law, Mary, who was the daughter of Duncan Campbell, fourth Laird of Glenlyon. After the castle of Eilian Ran was burnt by the English in 1654, and all the Macnab's charters and other documents destroyed, the property then was given to Campbell of Glenurchai', who alleged that he had sustained heavy losses by the Macnab. So reduced was the family by these reverses, that during the minority of her son, the widow of Macnab made supplication to General Monk<sup>38</sup> for relief, who directed the Governor of Finlarig castle to "preserve the rights that to them (those who were peaceable) belong, and to enter and receive them into their lands as if the said order (for depriving them of their estates) had never been made." the widow and

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<sup>37</sup> Some accounts of the battle say that Ian, chief of MacNab, died at the battle of Worcester

<sup>38</sup> Monk (or Monck), George, commander of the Commonwealth army in Scotland for Cromwell. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

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John's eldest son, Alexander, were permitted to live in Kinnell House. This attempt to repair the injuries inflicted on the Macnabs had, unfortunately, little effect; but on the restoration of Charles II the Scottish parliament awarded them a portion of their estates, which they had so long enjoyed.

In 1655, Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> chief) gave his grandson a charter of his lands, and died after 1656. In 1662, Alexander, (13<sup>th</sup> Chief) obtained a charter from John Campbell, the first Earl of Breadalbane, of all the lands except the land of Eilean Ran (Ellanryne) which was never afterwards recovered. He had three brothers, Patrick and Archibald, who died unmarried and James who married Katherine, daughter of George MacFarlane of Roseneath and lived at Auchessan. He had also six daughters, three of whom married respectively Gregor MacGregor, John MacGregor and Black Sandie Campbell of Achallader.

Smooth John's widow later on married Malcolm MacGregor, tutor<sup>39</sup> of the Clan MacGregor, an old comrade in arms of her husband and took the lands of Ewer in life rent in exchange for Kinnell, which from this time onwards was the seat of the family. Alexander (13<sup>th</sup> Chief), on November 14<sup>th</sup>, 1662 married Elizabeth, daughter of Duncan Menzies of Weem. We know he died before 1683, because his widow was then wife of Duncan, brother of Mungo Campbell of Kinloch. Alexander's children were Robert, 14th Chief and John (who died without heirs before 1689) and two daughters, Jean and Anges, who died unmarried.

**The Neishes and the coat of arms**

Trouble with the Clan Neish produced the Chief's crest, "a savages head erased," and the motto "Dread nought," or in Latin, Timor Omnis Abesto. After their defeat by the Macnabs in 1522 at the battle of Boultachan<sup>40</sup> between St.

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<sup>39</sup> Tutor: the guardian of children in pupillarity, i.e. children up to 12 (girls) and 14 (boys)

<sup>40</sup> This story can be found in its own section.

Fillans and Comrie, the remnants of the Clan Neish, a sept of the MacGregor, took refuge on an island in Loch Earn near St. Fillans. Here they occupied the ruins of an old royal castle dismantled by the King for fear that some evilly disposed person might seize it, as had actually happened.<sup>41</sup> They possessed the only boat on the loch and so were able to raid the surrounding countryside with impunity. In December 1612, they learned that a consignment of provisions for the Macnabs would be crossing from Callander past the west end of Loch Earn. Lying in wait, they intercepted the packhorses and their loads but the servants escaped and brought work of the loss back to Eilean Ran.

Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) and his second wife<sup>42</sup> were very much incensed and in the heat of the moment, the Chief poured out his wrath on his sons: "The night is the night", he cried, "if the lads were the lads". Smarting under this reflection at least four of his sons took up the challenge and there followed the famous



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<sup>41</sup> At the east end of Loch Earn is a beautiful small wooded island, known for many centuries by the name of Neish Island. It is an artificial isle, which appears to date back to the era of the lake-dwellers.

In after ages, according to tradition, the island became a Royal fortalice of many of the kings or chiefs of Fortrenn. The island was a residence of the Clan Neish at an early period, probably from circa 1250 to 1420; after that date it was probably only in occupation by the Neishes at periods until 1622, the date of the massacre.

*The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway* by David Macnish, M.A., M.B. & William A. Tod, F.S.A. Scot. William Blackwood and Sons

<sup>42</sup> See above, her name is not known.

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incident, which is commemorated in the Clan Crest and Coat of Arms. Afterwards, spiteful people said that as the two eldest were not her own sons and that as leaders of the expedition they might well be killed, the Lady would not have been too unhappy as that would ensure that one of her own sons would thus become his father's heir.

Lead by Smooth John, or Ian Min Macnab, fiar<sup>43</sup> of Bovain, the sons carried their boat own from the head of Loch Tay, overland some eight miles over the hills and a two thousand foot pass, through snow, to the head of Glen Tarken and down the glen to the shore of Loch Earn<sup>44</sup>. Here they launched the boat and rowed quietly along to Neish Island (as it is now called). There they destroyed the Neishes' boat, thus cutting off any line of escape.<sup>45</sup>

Within the ruined keep, the Neishes were holding carousal with the stolen supplies, deeming themselves safe from all attack, when a loud hammering at the outer door silenced the company and brought fear into every heart. The old Neish summoned up courage enough to demand who was there and what was his mission. In reply, there came the question - "Whom would you least desire?" Terrified, the Neish answered "Iain Min" (Smooth John). Then in the night came the great voice of Smooth John "He it is and a rough man you will find him tonight!" At this the Macnabs beat in the door of the keep and setting about the Neishes, who were in a poor condition to defend themselves, they

quickly slaughtered them to the last man. In fact, a small girl and a small boy managed to survive by hiding among the overturned furnishings. The boy grew up and had a large family.<sup>46</sup>

The Macnab brothers rowed back along the shore and began to retrace their outward journey up Glen Tarken. However, finding the boat too heavy, they set it down and continued their journey unencumbered. It remained where it was left for some centuries, until the remaining timbers were made into a cradle and walking stick by a member of the Clan Macnab.

When the undaunted brothers reached Eilean Ran after their incredible feat and were challenged by the look-out, Smooth John shouted out "Gun Eagal", literally 'Fear Nought' or as the Clan Motto has it, *Timor Omnis Abesto*<sup>47</sup>. It must not be forgotten that Gaelic would have been the universal tongue in those days and the English words quoted can be a loose translation of the original. As Smooth John entered the hall of Eilean Ran, he was asked what he had in the sack he was carrying on his shoulder. Opening it up he rolled out the heads of some of the Neishes, including the old Chief: "boules for the bairns", he replied, implying that his little brothers could have them for playthings<sup>48</sup>. He is also said to have ended the night's proceedings by stating proudly to his father, the Chief, "The night was the night and the lads were

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<sup>43</sup> Fiar, the ultimate and absolute possessor of a property as distinguished from a life-renter of it; one who has the reversion of property.

<sup>44</sup> In 1968 the Black Watch TA (territorial army reserve unit) carried out exercise "John Macnab" which proved it was impossible to carry even a light coracle by the traditional route in under eight hours.

<sup>45</sup> Loch Earn is to the south of Loch Tay; see the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.

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<sup>46</sup> Though in fact many MacNishes, who could not have been descended from this boy are documented in *The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway* by David Macnish, M.A., M. B. & William A. Tod, F.S.A. Scot. William Blackwood and Sons, which is a part of this collection

<sup>47</sup> As rendered in Latin

<sup>48</sup> Probably play "bowls" with them. I think a reference to an early form of the game now known as lawn bowling.  
*David Rorer*

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the lads!" There was no more trouble from the Neishes.<sup>49</sup>

Later on, it was prescribed that by the Act of 1672; all who had a Coat of arms should register them in Edinburgh. The Macnab Arms were duly registered with a boat on water and a savage's head and the motto, "Timor Omnis Abesto" (Dreadnought). They were matriculated afresh in 1765 and 1954. It is an interesting heraldic feature to note that in the differenced arms of Barravorich and Barachastalain, their motto is in effect a reply to that of the Chief. I.e. Barravorich's is-"I fear no man" while Barachastalain's is "Fear? I do not know it".

The Highlands at that time were a very turbulent area. Acts were passed in 1587 and 1594 for dealing with the turbulent clans, of which the Macnabs were mentioned as one. Behind the school at Killin, there is a small eminence still known as Execution Hill, although most of the executions took place at the Glenorchy Castle of Finlarig, where the pit to receive the heads of the 'Better sort' is still shown and where the 'lesser people' were hanged on the branch of a sycamore tree. The branch - which has now disappeared - bore a deep grove cut by the rope thus used.

*Note:* Those who wish to study the early history of Clan Macnab and their powerful neighbors the Breadalbane Campbells should read "in Famed Breadalbane" by the Rev. William A. Gillies B.D. Unfortunately, this excellent book is no longer in print, but there are copies in some public Libraries.<sup>50</sup>

**Robert the 14<sup>th</sup> Chief**

Robert, grandson of Smooth John and the 14<sup>th</sup> Chief, was apprenticed to Colin

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<sup>49</sup> For more on the Clan MacNeish see The History of the Clan Neish or MacNish of Perthshire and Galloway.

<sup>50</sup> I have been given a copy of this book and intend to add it to this collection. It is a treasure trove of information on Breadalbane, the Campbells and the Macnabs'

Campbell of Carwhin, Writer to the Signet, the Earl of Breadalbane's man of business, on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 1686. His cautioner was Robert Menzies of that Ilk. He married first the daughter of Robert Campbell of Glenlyon. Their son died young. He then married Anna, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy by his third wife. They were proclaimed in the Kirk at Killin on October 10<sup>th</sup> 1697. Her brother was John, the first Earl of Breadalbane. The Earl refused to rise for the Stuarts in 1715; Robert Macnab also held back; but many of the Clan were out in that brief incident. Robert had seven sons and five daughters. The eldest, John (15<sup>th</sup> Chief) was born in 1698. The second, Archibald, served in the Army, becoming a Major General on October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1781. He died in Edinburgh on January 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1790. These were the only two sons who were alive in 1769. The sixth son, Allan, died at the age of 19 on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1735 and lies buried in the Church of Tarland in Aberdeenshire. The eldest daughter, Mary, married John Campbell Younger of Baleveolan in 1720. Robert himself died before November 17<sup>th</sup> 1725 but his widow survived until September 6<sup>th</sup> 1765.

**John the 15<sup>th</sup> Chief**

John, 15<sup>th</sup> Chief, was a major in the Hanoverian<sup>51</sup> army and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1745 and confined to Doune Castle. His brother, Archibald, also fought for the Hanoverians. Some of the Clan supported the Rising,<sup>52</sup> two of them afterwards being listed as rebels.

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<sup>51</sup> So-called because King George I, of the House of Hannover was born in Hanover, Germany, and was Duke of Caltenberg and elector of Brunswick-Luneburg before succeeding as king of Great Britain and Ireland. He became heir to the throne in 1714 by right of his mother, under the terms of the Act of Settlement of 1701, which excluded Catholics from the succession.

<sup>52</sup> "The '45" = 1745, when Charles Edward Stuart, pretender to the Scottish throne attempted to retrieve it from the Hanoverian King George I. *David Rorer*



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After their earlier sacrifices and especially after the losses, which they had suffered at the battle of Worcester in 1651, many of the Clans held that they had done enough for the Stuarts and had received few tokens of gratitude. John's chief connection with the Stuart cause was his brother-in-law, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, locally known as the "King of Kippen", who accompanied Prince Charlie<sup>53</sup> until he finally took ship for France, when the Prince gave him a ruby ring and a sword. (Miss Sarah Anne Macnab of Macnab, 18th Chief du jure subsequently presented the ring to the National Museum in Edinburgh.<sup>54</sup> The sword went with her father, Archibald, 17th Chief, to Canada, was subsequently purchased by Donald, brother of James William, (19th Chief), and is in family hands. Francis Buchanan was later captured and beheaded at Carlisle on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 1746. John Macnab married his sister, Jean. They had two sons, Francis and Robert (who was a doctor and married Anne Maule and lived at Bovain) as well as two daughters; Elizabeth, who married Dick Miller and Marjory, who married Colonel Campbell of Baleveolan. John Macnab died at Kinnell on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 1778 and his widow on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1789.

**Francis the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief**

John's son, Francis, (16th Chief), was born in 1734 and is the best known of all the Chiefs of the Clan. The famous picture of him by Raeburn "The MacNab." is now to be seen in John Dewar & Sons'

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<sup>53</sup> Charles Edward Louis Philip Casimir Stuart (1720-1788) called the "Young Pretender" the grandson of King James II of England and elder son of James Charles Stuart, the "Old Pretender." He sailed for Scotland in the summer of 1745. After initial successes the Hanoverian forces proved too strong and he was decisively defeated at Culloden on April 16, 1746. Returning to France Charles spent the remainder of his life intriguing for his throne and died in Rome on Jan 30 1788.

*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

<sup>54</sup> *Du jur* = in law

office in the Haymarket in London, where some of the best Scotch whisky in the world may be purchased. Francis was notable both as a producer and as a consumer of whisky<sup>55</sup>. He lived in Kinnell House, battling manfully against the rising tide of indebtedness, which for some generations past had crippled the family. The rich lands, which he had inherited from his mother at Arnprior and his successful enterprise in founding the Dreadnought Hotel in Callander,<sup>56</sup> could not for long support the weight of his extravagance. He lived the life of an old fashioned chief at Kinnell House, admired and revered by all around him but sinking deeper and deeper into debt.<sup>57</sup> The story is well

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<sup>55</sup> He had his own distillery at Killin; and Heron, who toured Perthshire in 1792, wrote that The Macnab produced the best whisky to be found in Scotland. *The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk, Albany Herald; published by Barrie & Rockliff, 2 Clements Inn, London W.C.2.

<sup>56</sup> Still in existence and still in business as a hotel.

<sup>57</sup> Described, as a most eccentric but good-hearted man, Francis Macnab, was the last specimen, in Perthshire at least, of the old Highland Laird. He was of a remarkably tall and robust frame, and spurned all suggestions to keep on the march of improvement, which he only viewed as innovation on the good old mode of living and acting with plainness and blunt sincerity. He had the highest opinion of the dignity of a chief and could not be persuaded that his will should not be law. Having raised a body of Fencibles, he proudly marched at their head to Edinburgh, but was met by some excise men who unceremoniously ordered a halt that they might make a search as they had received information that a great quantity of Whisky was concealed among the baggage. Macnab indignantly refused to stop, and the gaugers resolutely maintained their right as being on his Majesty's service. "I also," exclaimed the offended chief, "am on his Majesty's service, halt! This, my lads, is a serious affair, load

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known how his housekeeper suspended a dummy by a rope round its neck from the branch of a great wych elm<sup>58</sup> near the house, while the Laird made a temporary disappearance. The bailiff who had come to serve a writ upon him was lavishly entertained overnight. When he woke with a splitting headache and bleary eyes the next morning and asked what was the grisly sight, she told him: "Oh, that's just a wee bit baillie body that angered the Laird". Whereupon, the Bailiff fled without daring to serve the writ. Many other stories have been told about and against him.

Six foot three in height and of herculean strength; he was one of the most notable figures in that part of the country. He never married<sup>59</sup>, but his numerous pogeny acquitted themselves nobly on many a battlefield. There is a tablet to one of them. Lieutenant Allan Macnab, outside the burial enclosure on the island of Inchbuie. When he died at Callander on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1816, he left thirty-five thousand pounds worth of debts.

His brother, Robert, had died at Killin on June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1814. Robert left a son, Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) and a daughter, Anne Maule, who married Robert Jameson, an Advocate, in Edinburgh on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1811 and died there on October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1814.

**Archibald the 17<sup>th</sup> Chief**

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with ball!" The officers of excise knowing the character of the leader, and disposition of the clan, prudently allowed them to proceed.

*The Clans of The Scottish Highlands*, R.R. McIan, originally published in 1845-47 by Ackermann, London reprinted by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York 1980

<sup>58</sup> The Wych Elm or Scots Elm, is a large deciduous tree native to Europe, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus.

<sup>59</sup> So he never married though he had 32 children and it was rumored that several lasses in the district got 'the bad disorder.' from him.

*The Highland Clans* by Sir Ian Moncreiffe of that Ilk.

Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) was born in 1778, in which year the Macnabs had acquired the property of Easter Torry. He married Margaret Robertson, the daughter of a Writer to the Signet and of Miss Murdoch of Gartincaber. Their three sons and three daughters died unmarried. Alexander died in Edinburgh aged 11 on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1828. William died at Pisa aged 20 on November 23 1833. Margaret died at Florence aged 18 on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 1834. Two other children died as infants. Alexander was buried in Edinburgh in the Greyfriars Churchyard. William and Margaret were buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Florence, as was their mother who died on June 20<sup>th</sup>, 1868. Sarah Anne, the eldest of the children, who was born on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1803 and died at Florence on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1894.

Archibald had studied law in his youth and traveled on the Continent. His uncle had made a disposition of the Macnab lands in his favor in 1812. When his uncle died, Alexander found that the estate was hopelessly encumbered. He made desperate efforts to extricate it; but in 1823, a writ of foreclosure was issued. Part of the property had already been sold. An effort was then made to sell the remainder but no purchaser could be found. Archibald went out for a walk one morning with his gun and his two dogs as if all was usual and then disappeared. He took refuge with his cousin, Dr. Hamilton Buchanan of Leny but was discovered and fled to London and thence to Canada, where eventually he obtained a grant of 81,000 acres of land in the Valley of the Ottawa River. Eighty-five men, women and children arrived at Montreal on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1825 and were settled by him in the estate to which he had given the name of Macnab. As in all such cases, the early years of such a settlement were full of difficulties and discomforts and Archibald had promised more than he could perform. The settlers had to endure many privations.<sup>60</sup>

It is one of the lessons of history that when the Highland Chiefs lost their

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<sup>60</sup> A fuller account of this is given in the chapters titled "The Last Lairds"



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lands they lost everything. Archibald's dominant idea was that some day he might redeem his ancestral lands. In 1828, these lands were sold to the fourth Earl of Breadalbane, the principal creditor, including Kinnell House, the farms of Sleoch, Achrine, Bovain and Craitchur, the Grey Street and Clachaig houses on the south side of the River Dochart and parts of the village of Killin on the north side, together with the superiorities over Ewer, Suie, Craignave and Arnfinlay. Even the islands of Garbh-innis and Inch-buie (which contains the burial ground of the Clan Macnab) in the River Dochart, were sold. Nothing was left. The contents of Kinnell House, which remained in Campbell hands until 1949, were included in the sale and for long were an object of interest to visitors to the house until they were auctioned in the year 1935. Some are now in the possession of John Dewar & Son Ltd. at their London office in the Haymarket as is Raeburn's portrait of Francis.

Archibald was no exception to this rule. Once his estates were finally lost to him, everything went from bad to worse. He had established friendly relations with those in authority in Canada; but he tried to use his influence to oppress the members of his Clan and to extract rents from them, which were not due. Lord Durham took over charge as Governor General in 1838 and ordered an enquiry to be held. Archibald was compelled to refund his illegal exactions and was left a ruined man, in 1853 he returned to Britain. His wife, who had left him when he fled to Canada, made him a small allowance. He lived for a while at Rendall in the Orkneys, made a bigamous marriage in London, and then moved to France where he died at Lanion in the Department of Cotes du Nord on August 12<sup>th</sup>, 1860 at the age of 83.

His daughter, Miss Sarah Anne Macnab of Macnab (b 1803), was recognized as the 18<sup>th</sup> chief, *de jure* until her death in Florence in 1894; thereafter it was dormant.

**The 'Houses' or Branches of the Clan Auchessan Branch**<sup>61</sup>

It is indeed unfortunate that the ancient records of the clan were destroyed, first as a result of the punitive measures adopted by King Robert the Bruce against the Macnabs and again following their active support of Montrose during the Civil War. In 1654, the castle of Eilean Ran was destroyed with all the remaining writs and records and the clan is said to have been driven to a last foothold on the burial island of Inch Buie at Killin. The oldest record available states that in 1336, Gilbert Macnab of Bovain achieved reconciliation with King David II, who granted a Charter, under the Great Seal, of the Barony of Bovain. Further charters were granted to successive chiefs until a sizeable number of their former holdings were restored.

The extinction of those holdings during the Civil War of the seventeenth century was temporary, for much was again restored through legal processes and other portions came as marriage settlements from neighboring influential clans.

From Gilbert in 1336, successive chiefs followed in the direct line of the House of Bovain until Archibald, 17<sup>th</sup> chief and last of his line, for when he died in 1860 he left no successor. It will be shown how the restoration of a Chief *de jure* involved research going back the family of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief).

Next in seniority to the House of Bovain is the Auchessan Branch but no records at all remain to tell us their history. The next in order of remoteness is the Innishewan Branch but before tracing its history, perhaps we should consider the Arthurstone Branch, which is the line of the present chief.

**The present Chief and the Arthurstone Branch**

With the death of Miss Sarah Anne Macnab in Florence on January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1894 the

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<sup>61</sup> Auhessian can be found on the Map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, it is on the river Dochart about 10 miles to the west of Killin.

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old line of Chiefs ends. The question of who should succeed is one, which caused a lot of discussion and argument within the clan for many years thereafter.

We know that Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) considered he should be succeeded by Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn and handed certain record and documents over to him. We know also that these papers were lost by Sir Allan when shipwrecked in the *North Briton* and he had intended to hand them over to James Munro Macnabb of Arthurstone.

The matter was not finally resolved until 1954 when James Munro's grandson, Archibald Corrie, completed several years of research and was recognized by the Lord Lyon as 22<sup>nd</sup> Chief.

The following is a brief account of the story of the Arthurstone family. A table showing their descent from John Roy or Bane, third don of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) will be found in Appendix C. (A much more detailed account of the family is contained in a book "Unto the Third and Fourth Generation" by A.C. Macnab of Macnab C.I.E., copies of which may be purchased through the Secretary of the Clan Society).

Katherine, first wife of Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief), a natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, had a daughter and two sons, Smooth John who was Baillie to Sir Duncan, and Duncan, who was referred to as the "brother german"<sup>62</sup> to Smooth John. The name of the second wife is not known but she was responsible for inciting the young men to the extermination of the Neishes. The third son, John Roy or Baine, was the servitor, baillie<sup>63</sup> and eventually son-

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<sup>62</sup> Having the same father and mother, as a full brother or sister (usually used in combination): Example; a brother-german.  
*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

<sup>63</sup> In Scotland the word bailiff denotes an inferior officer locally appointed to watch and ward. In the form "bailee" the word signifies an official appointed to exercise a local delegated jurisdiction,

in-law of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, the cousin, brother-in-law and rival of Sir Duncan. His wife, Janet, brought him a dowry of land in Carie and Carwhin, on the north side of Loch Tay. Captain John Baine commanded the Castle of Garth, which was the obstacle to the advance of Montrose from the north by the pass over the shoulder of Schiehallion into Glenlyon. His widow applied in 1649 for the payment of the grant of £3,000 sanctioned by the Scots Parliament in compensation for the damage of £15,000 caused by the Irish soldiery of Montrose; but it appears that, although several times sanctioned, this was never paid. Archibald, their eldest son, succeeded to a load of debt, including a loan of a thousand marks<sup>64</sup> from his brother Robert, who had married the heiress of Hew Campbell of Lix<sup>65</sup>. Archibald married Isobel, the daughter of William Anderson in Ceres. He married a second wife, Marie Carmichael, before 1687. His son John married Anne, the

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civil or criminal. The feudal bailies, formerly appointed by the superiors of regality or of barony lands to exercise jurisdiction within those lands have disappeared in consequence of the abolition of feudal jurisdictions.  
*Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition c. 1929

<sup>64</sup> In England the "mark" was never a coin, but a money of account only, and apparently came into use in the 10th century through the Danes. It first was taken as equal to 100 pennies, but after the Norman Conquest was equal to 160 pennies (20 pennies to the oz.) = two thirds of the pound sterling, or 3s. 4d., and therefore in Scotland 13 ½d English; the mark (merk) Scots was a silver coin of this value, issued first in 1570 and afterwards in 1663.  
*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>65</sup> There is a Lix Toll depicted on the Map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, it is at the intersection of the main roads through Glendochart and Glen Ogle. I do not know if this is the same Lix. *David Rorer*

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daughter of Alexander Robertson of Balnaguard in 1680. Both Archibald and John died in about 1697, leaving John's sons, Archibald, Donald and Patrick (b.1697). In 1714, Archibald had to surrender the feu<sup>66</sup> of Mullion in Redgorton Parish to liquidate debts over £3,000 owed by his father and grandfather to Sir Thomas Stewart of Grantully. Archibald left no descendants, except perhaps a daughter Katherine, who married, as her second husband, Archibald MacNab of Newton. (See below)

Donald the second son married Margaret Ferguson and lived first at Donavoured and then at Balindrome. He was probably "out"<sup>67</sup> in the "45". He died in 1750, aged 60. His wife had died in 1747. Both were buried in the churchyard at Logierait. The gravestone in Logierait Churchyard is surrounded by a low iron chain railing. Originally, such a railing enclosed a large lair running down to the river. The inscription reads "*Here lyes the Dust of Donald McNab, husband to Margaret Ferguson, who departed this life June the 3<sup>rd</sup> day 1750. Aged 60 years. She died November 13 day 1747? Years. This stone is erected by James McNab and Anne Cowan his spouse in Argyle in memory of his parents.*" They had two sons, James and Robert, the latter of whom lived on at Balindrome, while his elder brother lived first at Balnald and then at Argile, where he died in 1798. He married Anne Cowan in 1749, when he was 18 and she was 16, and they both died on the same day. Of their ten children, a daughter, Grizel, married Thomas Butter in Craigbea and is still represented in the female line by Lt.-Col. Elliott

Carnegy of Lour, Angus; Donald was a successful attorney in Calcutta but died soon after retiring to England. James, born in 1759, succeeded his father as the eldest surviving son. He married Mary, daughter of Alexander MacLaren of East Haugh in 1788 and was a surgeon in the East India Company's service from 1789 to 1816 when he retired and bought, first East Haugh and Dalshian and then Arthurstone, the former residence of the abbots of Coupar Angus. He died in 1826. East Haugh and Dalshian were settled on his daughter, Eliza Ann, the wife of Major General Sir Robert Dick, the son of Dr William Dick of Tullymet and of Charlotte, the eldest daughter of Alexander MacLaren.

The only surviving son, James Munro, was born in 1790. He was brought up by his grandfather at Ardigie until 1798 when he went to England under the guardianship of Mr. Neville Reid, the banker. After leaving Harrow School, where he was a contemporary of Sir Robert Peel<sup>68</sup> and the poet Byron, he went to India in 1806 and later became City Magistrate of Calcutta, where in 1820, he married Jane Mary Campbell, the daughter of the Reverend Dr. Donald Campbell of Kilninver and Mary, the ninth daughter of John McLeod of Raasay. She had been brought to India by her cousin, Flora, Countess of Loudon, the wife of the Marquess of Hastings, the Governor General of India, to whom James Munro later became Private Secretary. He left India in 1829 and settled at Arthurstone until 1837, when he sold the property. In 1847, his mother died and he rented Highfield Park, the dower house of Strathfieldsaye in Hampshire, in 1850. There he was visited by Sir

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<sup>66</sup> Feu an estate held on feudal tenure, a system according to which grants of land were made by the sovereign to the nobles, and by them to an inferior class, on the condition that the possessor should take an oath of fealty. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

<sup>67</sup> Meaning he joined the forces who fought for Charles Edward Stuart. *David Rorer*

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<sup>68</sup> Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850) English statesman had a long career in government holding many posts including that of Prime Minister. His greatest accomplishment may have been the forming of the regular Irish Constabulary, nicknamed "Peelers" and the later introduction of the same improved system of police into London. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

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Allan Macnab and his daughter Sophia. Sir Allan had brought over the Clan Records to hand them over to James Munro, as the next in succession to himself. He was the grandson of Robert Macnab of Dundurn, who's father Robert was a younger brother of John (15<sup>th</sup> Chief). Unfortunately, Sir Allan had lost his luggage in the wreck of the *North Briton*. It is fortunate that Sophia's grandson, the present Earl of Albemarle, has discovered a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan, giving a list of the cadet houses of the Clan in order of nearness to his own line and mentioning the House of Arthurstone.

James Munro spent much of his time, to the great detriment of his health, as executor and trustee of the Marquess of Bute, who had married Lady Sophia Hastings and left an infant son. James Munro died in 1860. Of his ten children, his four surviving daughters, Mary, Charlotte, Flora and Sophia married James Erskine of Linlathen, William Fuller Maitland of Stansted Park, Essex, John Walter (III) of Bearwood and "The Times", and Henry Hugh McNeile of Parkmount, Belfast. His widow died in 1886.

Of his sons, the youngest, Campbell, was murdered at Meerut on May 10<sup>th</sup> 1857 at the age of 19 as a young Indian Cavalry officer. The second surviving son, Sir Donald Campbell Macnabb, K.C.I.I., C.S.I., born in 1833, died in 1913. The eldest surviving son, James William, served like his father and younger brother, in the East India company. He has been recognized by the Lord Lyon King of Arms as, *de jure*, 19<sup>th</sup> Chief of the Clan, following upon the decease of Miss Sarah Anne in 1894. In 1860, he married Amy, daughter of Sir James Weir Hogg, the last Chairman of the East India Company and secondly Alice Mary, daughter of William Byron Corrie, who was descended in the female line from James II of Scotland and thus from the victor of Bannockburn. James William was born in 1831 and died in 1915.

James William Macnabb was succeeded, *de jure*, by his eldest son, James Frederick, at one time Vicar of Isel,

Cumberland and later for many years Rector of Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire. He was born in 1863 and died in 1937. There were three other sons; Donald, who is survived by male issue; Rawdon who's only son died in 1943 without issue and the youngest Archibald Corrie (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief).

James Frederic was succeeded, *de jure*, as 21<sup>st</sup> Chief by his only son James Alexander, born in 1901. He also had three daughters who are still living and have issue: Mary Margaret who married R.P.R. Brocklebank; Jean Elizabeth who married Richard P. Holland, Dorothy Campbell who married Lt. Col. Victor Elsmie.

James Alexander Macnabb, OBE, TD, (*de jure* 21st Chief), was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He qualified as a chartered accountant and then spent most of his working life in the field of Charitable Housing in London. He was famous in rowing circles. He was in the Cambridge eight which one the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race in 1924 and then went on to the Olympic Games in Paris where as a member of a four, he won a Gold Medal. He served in WW II in the Royal Artillery in West Africa and Burma, reaching the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

James Alexander had four children; James Charles, the present chief; Francis David, born 1927, killed 1972, who has left a son Ian and a daughter Alexandra; Charles Robert, born 1929 who has one son Jonathan; Angela born 1929 who married David Goschen and has two sons and two daughters.

In 1949, Archibald Corry MacNab bought back Kinnell House (whose wife on this event renounced the tainstry<sup>69</sup> of Macleod); and 7,000 acres from the Breadalbane Estate. In 1954, James Alexander surrendered his claim to the

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<sup>69</sup>By Tanistry, the ruling chief-like the Hebraic patriarchs—could nominate his successor, and thus interregnum and dispute were avoided.

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succession in favor of his uncle and on the evidence of a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn and of information detailed in the foregoing and derived from the records of Sasines etc. in Register House Edinburgh, Archibald Corrie was recognized as Archibald MacNab of MacNab, 22nd chief of the clan, *The MacNab*.

Archibald Corrie was born in London on 1<sup>st</sup> December 1886. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. He entered the Indian Civil Service in 1911. Except from 1914-17 when he was in Delhi as City Magistrate and Municipal Secretary, all his service was in the Punjab. He was Deputy Commissioner of Karnal, Ampala Shahpur and Attock Districts; Commissioner of Rawal Pindi 1934-36; Administrator of Lahore Municipality 1937-40; Commission of Jullunder 1940-45 and Financial commissioner of the Punjab 1945-46. He left the Service on leave prior to retirement in December 1946 but returned in 1948-49 to help displaced persons and refugees after the Partition of India and Pakistan. He finally retired to Kinnell in April 1950 where he devoted most of his time to clan and family affairs and to running his estate. He died on November 13<sup>th</sup> 1970 and is buried on the Island of Inchbuie just outside the old enclosure.

In 1931, he married Alice, elder daughter of Hubert Walter (son of John Walter III of "The Times" and of Flora Macnabb, sister of James William, *de jure* 19<sup>th</sup> Chief) and of Dame Flora MacLeod of Macleod D.B.E. They had no children.

James Charles, the present chief was born in 1926 in London. He was educated at Radley College and at Ashbury College, Ottawa, Canada. From 1944-45, he served in the R.A.F. and the Scots Guards. In 1945, he was commissioned into the Seaforth Highlanders and served in India, Java and Singapore. In 1948, he joined the Colonial Service and served in the Federation of Malaya Police Force as an Assistant Superintendent and Deputy superintendent. He retired in 1957 after

the independence of Malaya and has been farming at Kinnell since then.<sup>70</sup>

In 1959, he married the Hon. Diana Mary Anstruther-Gray, elder daughter of Lord and Lady Kilmany, Kilmany, Cupar, Fife. They have four children: Virginia Mary born 1960; James William Archibald born 1963; Geoffrey Charles born 1965' Katharine Monica born 1968.

**The Innishewan Branch**<sup>71</sup>

In a letter from Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Sir Allan Macnab written in 1847, the Chief gives a list of the cadet branches of the family in order of seniority. Next to the Auchessan Branch, of which there is now no trace, the most remote is the Innishewan Branch, which was dispossessed by the Bruce and became a cadet family.

The earliest specific reference is to Finlay, the son of Ian, who was tenant of Innishewan in 1599. In 1661, Alexander, the son of Finlay and grandson of Ian, gave his bond to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy for himself and his two brothers Duncan and John Dow in Ardchyle.<sup>72</sup> This Alexander was a juror in the Barons' Court held at Killin in 1615. In 1618 he was fined by the Privy Council for illegally carrying arms. In 1661 his name appeared in a list of landlords and chiefs who had failed to report to the Privy Council and eight years later he and his sons were required to give their bonds to the Privy Council.

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<sup>70</sup> He subsequently sold the estate and moved to West Kilmany. The Island of Inchbuie, containing the ancient Macnab Burial Ground, is the only remaining Clan land in Clan hands. The Chief retained it when he sold Kinnell, and conveyed it to Clan Macnab. To that end a Clan trust has been set up to assure its possession to the Clan in perpetuity, and as a burial place for Chiefs and their families. From the Clan MacNab website. [www.macnab.org](http://www.macnab.org)

<sup>71</sup> Inneshewan is on the south bank of the River Dochart some 6-7 miles west of Killin.

<sup>72</sup> Between Bovain and Auchlyne



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Innishewan was not shown in the Perthshire Rent-roll of 1649-50 as a separate property. It is today part of Auchlyne Estate as is Bovain.<sup>73</sup>

Alexander's son Finlay married the eldest daughter of Finlay Macnab of Bovain and his wife who was the eldest natural daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy.<sup>74</sup> He was thus the brother-in-law of 'Smooth John' and of his brother german Duncan in Tulloch. This Duncan had a son also Duncan by name, but there is no trace of further descendants of this brother-german of Smooth John.

Finlay's eldest son John married Catherine, daughter of George MacFarland of Roseneath in 1658. John died in 1676 and his widow married James Macnab in Auchessan,<sup>75</sup> the fourth son of Smooth John.

Finlay's second son Alexander married a Miss MacFarlane and had four children. There is no trace of the third son, but his daughter married Duncan Campbell son of Archibald McCarlich in Morenish.

On 28 March 1683 John's eldest son Finlay made over his lands of Innishewan and Bothuachdar to his brother Alexander, who had also married a Miss MacFarlane.

On 26 April 1703 Alexander assigned a bond of 2,000 merks<sup>76</sup> from the first Earl of Breadalbane to his sister-in-law Catherine, to his elder son John and Duncan in Succession, and then to Robert. The two elder sons died without

issue. In October 1724, he applied to the second Earl of Breadalbane for a "precept of Clare Constant" as heir to his brother John, who married Jean Campbell in December 1714.

On 20 December 1732 Robert Macnab of Innishewan was prosecuted for marrying Jean Campbell irregularly, and without proclamation of banns, and was fined 500 merks Scots.

Robert appears to have been succeeded by John, 'Possessor of Inchoane' who erected in 1759 the burial enclosure at Suie in Glendochart. John's tombstone shows that he died in 1766.

Alexander, younger of Innishewan, fought in the battle of Falkirk for Prince Charles Edward as a Captain in Keppoch's regiment. In 1759 he was listed as a man 'fit for service'. On 22 November 1767 it was recorded that his father John had bequeathed four guineas for behoof of the poor of the parish of Killin.

A notice appeared that on 2 July 1810 Alexander Macnab, late of Innishewan, had died aged 91 years, 'the last of that family of residence who have been proprietors and wadsetters'<sup>77</sup> and

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<sup>77</sup> Tacksmen were the resident members of the upper ranks in Highland Society. Properly speaking many tacks men were wadsetters, a distinction not always made by contemporaries or in later analyses of the Highlands. The landowner had borrowed money, and the lender possessed the land until the mortgage (or wadset) was extinguished. In many instances wadsets were granted in satisfaction of family provisions to close relatives of the chief, who could not afford to setup his relatives as independent landholders. By the second half of the eighteenth century a significant decline in interest rates had combined with an increase in the value of land to make redemption of the wadset by the landowner an increasing possibility.

Historically the tacksman had acted as a military lieutenant of the head of the clan. He farmed part of his tack or wadset, often upon land, which had been in his family for generations, and let

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<sup>73</sup> See map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings

<sup>74</sup> Glen Orchy runs generally north and east from Dalmally to Loch Tulla.

<sup>75</sup> The western-most of the estates marked on the map, Auchessan is at the east end of Loch Lubhair through which the river Dochart runs.

<sup>76</sup> in Scotland the merk (merk) Scots was a silver coin worth 13 ½d, issued first in 1570 and afterwards in 1663. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

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leaseholders of it for upwards of 400 years'.

Robert Macnab, late at Innishewan, married Catherine, fourth daughter of John MacDiarmid, tenant in Kennock in Glenlochay, and had two sons and three daughters, who were baptized at Killin between 1762 and 1778.

It is believed there are descendants of this branch in the male line who might be able to give more information. They have not matriculated their Arms as a cadet branch, as has been done by the Barravorich and Barachastalain branches.<sup>78</sup>

**The Cadet House of Barravorich in the Clan Macnab** from notes by Brigadier John Francis Macnab of Barravorich, C.B.E., D.S.O.

The letter written by Archibald Macnab of Macnab to Sir Allan Macnab of Dundurn, Hamilton, Ontario in 1847 sets out "A true record of the different Houses and Families of the Clan Macnab as they descend from the original stock and by whom are now represented". In this record, the Barravorich House is placed as the third senior cadet preceded by Innishewan and followed by Barachastalain.

We know from the interesting account written by Iain Macnab of Barachastalain that his house claims descent from Duncan, second son of Finlay of Macnab who's father was Gilbert of Bovain who was granted the Barony of Bovain in 1336. Gilbert was counted as the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief of the Clan after the events following the Battle of Bannockburn. Although the writer<sup>79</sup> has so far been

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the remainder to subtenants who paid rent to him rather than to the chief. *The People's Clearance, Highland Emigration to British North America*, by J.M. Bumsted, Edinburgh University Press, 1938, pp 34

<sup>78</sup> Baravorich is at the top of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings, just to the east of Loch Tulla.

<sup>79</sup> Brigadier John Francis Macnab of Barravorich

unable to substantiate this, it would appear that the Barravorich Macnabs are descended either from a younger son of Gilbert or from the Innishewan, traditionally the Chief's family, prior to the Macnab lands being forfeited after Bannockburn.

Barravorich (Barr a Bhuridh - The point of Roaring) is some two miles North East from the main road as it passes East of Loch Tulla on the way to Glencoe. The house, when it existed, was on the right bank of the water of Tulla, the best approach to it being through Achallader. The railway after skirting Beinn Dorain and Beinn Achaladair follows this valley today. The origin of the name - The Point of Roaring - could either have been due to the noise of the water of Tulla in spate or the roaring of the wind in the corries of Beinn Achaladair to the East. Both are equally appropriate. As with Barachastalain,<sup>80</sup> also in Argyll, the original stones of the house were used for the building of shelter for the laborers building the railway.

Unfortunately, up to the present time, nothing is known for certain about the Barravorich family prior to 1753 when the records of Glenorchy begin. By 1763 there are no further references to Macnabs of Barravorich in the Glenorchy records and the writer assumes that his great-great-great-grandfather Doctor James Macnab emigrated to the New World about that year.

From this date onwards, thanks to the kindness of Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Canada, Doctor H. Townely Douglas M.D. also of Ottawa, and Mrs. Eleanor Macnab, widow of Canon Arthur Wellesley Macnab of Toronto in Canada, there is a great deal known about the family. Most of the information comes from Photostat copies of pages from volume one of "Ontario Families of Upper Canada (Toronto 1894)" by Edward Marion Chadwick. The

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<sup>80</sup> Located just under Dalmally on the far western edge of the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings.



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Barravorich Macnabs appear in this volume as Macnab of Belleville U.E.L.<sup>81</sup>

Doctor James Macnab, having emigrated circa 1763, took up land in Vermont and was the then Representor of the family. On the outbreak of the American War of Independence he became a surgeon to His Majesty's Forces serving under General Burgoyne, and upon the failure of that expedition, rather than forswear allegiance to the British Crown, retired to Canada, suffering a total loss of property in the state of Vermont, America. He died at Machiche, Quebec in 1780 leaving four sons.

The sons had a mill at Niagara on the lake. Colin became a collector of customs at Niagara and died in 1810 having had a daughter Maria who married George Phillpotts, Captain R.E. and Lieutenant Colonel, A.D.C. to Sir John Colborne. He was the son of John Phillpotts of Gloucester, England and a brother of a well-known Bishop of Exeter.

James of Belleville, the writer's great-great-grandfather, served in the Commissariat Department in 1812, became a member of the legislative assembly for the County of Hastings and died in 1820 having petitioned for and received 600 acres in Belleville in compensation for the loss of property sustained by his father during the American War of Independence. He left one son, James the writer's great-grandfather, who became a Captain of Militia and was killed in the Canadian Rebellion of 1836-38. He had married a Miss Harriet Clark of Fredericksburg, Upper Canada and had one surviving son, Alexander, the writer's grandfather. Sir Allan Macnab (Dundurn) had distinguished himself in command of the loyalists in this same rebellion meriting the eulogy from the Duke of Wellington "that owing to the loyalty, zeal and active intelligence of Sir Allan Macnab the Canadas had been

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<sup>81</sup> U.E.L = United Empire Loyalist, an hereditary order of persons who remained loyal to the crown during the American Rebellion. Many of them settled in Canada after the end of the war.

preserved to the British Crown". As the result of the widowhood of Harriet Macnab, Sir Allan took on the guardianship of her son, Alexander and helped him considerably in his career, but alas, the 600 acres in Belleville had to be sold!

To return to the two other sons of Doctor James Macnab, Simon Fraser became a Lieutenant Colonel of Militia and died in 1821 leaving an only son, Alexander born 1810, died 1891, who became Canon of St. Albans Cathedral, Toronto. In 1868 he was one of the founders of the Royal colonial Institute, England. He married Eliza-Ann daughter of James Dougall of Picton County and they had two sons, both in Holy Orders, and two daughters. The eldest son was accidentally drowned at Montreal in 1872. Alexander Wellesley, the second son, traveled extensively in Europe as preacher and then became Rector of St. Matthias, Omaha, Nebraska and finally Canon of Toronto Cathedral. There are no descendants of this family in the male line but the eldest daughter, Mary, married Frederick Roche. They went to Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia and she died in 1870 leaving four sons and two daughters. The second daughter, Matilda married John Carter of Toronto and founded a large family.

Alexander, the remaining son, but not the youngest, of Doctor James Macnab, was clerk to the Executive Council of Upper Canada in 1797, entered the Queen's Rangers in 1800, transferred to 26<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1803; was gazetted Lieutenant in 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment 1804 and Captain 1809. He served with distinction in the Peninsular War and was A.D.C. to General Picton<sup>82</sup> at the Battle of Waterloo where he was killed along with his General. A plaque was subsequently put up in 1976 in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, to his memory by his nephew and great-nephew and he is believed to have been the only Canadian United Empire Loyalist to have been killed in the Battle of Waterloo. This

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<sup>82</sup> See other notes on the house of Barachastalain and the Macnabs at Waterloo

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is the first instance of allowing any colonial monument to be erected in that great Valhalla of the British Empire. His Waterloo medal has been presented to the Toronto Museum by Mrs. Eleanor Macnab, widow of Canon Alexander Wellesley Macnab of Toronto, his great-nephew. Also in the museum on Bloor Street, Toronto are Captain Alexander Macnab's watch and sword worn at Waterloo and some buttons worn by Archibald Macnab of Macnab handed down to his daughter, Sarah-Anne "Miss Macnab of Macnab" and given to Canon Arthur Wellesley Macnab when visiting her in Florence. Captain Alexander had no heirs other than his nephews.

Alexander, the writer's grandfather, previously mentioned, became a Civil Engineer in Canada. He was born at Belleville, Ontario in 1836. He began his career in 1853 on the engineering staff of the Great Western Railway (now forming part of the Grand Trunk) then in course of construction. In 1861 he received from the Imperial Government the appointment of surveyor of Public Works in the Island of Grenada, West Indies. In 1865 he became Chief Engineer to the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia. In 1872 he received the additional appointment of chief Engineer of the Maintenance of the Way Department of the Inter-colonial Railway, about 750 miles in length. After a visit to England for his health he returned to Canada to run the management, engineering and otherwise, of the Prince Edward Island Railway, but he was obliged to take a rest for the sake of his health and for ten years lived in England. In 1887 he became chief engineer to a Mr. T.G. Walker then engaged in heavy contracts concerning the Berry Dock and Railways, the Buenos Aires harbor works, the Preston Docks and the Manchester ship Canal. He died in 1891 whilst engaged on the Manchester Ship Canal contract. He had married Elizabeth Gilpin Smith, daughter of a St. John's New Brunswick Banker in 1863 and had three sons and a daughter. His wife and family all accompanied him to England and never returned to Canada, except for visits, after his death.

His eldest son Colonel Allan James (the writer's father) was born in 1864 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was educated at Winchester College, England. He received his medical training at King's College Hospital where he was a House Surgeon to Lord Lister. He became an F.R.C.S. and joined the Indian Medical Service in 1890. He saw active service at Hazara 1891, the relief of Chitral 1895, N.W. Frontier Campaign of 1897-98 and Somaliland in 1902-03; was surgeon to the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, Regimental medical officer to the Guides' Infantry; and on the outbreak of World War I he saw service in France, Palestine and Syria where he was successively A.D.M.S of the division and D.D.M.S. of a Corps, the Desert Mounted Corps and Northern Force. He was mentioned three times in dispatches and was made a C.B. in 1918 and a C.M.G. the following year. He returned to India after the war on Sir Charles Monro's staff, then C-in-C in India, and retired in 1921. He married in 1895 Honora, daughter of Lieutenant General Sir Lewis Denning, K.C.B., D.S.O., and had two daughters and two sons. Only two survive with heirs; Mrs. Elsie O'Neill and myself. In World War II he returned to work in uniform with various duties in connection with the training of medical personnel and met the writer and his family at Southampton on their arrival from abroad in 1946. He was still in uniform at the age of 82. He died the following year.

The second son Arthur Alexander, born 1867, died 1936, was a solicitor<sup>83</sup> in the City of London who never married. The third son Colin Lawrence, born 1870, was gazetted into the Border Regiment, specially promoted into the Northumberland Fusiliers and again specially promoted to command the Royal Sussex Regiment. In the South African

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<sup>83</sup>In Britain, a Solicitor is a lawyer who prepares legal documents, gives legal advice and, in the lower courts only, speaks on behalf of clients.

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War of 1899 - 1901 he took part in the relief of Ladysmith and the battles of Colenso, Vaal Krantz, Spion Kop and Pieter's Hill, being mentioned three times in dispatches and given the Brevet<sup>84</sup> of Major for his services. In India he took part in operations against the Afridi and Mohmand tribesman 1912 - 1913. Promoted Brigadier General in 1915 he commanded the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade in the Mesopotamia Campaign and later 201 Infantry Brigade in France, and was awarded the C.M.G. before illness - from which he died in 1917 at the early age of 47 - put an end to what had promised to be a very distinguished Army career. He married Beatrice, daughter of the Reverend W.B. Bliss of Wicken, Essex, descended from a well known Canadian Branch of the family, and had two sons, the late Brigadier Sir Geoffrey Macnab K.C.M.G., C.B. and Maurice who farmed for many years in Anglesy and died in 1963.

Geoffrey, born 1899, was gazetted into the Royal Sussex Regiment in 1919 and was given accelerated promotion into the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders in 1931. At the outbreak of World War II he was British Military Attaché in Bucharest. From there he rejoined his regiment as second in command taking part in operations in the Western Desert, Greece and Crete where he was taken prisoner. After severe illness and operations in Germany he was repatriated and subsequently commanded the School of Military Intelligence and the British Military Mission to Hungary, having been promoted Brigadier. He then became Brigadier General Staff Intelligence at Middle East Headquarters and then successively British Military Attaché in Rome and Paris. He retired in 1954. He was awarded the C.B. in 1951, C.M.G. in 1955 and K.C.M.G. in 1962. In 1930 he

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<sup>84</sup>A commission promoting a military officer to a higher rank without increase of pay and with limited exercise of the higher rank, often arranged as an honor immediately before retirement.

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married Norah, daughter of H.A. Cramer Roberts of Folkestone, Kent. They had no children. From 1957 he was for sometime employed by the British Government as Secretary of the Government Hospitality Fund.

The fourth and last child of Alexander (the writer's grandfather) was Mary Winifred, born 1873, died 1947. She married Walter Bellhouse of Altrincham, Cheshire and had one daughter, Betty, and a son, Michael who is a steel executive married and with children.

To return to the direct line: Colonel Allan James' (my father) eldest surviving daughter, Elsie, married Squadron Leader W.H.L. O'Neal who was killed in the R 101 disaster in 1932. They had a daughter Molly, (since married to Peter Earle of Itchen Abbas, Hampshire, with three daughters and a son), and a son, Patrick, killed in action in the R.A.F. during the war. The Colonel's second daughter Barbara (deceased) married Lieutenant Colonel Stockley of the Indian Army and had one son John Allan Veasy D.F.C. also killed in action in the R.A.F. My father's eldest son Alex died unmarried in 1934.

This leaves the writer as the present Representor of the Barravorich Macnabs. He is married to Margaret, only daughter of C.M. Treadwell, late of Meopham, Kent, and they have a son John Alexander Hamish at present unmarried, and a daughter Margaret Ann Honoria married to Captain Edward Arundell of the Somerset and Cornwall Light Infantry.

It will be seen from this record that the writer's son, Hamish, is at present the last of the Barravorich Macnabs in the male line.<sup>85</sup>

**The House of Macnab of Barachastalain**

This account is a shortened version of the one written by the Late Ian Macnab of Barachastalain, P.R.O.I., R.E. for the Clan Society Newsletter of 1961

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<sup>85</sup> To be found on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings as Barr a Chalstealain near Dalmally, on the far western edge.

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The Macnabs of Barachastalain, Hereditary Armourers and Standard Bearers of the Chiefs of the Clan and fourth senior Cadet Branch are together with Barravorich one of the two Argyll Branches of the Clan. They claim descent from Duncan, second son of Finlay, who succeeded Gilbert of Bovain, the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief (See "note" in Appendix B)

Duncan was born c.1400. When his elder brother Patrick (see Appendix B) succeeded Finlay, Duncan and his brothers had, in accordance with custom, to fend for themselves. Tradition says that having great natural skill, he chose to become a maker of swords and armor and went to Italy to perfect his craft.

His younger brother, Malcolm also went abroad, accompanying "The Laird of Glenurchy"<sup>86</sup> to fight the Moors in Aragon.

On completion of his apprenticeship, Duncan returned to Scotland and in 1440, he was commissioned by the Lady of "Glenurchy" to make the iron work and to supervise the building of Kilchurn Castle, while Sir Duncan Campbell was still in Spain crusading against the Moors. So he built his house and forge at Barr-a-Chaistealain, the Hill of the Castles, above where Dalmally now stands. The castles were three Pictish Brochs,<sup>87</sup> one of which can still be traced and is marked on Ordinance maps as a fort. He achieved a considerable reputation as an armorer and sword smith and is said to have made swords for the Kings of Scotland.

It is sometimes claimed that Duncan was the son of an earlier chief and that his descendants practiced their craft for seven centuries. The guidebook to St. Conan's Kirk, Loch Awe, describes the carved stalls in the chancel, which "show the full coat-of-arms complete with crests and badges of the chiefs who in the old days held land in the

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<sup>86</sup> Glen Orchy on the modern maps.

<sup>87</sup> Hilltop forts built by the Pictish peoples who occupied Scotland in prehistory

neighborhood" and included in the list of eight is Macnab of Barachastlain. After the name, it adds in parenthesis "a family of Smiths who lived above Dalmally for 600 years and helped to build Kilchurn Castle".

On the other hand, John Hay Allan, who published "Bridal of Caolchairn" (Kilchurn) in 1822, speaks of a visit to Glenorchy Kirkyard where he saw Duncan's gravestone incised and then still decipherable with his initials, a hammer, a pair of pincers and a Highland galley as indeed were the gravestones of such of his descendants who were buried there. He describes it as "a stone who's device, aided by oral tradition, has perpetuated the memory of him over whom it was laid. Duncan Macnab the Smith, who in 1440 assisted in the rebuilding of the Castle Caolchairn and was ancestor of the Macnabs of Barachastlain. His memory is still remarkable in the glen". The words "oral tradition" are important, for Malcolm, the last of the race of sword smiths to live on the hill was still there. He died in 1828 aged ninety.

This agrees with the tradition I had from my father. My father was born in 1847 and when a boy in Oban, knew Glenorchy well and many of the old people; and Highland memories are long. For nearly four hundred years, Duncan's descendants practiced the art and craft of armory, handing it on from generation to generation. Some accounts say they were hereditary armourers and jewelers to the Campbells of Breadalbane. They certainly worked for them as indeed they did for all who wanted good craft.

Their young were unruly at times. In 1621 Patrik McAgowin (Mac-a-Gobhainn, son of the smith), was sued by Malcolm McOldonycat (Mac Mhol Domhaich, son of the servant of the Lord) "*for striking him with a sword and for hurting of his hand, also for spoyleing him of his bow and durk and taking away Xxs from out of his purse. The Assysis having tryit and examinit this blood and wray, convictit the defender in blood and the persewar in trubrance*". The Black Book of Taymouth records two more such misdemeanors for which Patrik had to

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find canton for his good behavior in "fourtie pundes<sup>88</sup> money".

Eleven years later when he had succeeded his father and become Patrik Gow (Gobha, the smith) another entry states: "*Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurghay, Kinght sets to Patrik Gow - for the shortest liver of the two - the two merklands of Barrachastellan*".

Patrick's son styled himself Donald McNuer of Barachastalain, Clachan Dysart McNeur is possibly some variant of Mac Dighre or perhaps McNair (Heir) for Patrik his father must have been approaching eighty or more when he died in 1681. Clachan Dysart means the place of the High Gods and is the old name for where Dalmally now stands.

Donald McNuer died in 1690, leaving three sons, Patrik, John and Calum. It was this Patrik's son, another Donald; on who's death the prophecy of the tree came true. There was a vast elm by the smithy at the foot of the hill and it had been prophesied long before that when this tree fell, then would the last of the sword smiths die and his sons and their sons would scatter, some even to the ends of the earth. Donald grew old. One night, there arose a mighty storm. The gale came sweeping down the glen while up on Barachastalain, at the height of the storm, the old man lay dying. In the morning, the tree lay before the smithy and the sons mourned their father.

Donald died after the Forty-five and by then, with the ban on wearing of swords and of the kilt, the day of the Highland swordsmith was over. Before the Forty-five, there were sons, brothers, nephews and cousins all working, some in the foundry and others on the farm. Some went to fight for Prince Charles with a body of Breadalbane men under Campbell of Glenlyon, for there were Campbells on both sides as there were Macnabs. Others settled elsewhere or went soldiering.

Donald had four sons, Patrik Dow, Donald, Alexander (my great-great-grandfather) and Malcolm. Patrik Dow's daughter married a Duncan Ferguson and

they went to North Carolina. Their great-grandson, General Willard Ferguson of the U.S. army, died in 1937. Donald's son, Duncan, served at Waterloo and was made Deputy Commissary General on going to Canada in 1832 in connection with the building of the Rideau Canal. His grandson, Colonel Alexander James Macnab Ret. U.S. army, died in 1956. He was *de jure* Representer and Chieftain of the House of Barachastalain, although he never matriculated the arms.

Alexander (my ancestor) went no further than Oban but his grandson, my grandfather was shipwrecked and drowned on his way to the Far East in 1869. Another grandson, John, was Chairman of the Oriental Bank while my father spent a great part of his life with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank in China and the Philippines, where I myself was born. Incidentally, my great-uncle Peter built most of Oban on the coming of the railway.

Of the youngest of the four brothers, Malcolm, I know little except that he wrote Gaelic verse and was a friend of Duncan Ban MacIntyre.

The other Duncan who fought at Waterloo as an ensign in the 52<sup>nd</sup> Foot, was I believe, Malcolm's grandson but I have no written evidence of this. However, he is buried with his forebears in Glenorchy. He left a daughter Christina.

In 1792, Robert Heron in his "Observations" tells of being shown by Donald and Malcolm a coat of mail and two headpieces made by their forefathers. These may have been taken away by Patrik Dow's son, Alexander, who lived in Barran. As head of the Family, he was justified in doing so. He too, is buried in Glenorchy with the Macnab Arms carved on his tombstone. It is said that at one time he possessed the m/s of Macpherson's Ossian.

This Alexander's son, John, left the forge and smithy to a McNichol one of who's descendants once told me that when he was a boy, he used to see in the smithy an old broadsword hanging on the wall and left there by the Macnabs. John's family died out, except for a Peter, the illegitimate son of one of

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<sup>88</sup> Forty pounds cash money



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his daughters. Peter took the name of MacNab although his father was a McGregor. He had a son, the Rev. John McNab, Minister of Skegness, who died in 1939.

Years ago, I used to have a cutting from the "Oban Times" reproducing a drawing of the interior of the house by a geologist, St. Foud, who went there to see the chain mail and other relics. Now the house has gone for its stones were used for the cottages of the Irish Navvies who built the railway. These too are now in ruins with most of the stones taken away. The descendants of Duncan are scattered, the railway runs over the land they farmed and sheep and cattle graze among the ruins on the hill. The prophecy of the tree has been fulfilled.

Iain, the author of this story was born on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1890 in the Philippines. He matriculated the Arms of Barachastalain in 1958. He died on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1967 in London. During the First World War, he served with the Glasgow Highlanders until commissioned into the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. In 1916, he was invalided out after being blown up at the battle of Loos. In the Second World War he was an Air Raid warden during the blitz on London and then served in the Royal Air Force until once again invalided out in 1944.

He took great pride in the fact that there had been an artist-craftsman in every succeeding generation of his family for certainly over four hundred years. He was himself an artist and engraver of great repute. Those who would like to know more about him and the Barachastalain family, should acquire the book by Albert Gerrett called "Wood Engravings and Drawings of Iain Macnab of Barachastalain" published by Midas Books

The present representer of the family is Ian's brother, Hector Archibald Macnab of Barachastalain.

**Other Notes on the House of Barachastalain  
Waterloo:**

Four Macnabs were officers at Waterloo. In addition to the two Duncans of the

Barachastalain family, there was Captain Alexander Macnab of the 30<sup>th</sup> Foot, who belonged to the Barravorich House. He was A.D.C. to Picton<sup>89</sup> and was killed with him.

Fighting on the other side was the head of the French Macnabs who, it is said, was A.D.C. to Napoleon<sup>90</sup>. He was taken prisoner and there is a nice story that the English regiment, who had captured him, wanted to shoot him as a traitor. Duncan then a Captain in the Commissariat, stormed into their mess full of indignation. They said "*But he was fighting against the English*". Duncan replied: "*Dammit. We've always fought against the English since the days of Wallace*". Not quite a true statement but it worked. One likes to think this story is true.

In the census return for 1872, there were at Barachastalain: Males 9, Females 16. So it must have been a sizable place.

**The Dundurn Branch**

Robert Macnab (14<sup>th</sup> Chief) and Anna Campbell of Glenorchy (sister of the first Earl of Breadalbane<sup>91</sup>) had seven sons. One of them, who's name probably

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<sup>89</sup> Sir Thomas Picton (1758-1815) British general, one of Wellington's principal subordinates in the Peninsular War. He was severely wounded at Quatre Bras but concealed his wound and retained command of his troops, and at Waterloo, two days later was shot through the head by a musket ball and killed. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>90</sup> Aid-de-Camp, on Napoleon's staff such officers were frequently of high military qualifications, and acted both as his "eyes" and as the interpreters of his mind to subordinate commanders, even on occasion exercising a delegated authority. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>91</sup> Grey John Campbell of Glenorchy (1635-1717) described as "cunning like a fox, wise as a snake and slippery as an eel."



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was Robert, had a son also called Robert, who while serving in the Army in Canada left behind him a son called Allan (after his grandfather's brother Allan, who died as an officer in the Army at the age of nineteen and was buried in the churchyard at Tarland, in Aberdeenshire). Robert, on his return to Scotland, became the Forester of the Royal Forest of Glenartney, and lived at Dundurn. He married Jean Stewart of Ardvorlich; they had a son who married and three daughters who never married. The last surviving member of this family accompanied her half nephew Sir Allan to the Burial Island at Killin in 1842 and pointed out to him who was buried in which grave. The portrait of Jean Stewart and her Macnab tea service, comprising a teapot, sugar bowl and milk jug are now in Ardvorlich House. There are letters in the MacGregor collection in Register House in Edinburgh from Robert to his uncle, General Archibald, brother of John 15<sup>th</sup> Chief) expressing the hope that his cousin Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) would begin to behave himself; also reference to his sending money for the support of 'the boy' in Canada.

The son Allan married Ann Napier in Quebec in 1792 and their son Allan Napier Macnab was born on 19 February 1798. In the war of 1812--13, he served with his father and then became a sailor, a carpenter, an actor, and finally a lawyer. His father, who died in 1830, became Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Assembly. He married Elizabeth Brooks, and his children Robert Allan and Anne Jane were born in 1823 and 1825. Their mother died in 1825. In 1832, when Cholera broke out in Hamilton Jail, he stood bail and secured the temporary release of the debtors.

In 1829 he refused to answer questions in the House of Assembly about an effigy of the New Governor, Sir John Colborne and was sent to prison for a fortnight. This made him a martyr and helped his election to Parliament of the United Canadas as member for Wentworth, which he represented for the next 27 years. He became leader of the Opposition in Parliament from 1841 to 1854 when he became Prime Minister, until Sir John

MacDonald replaced him on the resignation of the Cabinet in 1856. He then became Speaker of the Assembly.

In the Mackenzie rebellion of 1837, a clash between the landed gentlemen and industrialists, with their vested interests, he gathered together the "Men of Gore" and routed the rebels in Toronto. He then went to the Niagara frontier and saw the American ship *Caroline* moored off the American fort. He ordered it to be cut out, which was duly effected and the ship sent in flames over the Niagara Falls. That was the end of the rebellion, despite American indignation. In 1838 Queen Victoria knighted him and made him a baronet. The Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords said that it was owing to the 'loyalty, zeal and active intelligence of Sir Allan Macnab that the Canadas had been preserved to the British Crown.'

In 1834 his only son was killed in a shooting accident. In 1831 he had married Mary Stuart. Earlier, in 1830 onwards, he had started and completed the building of Dundurn Castle<sup>92</sup>, where in 1855 his daughter Sophia married Viscount Bury, later the Earl of Albemarle. Six years later his youngest daughter married George the second son of Sir Dominick Daly. In 1860 he entertained the Prince of Wales at Dundurn. He died on 8 August 1862, being looked after at the end by his sister-in-law, wife of his brother David and sister of his wife who had died in 1842.

In 1859, on 28 February, he had called on James Munro Macnabb and invited him to return with him to Canada in June. A hundred and eight years later, James Munro's grandson, Archibald (22<sup>nd</sup> Chief), attended the reopening celebrations of Dundurn Castle, for which the Corporation of Hamilton had voted about half a million dollars, in gratitude for the bringing of the Great Western Railway to the City and the foundation of its prosperity - negotiations in which Sir Allan had played a considerable part.

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<sup>92</sup> Located in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

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A full account of the colorful life and varied career of this famous man appears in two books, (1) by Rev. T.M. Bailey, published by W.L. Griffin Ltd., of Toronto, (2) 'Macnab of Dundurn', by Marion Macrae - Clarke Irwin & Co. Ltd., - 1971, Marion Macrae's book is based on information supplied by the ninth Earl of Albemarle and from two deed boxes of Macnab papers missing for over sixty years.

A man exceedingly proud of his heritage, Sir Allan fought against and overcame the financial hardships of his early years, finally acquiring a fine piece of ground where he set himself up as a landed gentleman, building the magnificent Regency type mansion he called Dundurn. This was a fitting residence for the lineal head of the Macnabs of Dundurn; he even constructed a family burying place nearby that he called Inchbuie.

His pride and ambitions were certainly influenced at an impressionable age by meeting The Macnab - Archibald, the 17<sup>th</sup> Chief - who traveled in full Highland dress, accompanied by a piper and two personal bards, much impressing Montreal society. However, Sir Allan was aware of and secretly deplored the true character of the exiled Chief. The incident is quoted where on seeing the bold signature 'The Macnab' in a hotel register where the Chief had stayed, Dundurn signed himself 'The Other Macnab'. By 1850 their friendship became strained over financial transactions and soon after that the Chief left for Scotland.

In 1861 he turned his enthusiasm to the affairs of the Clan, Seeking to establish his claim to the Chiefship, following the death of Archibald, in Florence. Packing all the relative documents in a tin box he sailed for Britain in the North Briton, which was wrecked in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Although Sir Allan was safely rescued, the valuable papers were lost, a tragedy for Clan Historians as well as for his own ambitions. He died in 1862. Perhaps the Clan motto "*Timor Omnis Abesto*" gave him that sublime confidence and

doggedness that brought realism into almost all his dreams.

The mansion - or castle - of Dundurn stands today as a monument to Sir Allan, restored, renovated and housing every relic of his life's work that could be preserved in the interests of the history of Canada.

**The Acharn Branch<sup>93</sup>**

On 28 July 1553 Donald Macnab, son of Archibald Macnab in Acharn, was in possession of Acharn. On 18 April 1568 John Bane McGillespie Macnab married Isobel MacFarlane, 'mayer' of Patrick Dow Mor; and on 12 November 1573 John Bane was sued by Finlay (10<sup>th</sup> Chief) and on 12 October 1574 by Finlay's brother and successor, Alexander Macnab of Macnab (11<sup>th</sup> Chief) for the rents of Sleoch and Acharn. Alexander's younger son, Patrick Dow More, then succeeded to the two-merk land of Acharn and the twenty-shilling<sup>94</sup> land of Sleicht (Sleoh), of which John Bane McGillespie had received a tack<sup>95</sup> on 18 April 1568. This had been surrendered to Patrick and on 15 April 1605 Gilbert succeeded his father in this tack.

The eldest of Gilbert's three sons, Archibald, is shown in the Perthshire Rent-roll of 1649 as being assessed to £45 for Acharn. He married a daughter of Grahm of Duchray Castle and Rednock and Blairinack.

Archibald had two sons, John and Duncan. John was infeft on 6 October 1655 in the two-merk land of Achaharne on a charter dated 4 October 1655 from Finlay Macnab

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<sup>93</sup> Acharn is located on the south side of the river Dochart a mile or so southwest of Kinnell House.

<sup>94</sup> This derives from the Norse method of measuring land against a standard based on the weight of silver. Thus twenty penny land amounted to an 'ounce land' and eight ounces then became 'one pound (one merk land.' *The Lords of the Isles*, by Ronald Williams

<sup>95</sup> In *Scots law*, a tack is a lease. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of the English Language*

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of Bovaine (12<sup>th</sup> Chief). The Acharn Bowl of 1672 in the Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh, dates from this time. Failing John, the grant by Alexander Macnab of Bovain (13<sup>th</sup> Chief) was to John's half brother Duncan, by his father's second marriage. The boys must have been very young at the time. It was not until 13 July 1731 that Patrick, John's son, was granted a Precept of Clare Constal by John Macnab of Bovain, (15<sup>th</sup> Chief).

On 15<sup>th</sup> February 1731 Patrick was prosecuted for a clandestine marriage performed by Mr. Alexander Comrie, the deposed minister of Kenmore. There is no further trace of this family.

Gilbert's second son James was the ancestor of the Macnabs of Newton.

His third son Duncan Dow, on 25 February 1619, received certain lands in the lordship of Stragartney from Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, through Finlay Macnab of Bovain as attorney to Sir Duncan. Duncan Dow married a daughter of Campbell of Linia and had two sons, James and John.

James married his cousin Helen Macnab of Innishewan. His son John had three sons, the eldest of whom married a Miss Macdonald of Glenaladale. This son (Alexander) died young. James also had two daughters, Margaret and Catherine, one of whom married John Macdonald of Bunadap and had four sons and three daughters.

John's second son Donald was the ancestor of the French Branch. His third son Duncan married Mary, daughter of Campbell of Drumsynie, and Mry, sister of the first Earl of Breadalbane. Duncan's daughter was alive in 1787.

Patrick, who was granted the Precept in 1731 may have had a brother John in Acharn who married Anne Campbell of Tuerachan and Innisdamsh. She was baptized in 1692. They had six sons and two daughters; both daughters died unmarried. Of the sons, Duncan (baptized 1728) married Janet McNaughton of Glendochart and had four sons, John, Robert, Alexander and Peter, and two daughters, of whom one died young and

the other married a McCallum in Kintyre. The second son James died unmarried. John, the third son, married a daughter of James Walker in Acharn and had three sons, Alexander, Patrick (deceased) and Robert (unmarried in 1803). The fourth Alexander (baptized 1731). Who was alive in 1805, baillie of Inverneill and Ross, married Christian, daughter of Nicol McNicol in Killin. They had a son, Major Robert of the 91<sup>st</sup> Regiment 1772-1833. The fifth, Patrick, was unmarried. The sixth, Robert (baptized 1737 was Collector in Argyll.

**The Newton Branch**

This branch was descended from Patrick Mor Macnab in Acharn. It was mentioned by Archibald as being nearer to the senior line than to the Arthurstone Branch. An explanation of this has been suggested.

Archibald, who surrendered the feu of Mullion in 1714, disappears from history; but if he had married and had a daughter Katherine, she might have been the same as the Katherine McNab, relict<sup>96</sup> of the deceased John Stewart of Bennoid. She had Sasine in 1761 of some land from her new husband, Archibald Macnab of Newton. Since she had not changed her maiden name, she could have carried on the succession to her children.

The Newton branch was descended from Gilbert, the son of Patrick Mor Macnab in Acharn, and the daughter of Buchanan of Mochaster near Callander. Gilbert married a daughter of Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers, which would account for the family having lands in Strathfillan.

Gilbert's second son James married a daughter of the laird of Dunblean (according to the French pedigree table). His son was also James, late wadsetter of the Kirkton of Strathfillan. He held land in Marchfield and Blaerinack, and married Jean MacFarlane. He died before 1743. His son Archibald of Marchfield and Newton married Katherine Stewart (nee Macnab) about 1761

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<sup>96</sup> Relict = surviving spouse

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His son John Macnab of Newton, W.S., was apprenticed to John Davidson on 4 July 1783 and was served as heir general to his father Archibald Macnab of Newton on 23 June 1800. John died on 4 August 1801.

Ann Macnab was served as heir of provision-general to her father John Macnab, W.S., on 27 January 1803. On 27 June 1822 she married the Rev. J.H. Sperling (see Burkes "*Landed Gentry*") and died on 27 December 1846, leaving issue. On 14 September 1822 she granted land in Balquhiddier to her sister Charlotte Jane, who was still alive and unmarried at Old Newton, near Doune, in 1863.

The Newton Macnabs have died out in the male line.

**The French Branch**

Donald, the second son of John Macnab of Acharn, married Anne Shower in 1740. She was the only daughter of Edward Shower, Mariner, and Tacksman<sup>97</sup> of Lurgavoin. He had met his wife while on Military duty in Exeter. His father-in-law took part in the rebellion of 1745, in the course of which he was taken prisoner and confined at Perth, where he was forgotten in prison and died of hunger. His daughter, on 10 August 1752, was served as heir to her father of Lurgavoin, which lies at the west end of the Kirkton of Callandr in Menteith, on a feu charter to Edward Shower from James Drummon of Perth and a bond of £100 from Edward Shower to MacNab in Inneshevan.

Donald, who was born about 1715 and had entered the army at the age of eighteen, retired in 1741, and took the farm of Brae Leny near the Bracklinn Falls. After his death his son Alexander enjoyed the possession of the same farm.

Donald with his military education and physical strength played a considerable part in the battle of Falkirk.

After the battle of Culloen he was a fugitive and took refuge in Ben Cruachan, where the daughter of the famous Macnab armorer of Dalmally

brought him food. One day when he was visiting his house he was surprised by a party of soldiers who had come to hunt for him. He leapt out of a back window, seized a billet of wood, came round to the door, slew two of the soldiers and made good his escape. His name is to be found in the list of proclaimed fugitives as Donald of Braealing

On the occasion of the fair at Dound he met a sergeant of the garrison at Stirling, who had been deputized to arrest a certain Donald Macnab, whom, he had been told, would be found at the fair. Donald remarked that he knew him well, and if the sergeant would dine with him at the inn, the infamous Donald would be delivered into his hands. Arrived at the inn, Donald called for whisky and invited the sergeant to join him while they waited for their dinner.

*'You know the custom of the country'*, remarked Donald; *'Before having a drink we shake hands. Here's to your good health'*, and he gave his hand to the unsuspecting English sergeant. However, Donald squeezed his victim's hand with such force that he smashed his fingers and blood spurted from under the nails. *'I promised to put Donald's hand in yours - and you have my hand for I am Donald!'* So saying he fled, leaving the unhappy sergeant to nurse his mutilated hand. After the amnesty Donald settled down on his farm and brought up a numerous family.

Edward Daniel was born in 1740. He had two sisters, Jane and Catherine, and three brothers, Alexander, James and John. It seems certain that this Alexander was born in 1745, and was saved from the redcoats as a baby by his nurse, and became ancestor of the Epping Branch.

Anne Shower was a Roman Catholic and grieved to bind herself to a Protestant family. At the age of twelve her eldest son Edward Daniel was sent to the Scottish College at Douai, in France, to become a priest; but when his education was complete, he sought a commission as an ensign in the Royal Scottish

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<sup>97</sup> Tacksman = leaseholder see footnote above

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Regiment<sup>98</sup> in which his uncle Duncan was a captain. He served throughout the Seven Years' War and in the campaign of Hanover he was wounded by a bullet in the leg, which never afterwards healed properly, and caused him much trouble in his later years.

In the peace of 1763 the officers of the regiment were put on half pay. Some returned to Scotland. Lord Nairn and Lord Lewis Drummond persuaded Edward Daniel to remain in France, and suggested that he should enter the Bodyguard of King Louis XV. He was the last Scotsman to enter this corps, twenty-four years of age, five feet nine in height and a fine figure of a man.

He married Marguerite Suzanne Verquillot of Sancerre, the heiress of the lands of Ste. Bouize, the daughter of Sylvain Verquillot. In 1782 he was named a Knight of St. Louis. M. le Bain, of Espugnac, nominated him to the charge of waters and woods in the county of Sancerre. Each year he spent three months at the Court of Versailles, three more at the depot at Beauvais, and six months on leave with his family.

During the Terror he was accused of Correspondence with Pitt, the British Prime Minister, by Legendre, the deputy of La Charite. He was taken to Bourges and thence dispatched to Paris with M. de Gamaches and M. Cardinet de Poinvilles. On the way, between Aubigny and Argent, one of the guards offered to let them escape, but M. de Gamaches protested that he was too ill to escape with them, so the others refused to leave him behind. In Paris the other two were condemned and executed, but Edward Daniel, while under sentence of death, obtained a pair of scissors and cut off his own hair. When he was called out for execution, his name was ill written and indecipherable, so he did not answer and

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<sup>98</sup> One of the "foreign" regiments in the French Royal army of this period. These regiments were "foreign" not because they were rented from other countries but composed of largely of natives of foreign countries = Royal Scots Regiment, Regiment of Swiss Guards, etc.

was passed over. The next day the revolution of the Ninth of Thermidor took place; executions were suspended, and his life was saved.

In prison he made friends with Clery, the valet de chambre of Louis XVI, who gave him some articles, which had belonged to the King, notably his lorgnette, the last object from which he had been separated. This was carefully preserved in the family.

After his release Edward Daniel retired to the small house of St. Bouize, and occupied himself with the education of his son Edward Alexander, who on 1 May 1810 married Marie Rose Aimee de Francieres. He also had two daughters Henriette, who died in 1787 aged twenty, and Marguerite Suzanne, who married Sylvain Gaillant, Lord of Guardefort.

Edward and Marie Rose had seven children, three sons and four daughters. The elder son, Edward, born in October 1811, married in Paris on 23 July 1850 Marie Beatrice de Panfentyou de Cheffontaine, daughter of the Governor of Bourbon Island, and died on 25 September 1885. Of their children, Maurice, the writer of popular songs, and Donald were twins born on 4 January 1856. They died unmarried on 4 January 1893 and 24 December 1889.

The daughter Clothilde was born on 1 October 1857. The youngest son, Allan was born on 23 October 1859 and died 20 August 1891. The third son Georges was born on 16 April 1858. He married Adeline Gerard and died on 2 October 1902. They had three sons.

The eldest, Allen, was born in 1892 and married Gisele Gerin. He died about 1945, leaving a daughter. The second Alexander, was born on 14 January 1896. He had a son and a daughter, both of whom are married. The youngest, Donald, born on 13 May 1898 is married, but has no children.

Now, Edward Alexander's four daughters, Phillipe, Henriette, Anna and Sarah married respectively M. Chenu, M. Dissander de la Vilatte, M. Boursault du Troncay and M. de Beuregard. His younger son Alexander Henri was born on 4



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October 1818. He married in Paris 1855 Mrie-Augustine d'Anglars. He served as a Forest Inspector and died on 17 September 1904 and was buried in St. Bouize. He had two children, Noeme, born 1855, who died unmarried on 11 March 1905: his only son Jean Francois Charles, born on 23 December 1859, Married Ernestine Champetier de Ribes on 7 May 1884. Be became a Colonel of Infantry and died in 1936. His widow was still alive in 1962 at the age of 100, but died shortly afterwards.

They had two children. Marie Paulle Jeanne was born on 25 September 1885 and married George Tipsier on 9 July 1912 and they had three children, daughters Helene, Colette and Nicole, born in 1913, 1917 and 1920, also a son Robert born in 1925. The second child Mrie Edouard Jacques, was born on 22 December 1886 and married Germaine le Chatelier on 31 May 1920. He won the Croix de Guerre in the 1914-18 war and was a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. He died on 20 December 1961. They had six children.

Antoinette was born on 2 March 1921, married in 1942 M. le Comte Louis de Rouville. They have six children.

Madeline, born in 1925, is a nun in Canada.

Jean, born in 1925, married Denise Frange. They have three children, Bernard, Monique and Anne, born respectively about 1947, 1950 and 1953/

The third daughter Marguerite was born in 1927 and died in 1959.

The fourth daughter Therese was born in 1929

The second son Francis was born about 1936. He visited Kinnell House and is a Life Member of the Clan Society.

The principal family seat is at Santrages in the Department of Cher, but the family live for most of the year at 108 rues de Bac, Paris VII.

The detailed information about this branch has been preserved in an account written by Edward Macnab, who was born in 1811. His grandfather Edward Daniel was prevented by the Revolution, old age

and infirmity, and eventually his death in 1814 from returning to his native land. Since his uncle Duncan had returned to Scotland he had not seen anyone of his own name, although he had often seen Major Buchanan of Cambusmore and 'Mr Ophilan" (Olifant?) Of Condie. At last in 1814, a few days before his death, he was visited by Duncan Macnab, who belonged to the family of armourers of Dalmally (Barachastalain). He was also disappointed in not being able to accept a commission offered to him by Louis XVIII of a Sub-Lieutenancy in the Scottish Company at the Royal Bodyguard in June 1814, only a month before his death. He did, however, exact a promise from his son Edward Alexander that he should visit Scotland.

In 1820 Uncle Alexander (of Millbank) sent his son 'Sandy' to spend a year with his French relatives, who were to bring him back. Edward Alexander and his small son Edward took a month to reach Aberdeen.

They spent eight days in Paris, where they were present at the festivities for the baptism of Henri, Duke de Bordeaux. The small son was greatly impressed by his sight of Louis XVIII with his remarkable blue eyes, which he never forgot. They arrived in London just before the Coronation of George IV.

In Aberdeen they were met at the port by their uncle Alexander and his son-in-law 'Mr. Mellie'. At Westertown they found their aunt Mrs. Macnab and her seven daughters, and their cousin 'Stewart' and several friends. This was a great family reunion, never forgotten by the small boy, who recorded it all many years afterwards.

#### **The Epping Branch**

Donald Macnab and Anna Shower had a son Alexander. The records of the French Branch make it probable that this Alexander was the baby saved by his nurse from the redcoats in 1746. Perceval Humphry, of The Grove, Coptholme, Sussex, who was born in 1867, communicated the following information.

The Humphrey pedigree table shows that MacNab of Kyllyin, born at Kinnell House and buried there, married a daughter of



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Steward (added in the hand writing of Catherine Macnab/Bulley) of Stratherne. (This may be a reference to Eleyne Stuart, mother of the chiefs Finlay and Alexander. Their family consisted of Donald, Alexander, seven other sons and a daughter.

It is to be remembered that a French pedigree table calls the ancestor of the French Branch 'Edward Donald'; but the notes, including a copy of the manuscript by Edward Macnab (born 1811), call him 'Edward Daniel', which is probably correct. Donald may have been another brother. It is notable that the next generations of the Epping Branch contained the unusual name of Daniel.

Alexander was born in 1745 and died in Sheffield, Yorkshire, in September 1795, at Furnace Hill, near Scotland Street. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Oliver, Proctor of the City of Worcester and Eleanor Swift of Worcester. They had six children.

Alexander, the eldest, was born on 1 September 1780. In 1810 his address was 132 St. Martin's Lane, London. His first wife was Jane Farquharson, whose father lived in London, but had previously lived at Moulbaie in Scotland. They had a daughter Eliza, who married Francis Oliver French. His second wife was Mary Ann Barron, daughter of Barron, Esq. Of the Exchequer. They had two children, Mary (who married Hubert Williams, RA) and Donald.

The second child was William Macnab, of Ware, Hertfordshire, who married Harriet Heather. Their daughter Harriet Elizabeth married the Rev. Richard Parrott.

Alexander also had by his first wife a son, Alexander (probably the 'Sandie' who spent a year in France). He married Elizabeth Heron. On 7 December 1899 their son Alexander Heron McNab bequeathed a copy of 'Perthshire Illustrated', Volume II to his wife and to his daughter Eugenia Alexandre Heron McNab and Violet Elsie McNab. He died on 18 May 1905 at 131 Gleshurst Road, Brentford, Middlesex, aged 68 years, as reported by his daughter Eugenia. His grand-daughter is Miss A. Dreghorn, 7

Cuthbert Place, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire. Alexander Heron McNab was an actor.

The next three children, Daniel, Archibald and Robert, died without issue.

Alexander, and Elizabeth's sixth son Daniel Robert McNab, of the Place, Epping, Essex was born in Sheffield on 4 June 1791. He married Mary, daughter of Swan Tabrum, of Jarvis Hall, Roothing, Essex. They had six children. In 1875 he died of Cholera, after retiring from fifty years of practice as a doctor.

He handed over to his son; but to avoid the risk of his son's carrying infection he visited a little girl patient and was found dead in the morning.

The eldest of the six children was Duncan Robert, of Epping, who married Hannah Challice and had four daughters, Clara, Annie Stuart, Hannah Challice and Jessie Theodora.

All these three, William Daniel Robert and Duncan Robert were doctors.

The Epping Branch died out in the male line with Alexander Heron McNab. Duncan, and Robert's brother William, died without issue.

They had four sisters; Elisabeth married Thomas Boycott of Exeter and had three children. Jessie Elisabeth, Henry Aden and Elisabeth.

William came next, and then Mary, who married George Murry Humphry, MO, FRS, of Cambridge. Their three children were Alfred Paget, Catherine and Edith. Alfred Paget had two sons, Martin George of Horham Hall, Essex, (see Burke's Landed Gentry) and Stewart, who has two sons, Alaric and Wallace Boycott McNab.

Jessie Oliver compiled the Pedigree table of the Epping Branch. She married Sir George's brother Joseph Thomas Humphry, born 10 December 1816, of Lincoln's Inn, on 29 December 1853, and had seven children, Hugh McNab, Laurence, Ethel, Catherine Maud, Janet Stewart, Perceval (who communicated this pedigree table) and Godfrey.

The youngest daughter Catherine married Ashburnham Bulley, who had changed his

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name from Toll (see Sir C.Toll, Baronet-Burke's *Peerage*).

Jessie Oliver Humphry, of 26 Princes Square, recorded a note on 26 January 1895 as follows: "D.C. Macnabb Esq. Of Macnabb (Donald Campbell?), Arthurstone, Bracknell, lived formerly at Highfield Park, Heckfield, where tablets are in memory of his father and mother. His father succeeded to the Chieftainship after Archibald and Alan Macnabb's death, but the papers, which confirmed this, were lost in a shipwreck. He was descended from one of seven brothers. We think we are descended from another of the seven, but have no proof. My grandfather Alexander MacNab, Presbyterian minister of Sheffield (born 1745, died 1795) was saved after the rising of 1745 by his nurse "while he was quite an infant".

Sir Allan Macnab was wrecked in the North Briton and lost all his baggage when he was bringing the Clan records over from Canada. He and his daughter Sophia stayed with James Munro Macnabb at Highfield, but could not deliver the Clan records to him as Sir Allan had intended.

**The Seat of the Clan Chiefs**

The castle of Eilean Ran (Ellanryne) was situated on what used to be an island north of the River Lochay<sup>99</sup> and commanded the Port of Island Ran. All that is now left of it is a low ridge about 250 yards long running in a northeasterly direction from the north bank of the river Lochay just below the railway bridge. In time of flood it is once more an island; but the intervening ground has silted up and connects it with the castle of Finlarig. This was originally in the hand of the Drummonds of Stobhall, but was sold to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in 1503 and then became one of the principal Breadalbane strongholds. A rival castle within a quarter of a mile was not to be tolerated, and the English were instigated to burn Eilean Ran in 1654. Nothing now remains above ground. The stones were carried off to build the

adjacent stonewalls, and the neighboring buildings; but the line of the circumvallation<sup>100</sup> can still easily be traced.<sup>101</sup>

Kinnell House thereafter became the headquarters of the clan. The original building can readily be discerned, since its walls are from three to five feet thick. When it became the seat of the Chief, more rooms were built to the east and in the eighteenth century, the two western rooms in the two upper story's were thrown into one with a raised ceiling and another large room was built out at the back overlooking the large walled garden, the south side of which is contained by the house in the middle. The gardener's house and dairy are to the east and the vinery to the west. The latter contains the famous Black Hamburg vine, planted in 1832 and at one time 190 feet long and considered to be the largest vine in the world. Though its branches at both ends have been cut back, it still produces about 60 bunches a year. The front of the house faces a little east of south and has lost one of its dormer windows as the result of the raising of the western room. This served as a bedroom for Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief). Its pillared alcove surmounted by three plaster masks of robber's heads commemorates the final victory over the Neishes, with the motto "Dreadnaught". In front of the vinery is a collection of millstones, querns, knocking stones and baptismal fonts, collected from the neighborhood. An avenue of beech and oak trees, 300 years old or more leads from the house up the hill to the south to a pillared entrance and to the west the main avenue from the Dochart Bridge runs through three other pairs of solid stone pillars, the last pair surmounted by a

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<sup>100</sup> Circumvallation, the act of surrounding with a rampart; a line of field fortifications consisting of a rampart or parapet with a trench. *The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 1980

<sup>101</sup> Refer to the map of Killin, which shows a semicircular arc of water about the location where Eilean Ran would have been located. *David Rorer*

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<sup>99</sup> See the aerial photograph

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pair of lions. In the field close to these, is a circle of six Standing Stones, like a miniature Stonehenge. In front of the gardener's house is a courtyard enclosed on the east and west by two ancient barns of great size, which now serve as a row of stables with a hayloft overhead and a garage. To the east on the bank of Loch Tay, at the boat house where Queen Victoria landed in 1842 on her way to Auchmore House, there used to be a battery of ten cannon with which she was welcomed by the then Marquis of Breadalbane. These are now in front of Kinnell House.

**Clan Burial Ground - Inchbuie**<sup>102</sup>

The Island of Inchbuie is reached through an iron gate where the middle of the Dochart Bridge rests on the western tip of the Island. Opposite, to the west is the picturesque island of Garbh-Innis round which the waters of the Dochart come dashing down in a series of small cascades. The gate opens on to steps near which are two stone pillars like those leading to Kinnell House. The old accounts speak of two immense dragons crouched on top of these. Possibly these were the lions now on top of the last pair of pillars leading to Kinnell House<sup>103</sup>. Beyond the pillars is a stonewall with three open arches. The island slopes steeply on all sides to the river, which has cut a deep cleft through the rocky strata. It is divided into three sections by, firstly, an earthen ridge, and secondly, about 150 yards further on, an ancient stonewall. The whole island is about 350 yards long, and is covered with Scots pines, larches, beeches and sycamores. In the middle, lay an old iron fireplace, reputed to have come from Kinnell House. It has since disappeared. Beyond the stonewall lies the burial ground with a square stone enclosure, open to the sky and guarded by a massive iron gate.

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<sup>102</sup> See the engraving by Iain Macnab of Barachastlain

<sup>103</sup> There again the arms of the clan have two winged dragons as supporters. See the coat of arms pictured on the frontispiece.

The walls of the enclosure used to be surmounted with four stone balls and two antique stone heads on the middle of the eastern and western walls. Inside are fifteen graves in three rows of the Chiefs, some covered with slabs of stone and some merely mounds of earth. One slab bears a representation of a coffin and crossbones. Another has a hole drilled through it and bears a shield with the arms of Macnab of Bovain, now undecipherable and the initials F.M. and K.C. with the symbols of death and an inscription "This burial appertains to Finlay Maknab of Bovain" who died in 1573-4. His wife was Katherine Campbell of Glenorchy. Adjoining this is a slab of Mica schist with the effigy of a warrior in chain mail and with a round top to his helmet. This is supposed to have come from the shoulder of Ben Lawers<sup>104</sup> and to mark the grave of one of the earliest chiefs; but Sir Allan Macnab wrote that it marked the grave of Francis (16<sup>th</sup> chief) when he saw it in 1842 (see below). There is one later grave with the date 1834 of one who was not a chief. It bears the arms with a four-oared boat and a robber's head and the inscription "Sacred to the memory of Colin Macnab Esq., late of Suie, who died 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1832, aged 69 years". This humble tribute of affection is erected by his brother Allan Macnab, Ardeoniag. Outside the enclosure to the east are many stone slabs and mounds and two erect headstones to "Patrick Macnab in Taylor in Aucharn who died 1777" and "Dun McNab Likernside who died 1800 aged 18 years".

The prophecy of the Lady of Lawers, delivered in about 1680, that, when a great storm blew a branch of a pine tree against the trunk of another, and grafted it onto the trunk, the Macnabs would lose their lands, came true in 1828, after a great storm, which happened in about 1820. In 1849, the branch was still alive. Now that the Macnabs have come back, it has died; but it still hangs where it was.

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<sup>104</sup> Ben Lawers is a mountain near by. The names of many Scottish mountains begin with "Ben"

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In the early summer, when the young green of the larches and beeches is first showing itself and again in the autumn, when the flaming splendor of the beech leaves contrasts most effectively with the pale yellow of the larches and the greenish black of the pines, it is easy to understand how Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) in his one known attempt to enter the hallowed bonds of matrimony, pleaded in vain with the object of his attentions that he owned the most beautiful burial ground in Scotland.

A letter from Sir Allan Macnab written the day after his visit (now with the Earl of Albemarle) reads: "8<sup>th</sup> June 1842. I visited Inchboye..... I enquired for James McGibbon a man of 78 years of age..... He keeps the key of the burial ground..... On entering within the wall the first slab to the left is Major General Archibald MacNab, Col. Of the 41<sup>st</sup> Regt. Of Foot aged 80 years. (The second slab) Francis MacNab aged 80 years (a full length figure of the Chief with their doubled edged sword and spear). Robert MacNab aged 45 years (on this stone there is a long description but I cannot read it). On his left lie his wife and two daughters. The third and last accompanied me to the spot - she wept bitterly."

A further letter of June 26<sup>th</sup> 1842 from Sir Allan Macnab to a colleague, also in the possession of the Earl of Albemarle reads: "There is a fine avenue of trees approaching the sacred spot. The first object which engaged my attention was a marble slab at the end of the avenue, which was inscribed "in memory of a man, all honor to his name, Lt. Allan McNab 92 Regt, who after serving his country in Holland, Portugal and Spain at last on the field of Almeida gloriously fell, 5<sup>th</sup> of May 1811. This stone was erected by his affectionate cousin, Archibald McNab". On entering within the wall, the first slab to the left was marked, Major General Archibald MacNab, Col. 41<sup>st</sup> Regt. Of Foot aged 81 years. Still farther on the left is the tombstone of my grandfather Captain Robert MacNab, with the inscription too effaced to be legible, and between these two graves lies Francis MacNab of MacNab aged 81

years. On the stone covering his grave is a full-length figure of the old chief with a double-edged sword in one hand and a spear in the other. Old McGibbon told me there were nine chiefs buried within the walls. On the left of my grandfather's tomb lies his wife "(Jean Stewart of Ardvorlich)" and daughter. The third and last of the family now living accompanied me to the spot and was much affected by the scene."

**The Present Chief**

James Charles Macnab of Macnab, the present (23rd) Chief, is the son of James Alexander, 21st Chief. He was born in 1926, educated at Radley College and at Ashbury College, Ottawa, Canada. He served in the RAF and Scots Guards 1944-45. In 1945 he was commissioned into the Seaforth Highlanders and served in India, Java and Singapore. In 1948 he joined the Colonial Service and served in the Federation of Malaya Police Force as Assistant and Deputy Superintendent. He retired in 1957 and farmed at Kinnell until he had to sell it and move to West Kilmany. He now works with an international financial conglomerate, the Hill Samuel Group.<sup>105</sup>

The Island of Inchbuie, containing the ancient Macnab Burial Ground, is the only remaining Clan land in Clan hands. The Chief retained it when he sold Kinnell, and recently conveyed it to Clan Macnab. To that end a Clan trust has been set up to assure its possession to the Clan in perpetuity, and as a burial place for Chiefs and their families.

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<sup>105</sup> c 1977 I believe he now fully retired lives on his farm in Fife. *David Rorer*

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**Cadet (junior) houses of Clan Macnab:**

Innishewan  
Dundurn  
The French Branch  
Barravorich Acharn  
The Epping Branch  
Barachastalain  
Newton  
Edinample

**Septs of The Clan an Aba**

In "The clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands" by Frank Adam and Innes of Learney (who was the Lord Lyon), septs of Clan Macnab are given as "Abbott, Abbotson, Gilfillan, Dewar and Macandeoir".

These are the normally recognized septs. Certain Dows, Gows, Baines, MacNairs, MacGowands, MacClagans etc. may also be septs of the Clan

Abbot or Abbotson are simply Anglicized renderings of MacNab.

Gilfillan has obvious connections with St. Fillan. The name means servant of St. Fillan

Dewar, means roughly "custodian" and is derived from the Gallic "Deoradh", a word originally meaning "stranger" or "wanderer", probably because they carried St. Fillan's relics far afield for special purposes. Later, the meaning of the word altered to "custodian". The relics they guarded were the Quigrich (Pastoral staff); the Bernane (chapel Bell), the Fergy (possibly St. Fillan's portable altar), the Mayne (St. Fillan's armbone), the Maser (St. Fillan's manuscript).

There were several Dewar families living in Strathfillan and Glendochart at the time of Bannockburn and before, each being responsible for a different relic. There is a Croftandeoir (Dewar's croft) shown on the 1832 plan of Kinnell Estate.<sup>106</sup>

In 1336, Alexander Menzies, Lord of Glendochart issued a missive confirming to "donald Mcsobrell Dewar Cogerach"

<sup>106</sup> Several of these crofts are marked on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings. Also see the article on the Dewar's and its accompanying map.

part of the lands of Ewich in Strathfillan.

In 1428, an enquiry by the Ballie of Glendochart found that Finlay Jore (Doire or Dewar) should have for all time have a "boll" of meal from every inhabitant of Glendochart holding more than a half merkland<sup>107</sup> of ground.

These rights were confirmed by James III by charter in 1487 to one Malise Doir.

In 1551, queen Mary issued an order assessing for tax "Malise Dewar, the forty shilling land of Ewich...". At that time there were five hereditary Dewar's with land in Strathfillan and Glendochart. Dewar quigrech at Ewich; Dewar Bernane at Suie; Dewar Fergy at Audilyne, Dewar Messer at Killin.

There are other Dewars who settled along Loch Tay and east to the area of Weem and Aberfeldy. Some of these regard themselves as part of Clan Menzies.

**The Macandeoir**

The Mac-an-deoirs or Dewar's of Glendochart were the hereditary custodians of the *Bachuil*, crozier, or *cuigreach*<sup>108</sup> of St. Fillan. This crozier is a relic of the greatest antiquity, and also bore the designation of the *Fearachd*. Hence the Mac-an-deoirs were also known as *Deòraich-naFearachd*. The crozier of St. Fillan, of which the Dewars were the hereditary custodians, is one of the most venerable of Scottish relics. It dates back to the seventh century A.D. and is only exceeded in antiquity by the famous Coronation Stone of Destiny of Scone. The custody of the holy relic conferred some very important privileges on its custodians. These were confirmed and added to by King Robert the Bruce after the Battle of Bannockburn. Though on that occasion the Macnabs were opponents of the Bruce, the

<sup>107</sup> See above for the definition of "Merk". *Merkland* refers to the amount of rent paid by the tenant. *David Rorer*

<sup>108</sup> Another spelling is *Quigrich* and on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings can be found Dewar Quigrich's Croft, between Tyndrum and Crianlarich near St. Fillian's Priory.



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Dewars were present on the Scottish side and had the crozier along with them. It is traditionally reported that previous to the Battle of Bannockburn King Robert the Bruce and his army received the sacrament, during the administration of which the crozier of St. Fillan was elevated in full sight of the army. In 1314, as a thank offering for the victory on Bannockburn, King Robert erected a church at Tyndrum in Strathfillan, and dedicated it to St. Fillan. After the Reformation the crozier was faithfully guarded by its hereditary custodians, the Dewar's, and was passed on from father to son. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sept was broken up and left the country. Some of the emigrated to America, among them the custodian of the cuigreach, and so the relic was lost sight of for a time. Some years ago, however, Sir Daniel Wilson, while hunting on the shores of Lake Superior, took refuge in the hut of a Scottish settler named Alexander Dewar. Sir Daniel found that the settler's family had once lived in Inch Buie, that he was the custodian of St. Fillan's crozier, and that he had the relic in the house. It was then exhibited to Sir Daniel, and in 1876 was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in whose museum at Edinburgh it has now found a resting-place. The hereditary keeper of the cuigreach of St. Fillan duly received in 1930, armorial insignia indicative of his ancient office (Lyon Register, XXVII., p 128), although he no longer holds St. Fillan's crozier. The inquest of 1428 shows that the *Deoir-Cuigreach* was the *Co-arb* (and, as it explains, heir) of St. Fillan, i.e. in the Celtic sense, Hereditary Abbot. He and the Baron of the Bachuil of (St. Moluag of Lismore) seem to be the only surviving prelates of the old Celtic Church

**Gilfillan, "servant of St. Fillan"**

In D. Mitchell's *History of the Highlands* he states:

The Macnabs should probably be recognized as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of St. Fillan, a fact which shows their

association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighboring Earls of Atholl and Menteath. (He was, of course, not a "lay" abbot, but a hereditary tribal abbot.)

Maclellan, derived from the same source as Gilfillan, is a clan rather than a sept name. A colony of Macellans is to be found in Morar, Inverness-shire. There are also some MacLellans to be found in the Aberfeldy district of Perthshire. The Clelands of Cleland, who were hereditary foresters to the Earls of Douglas, likewise derive their name from St. Fillan.

**The Relics of St. Fillan**

The relics of the Founder Saint were the essential insignia of a Celtic abbacy, and were sometimes given in hereditary custody with a toft<sup>109</sup> of land to younger branches of the abbatial family. Such hereditary custodians were styled "dewars", which often became their surname. In Glendochart there were five separate hereditary Dewars, each with a separate relic of St. Fillan (the pastoral staff, the bell, the armbone, the 'meser' and the 'fearg': they were presumably cadets of the hereditary Abbots of Glendochart, whose principal heirs were the Macnabs of Macnab.

The Bell of St. Fillan, known as the *Bearnan*<sup>110</sup> or 'Little Capped One'. As late as 1488, it was carried in the sacred pageant at King James IV's Coronation. It was in the hereditary custody of a Dewar whose toft is

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<sup>109</sup> Toft, a Scandinavian word meaning an enclosed field near a house. Or a house and homestead.

*The New Webster Encyclopedic Dictionary of The English Language.*

<sup>110</sup> On the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings is Dewar Bernane's Croft, is marked on the south bank of the river Dochart near Inneshewan.



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referred to in 1640 as "Dewar-Vernan's Croft"<sup>111</sup>, at Suie in Glendochart.

*Fear* means 'Wrath', and it is uncertain what relic acquired this by-name. Its hereditary Dewars had their toft at Dewar-na-fargs-croft, which is referred to as late as 1632, and was at Auchlyne in Glendochart where the ruins of their *Icaibel-na-Fairg* or Chapel of the Fearg can still be seen. It has been suggested that the 'meser' was a *meise* or portable altar, but it seems more likely that it was the saint's missal, miraculously written by night. In 1468 a MacGregor certified to the Bailie of Glendochart that he held the tact of the lands of Corehynan from the 'Deore of the Meser'.<sup>112</sup>

The saint's armbone was known as the *Main*, and his toft at Killin is referred to in 1640 as 'Dewar-na-Mans-croft' and in 1670 as 'Dewar-na-Maynes-croft'. King Robert Bruce prayed in the Priory of Strathfillan while a fugitive, and attributed his escape from the MacDougalls to the saint's intervention. Accordingly the silver shrine of the saint's arm bone was brought to spend the night in the king's tent on the eve of Bannochburn, and was born to the battlefield by the Abbot of Inchaffray himself. This enshrined arm-bone must have been an especially interesting relic, as we are told that once upon a time, 'when the saint was in his cell after sundown, a lay brother was sent to call him to supper. The messenger,

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<sup>111</sup> Croft, a small holding of land. The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) act 1880, defines a crofter as the tenant of a holding who resides on his holding, the annual rent of which does not exceed £30 in money and which is situated in a crofting parish. The O.E. word, meaning originally an enclosed field, seems to correspond to the Dutch *kroft*, a field on high ground or downs. The ultimate origin is unknown. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

<sup>112</sup> Dewar Meser's Croft is marked on the map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings as being just south of Kinnell House.

curious to know what St. Fillan was doing, looked through a chink in the wall, and was astonished to see him writing by means of a light that streamed from his left arm.<sup>113</sup> Next day a tame crane that was kept by the holy fraternity pecked out the eye of the lay brother who was guilty of spying upon the saint, and rendered him quite blind, but at the request of the rest of the brethren St. Fillan restored his sight to the erring one'.

In 1549, the Privy Council protected "Malise Doir of Quickrich: (malise Dewar of *Coigreach*, the saint's pastoral staff) "Archibald Doir of Fargy" and "Malcolm Doir of Bernane" (*Bearnan* was the saint's bell) from having to hand over their sacred relics to the Prior of Strathfillan. St. Fillan's bell and pastoral staff are now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, in Edinburgh.

The elaborate silver crozier-head was added to encase St. Fillan's pastoral staff<sup>114</sup>, probably in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1336, the Menzies chief, as then overlord of Glendochart, confirmed Donald McSobrell, dewar Cogechach, in the lands of Ewich in Strathfillan. The saint's staff was known as the *Coigreach* or 'Stranger', because it was so often carried by its hereditary Dewar to far places; for if any inhabitant of the parish of Glendochart should have goods or cattle carried off from him and 'be

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<sup>113</sup> A good story, however, my thought is that the abbot held in his hand a tiny clay lamp with a bit of dried moss for a wick and butter or sheep fat for fuel! *David Rorer*

<sup>114</sup> Crozier or Pastoral Staff, a crook-headed staff conferred on bishops at consecration and on mired abbots at investiture; probably derived from the *Ilituus* of the Roman augurs, and so called from Old French *crocier*, Medieval Latin *crociarius*, crook-bearer. The "crook" was formerly called "crozier's staff," afterwards abridged to "crozier" (see . T. Taylor in *Archaeologic*, lii.) *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14<sup>th</sup> edition, 1929.

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**Part five**

unable to follow them, wether from doubt of the culprit, or feud of his enemies, then he might send a messenger to the Dewar of the coygeracch, with four pence, or a pair of shoes, and food for the first night, and the said Dewar should follow the goods or cattle, wherever they might be found within the bounds of the Kingdome of Scotland'. The inquest that reported this to the Bailie of Glendochart in 1428 declared that "the office of bearing the said relic was given to a certain progenitor of Finlai Jore" (i.e. Finlay Dewar) "the present hereditary bearer, by the coarb of St. Fillan" i.e. an ancient Celtic hereditary Abbot of Glendochart); and that in return for his services, the dewar was due certain specified quantities of meal from each inhabitant of the parish<sup>115</sup>. In 1487 the then bearer of the 'Quegrich', Malise Doire (i.e. Dewar) was confirmed in possession by King James III. After, a later 'Malise Doire of Quickrich' in 1549 got the Privy Council to prevent the Prior of Strathfillan from forcing him to surrender his hereditary charge, the "annoyance of the Church at being defeated in its action against the Dewars may account for the fact that in the following year the Crown authorities stepped in and imposed certain charges upon the lands which Malise Dewar of the quigrich and his ancestors had always held free". As a result, in 1575, the next Dewar of the *Coigreach* was obliged to sell all his lands of Eyicht, Cryt-in-dewar in Auchincarne and the half merkland called Cragwoken, to Campbell of Glenorchy. In the reign of Charles II, the then dewar was so poor that he had to sell the *Cogreach* itself to MacDonell of Glengarry, who venerated the relic as a Catholic. But the Dewars "never rested until they regained possession of the Quigrigh, and brought it back from Locaber to Breadalbane". In 1782 its then bearer, Malise Dewar was a day laborer living in *Straid Glas* (Grey Street) at Killin. As late as 1795,

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<sup>115</sup>See above, the "boll of meal" he was due from every inhabitant of Glendochart holding more than a half merkland of ground

Presbyterian highlanders were wont to come "over a hundred miles to Killin to procure water that had been passed through the interior of the crozier".

In 1818 Archibald Dewar of the *Coigreach* immigrated to Canada, taking the relic with him; and Highlanders settled in Canada used to come to him to get water in which it had been dipped to cure their sick cattle. But in 1876, Alexander Dewar of the *Coigreach* (with the consent of his own son) was induced to transfer the saint's pastoral staff to the Society of Antiquities of Scotland, "on trust to deposit the same in the National Museum of Antiquites at Edinburgh, there to remain in all time to come for the use, benefit, and enjoyment of the Scottish Nation". However, the present representative of the Dewars or Keepers of St. Fillan's crozier, Robert St. Fillan Dewar, bears as heraldic insignia two such pastoral staves in saltire behind his arms.

#### **Clan Relics**

##### **The British Museum, London**

A copy of the Macnab brooch taken from Robert the Bruce in the Battle of Lorn and purchased by the Museum from the Campbells of Glen Lyon who had held it from the time of the Commonwealth.

##### **Dewar House, Haymarket, London**

1. Two forks showing Captain MacNab's crest
2. One silver teaspoon showing Captain MacNab's crest
3. One silver buckle
4. Captain MacNab's presentation watch (George III)
5. One pair spectacles
6. Heart shaped ornament
7. Ram's horn snuff mull
8. MacNab's horn snuff mull
9. Gilt fob seal of MacNab crest
10. Two pronged instrument used by Francis MacNab
11. Old Highland brass brooch
12. Six plated buttons bearing 'Glenfalloch Crest'
13. One arrow head and iron link
14. Francis MacNab's Blunderbuss
15. Two swords made by smith at Dalmally

##### **The National Museum Edinburgh**

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1. The Quigoich or Crozier of St. Fillan in its silver case
2. The Bernane or Bell of St. Fillan
3. Prince Charles's ring
4. Prince Charles's spurs (now no longer forthcoming)
5. The Acharn Bowl, 1672

**Killin**

1. St. Fillan's stones at the Tweed Mill near the Dochart Bridge
2. Fingal's grave on the rising ground north-west of the town
3. Prince Charles's broadsword, given by him to Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, now in possession of the Chief
4. The Kinnell Bottle in which Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief) kept his whisky
5. The Scarlet Sash worn by Lt. Allan McNab 92 Regt. When killed at the Battle of Almeida in 1811
6. Francis (16<sup>th</sup> Chief)'s sugar basin
7. Two inscribed pewter mugs
8. Wooden punch bowl with silver insets and bone ladles dated 1756
9. Francis's stick

**Pipe Music**

There are two well known and popular Piobaireachd<sup>116</sup> namely "The Macnab Salute" and "The Gathering of the Macnabs". The Clan society is very grateful to John MacFadyen, world famous piper who has recorded these tunes. The cassette can be purchased in record shops, distributed by Multi-Media (AV) Services Ltd., of Edinbrugh. Members of the Clan Society may obtain them at a discount on application to the Secretary.

There are two other lesser-known tunes, "The March of Clan Macnab" and "The Retreat of Clan Macnab."

**Banner and Badge**

The green Banner common to the Clans of the Siol Alpin confederacy is the banner used by the clan. The Clan Badge is Ruiteag, Roebuck berry (*Rubus Saxatilis*, stone banble).

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<sup>116</sup> Bagpipe tunes

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**Appendix A**

Genealogy from Abaruadh (The Red Abbot) back to King Fergus, First king of DalRiada and forward to Gilbert of Bovain

King Fergus, son of Erc. (d. 501) 1<sup>st</sup> King of DalRiada in Scotland

Learn, brother of Fergus

Muredaig

Ethach (Eochaid)

Deadan (d. 581)

Fiachach (d. 608)

Colman

Sneachtan

Fergus

Feradaig (or Feriach of Feradach), father of St. Fillan (d. 703), King of DalRiada

Ferchar Fada (Tall) (d. 697) (ancestor also of Clan Chattan, the Mackintoshes and the Camerons).

**Abrruadh (The Red Abbot) or Ferchar Og (Young)** Son of Ferchar Fada, nephew of St. Fillan, he is held to be the father of Clan Macnab, (ancestor also of the Macleans)

Donald Dom (ancestor of the Maclarens, MacKays and the MacNaughtons)

Erc

Aibertach

Cormac (ancestor also of Clan Andreas (Ross), MacKenzies, Macduffys, MacGregor, MacQuarries, MacKinnons, MacMillans and Macleennans)

Ferchar

Lorn

Firtred I

Gillemartan

Gillefaelan

Firtred II

Duncan

Finlay I

Ferhar III

Gilbert Loganalg

Angus

MacBeathad (probably ms-recorded in place of Malcolm de Glendochart whose name is written in the Ragman Rolls of 1296)

Angus (said to be a brother-in-law of John Comyn, younger of Badenoch commonly called the Red Comyn)

Ewen

Gilbert of Bovain (granted a charter in 1336 in the name of King David II)

**Appendix B**

Commencing with Gilbert of Bovain and the 1336 charter the succession of Clan chiefs has been pieced together as follows. Some of the dates of death have been recorded in the Chronicles of Fortingall

1. Gilbert of Bovain note: Douglas says he was succeeded by "Finlay" (4<sup>th</sup>) and the "Patrick" (5<sup>th</sup>) but the Lord Lyon has counted Alexander as the Second Chief
2. Alexander died before 1407
3. John brother of Maurice and Alexander. Alive in 1407.
4. Finlay died 1464, possibly the poet in the Dean of Lismore's book.
5. Patrick died 1488 at Auchlyne
6. Finlay died 1499
7. John
8. Finlay died at Eilean Ran 12 April 1525, buried in Killin

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9. John married Eleyne Stewart, died 1558
10. Finlay married Katharine, natural daughter of John Campbell of Glenorchy. Buried at Inchbuie, 1573-74. Their son pre-deceased them.
11. Alexander brother of Finlay, 10<sup>th</sup> Chief
12. Finlay brother of Patrick of Acharn and father of Smooth John, died about 1656.

The line continues unbroken from Finlay (12<sup>th</sup> Chief) to Archibald (17<sup>th</sup> Chief) who died in 1860. After the death of his daughter, Sarah Anne in 1894, the family died out. The restoration of a chief of the clan involved research going back to the family of Finlay, the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief.

**Appendix C**

Lists of Chiefs from Finlay the 12<sup>th</sup> Chief to the present day, showing the extinction of the old line and the establishing of the Arthurstone branch in its place

**Bovain**

12. Finlay, d. after 1656
13. Alexander, son of Smooth John
14. Robert, married Anne Campbell of Glenorchy in 1697
15. John, born 1698, married Jean Buchanan of Arnprior
16. Francis, 1734-1816 (subject of the painting by Rayburn)
17. Archibald, 1778-1860
18. Sara Anne, 1803-1894 (The last surviving member of the old line of chiefs)

**Arthurstone**

- John Roy (Red) or Baine (Fair) son of Finlay 12<sup>th</sup> Chief and half brother of Smooth John or John Dow (black)
- Archibald, married Isobel Anderson John, died 1697, married Anne Robertson of Balnaguard
- Donald, 1690-1750, married Margaret Ferguson
- James, died 1798, married Anne Cowan
- Dr. James, 1759-1822
- James Munro, 1790-1860

19. **James William**, 1831-1915, who with his son and grandson, were all accepted as chiefs *de jure* after Sara Anne
20. Rev. James Frederick, 1863-1937, *de jure*
21. James Alexander Macnab, born 1901, *de jure* (Resigned in favour of his uncle whose name follows)
22. Archibald Corrie Macnab, 1886-1971
23. James Charles Macnab, born 1926, present chief (son of James Alexander 21<sup>st</sup> chief)

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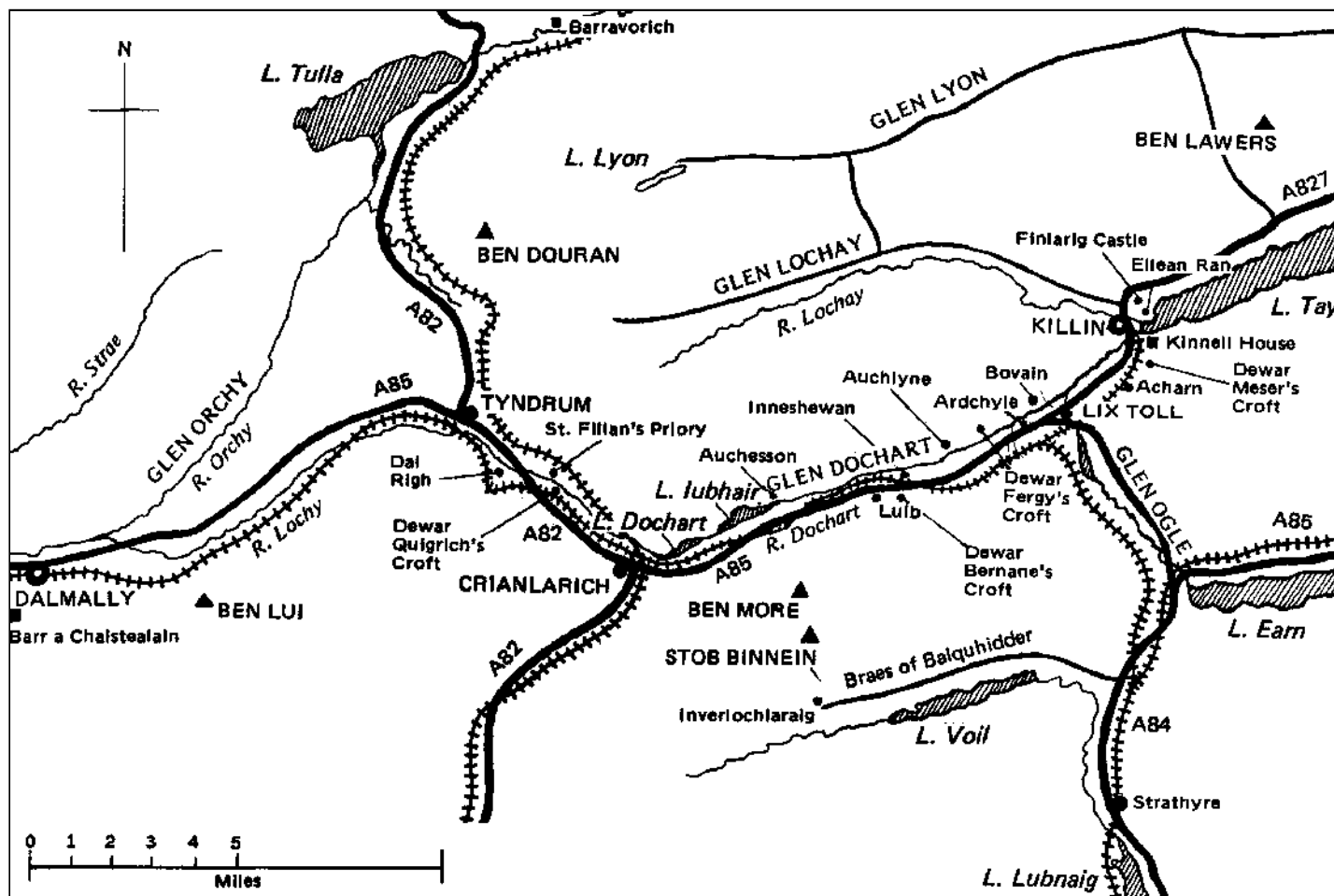
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Glen Dochart and Surroundings  
 Scanned from the Green Book

Barravorich (at top of map), Barr a Chaistealain (to the west), Auchesson, Inneshewan and Archlynle (along the river Dochart) were seats of cadet branches of the Macnab chief's. Bovain, traditional estate of Macnab of Macnab also lies on the Dochart, across from Lix Toll.

The sites of the Breadalbane Campbells castle of Finlarig, the Macnab Castle of Eilean Ran and Kinnell House, traditional residence of the Chief, lie by the village of Killen at the mouth of the River Dochart, where it runs into the western end of Loch Tay,

South of Killin is Glen Ogle which leads to Loch Earn and the traditional territory of the Macnish's of Perthshire, the great enemy of the Macnab's.

Glen Orchy to the west and Glen Lyon to the north were home to the Clan MacGregor until their lands were lost to the Breadalbane Campbell's.

Dal Righ, between Tyndrum and Crianlarich is where MacDougal of Lorn ambushed and nearly captured Robert the Bruce in 1306, reportedly with help from the MacNabs. Across the river Lorchy is St. Fillan's Priory where the fugitive Robert the Bruce had rested the night before and received the blessing of the prior.

The Dewar's were the hereditary guardians of the relics of St Fillan, each being given a croft, or small farm to hold in return for this service. The locations of the various crofts are also marked on the map (the Dewar Fergy, Dewar Bernane, Dewar Quigrich and the Dewar Mesar).

The triangles mark the peaks of the mountains that surround the valley of the Dochart.

The Clan Burial Ground - Inch Buie  
The Yellow Isle - in the River Dochart



The square stone enclosure within which lie the graves of the Chiefs on the island, known as Inch Buie, which lies in the middle of the Dochart at Killin and has been the clan Macnab burial ground from time immemorial

**The Clan Burial Ground - Inch Buie  
The Yellow Isle - in the River Dochart**

The name Inch Buie is derived from the Gaelic "Inch Buidh" which means "Yellow Island" because of its golden colored turf. At the eastern end of the isle is a stone enclosure in which are buried fifteen high-ranking members of the clan including nine chiefs, other members are buried outside its walls. The round stone ornaments have disappeared from the corners but the carved heads in the middle of the walls still look down benignly on the sleeping residents and visitors.

Outside the enclosure, to the east are many stone slabs and mounds and two erect head stones.

In the early summer, when the young green of the larches and beeches is first showing itself and again in the autumn, when the flaming splendor of the beech leaves contrasts most effectively with the pale yellow of the larches and the greenish black of



ground in Scotland.

The small map of Killin shows the island in the middle of the Dochart and the location of the burial ground. The centre of the island is the site of two substantial forts of late prehistoric (Iron Age) date. It is still possible to discern their foundations beneath the ground. They are scheduled as ancient monuments..

This photo was taken from the bridge that spans the Dochart and depicts the columns and the wall with the Iron Gate that guard the entrance to the burial ground. Keys to the gate leading on to the island can be obtained from the Tourist Office in "the Breadalbane Folklore Centre," at the north end of the Dochart Bridge, where St. Fillans Stones are on display.

The photo was downloaded from Google Earth where other views of the island may also be accessed.

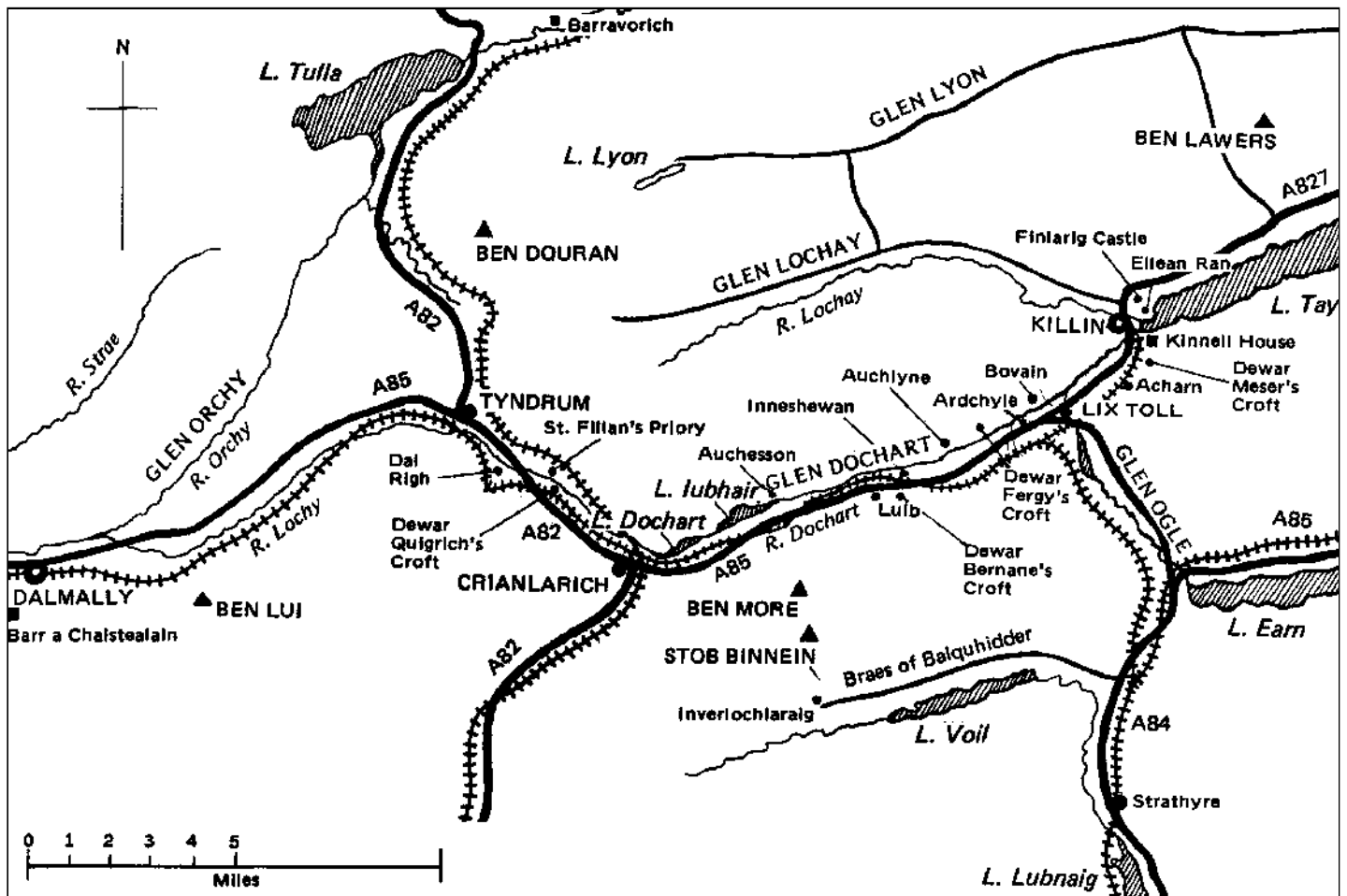
The watercolor was downloaded from the website of the Clan Macnab Memorial Trust

<http://macnabclanuk.org/history1.html>



the pines, it is easy to understand how Francis (16th Chief) in his one known attempt to enter the hallowed bonds of matrimony, pleaded in vain with the object of his attentions that he owned the most beautiful burial





**Map of Glen Dochart and Surroundings**

*Scanned from the Green Book*

Barravorich (at top of map), Barr a Chaistealain (to the west by Dalmally), Auchesson, Inneshewan and Archlynlc (along the north bank of the river Dochart) were seats of cadet branches of the chiefly family. Bovain, traditional estate of Macnab of Macnab also lies on the Dochart, across from Lix Toll.

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South of Killin is Glen Ogle which leads to Loch Earn and the traditional territory of the Macnish's of Perthshire, the great enemy of the Macnab's.

Glen Orchy to the west and Glen Lyon to the north were home to the Clan MacGregor until their lands were lost to the Breadalbane Campbell's.

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the various crofts are also marked on the map (the Dewar Fergy, Dewar Bernane, Dewar Quigrich and the Dewar Mesar).

The triangles labeled Ben Douran, Ben Lui, Ben More, Stob Binnein and Ben Lawers mark the peaks of the mountains that dominate the valley of the Dochart.





## Macnab of Macnab, chief of Macnab, as hereditary Abbot of Glendochart

The entry for the Clan Macnab in *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland* begins as follows: "The Macnabs derive from the hereditary Celtic Abbot of Glendochart in the reign of David I hence the name, Clann-an-Aba -- descendants of the Abbot."

For those who are only familiar with Abbots of the modern Catholic Church as celibate rulers of an abbey, the notion of a "hereditary Abbot" seems a contradiction in terms. However, prior to the unification of the Celtic church with that of Rome, it had lay Abbots as well as clerical Abbots and even the latter were allowed to marry. These abbots acted like secular lords, an early Abbot of Dunkeld being killed in a battle between two contenders for the Scottish kingship in 965. Crinán, Abbot of Dunkeld, son-in-law of Malcolm II and father of Duncan, both kings of Scotland, was killed in battle against Macbeth in 1045 and may also have been Mormaer of Athol.

Our knowledge of ecclesiastical organization in Scotland between the ninth and eleventh centuries is limited. We do know that it was the custom in the Celtic church for the head of an abbey to be chosen from the family of the founder. Several old Gaelic manuscript genealogies trace the mediaeval Macnab chiefs through some twenty generations from Ferchar mac Feradach, the Red Abbot of Glendochart. Also known as Ferchar Og (Young Ferchar) he was one of many Irish missionaries in the 7th Century A.D. who converted the pagan Picts to Christianity.

By the eleventh century, most clerics in Scotland were probably not celibate and many ecclesiastical posts had through a gradual process of secularization become hereditary. Churches sometimes owned extensive and widely distributed lands, the result of piecemeal endowments by kings and nobles and the abbot was often the lay administrator of those properties and revenues and not a churchman.

This is probably what happened in the case of the abbey of Glendochart, which with whatever temporalities it may have had, was in the gift of the lord of Glendochart. By being awarded as a living, within the lord's family, the office of abbot survived the dissolution and disappearance of the abbey itself, to become attached to the chief of the Clan Macnab, as a more or less meaningless title, totally unconnected with any actual church. The Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, Scotland's chief heraldic officer, still recognizes this and one other such ancient title, the only purpose of which, is to confuse those unfamiliar with the early history of the kingdom of Alba, or as we know it today the kingdom of Scotland.

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## Clan Macnab Appendices

This brief chapter contains explanatorily material relating to the Macnabs in general.

### Macalpin or McAlpine<sup>1</sup>

This clan is one of the chief branches of the Royal clan, "Soil Alpin." The seat of the chief of the clan is said to have been at Dunstaffnage, in Argyllshire. The clan is now, however, what their relations, the Macgregor, once were, "landless," and the family of their chief has been lost sight of. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney*. Johnson & Bacon, 1965

### MacDougall<sup>2</sup>

The founder of the Clan MacDonald was Somerled, son of Gillebride. Apparently through some political misfortune, Gillebride had been deprived of his possessions and forced to seek concealment with his son Somerled, in Morvern. About this time the Norwegians held the inhabitants of the Western Isles and western mainland seaboard in terror by their piratical incursions. Somerled put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Movern, expelled the Norwegians, and made himself master of the whole of Morvern, Lochaber, and North Argyll. He later reconquered southern Argyll. About 1135 King David I reconquered from the Norwegians the islands of Man, Arran and Bute. These islands seem to have been conferred on Somerled by King David.

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<sup>1</sup>Note that the Macnab's are members of this larger clan grouping Siol-an-Alpine otherwise called Clan Alpine  
*David Rorer*

<sup>2</sup>The Macnab's allied with MacDougall of Lorn in the struggle between the houses of Comyn and Bruce for the crown. The Macnab's reportedly let MacDougall know the Bruce was at the church of Strath Fillan and they set an ambush at Dal Righ where the Bruce only just managed to escape with his life. *From The Green Book*

After the death of Somerled, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Jura seem to have fallen to Dugall, Somerled's eldest son by his second marriage; Islay, Kintyre, and part of Arran were the portion of Reginald, the second son by the same marriage; while the remainder of Arran as well as Bute came under the sway of Angus, the youngest of the three brothers. All three brothers were then styled Kings of the Isles. Dugall, besides the territories that he received by right of his mother, on the death of Somerled, obtained among other possessions the important district of Lorn as his paternal heritage. Events finally reduced the immediate descendants of Somerled, to the families of Dugall and Reginald. From Dugall sprung the Clan Dougal or MacDougall's of Argyle and Lorn.

MacDouglall of Lorn was on the losing side in the contest for the Scottish throne between Bruce and Baliol. An episode in that contest is the story of the Brooch of Lorn, won by McDougall of Lorn from Bruce at Dal Righ, the king's field near Tyndrum. After Bruce's accession to the throne the MacDougall's were deprived of the greater part of their lands. The chief of the clan appears, however, during the reign of David II, Bruce's successor, to have married a granddaughter of Robert the Bruce, and thereafter to have had his lands restored. *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland; Frank Adam and Innes of Learney*. Johnson & Bacon, 1965

### CLAN MACNAB SEPTS

From *Clans, Septs and Regiments of Scotland*, Frank Adam and Innes of Learney. Johnson & Bacon, 1965

(1) **Abbof, Abbotson.**- Anglicised renderings of MacNab.

(2) **Dewar, Macandeoir.**- The Mac-andeoirs or Dewars of Glen-dochart were the hereditary custodians of the *Bachuil*, crozier, or *cuigreach* of St.

## Clan Macnab Appendices

Fillan. This crozier is a relic of the greatest antiquity, and also bore the designation of the *Fearachd*. Hence the Mac-an- deoirs were also known as *Deoraich-na-Feurachd*. Mr. MacLagan (*Scottish Myths*) states, that in the time of King'Robert the Bruce the name of Dewar was spelt as *Jore*. The crozier of St. Fillan, of which the Dewars were the hereditary custodians, is one of the most venerable of Scottish relics. It dates back to the seventh century A.D., and is only exceeded in antiquity by the famous Coronation Stone of Destiny of Scone. The custody of the holy relic conferred some very important privileges on its custodians. These were confirmed and added to by King Robert the Bruce after the Battle of Bannockburn. Though on that occasion the Macnabs were opponents of the Bruce, the Dewars were present on the Scottish side and had the crozier along with them. It is traditionally reported that previous to the Battle of Bannockburn King Robert the Bruce and his army received the sacrament, during the administration of which the crozier of St. Fillan was elevated in full sight of the army. In 1314, as a thank offering for the victor of Bannockburn, King Robert erected a church at Tyndrum in Strathfillan, and dedicated it to St. Fillan. After the Reformation the crozier was faithfully guarded by its hereditary custodians, the Dewars, and was passed on from father to son. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sept was broken up and left the country. Some of them emigrated to America, among them the custodian of the *cuigreach*, and so the relic was lost sight of for a time. Some years ago, however, Sir Daniel Wilson, while hunting on the shores of Lake Superior, took refuge in the hut of a Scottish settler named Alexander Dewar. Sir Daniel found that the settler's family had once lived in Inch Buie, that he was the custodian of St. Fillan's crozier, and that he had the relic in the house. It was then exhibited to Sir Daniel, and in

1876 was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in whose museum at Edinburgh it has now found a resting-place. The hereditary keeper of the *Cuigreach of St. Fillan* duly received, in 1930, armorial insignia indicative of his ancient office (Lyon Register, XXVIII., p. 128), although he no longer holds St. Fillan's crozier. The inquest of 1428 shows that the *Deo-r-Cuigreach* was the *Coarb* (and, as it explains, heir) of St. Fillan, i.e. in the Celtic sense, Hereditary Abbot. He and the Baron of the Bachuil (of St. Moluag of Lismore) seem to be the only surviving prelates of the old Celtic Church.

(3) *Gilfillae*, "servant of St. Fillan." The Macnabs should probably be recognised as the lay abbots of Glendochart. In their genealogy we find the name *Gillefhaolain* or the servant of St. Fillan, a fact which shows their association with the monastery of St. Fillan. In the time of William the Lyon the Abbot of Glendochart was an important individual, and ranked with the neighbouring Earls of Atholl and Menteach.

(He was, of course, not a "lay" abbot, but a hereditary tribal abbot.) Maclellan, derived from the same source as Gilfillan, is a clan rather than a sept name. A colony of Maclellans is to be found in Morar, Inverness-shire. There are also some Maclellans to be found in the Aberfeldy district of Perthshire. The Clelands of Cleland, who were hereditary foresters to the Earls of Douglas, likewise derive their name from St. Fillan.

**CULDEES**, transcribed from *The Encyclopedia Britannica* 14<sup>th</sup> edition 1926

In the History of the village of Killin there is mention that the church of Strath Fillan where the abbot blessed Robert the Bruce was a church of the Culdees, the original

## Clan Macnab Appendices

church of St. Fillan which had no allegiance to the Church of Rome.

The Culdees were an ancient monastic order with settlements in Ireland and Scotland. It was long imagined by Protestant and especially by Presbyterian writers that they had preserved primitive Christianity free from Roman corruption in one remote corner of Western Europe.

As found in the Irish manuscripts the name is *Cèle Dè, u, e*, Gods comrade or sworn ally. It was Latinized as *Coli Dei* Boece's *culdei*. The term seems, like the Latin *vir dei*, to have been applied generally to monks and hermits. There are very few trustworthy ancient sources of information, but it seems probable that the Rule of Chrodegang (devised originally for the clergy of Chrodegang's cathedral, and largely an adaptation of St. Benedict's rule to secular clergy living in common), Archbishop of Metz (d. 766), was brought by Irish monks to their native land from the monasteries of north eastern Gaul, and that Irish anchorites originally unfettered by the rules of the cloister bound themselves by it. In the course of the 9<sup>th</sup> century we find mention of nine places in Ireland (including Armagh, Clonmacnoise, Clones, Devenish and Sligo) where communities of these Culdees were established as a kind of annex to the regular monastic institutions. They seem especially to have had the care of the poor and the sick, and were interested in the musical portion of worship. Meanwhile in Scotland the Iona monks had been expelled by the Pictish king Nechtan in 717, and the vacancies thus caused were by no means filled by the Roman monks who thronged into the north from Northumbria. Into the gap, towards the end of the 8th century, came the Culdees from Ireland. The features of their life in Scotland, which is the most important epoch in the history of the order, seem to resemble closely those of the secular canons of England

and the continent. From the outset they were on more or less isolated, and, having no fixed forms or common head, tended to decay. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Celtic Church was completely metamorphosed on the Roman pattern, and in the process the Culdees also lost any distinctiveness they may formerly have had, being brought, like the secular clergy, under canonical rule. The pictures that we have of Culdee life in the 12<sup>th</sup> century vary considerably. The chief houses in Scotland were at St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Lochleven, and Monymusk in Aberdeen shire, Abernathy and Brechin. Each was an independent establishment controlled entirely by its own abbot and apparently divided into two sections one priestly and the other lay and even married. At St. Andrews about the year 1100 there were thirteen Culdees holding office by hereditary tenure and paying more regard to their own prosperity and aggrandizement than to the services of the church or the needs of the populace. A much-needed measure of reform inaugurated by Queen Margaret, was carried through by her sons Alexander I. and David I. Canons Regular were instituted and some of the Culdees joined the new order. Those who declined were allowed a life-rent of their revenues and lingered on as a separate but ever-dwindling body till the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup>, when they disappear from history.

The Culdees of Lochleven lived on St. Serf's Inch, which had been given them by a Pictish prince, Brude, about 850. In 1093 they surrendered their island to the bishop of St. Andrews in return for perpetual food and clothing, but Robert, who was bishop in 1441 handed over all their vestments, books and other property, with the island, to the newly founded Canons Regular, in which probably the Culdees were incorporated. There is no trace of such partial independence as was experienced at St. Andrews itself, possibly because the bishop's grant

## Clan Macnab Appendices

was backed up by a royal charter. In the same fashion the Culdees of Molymsk, originally perhaps a colony from St. Andrews, became-Canons Regular of the Augustinian order early in the 13th century, and those of Abernethy in 1273. At Brechin, famous like Abernethy for its round tower, the Culdee prior and his monks helped to form the chapter of the diocese founded by David I. in 1145, though the name persisted for a generation or two. Similar absorptions no doubt account for the disappearance of the Culdees of York, a name borne by the canons of St. Peter about 925, and of Snowdon and Bardsey Island in Wales mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis (c. 1190) in his *Speculum Ecclesiae* and *Itinerarium* respectively. The former community was, he says, sorely oppressed by the covetous Cistercians. These seem to be the only cases where the Culdees are found in England and Wales. In Ireland the Culdees of Armagh endured until the dissolution in 1541, and enjoyed a fleeting resurrection in 1627, soon after which their ancient property passed to the vicars' choral of the cathedral.

See W. Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands* (Dublin, 1864), and in *Trans. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxiv. (1873); F. W. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1876-1880), especially vol. ii.; Helen Zimmern, *Celtic Church* (1902); W. Beveridge, *Makers of the Scottish Church* (1908), and reff. given by T. J. Parry, art. "Culdees," *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

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## A Gentleman of the Clan MacNab

From "The Costumes of the Clans of Scotland" by Robert Ronald McIan

Between 1845 and 1847, Robert Ronald McIan painted and published a series of illustrations, under the sponsorship of The Highland Society of London, depicting the dress, tartans, arms, armorial insignia and occupations of the Scottish Highlands. This illustration, taken from that series, depicts a gentleman of the Clan MacNab during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The figure wears a broad bonnet with the single eagle feather of a gentleman. A Laird would have had two feathers the Chief three. Displayed with the feather is the badge common to all the clans of the Soil Appin, a sprig of pine needles.

The coat and waistcoat are supposedly of the style worn about 1715, the later being usually longer than the coat. The coat sleeves seem to be a bit short though the cuffs could be turned down.

The ample plaid is the so-called belted plaid, a single uncut length of cloth, about 12 or 13 yards or so of material. The belt was laid out on the ground and the plaid laid out and pleated over it. The wearer lay down on the plaid, wrapped it and the belt round his body, overlapping the sides of the plaid in front, buckled the belt and stood up. The rest of the plaid was then left to hang down behind or caught up at the left shoulder with a broach as shown. In bad weather it could be pulled up over the head like a cloak, though that would seem difficult with the coat and waistcoat depicted. The plain deerskin sporran is almost hidden by the folds of the plaid.

His hair is tied back in a club. The hose are probably thick homemade stuff and his otherwise plain shoes have metal buckles.

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MAC NAB

Scottish pistols were not carried in a holster but instead had a long hook, on the side opposite the lock, for hanging from a belt. This gentleman has two such pistols hanging from a narrow shoulder belt and he probably had a musket, but that is not shown. He is holding a basket hilted broadsword, which was hung from the broad shoulder belt, and a round target or shield, traditional weapons of the Highlands.



**Gentlemen of the Clan Macnab and the Clan MacNaughton**

This illustration is from a reprint of "The Highlanders of Scotland" containing the watercolors from Kenneth MacLeay. The print depicts two Killin lads, Robert MacNab and Donald MacNaughton.

Robert MacNab's grt grt grandfather Peter, was Laird of Acharn and fought at Culloden on the Stuart side.

## The Last Lairds of the Clan Macnab

The Last Lairds of the Clan Macnab

The title of this chapter is taken from two books about Archibald Macnab of Macnab 1777-1860 17<sup>th</sup> and last Chief of the House of Bovain. Both books are titled "*The Last Laird*"! The first, printed in 1899, was written by Alexander Fraser. The second, printed in 1938 was written by Roland Wild who very obviously took most of his text from the one by Fraser

I use *Lairds* (plural) to include Francis Macnab of Macnab 1734 - 1816 16<sup>th</sup> chief, Archibald's uncle and predecessor as chief. Together they are the last lairds of the House of Bovain.

The clan was unfortunate in having these two for chiefs. Francis was colorful, achieved fame as the subject of a painting by Rayburn and imprudent. He inherited an estate that was already encumbered with debt, but lived far beyond his means, and if he thought at all of his creditors it was how to avoid them. At the time of his death he owed better than thirty five thousand pounds.

Francis fathered numerous children but he never married and so had no legitimate heir. In 1812 he settled his lands, and their encumbering debts, on his nephew Archibald who became 17<sup>th</sup> chief.

Archibald inherited estates that were hopelessly encumbered with debt; however, he made little effort to pay them off, though he once inherited enough to do so. In fact he chose to dissipate this inheritance and continued to live beyond his means. Finally, to avoid being hailed into court to answer for his debts he ran away to Canada, where he was beyond the reach of the Scottish courts. In Canada he managed to obtain a grant of 81,000 acres from the government. He then wrote his friend and cousin, Dr Hamilton Buchanan with promises of land and supplies to anyone who would settle in "his" township.



Initially some eighty five people came, at their own expense, but apart from the land Archibald furnished none of the promised supplies. Indeed Archibald now showed his true nature. Where Francis was colorful and imprudent, Archibald was also mean and dishonest. He extracted rents he was not entitled to, abused the settlers and generally treated them as serfs. He actually seized the property and burnt the buildings of one family in the middle of winter in revenge for some slight.

After some twenty years of striving the settlers were able to force Archibald to return his illegal exactions. He left the township, went to Hamilton, Ontario, and lived on the charity of his kinsman Sir Allan Napier MacNab.

Archibald Macnab 17<sup>th</sup> Macnab of Macnab  
Finally after falling out with Sir Allan, over money he had borrowed,



## The Last Lairds of the Clan Macnab

Archibald left Canada and moved to Orkney where he had inherited a property. After dissipating that legacy, he moved to London to live on the charity of his wife, then to France where he died, leaving only an unmarried daughter as heir.

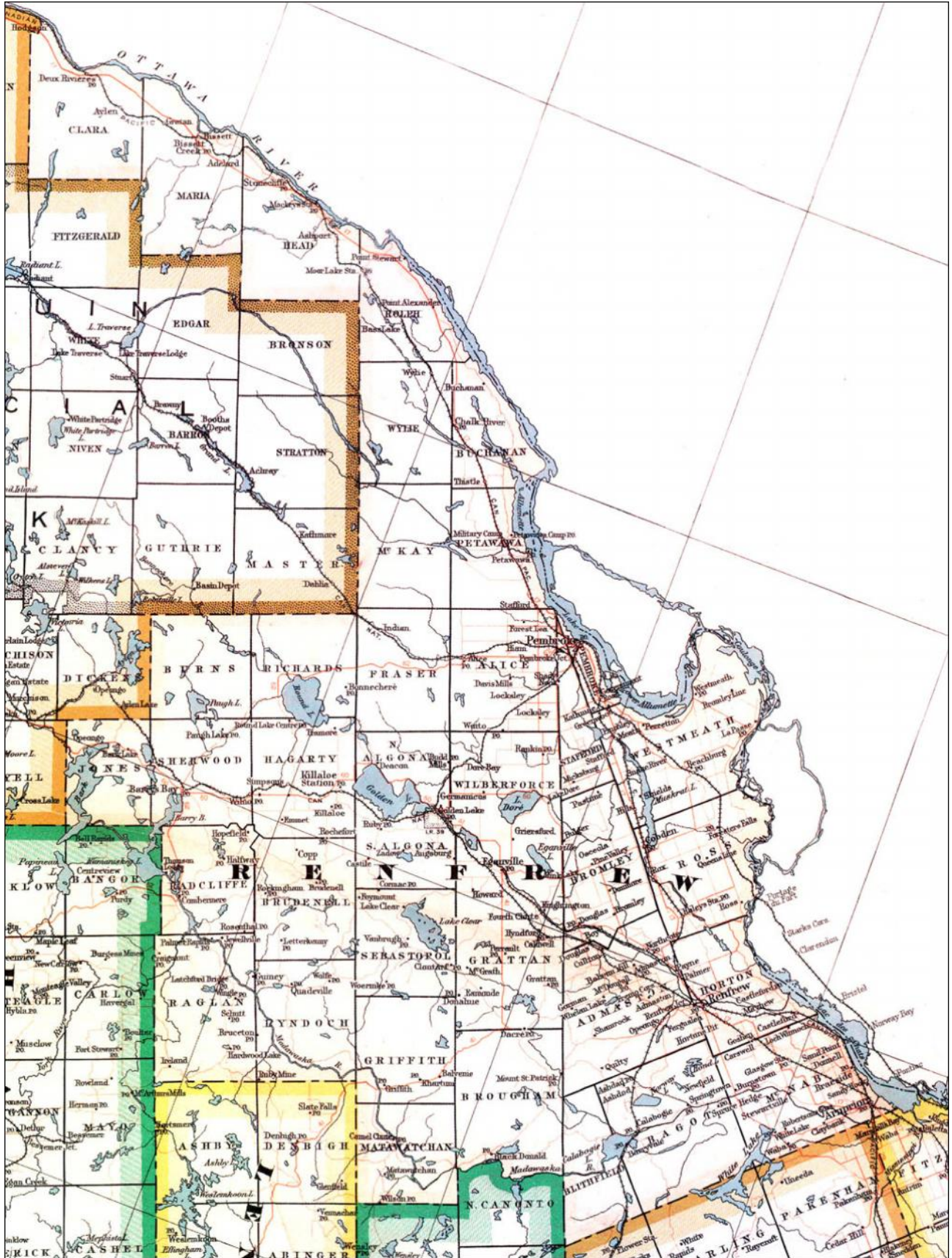
He had several opportunities to settle his debts, but chose not to and the Bovain Estate was acquired by the fourth Earl of Bredalbane, the principal creditor. Had he treated his settlers fairly, it is possible he could have recouped some of his fortunes. However, it was not until 1949 when Archibald Corrie Macnabb

bought back Kinnell House and 7000 acres did a Macnab reside on the ancestral lands again.

Archibald's grant, in Canada, is now part of the township of McNab/Braeside in the south east corner of Renfrew County, Ontario, shown on the map on the next page.

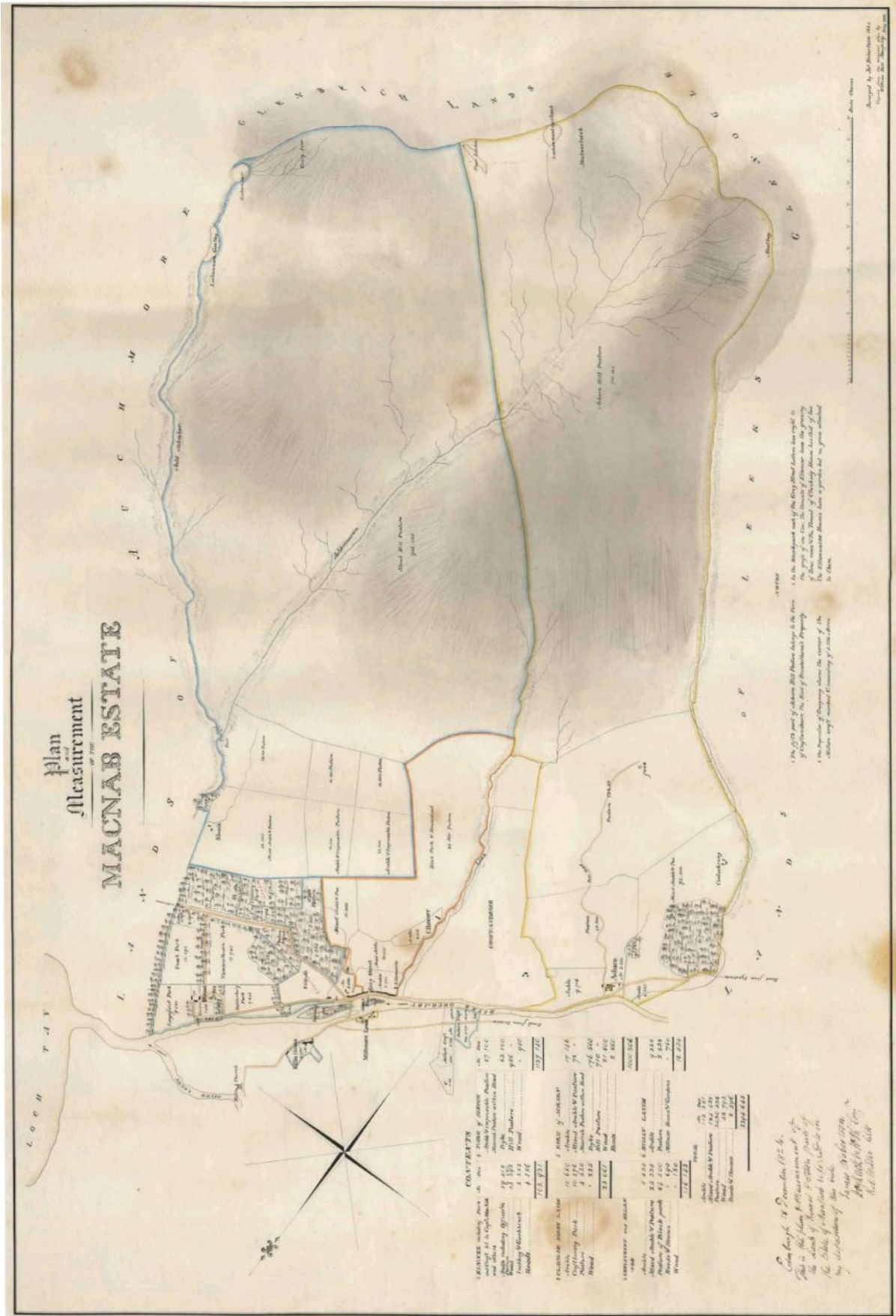
The map on the last page shows the Macnab Estate in 1828 at the time it was sold to the Earl of Bredalbane. It is oriented with Loch Tay at the top, north being at about 10 o'clock according to the compass at the left side.

The Last Lairds of the Clan Macnab





# The Last Lairds of the Clan Macnab



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Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief



**The trap-mouthed laird of Macnab (1734-1816), immortalized by the brush of Raeburn and the lids of subsequent biscuit tins<sup>1</sup>**

Francis Macnab, 16<sup>th</sup> Chief of Macnab, in his uniform as Lt-Colonel of the Royal Breadalbane Volunteers, to whom he used to give his commands 'in voluble and forcible Gaelic'. He courted a lady in vain, even though he 'told her, as an irresistible charm, that he had the most beautiful burying-ground in the world'. (The Macnab chiefs are buried on the island of Inch-Buie, 'the Yellow Isle' in the river Dochart, which is covered with Scots pines, larches, beeches and sycamores). So he never married, although he had thirty-two children and it was rumored that several lasses in the district got 'the bad disorder' from him. He had his own distillery at Killin and Heron, who toured Perthshire in 1792, wrote that The Macnab produced the best whisky to be found in Scotland.

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<sup>1</sup>Mutiny, Highland Regiments in Revolt 1743-1804, by John Prebble, Penguin Books 1975 pp 407

From *The Highland Clans*, by Sir Iain Moncreiffe of that Ilk, Albany Herald; published by Barrie & Rockliff, 2, Clements Inn, London W.C.2 mcmlxvii  
Printed in the Clan Macnab Society newsletter in 1983 was the following article by James Charles Macnab of Macnab, 23<sup>rd</sup> and present chief of the clan concerning the portrait of Francis Macnab of Macnab:

**Press Reports Regarding Raeburn's Picture, "The Macnab"**

On the back of the Chief's copy of this picture there are pasted a number of press cuttings dated July 7<sup>th</sup> 1917 and December 26<sup>th</sup> 1918. As we are frequently asked about the history of Raeburn's famous picture, we thought members would be interested to have these reproduced. It will be noted that Francis is described<sup>2</sup> as the 12<sup>th</sup> and last Laird of Macnab. He is of course now recognized as the 16<sup>th</sup> Chief. As most members will know, the portrait now hangs in the office of John Dewar<sup>3</sup> and Sons in the Haymarket in London. It hangs in the main foyer of the office and the staff is normally pleased to show it to any Macnab who wishes to see it.

1. *The Daily Telegraph*- Saturday, July 7<sup>th</sup> 1917 "The Macnab," 24,200 gns for a Raeburn  
A superb presentment of a Highland chieftain realized 24,200 gns<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In the newspaper clippings

<sup>3</sup> Note that the Dewars of St. Fillan are traditionally connected with the chiefs of the Clan Macnab, who are said to be descended from the abbots of Glendochart, which abbey was traditionally founded by St. Fillan. The five Dewars of St. Fillan were the hereditary guardians of his relics; his missal, bell, left arm, portable altar and his staff.

<sup>4</sup> Gns. is the abbreviation for "guinea", equivalent to 21 shillings or one shilling more than a Pound Sterling. A gold coin with this designation was once issued in the United Kingdom but it was last issued in 1813 when it was replaced with the sovereign. Since then it has been

yesterday, and when Raeburn painted this mighty portrait of "The Macnab" he succeeded once for all in making a canvas blaze with the unquenchable spirit of the Highlander in all its dour ferocity. The real "Monarch of the Glen" confronted the company at Christie's yesterday, epitomizing at a glance the truth of Scott's lines"

"Come one, come all! This rock shall fly from its firm base as soon as I."

Resplendent in the uniform of the eighteenth century national service of the Breadalbane Fencibles<sup>5</sup>, the twelfth (and last) lineal laird of Macnab was seen by Raeburn as he grimly knew himself to be, and as the proud and indomitable Highlander would always be. And well does the enemy know it today.<sup>6</sup> There is still a kind of Homeric legend in Scotland about The Macnab, and it was in full song shortly after the death of the chieftain, who lies buried near the grave of Fingal. In the rare "Voyage d'un Francais," a French visitor in 1816 bore witness to this Scottish "heros d'Homere," who left posterity of "trente a quarante Macnabs." Sir Thomas Lawrence declared the Raeburn "Macnab" to be the finest portrait of a man within his ken. Not for a moment were its auction successes in doubt.

At 24,200 gns Mr. Reid was beaten, and the winner was declared to be Sir Thomas Dewar who bought for 5,000 gns last year Landseer's version of

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used as a money of account, it being more prestigious to quote a value in gold Guineas than Pounds Sterling which are silver.

<sup>5</sup> A "Fencible" regiment was one raised for home defense and not liable for service over seas, in other words a militia regiment.

<sup>6</sup>Remember this was written during the First World War

### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

Scottish supremacy - the stag-royal known as "The Monarch of the Glen."<sup>7</sup>

2. *The Morning Post* - Saturday, July 7<sup>th</sup> 1917

£25,410 for Raeburn's "The Macnab" Record for Man's Portrait  
Sir Thomas Dewar paid £25,410 yesterday at Messrs Christie's for the "Portrait of The Macnab" by Raeburn. This is a record price for the Scottish master, who's "Mrs. Williamson" at £23,415 on May 19, 1911, was a record for a picture in the English auction's room until Romney's "Anne, Lady de la Pole" brought £41,370 on June 13, 1913. A few days earlier Rembrandt's "Bathsheba," sold in Paris for £44,000 had established an auction-room record in any country, which still stands. "The Macnab's" price is the highest paid at Auction here for a man's portrait. It appeared yesterday among the pictures of Major the Hon. T.G.B. Morgan-Grenville-Gavin, of Langton, Duns, to whom they had descended from John, second Marquess of Breadalbane<sup>8</sup>. Its subject, Macnab of that Ilk, to whom there is an interesting reference in Sir Walter Scott's "Journals," is represented at full length in the flamboyant Highland uniform of the Breadalbane Fencibles, of which he was Colonel. There is immense virility in his presence, and the head is finely characteristic of Raeburn. It has been rumored all the week that an effort might be made to acquire this splendid portrait for the nation.

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<sup>7</sup>The portrait referred to here is of a Scottish Stag surveying his domain.

<sup>8</sup> This is one of the chief creditors' who held much of the mortgages on the clan lands and who acquired them along with Kinnel House and its contents after Alexander Macnab, Francis's heir, fled to Canada to escape his creditors

3. *The Times* - Saturday, July 7, 1917. £25,410 for a Raeburn, The Portrait of The Macnab.

The highest price ever paid at an auction for a portrait of a man, either in this or probably any other country, was realized yesterday at Christie's for Raeburn's splendid whole length picture of Francis Macnab, 12<sup>th</sup> and last Laird of Macnab. Bidding was started at 5,000 guineas and by stages varying from 100 to 1,000 guineas, reached 24,200 guineas, the purchaser being Sir T. Dewar, with Mr. A. Reid of Glasgow, as the under bidder, and Mr. Lockett Agnew, Mr. Sulley and Mr. R. Davis in competition.

The Macnab is shown in the uniform of Lieutenant Colonel of the Breadalbane Fencibles - a green jacket, red tartan vest, and tartan stockings. The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy of 1819, and has since been on view at various loan exhibitions, notably in Rome in 1911, while reproductions have made it familiar to the general public. Lockhart, in his "Life" of Sir Walter Scott, states that "This singular personage spent his life almost entirely in a district where a boat was the usual conveyance." The portrait was among the pictures collected by John second Marquis of Breadalbane (1796-1862), and was now sold as the property of Major the Hon. T.G.B. Morgan-Grenville-Gavin, M.C.

4. *The Daily Graphic* - Saturday, July 7, 1917. Famous Raeburn Sold; Sir T. Dewar Purchases "The Macnab" for £25,410

Christie's was thronged yesterday, when the celebrated Breadalbane pictures belonging to Major T.G.B. Morgan Grenville Gavin, M.C., were sold. These included Raeburn's famous work, "The Macnab," a portrait of Francis Macnab, twelfth Laird of Macnab, Lieut. -Colonel of the Breadalbane Fencibles, in the uniform of his regiment, standing in a



### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

mountain pass, holding a pistol in his right hand. The portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1819, and subsequently at several exhibitions, and was also shown at Rome in 1911. After keen bidding the picture was sold to Sir Thomas Dewar for 24,200 guineas. This is stated to be a record price for a Raeburn. The bidding started at 5,000 guineas, but quickly rose to 19,000 guineas. There was a slight pause at this stage and then 20,000 and 21,000 guineas were bid. At 22,500 guineas the picture was knocked down, but another buyer claiming to have made a similar bid it was put up and eventually secured by Sir T. Dewar at the figure given.

5. *The Dundee Advertiser* - Thursday, December 26, 1918, Romance of Raeburn Masterpiece,

(a.) Highland Chieftain's Eccentricities.

"The Macnab," which is now on view in the principal Victoria Art Gallery, Dundee, is a superb example of the artistic work of Sir Henry Raeburn. It has been kindly lent to the city for a few weeks by the owner, Sir Thomas Dewar, who purchased it last year for the handsome figure of £25,410.

The subject of the portrait is Francis Macnab of that Ilk, born in 1734, who was one of the eccentric characters of the period, and who survived till 1816, an excellent type of the old Highland Chief. When the picture was painted in 1802 he would be in his 68<sup>th</sup> year, and he was in his 82<sup>nd</sup> year when he died at Callander. The Macnab is shown in his uniform s Lieutenant Colonel of the Breadalbane Fencibles. It consists of a green jacket with silver braid on the lapels and cuffs, and silver buttons; there is a badger-head sporran, and tartan hose. He is shown armed with a dirk, pistol and claymore, and the bonnet is decorated with tall black and white feathers. A

writer of his time described The Macnab as "A Herculean Highlander," and certainly he presents a very imposing figure.

## Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

(b.) Gaugers<sup>9</sup> outwitted a bout with the Excise  
Of all the stories current about the Macnab in his own time, perhaps the following is the most characteristic. Like many of the Highlanders of that period, he regarded Englishmen with contempt, and deemed it both lawful and meritorious to outwit them. He was once marching from the West to Dunfermline with a company of his Breadalbane Fencibles, who had done a little smuggling of whisky on their own account. While passing near Aloo some gaugers, who had received a hint of the contraband liquor stopped the baggage wagons, and were about to begin a search. The Macnab was speedily informed of this interruption, and his Highland blood was all-aflame. "Did the lousy villains dare to obstruct the march of the Breadalbane Fencible!" he exclaimed, and off he rushed to the scene of the dispute. There he found that the Excisemen had already seized the wagons. "Who the devil are you?" he cried. "Gentlemen of the Excise" was the answer. "Robbers! Thieves! You mean; how dare you lay hands on His Majesty's stores? If you be gaugers, show me your commissions." Unfortunately for them, the Excisemen had brought no documents with them. In vain they asserted their authority, declaring they were known in the neighborhood. "Ay! Just what I took you for, a parcel of highway robbers and scoundrels. Come, my good fellows," addressing the soldiers in stentorian tones, "prime! - Load! - "The Excisemen did not wait for the last word of command, but fled precipitately. "Now my lads proceed. Your whiskey's safe!"

(c) Romance of the Portrait  
There is quite a romance connected with the history of Raeburn's portrait of The Macnab. So far as can

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<sup>9</sup> Tax revenue agents charged with finding and confiscating illicit whisky

be ascertained, it was first acquired from the artist by John Campbell, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Breadalbane (1762-1834), as a memorial of the leader of the Breadalbane Fencibles, raised in his territory. Thus, it came to be at Taymouth Castle. The first marquis of Breadalbane was not only a Lieutenant-General in the army, but also a Fellow of the Royal Society, with literary and artistic tastes. He began the formation of a collection of pictures, which his son, the second Marquess (1796-1862) extended considerably. It was this second Marquess who entertained Queen Victoria at Taymouth Castle in 1844, but as he died without issue the title of Marquess (of the first creation) became extinct. He bequeathed the pictures (including "The Macnab") to his sister, Elizabeth, second wife of Sir John Pringle, Bart, of Stitchill, who died in 1878, leaving the collection to her daughter, Mary Gavin, wife of the Hon. Robert Baillie-Hamilton, second son of the Earl of Haddington. When Lady Baillie Hamilton died in April 1912, she left the picture to her sister, Magdalen Breadalbane, second wife of Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, Bart. of Langley Part, Bucks. Lady Harvey died without issue in April 1913, and bequeathed the collection to her kinsman, the Hon. Thomas George Breadalbane Morgan-Grenville-Gavin, son of the Baroness Kinloss, eldest daughter of the third duke of Buckingham and Chandos, by his wife Caroline, sister of Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, Bart. The Hon. Thomas G. Breadalbane Gavin sold the pictures on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1917, the sale being one of the most important in recent years.

(d) Sale of the Breadalbane Collection

The first Marquis of Breadalbane married in 1793 Mary Turner Gavin, daughter and co-heir of David Gavin, of Langton House near Duns,

**Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief**

Berwickshire. This property remained in the possession of Mary, second daughter of the Marquess, who was married to Richard Plantagenet, second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos and ninth Lord Kinloss. The third Duke was the grandfather of the Hon. Thomas G. Breadalbane Gavin, and thus the Breadalbane picture ultimately came to be in the house, which had belonged to Mary Gavin, when she married the first Marquess in 1793. There were 33 pictures in all, but these were of exceptional value, and the sale of them realized £48,031, including the sum paid for "The Macnab." The price for it, as already stated, was £25,410, being the highest sum ever given for a Raeburn. Other pictures of importance were these - Portrait of the Earl of Warwick by Sir Anthony Van Dyck, £6,300; A Portrait of Mary Countess (afterwards Marchioness) of Breadalbane, by Sir W. Beechey, R.A. £3,045; "The Daughter of Herodius" by Sir P.P. Rubens, £1,995; "Distressed Boy Asking Alms" by Nicholas Maes, £1,785; "Portrait of a Child" by Albert Cuyp, £1,260; "The Gardner" by D. Teniers, £1,071; "A Landscape" by Albert Cuyp, £840; "View on the Mass" by H. de Meyer, £840; and others ranging from Titian, Valasquez, Van de Veld, Zoffany, Sebastian del Piombo, Perugino, Gennari, and Civerchio, all renowned artists. The value of the Raeburn as an artistic work is shown when it brought nearly as much as the other 32 pictures sold. Through the courtesy of the present possessor this marvelous picture will be shown free to the citizens of Dundee until the first week of February.

## Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

The following story about Francis Macnab of Macnab was found at ([www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) in the book "PERTHSHIRE IN BYGONE DAYS: One Hundred Biographical Essays." By P. R. DRUMMOND, F.S.A., Hon. Member of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth.)

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CHAPTER XXIX FRANCIS MACNAB OF MACNAB (pp 187 - 194)

"Let us the important now employ, And live as those that never die." BURNS

A Highlander never sits at ease on a loom; it is like putting a deer to a plough." Mrs. Grant of Laggan

GANG up, Tonald, an' pe hangted, to pleasure the laird," is a very old story, as far as the hanging is concerned, but pleasing the laird is a weakness fresh as ever. Tenant farmers are said to be driven like serfs to the poll; but the interests of the nation suffer little, seeing that there are two drivers. There is a principle involved which no power on earth can destroy or weaken; neither crowns, nor scepters, nor parliaments, nor armies will ever neutralize the influence that property has on the civil policy of a nation. We do not grieve at the fact so much as we do at the absence of personal participation. Independence, patriotism, and self-denial are matters to boast of, if founded on fact: but where they are most boasted of, they will be often found non-existent. Suppose Francis Macnab, who was a Tory, and his cousin, Lord Breadalbane, who was a Whig, had each a farm of five hundred acres in the market, equally good in every respect, and it was well understood that one of them could be got at one hundred pounds less rent than the other. Now, if serfdom will produce one man that will lease the dear farm, because the proprietor and he are of the same political creed, the patriotism and self-denial will become apparent, otherwise they are myths bred of self-conceit. But when "pleasing the laird" merges into the criminal or physical policy of a people, as it is said to have done in

Macnab's case, it speedily works its own cure.

Men who are under lairds ought 'to consider well their relative position. A tenant for one year is very simply placed; but when his tenancy extends to nineteen years, it becomes one of the most complicated of all the attitudes in which one man can stand towards another. A landlord may, legally, over-rent or over-game his tenant; he may under-house or under-fence him; a tenant may, without any breach of law, thwart his landlord in every available way, and boast of it; but these things bring reprisal, and are at once destructive of the interest of both parties.

The Macnabs were originally proprietors of extensive estates in Glendochart, stretching from the base of Ben-more to Loch Tay, besides large possessions in the parish of Callander. They were sometimes styled "The Macnabs of Auchlyne;" at other times, "The Macnabs of Bovain," "The Macnabs of Kinnell," and "The Macnabs of Glendochart." Francis was the last relic of the ancient, stern, feudal system; the chief of a tribe, compared with which he looked upon the Campbells and the M'Leans as creatures of yesterday. He acknowledged no superior, not even those whose heads were decorated with regal crowns; and when his family pride met a momentary check, in his own mind, by a feeling of conscious poverty, he would break out with an oath, "By my saul, the

### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

lawyers of Stirling have more income out o' my estates than any mushroom laird of them; aye, curse them, more than King George has out o' his bit estate o' Hanover!"

When the French War broke out, he embodied a corps of infantry, which he styled, "The Laird o' Macnab's Volunteers." His ideas of volunteering were quite as original as his other feudal notions. One day, when Lord Breadalbane was driving down Strathyre on his way from Taymouth Castle to Stirling, he encountered a cart containing neither Glenlivet nor braxie ham, but, strange to say, the carcasses of six sturdy Celts, tied neck and heel. At the front of the cart were two Highlanders, with claymore in hand, by way of pioneers; in the rear another brace, armed with fire-locks. The post of honor, viz., driving this living hearse, was entrusted to a gilly of a superior order. This rather novel spectacle caused Lord Breadalbane to call a halt. On enquiring what they could possibly mean by handling men in such a manner, he was answered by the kilted Jehu, "Ma Lort, tern are six tarn scoundrels that refoose to be the Laird o' Macnab's Volunteers, and sae we're just takin' them down to Stirling, ta curst hallions tat they are, ta see if ta cauld steel will mak' them do their duty, an' please the laird!" This is hardly what is understood by volunteering in our more captious times, and the method of pleasing the laird seems an intermediate step between the being hanged and being driven to the poll.

Macnab's brusque spirit often led him to take a revenge which was not only more legitimate, but generally more applauded than what is recorded above. Being at Leith Races one year, and rushing in to see the result of a heat, his pony broke down under his great weight, and was much injured. Next year, a puppy, who thought he would raise a laugh at Macnab's

expense, said, sneeringly, "Macnab, is that the same pony you had here last year?" "No," said the laird, and, by one well-aimed stroke with whip and shaft, making his interrogator bite the dust, "but it's the same whup!"

Between the years 1812 and 1815, this noted chieftain occasionally rode down Glenartney to attend the Crieff markets. He was of gigantic size and form, and was gene- rally mounted on a dark-brown, long-backed pony, with shaggy hair and uncut mane and tail. He was altogether a remarkable man, and so lofty in his gait and so abstracted in his look that every one he met was bound either to know him or to enquire who he was. The stories of him current in Crieff were endless, and some of them little calculated to raise him in the world's esteem.

In 1842, there reposed in a niche of the library at Taymouth Castle, two volumes of scraps in manuscript and cuttings from the Gentleman s Magazine and Literary Gazette, entirely devoted to Francis Macnab and his eccentricities. He acted as a sort of henchman to the first Marquis, and was a great deal about Taymouth. His portrait by Raeburn was painted for his lordship, and was long shown in the Breadalbane apartments of Holyrood House. It was there before the institution of the Scottish Academy, and I did not consider a visit to Edinburgh by any means complete in those days unless it embraced a visit to that picture. It is a full-length, in Highland costume, fully accoutered, and in aspect bold as a lion.

Macnab's most formidable peculiarity was pride of family antiquity and rank. He was perfectly furious on that point. "There were questionless, mony Maister Macnabs, but the auld black laad may hae my saul if I ken but ae Macnab." It was quite enough to put him in a frenzy to dignify with the title of "chieftain " any one, however high in title or fortune, who he

### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

thought had no claim to that super-imperial rank. It is not to be supposed that this was ever done for the pleasure of beholding the laird in one of those passions which resembled one of his own uncontrollable mountain-storms. No; he was not the man to hazard such a joke upon; and could he have suspected for a moment a thing almost impossible that any person what-ever attempted to play upon him, miserable would have been the fate of the unhappy wight who made the daring experiment.

On one occasion, according to the Breadalbane scrap--book, a stranger who was not aware of the inflammable material which he ventured to touch gently ran an imminent risk. It occurred after dinner, the laird being a little mellow, for, as to being drunk, oceans of liquor would have failed to produce that effect, at least to the length of prostration. The unhappy querist began: "Macnab, are you acquainted with Macloran of Dronascandlich, who has lately purchased so many thousand acres in Inverness-shire?" This was more than enough to set the laird off in furious tilt on his genealogical steed. "Ken wha? the paddock-stool o' a creature they ca' Dronascandlich, wha no far bygone dawred (curse him) to offer siller, sir, for an auld ancient estate, sir. An estate as auld as the nude, sir; an infernal deal aulder, sir. Siller, sir, scrapit thegither by the meeserable deevil in India, sir, not in an officer or gentlemanlike way, sir; but (Satan burst him) makin' cart wheels and trams, sir, and harrows, and the like o' that wretched handiwork. Ken him, sir? I ken the crater weel, and wha he comes frae, sir; and so I ken that dumb tyke, sir, a better brute by half than a score o' him!

"The querist interjected, "Mercy on us! Macnab, you surprise me. I thought from the sublime sound of his name and title, he had been, like yourself, a

chief of fifteen centuries' standing at least."

The instant this comparison was drawn, the laird's visage grew ghastly with rage. His eyes caught fire, and he snorted like a mountain whirlwind. The skin of his forehead moved to humor his awful front, while every muscle of his body quivered with suppressed indignation. A fearful tornado was naturally expected; but, restraining himself with a convulsive effort, thus he cried, or rather bellowed out: "By the saul o' the Macnabs, sir, naething but yere deabolical Lowland ignorance can excuse ye for sic damnable profanation! Hear ye me, sir. It's fifty year and mair bygone, ae time I was at Glasgow, wanting some tyking or Osen brugs, or what the fiend ca' ye them, what ye mak' pillows and bowsters o'? Weel, sir, I was recommendit to an auld decent crater o' a wabster, wha pickit up a meeserable subsistence in the Gallowgate. I gaed east a bit past the Spoutniouth, then up ae pair o' stairs twa, three, syne, four pair o' stairs a perfit Toor o' Babel in meenature, sir. At last I quat the regions o' stane and lime, and cam' to timmer, sir. About twenty or thirty rotten boords, that were a perfit temptation o' Providence to venture the fit o' a five-year-auld bairn on. I gaed in at a hole; door it was nane, sir; and there I found a meeserable deevil, the perfect pictur o' famine, sir, wi' a face as white as a clout, an auld, red Kilmarnock Oll his puir grey pow, an' treddle, treddling awa wi' his pitifu' wizened trotters. Wha think ye, sir, was this abortion o' a crater this threadbare, penniless, and parritchless scrap o' an ante-deluvian wabster? This was Macloran's grand-father, sir. [In a voice of thunder.] That was the origin o' Dronascandlich, sir; [in a lower tone, accompanied by a truly diabolical grin] and a bonny origin for a Highland chief, by the sauls o' the Macnabs."



### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

Macnab's last grand escapade is narrated at great length in the Breadalbane archives, but I cannot pretend to give it in full here. It was shortly as follows:

The pressure of declining revenue and a long arrear began to tell heavily on him, and he had occasionally to grant bills for his purchases. To render these consistent with the territorial supremacy of a mountain chief drove him to his wits' end, but he would make no compromise ; he had a magnanimous contempt for the petty, paltry regulations established by the sons of vulgar trade ; regarded with lofty indifference the periodical maturity of these bills, and as little thought of putting himself about to retire these " scraps of paper" as he thought of paying the national debt ; he considered it would be a most unchieftain like practice to notice them in any way after they were signed. For many years these bills were always discounted at the Perth Bank, and the directors, knowing their money to be sure, humored his freaks, and took his acceptance even although signed "The Macnab." Unluckily for the laird one of these " cursed bits o' paper" found its way to the Stirling Bank, an establishment with which he had no direct connection ; and, having no personal friend to protect his credit at Stirling, it was duly noted and pro-tested, and notice sent to him, but of course these steps were treated with contempt. He was effectually roused, however by the alarming information that a caption and horning had been issued against him, and that a clerk belonging to the bank accompanied by two messengers, would proceed on the following Friday to Auchlyne House, for the special purpose of taking him into custody. The laird called a council of war. Janet, his old and faithful house-keeper, and other two trusty retainers formed a plan to which the laird consented. Money was out of the question at Auchlyne, and the Laird of

Macnab in jail would paralyze the Highlands. Friday morning came, and with it the three "limbs o' the law" started on their mountain journey : no conveyance whatever, roads like sheep-tracks, up Strathyre, down Balquhidder, up Glenogle, up Glendochart; and, as the sun began to descend behind Ben Cruachan, the turrets of Auchlyne House appeared in the far horizon. After matters were finally arranged, the laird said to Janet, "To clap me within four stane wa's, an' for what, think ye? a peetifu' scart o' a guse's feather deil cripple their soople shanks. It would ill become me to hae ony hobleshow wi' sic like vermin ; so I'll awa doun to ma Lord's at Taymouth, and leave you, my bonny woman, togi'e them their kail through the reek." Having thus primed the old lady, the proscribed chief departed.

The ancient carline had been long on the outlook, and when she saw the three way worn travelers approaching, she hastened to give them welcome. "O, sirs," quoth she, " ye maun be sair forfoughten wi' your langsome travel. Sit down, and get some meat. The laird's awa to see a friend, and will be back momentarily. What gars ye glower that way? There is what ye're wantin' in that muckle kist in bonnie yellow gowd, fairly counted by his honor this blessed morning." So saying, she spread before them a plentiful store of mountain delicacies, including kippered salmon and braxie ham fare congenial to empty stomachs, especially when washed down by oceans of gude over-proof Glenlivet. The laird did not return so soon as Janet appeared to expect, which formed an excuse for another pull at the greybeard. "Nae doubt," said Janet, "his honor will be doun at the Yerl's, so ye'll just take yere beds here, an' the first thing ye'll get to yere hansel in the mornin' will be a sonsie breakfast and weel-countet siller." The terms, for obvious reasons, were closed with, and the two lower limbs

### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

of the law were bestowed in a room the window of which faced the east, while the clerk was shown to a bedroom at the other end of the house. Under the narcotic influence of the Glenlivet, the three were speedily asleep. Opposite the window of the room where the officers slept, grew a huge tree, with wide-spreading branches. During the night this tree creaked, and moaned, and twinkled prodigiously; and although the Glenlivet kept its hold, there were certain "startings and shiverings in the inconstant wind;" but when the beams of the morning sun first shot past the southern shoulder of Ben Lawers, one of the emissaries of justice rose from his bed to go in search of a cup of cold water, when, horror! swinging backwards and forwards on one of the branches of the tree, the body of the clerk dangled, with his boots and great-coat on, as if he had been ready for the road. The poor man gave a howl that nearly lifted the roof off the house. His companion leaped out of bed, and the two beheld with sinking hearts the fate of their poor companion. The house was alarmed by the gentlemen rushing downstairs; and Janet, who was wide awake, demanded in fierce tones, "What the foul fiend dye mak sic a din for?" Quaking in every limb, the only words their tongues would give utterance to were, "What's that on the t-t-tree?" "Oh!" said Janet with an eldritch laugh, "it's a bit clerk body frae the Bank o' Stirling that cam' here last night to deave the laird for siller." "We've ta'en and hangit him, puir elf." The effect of this appalling disclosure was electrifying. Fear added wings to their speed, and the terrified brace of messengers made no enquiry about the body of their companion, which Janet's confederates had disemboweled and removed during the parley inside, but rushed with precipitation on the road to Stirling, never casting an eye back until they had reached the bottom of Glenogle. When the unconscious clerk arose and

asked for his companions, the veracious beldam said with a mysterious air, "The Laird's gillies have ta'en bhem awa' to the holy pool of Crianlarich, an' they'll be here for you directly." Pulling on the dead man's boots and great-coat, which he found in the lobby where he left them, he decamped as if he had been shot from a cannon, Janet crying after him, "I hear them comm!" Whether the money was ever paid has not been told, but the estates of all the Macnabs that ever existed would not have tempted another embassy of the same three to Auchlyne.

A man in a false position is a common, but generally a short-lived phenomenon, yet here was one of great shrewdness, of extensive and varied information, of much tact and acuteness, who lived eighty-four years, deceiving himself, and trying unsuccessfully to deceive the world, bolstering up the last fragments of rotten family pride, skulking like Richard Savage, and lying like Caleb Balderstone. Macnab was the perfect type of a class, now extinct in the main line, but still to be traced through the ranks of everyday life: poverty which is deplored joined to pride which is detested.

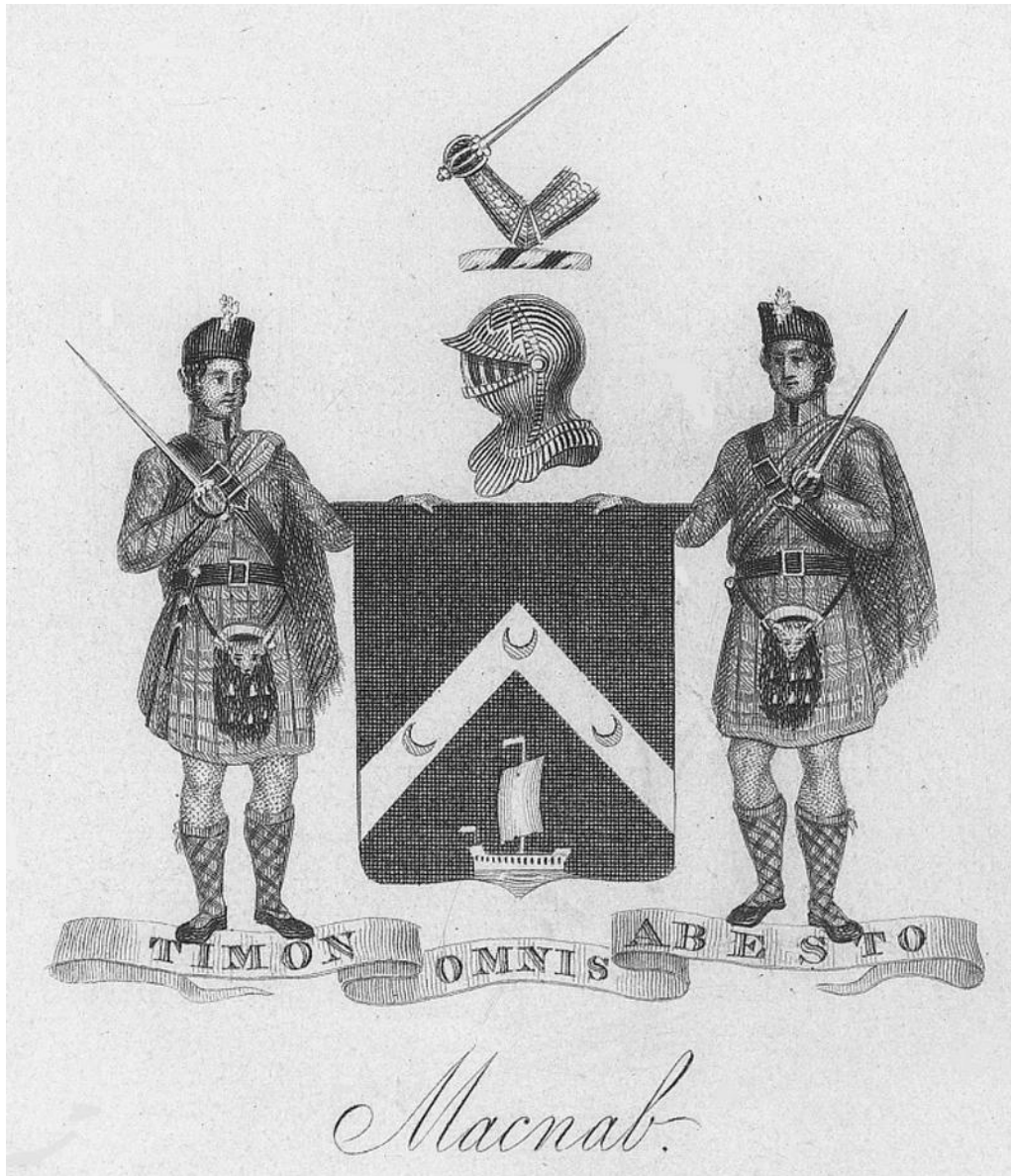
### Francis Macnab of Macnab 16<sup>th</sup> Chief

Another story about Francis comes from "*Old Killin, Kenmore and Loch Tay*" by Bernard Byrom printed by Stenlake Publishing Ltd, [www.stenlake.co.uk](http://www.stenlake.co.uk)

Francis was born in Killin House in 1734 and succeeded his father as chief in 1788. He was very much a ladies man and, although he never married, was reputed to be the father of scores of children. On one occasion he appeared

in a court case brought against him by a lady and her counsel referred to him as being the father of a hundred children. Francis was outraged at this accusation: "Ye lying devil!" he shouted, "Ninety, maybe, but no' a hoondred!" During Francis's lifetime a porridge cart used to set out every morning from Kinnell House and call at several houses in the village, dispensing breakfast for his barns!

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB



The image above comes from the front's piece of *The Last Laird of Macnab*, subtitled *An Episode in the Settlement of Macnab Township, Upper Canada* by Alexander Fraser of Toronto, Canada, and published in 1899. Supposedly it is the arms of the Clan Macnab, but it is inaccurate in almost all instances except the motto. The "Last Laird" is Archibald Macnab of Macnab 1777-1860 last chief of the Clan Macnab of the House of Bovain.

The book itself was downloaded from archive.org as a text file, which was converted to a Microsoft Word doc. In the conversion to Word none of the text was changed, except for rendering some words in American English.

Note:

The name of the Macnab estate is consistently misspelled; it should be Kinnell instead of Kennell.

Macnab is spelled in a variety of ways: MacNab, McNab and M'Nab. All are correct, Archibald often signed his name as M'Nab and the "a" is often dropped for no good reason other than

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

that the writer knows it is understood.

The index refers to the original page numbers not the pages in this document.

The other book titled *The Last Laird* by Roland Wild published in 1938 borrows heavily from this text as does *Giants of Canada's Ottawa Valley* by Joan Finnigan published in 2005

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB  
 AN EPISODE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF MACNAB  
 TOWNSHIP, UPPER CANADA  
 ALEXANDER FRASER, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER  
 Toronto: PRINTED BY IMRIE, GRAHAM &  
 Co., 31 CHURCH STREET 1899

NOTE. The following account of the difficulties between the Laird of MacNab and his settlers in Canada has appeared in several local papers and in the SCOTTISH CANADIAN, through whose columns it obtained a wide circulation, resulting in the request that it be preserved in book form, a suggestion now complied with, in the hope that the example of sturdy independence therein described will prove of interest to others than those for whom the story was first compiled by a clansman. A. F.

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THE CHIEF  
 CHAPTER I, THE FLIGHT

IT was a genial evening in 1823. The sun was casting long shadows from the glorious old pines of Leney woods, and the baronial mansion of Dr. Hamilton Buchanan reflected in gorgeous splendor the last rays of the setting sun. A horseman had just fastened his pony at the outskirts of the park, nigh to the Callender road, on the Loch Earn side of the village; and now on foot, and enfolded in a tartan plaid so as almost to conceal his person, was threading the mazes of the wood, and stealthily approached the house of Leney. This was Archibald MacNab, the last chieftain of the MacNabs, who had that morning, for the last time, left his paternal estate of Kennell, on the banks of Loch Tay to take refuge with his cousin, the last Buchanan of the ancient house of Arnprior. Their mutual grandfather, Buchanan the Chief of Arnprior, had been beheaded at Carlisle for participation in the rebellion of 1745; and he it was whom Sir Walter Scott took for his beau ideal, in the person of Fergus MacIvor, in his elegant romance of "Waverley." The estate of Leney was all that was left to the Buchanans out of their immense property, as the Arnprior estates were confiscated to the Crown for high treason on the part of their Chief.

The affairs of MacNab were at the time we write, 1823, thought to be involved beyond extrication his estate mortgaged to the Earl of Breadalbane and even now the officers of the law were on his track to enforce on his person, by arrest, a decree of the Court of Session, in order to get possession of the title deeds of the Dochart and Kennell estates, and deliver them to MacNab's unrelenting creditor, John, Earl of Breadalbane. By a postern gate he entered the noble halls of Leney, and was there met and welcomed by his cousin. Their meeting was most affecting. There stood the last representatives of two of the most ancient houses in Scotland: Kennell and Arnprior. Both had suffered for Charles Edward both had lost kindred, lands, and prestige for Prince Charles; but now both were in different circumstances, the last



## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

Chief of the MacNabs was humbled: no more was

"The haughty MacNab, with his grants beside him,  
"And the lions of Dochart close by his side."

He was dejected, impoverished, ruined; while Dr. Hamilton was wealthy, and able and willing to assist his unfortunate and once-powerful kinsman. At that period, MacNab was in the prime of manhood, as he had just passed his forty-second year. With a melancholy countenance and with aspect of despair, he unfolded all his griefs to his relative. About ten days previously, the Court of Session had given the Decree and granted a Caption. To disobey was to forfeit his liberty till compliance was made to the order of the highest civil tribunal in Scotland. To obey was to lose every opportunity of redeeming his estate and to throw away forever any chance of re claiming it. Long and anxious was the consultation between the two gentlemen; at length it was resolved that the Chief should start for America from an English port, found a settlement, retrieve his lost fortunes, and return to his native land in better times. Hard was the struggle; at length his resolution was taken, and everything was prepared for his departure by next day's afternoon mail.

In the meantime, the King's messengers with the writ of caption had gone to Kennell, and finding that their prey had escaped, betook themselves to Callender, a village two miles distant from Leney House. In passing through Glen Ogle, they heard that MacNab had passed through early in the afternoon, and naturally supposed that the Chief was at Leney. Arriving at Callender at four in the morning, they rested to take some refreshments before proceeding to their more disagreeable task. Fortunately for MacNab, the principal of the King's messengers, a person named Watt, was well known to John McEwan, the head waiter of McGregor's Hotel, who at once suspected their errand, as the Chief's affairs were a common topic of

conversation through Perthshire. While they were taking their bread and cheese and whiskey he dispatched a stable-boy named Scobie, by a short cut to Leney House, to apprise MacNab of his danger. He roused up Dr. Hamilton's butler, and told him his errand. The butler instantly hurried to the Chief's bedroom. MacNab having been roused out of a deep sleep, and hearing of the impending danger, at once jumped out of bed, drew on his underclothes, threw a plaid over his shoulders and escaped to the glen in rear of the Leney House, by the back door. Just as he was making his hurried exit, the King's messengers from Stirling thundered at the front entrance. Dr. Buchanan (who was generally called Dr. Hamilton on account of adopting this surname when he came into possession of the Burdovie estate) rushed to the windows. The officers demanded admission. Hamilton sternly refused. They attempted to break the door open. The doctor leveled a double-barreled gun at their heads, and threatened to shoot the first man who attempted to enter. The messengers at once desisted, slid the ring of their batons from one end to the other, swore that they were deforced, and threatened to bring the whole civil powers of Perth and Stirling to their assistance. Dr. Hamilton jeered and laughed at them. At length they departed, vowing vengeance against all parties concerned. Chief MacNab lay closely concealed in the glen all day. Provisions and clothes were sent to him, and at night' he again stealthily entered Leney House. A spy had been left in close proximity to the park to watch proceedings, and he saw what had taken place. He was on his way to inform his employers that the bird was trapped, but just as he cleared the park gates and entered the Callender road, the unfortunate spy was seized by four sturdy Highlanders, gagged and blindfolded, and carried to a lint-mill near Loch Labuig, and there kept a close prisoner for forty-eight hours. He was well used and well fed until his period of incarceration had expired. In the meantime, two faithful

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

servants of Dr. Hamilton had prepared the coach and horses for a long journey. These two were Peter MacIntyre, who died in 1868 at the Calabogie Lake; and John Buchan, who also came to Canada, and for many years resided at Point Fortune, a respectable and wealthy farmer. At midnight, MacNab being well provided with funds and necessaries bade farewell to his cousin of Leney, and set out for Dundee with Buchanan and MacIntyre. Every precaution was taken on the road; but it was needless, for the officers of the law were calmly sleeping at the head inn of Callender, expecting to hear from their spy, little Johnny Crerar, if anything unusual occurred. The Chief arrived safely at Dundee, took shipping for London, thence to Quebec; and the first news Lord Breadalbane and his messengers heard of him was in the public journals of Montreal, of a great dinner and ovation given in Montreal by the upper ten to Highland Chieftain MacNab. The decree of the Court of Session had no power in Canada; consequently MacNab was free. We may as well state that Watt remained round Callender for two days, searching for little Johnny; at length the spy appeared, and informed them of all that had occurred. There were no telegraphs in those days, and they believed the Chief was still in Scotland, and they made frequent excursions to Kennell; and they were only undeceived in their suppositions when the news of MacNab's safe arrival on the other side of the Atlantic reached them. Watt, the celebrated King's messenger, was for once outwitted and completely nonplussed.

### CHAPTER II

#### THE M'NAB IN CANADA

From Montreal McNab went to Glengarry, and saw the Highlanders there, and remained with Bishop McDonnell for a fortnight. It was that venerable prelate the emigrant's friend, without any distinction as to creed who first spoke to him of the Ottawa. He was really the friend of distressed humanity, whether of a Catholic's or Protestant's type. He put into

philanthropic exercise Queen Dido's maxim:

"Tros, Tyrinsque mihi nullo discrimine agetur." "A patriot, a Christian, a loyalist, ever ready to help the distressed, we shall seldom "see his like again."

Having received a good deal of valuable information from the Bishop, McNab proceeded to Toronto (then York), and entered into negotiations with the Government respecting the settlement of a township on the Ottawa. The Government there informed him that the above may be freely translated thus "Protestants and Catholics shall be treated by me with no invidious distinction," a township had been lately surveyed, adjoining Fitzroy, by Mr. P. L. Sherwood, containing about 81,000 acres. It was a large township, and consisted of thirteen full concessions and four broken ones. It was not yet named, and if he undertook the settlement, McNab could name it after himself, and proceed forthwith to occupy it. They gave him a map of the township, which the Chief immediately named McNab, after himself and his clan. Fancying he had all at once tumbled into an El Dorado, without seeing the place, or knowing anything about the facilities the township afforded, McNab at once agreed to the terms of the Government, which were as follows: He addressed a letter to Sir Peregrine Maitland, then Lieutenant Governor of the Province, offering to settle a township near Glengarry with his clansmen, and found a Highland Settlement of like loyal character as that which existed on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He had received his inspiration from the venerable Bishop McDonnell, and thus put it in practice. The following answer was given to his application; and as this is the basis of the attempt to establish the feudal system in Canada, and the misrepresentations founded upon it, by which many of the unfortunate settlers were harassed and oppressed, we direct particular attention to it:

[COPY]

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

Report of a Committee of the Honorable Executive Council on the Application of the Laird of McNab for a grant of Land

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER, AT YORK)  
Wednesday, 5th November, 1823. J  
Present: The Hon. James Baby,  
Presiding Councilor; the Hon. Samuel  
Smith, the Hon. and Rev. Dr. John  
Strachan.

To His Excellency, Sir Peregrine  
Maitland, K.C.B., Lieut-Governor of  
the Province of Upper Canada, and  
Major-General Commanding His Majesty's  
Forces therein, &c., &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:  
The Committee, of the Executive  
Council to which Your Excellency has  
been pleased to refer the letter of  
the Laird of McNab, dated York, 15th  
Oct., 1823, proposing upon certain  
conditions to settle a township of  
land with his clansmen and others from  
the Highlands of Scotland, most  
respectfully report, That a township  
of the usual dimensions be set apart  
on the Ottawa River, next to the  
township of Fitzroy, for the purpose  
of being placed under the direction  
and superintendence of the Laird of  
McNab for settlement. That the said  
township remain under his sole  
direction for and during the space of  
eighteen months, when the progress of  
the experiment will enable the  
Government to judge of the propriety  
of extending the period. That patents  
may issue to any of the settlers of  
said township, on certificate from the  
Laird of McNab stating that the  
settling duties are well and duly  
performed, and his claims on the  
settlers arranged and adjusted; or  
patents may issue to Petitioner in  
Trust, for any number of settlers,  
certified by him as aforesaid; the fee  
on each patent to be One Pound Five  
Shillings and Fourpence, sterling.  
That the conditions entered upon  
between the Laird of McNab and each  
settler be fully explained in detail,  
and that it be distinctly stated that  
such have no further claim upon the  
Government for Grants of Land; and  
that a duplicate of the agreement  
entered into between the Laird and

the settlers shall be lodged in the  
office of the Government. That the  
Laird of McNab be permitted to assign  
not less than One Hundred Acres to  
each family or Male of Twenty-one  
years of age, on taking the oath of  
allegiance, with the power of  
recommending an extension of such  
grant to the favorable consideration  
of His Excellency, the Lieut. -  
Governor, to such families as have  
means, and are strong in number, and  
whom it may be deemed prudent to  
encourage. That an immediate grant of  
1,200 acres of land be assigned to the  
Laird of McNab, to be increased to the  
quantity formerly given to a Field  
Officer, on completing the settlement  
of the township. That the old settlers  
pay the interest on the money laid out  
for their use by the Laird of McNab,  
either in money or produce, at the  
option of the settler; and that the  
settler shall have the liberty to pay  
up the principal and interest at any  
time during the first seven years. All  
of which is respectfully submitted.  
(Signed,)  
JAMES BABY

Before leaving this part of the  
subject, it may be as well to state  
that after repeated trials and  
applications, it was not till 1841  
that the settlers procured a copy of  
the above document. The Government  
until then was composed of members of  
the Family Compact, and they  
determined to keep settlers in the  
dark, and to allow the Laird of McNab  
to do as he pleased. Although the  
above is the only official document on  
record, there was a private understand-  
ing between the Chief and the  
Government to the effect that the  
Chief was to have for his own use and  
benefit all the timber growing on the  
township of McNab. There was some  
unaccountable delay after the passing  
of the above Order in Council before  
the Chief proceeded to the importation  
of immigrants, owing to the survey of  
the township not being exactly  
completed, and the assignments to and  
selection of certain lots by P. L.  
Sherwood, Esq., who had made the  
survey, and whose remuneration was to  
be made in lands on the survey, and

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not in money. After the lands had been selected by Mr. Sherwood, he assigned them to Billa Flint, of Brockville, and they were marked on the diagram as not open for settlement. This having all been arranged to the satisfaction of all parties, in the autumn of 1824, McNab wrote this letter to Dr.

HAMILTON:

KENNEL LODGE,  
On the Banks of the Ottawa,  
10th Aug, 1824

MY DEAR LENEY

From my last letter you will have gleaned what my intentions are, and of the progress I have made. Now I am happy to inform you that all my arrangements for settlement are complete. The township of McNab has to-day been handed over to me by Sir Peregrine, and it contains 80,000 acres of fine, wooded, arable land and upwards. You will send out to me, according to your offer, twenty families, at first. Give them three months' provisions, and make each head of a family, before you give him a passage ticket, sign the enclosed bond, which has been specially prepared by the Attorney General I will meet the settlers in Montreal, and see each one on the land located to them, and will provide for their transport to their lands. They should embark early in April, and I should feel obliged if you would personally superintend their embarkation at Greenock. Now I am in a fine way to redeem the estate at home, and in a few years will return after having established a name in Canada, and founded a transatlantic colony of the clan.

The preparations can be all made this winter for their emigration, and I shall be fully prepared to receive them. I have a large log house erected close to the banks of the Ottawa, which, as you will see by the heading of this letter, I have called after my estate on Loch Tay, &c., &c.

(Signed) McNab

Immediately after the receipt of this letter, Dr. Hamilton, of Leney, set to work to procure a band of emigrants to go to McNab in Canada. In January

1825, the following heads of families signed the bond prepared by the Canadian Attorney-General, and witnessed by D. McLaren, Banker, Callender James Carmichael, Donald Fisher, Peter Campbell, Peter Drummond, James Robertson, Alex. McNab, James McFarlane (Kier), Duncan Campbell, James McDonald, Donald McNaughton, John McDermid, John McIntyre, Peter McIntyre, Donald McIntyre, James McLaurin, Peter McMillan, James Storie (Dumbarton), James McFarlane (Grief), Alexander Miller, Malcolm McLaren and Colin McCaul.

The terms of the bond were that every adult bound himself 36 for himself, 30 for his wife, and 16 for every child, with interest, either in money or produce.

On the 19th of April, 1825, the McNab settlers, amounting in all men, women and children to I eighty-four souls, embarked at Greenock in the ship Niagara for America. After a speedy and prosperous voyage they safely landed in the city of Montreal on the 27th day of May, and were there met by the Chief and his piper, James McNee, and Mr. Miles McDonald, who boarded the vessel in due form, and with a Highland welcome congratulated the settlers on their safe arrival.

Preparations were now made for conveying the settlers to the place of their destination. At that time there were but few steamers, and the mode of traveling was difficult and hazardous. The only means of transport on the rivers and lakes were by "bateaux" a species of large barges, and the only steamboat that was then to be found on the Ottawa was the old Union, which plied between Hawkesbury and Hull. The necessary number of bateaux were got in readiness at Lachine, and the settlers having arrived at the latter place with their baggage, embarked, and after a voyage of two or three days' duration landed their living freight at Point Fortune. Here Mr. McLachlin, father of the late Daniel McLachlin, of Arnprior, took the contract of bringing the baggage to Hawkesbury. The settlers with their

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families performed the journey on foot, and Mr. McLachlin drew the baggage up on ox carts and sleds. There were but few horses in those days. At length they got safely on board the Union and steamed up for Hull. This part of the voyage took two days and a night in its accomplishment a journey that can now be made in a few hours. On the evening of the second day they arrived at Hull. There was no city of Ottawa then no Bytown. The site of the present seat of Government of the Dominion of Canada was a dense, unbroken forest, an uncultivated wild, a pathless wilderness, where the bear and the wolf roamed uncontrolled, and the red deer gambled in its deep dark glades and sylvan retreats.

From Hull upwards, the settlers met with many hardships till they reached the Chats. Here they had to disembark and proceed to the place of their future home through the woods, following a pathway and guided by a blaze, their baggage being transported up the Chats Rapids by some of the male portion of the settlers and those who were sent to their assistance, such as lumberers and others who had before that time squatted in the township (the only persons residing there when they arrived was Archibald Stewart, Duncan Campbell and his sons, an old Glengarry soldier and the Goodwins). The journey of the settlers from Montreal to McNab, with their baggage and luggage, occupied 28 days.

### CHAPTER III ARRIVAL OF THE SETTLERS IN M'NAB THEIR LOCATION

On the 23rd of June, 1825, the settlers all arrived safely in the township, and pitched their camps at the present Arnprior steamboat landing. As many as could be crowded into Kennel Lodge, where the Laird resided, proceeded thither; the remainder occupied the camps until all the luggage had safely reached its destination. The Laird then called them together and informed them that the township was given to him as a grant by the Government, because he was a Highland Chief that they could

go and select their lands that he would send the Campbells (of the lake), the Goodwins and Arch. Stewart along with them to point out the most eligible locations, and as soon as they had chosen their respective lots, he would locate them in due form. They accordingly proceeded to prospect and select their lands: The three McIntyre families, James McFarlane (Kier), James McDonald and Donald McNaughton went up the Madawaska a distance of seven miles, and selected lands in what is now called the Flat Rapid Set Clement. James McLaren went to the borders of Horton, in what is now known as the Lochwinnoch settlement, and the rest of the emigrants pitched upon lands in the neighborhood of what is now Arnprior, and along the banks of a small brook which they named the Dochert, after a river of the same name which flowed through the Kennel estate in Scotland. Having made this selection they removed their families to the wild woods, in the very depth of the primeval forest, and erected small shanties. The heads of families repaired to the Chief's house to get their locations.

The Chief, through Dr. Hamilton, of Leney, promised that the settlers were to be transported to their lauds without any trouble or expense, and were to be furnished by the Chief with three months' provisions after they arrived, out of a store that was kept at the mouth of the Madawaska River, by Mr. Ferguson (Craigdarrach). When the settlers arrived all that was in the store was a large puncheon of whiskey and some clothes, nothing in the provision line whatever. They resolved then, as soon as they [got their locations, to go out in the neighboring Township of Fitzroy to work for food for themselves and families. The Chief accordingly sitting in solemn state at Kennel Lodge, having these memorable and remarkable documents prepared in duplicate, forthwith proceeded to seal and sign.

I subjoin a copy of this remarkable document given to the first settlers. They are all of the same form, and in



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transcribing one I give you a copy of each settler's location ticket. All of them were written in red ink, with the exception of two, and these two settlers had given some offence to the Chief on their way up, and to evince his displeasure he wrote theirs in black ink.

[COPY OF LOCATION TICKET]

"I, Archibald McNab, of McNab, do hereby locate you, James Carmichael, upon the rear half of the Sixteenth Lot of the Eleventh Concession of McNab, upon the following terms and conditions, that is to say: I hereby bind myself, my heirs and successors, to give you the said land free of any quit rent for three years from this date, as also to procure you a patent for the same at your expense, upon your having done the settlement duties and your granting me a mortgage upon said lands, that you shall yearly thereof to pay to me, my heirs and successors for ever one bushel of wheat or Indian corn, or oats of like value, for every 1 cleared acre upon the said Lot of Land in name of Quit Rent for the same, in month of January in each year.

Your subscribing to these conditions being binding upon you to fulfill the terms thereof.

Signed and sealed by us at Kennell Lodge, this twelfth day of August, 1825.

Signed, ARCHIBALD McNab, (L.S.)

Signed, JAMES CARMICHAEL, (L.S.)

I have interlined the above document, which indicates the first attempt to establish and fix firmly a system of feudal dependence upon the Chief. All the first settlers signed their original location tickets. Now, McNab held them under him by two instruments the bond executed at Leney House in Callander, and the location ticket which bound themselves and their lands to the Chief and his heirs and successors forever. The reader will direct his attention to the Order in Council for the settlement of the Township of McNab, passed in 1823, and contrast it with the terms the Laird of McNab imposed upon his settlers.

They were ignorant. They had implicit confidence in their Chief. His word was law, and they imagined that the land was his, as he had represented it, and they conceived that they could easily pay the bushel of wheat to the acre. They had no experience and they really and conscientiously believed that the lands in Canada were as fertile as those in the straits of their own native country the land they had so lately left and where they paid high rents, and this small tax of a bushel for every cleared acre was a mere nothing, which could be easily met.

### CHAPTER IV

#### PROGRESS OF THE SETTLEMENT PERSECUTION

And now the settlers proceeded to make small clearances round their rough and primitive homesteads. In the midst of the dense and primeval forest unaccustomed to such work unused to the woods, their hardships and difficulties can scarce be described ; but manfully and courageously they set to work, undeterred by no obstacle and undaunted by no danger, however great. They looked forward to the future with glowing anticipations, but that future was darkened by clouds of adverse fortune and annoyances they had then no expectations to encounter or to dread. The three months provisions, with which they had been furnished at Greenock, by Dr. Hamilton of Leney, were nearly exhausted, and something must be done for their families, and to procure seed for the fall and coming spring. They had been informed that Chief McNab would furnish them with a year's provisions, which they would be called upon to pay for on realizing the proceeds of their crops. They put full reliance upon this, and found soon after their arrival that the Laird could not supply them with even the bare necessaries of life. They discovered, when too late, that they had leant upon a reed and put faith in fallacy. They now saw that they would be compelled to leave off the clearing of their lands and go out to work for provisions; consequently some went to a Mr. Thos. Burns, of Fitzroy, and worked with him at haying and harvest and potato digging, and



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earned provisions others went to Beckwith and hired out others purchased provisions on credit in Beckwith. Now it became necessary to transfer to their families a sufficient supply to last till winter, when the carriage would be easier as soon as sleighing set in. There were no roads, but merely a pathway from Mr. Snedden's in Ramsay to Beckwith; the remainder of the route to the Township of McNab was down the Mississippi to the mouth, then up the Chats Lake to the mouth of the Madawaska, thence up the Madawaska River to the Flat Rapid Settlement; and to other places by land on blazed paths through the bush. Boats knocked together in a rough fashion, and canoes rudely manufactured, were improvised for the occasion, and small loads were brought from "Murphy's Falls" in this manner to McNab. From Beckwith to the present "Carleton Place," and even to Snedden's, loads were transferred on the settlers' backs. These were hardships indeed, and during the years 1825, 1826 and part of 1827, this was the continual occupation of the settlers. They had not yet realized enough from their crops to support their families, because much of the time necessary to the clearing and cultivation of their respective lots was occupied by hiring out to obtain the necessaries of life for their starving families. They were often reduced to the greatest straits: for days the wives and children of the settlers were kept alive by potatoes alone, with a little salt as a relish, and when a bag of flour was got by one neighbor, it was immediately divided among the whole. During the winter, however, after the experience of the first fall and winter, they laid in a sufficient stock to last them for a year, which was partly paid for by the former summer's work and partly to be liquidated by the ensuing summer's labor.

It was the custom of the settlers before going out to hire, to ask the Chief's permission, as their liege lord; and strict injunctions were given to all not to leave the township on any account without asking McNab's

leave. This was carrying the Lairdship with a high hand indeed, and reducing the free-born Highlanders to the abject condition of Russian serfs; but they all complied without a murmur, judging from the bond they had signed at Lenney House that they were bound to obey their leader in all things. It was also another despotic rule laid down by the Chief that the timber on their lands belonged to him, and consequently they could not dispose of it. In this they all complied without remonstrance, except Mr. Alexander Miller, one of the settlers, who was well educated, and who before emigrating had taught the village school of Nineveh, a small hamlet half way between Loch Earn head and Callander. He remonstrated, and said that the locatees had a right to the timber, and he sold all on his laud to Mr. John Brill, formerly a lumberman in McNab.

When the Chief heard of this disposition of the timber he at once made for the spot and ordered Mr. Brill to desist or he would hold him accountable.

"And who are you?" exclaimed Brill, an old man-o-war's-man and an athlete of gigantic proportions.

I, sir, am McNab of McNab, and this township and all that is in it belongs to me," exclaimed the Chief pompously. "But who are you, fellow?"

"I'm Jack Brill of the Brilliants, sir, and if you don't clear out in five minutes I'll rope's-end you to your heart's content," said Brill in a voice of thunder, and lifting up a huge ox gad in a menacing attitude.

The Chief looked aghast with astonishment and hastily retired from the spot, vowing vengeance against all concerned; and before leaving this part of the narrative I may as well state the sequel.

Owing to McNab's influence with the government, Brill had to pay him the whole amount of the duty of all the timber he cut on the township.

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In the spring of 1826, Mr. Alex Miller went to Kennell and asked the Chief's permission to leave the township to seek work for provisions. He was peremptorily refused, and now commenced the first of a series of persecutions, which lasted for sixteen years, and which finally culminated in the liberation of the people of the township from the thralldom of Chief McNab. Miller upon his refusal did not know what to do or how to turn. He had only six weeks' provisions in the house, and at the end of that time he did not know where to look for a replenishing of this stock. He left the township without permission and hired with Messrs. William and John Thompson, of Nepean. While industriously employed in providing for his family he was suddenly and unexpectedly arrested on a *capias*, at the instance of the Laird of McNab, for a debt, and brought to Perth and lodged in jail. These were the palmy days of the "family compact," and a person could then be arrested for a debt of forty shillings, and deprived of his liberty for months, merely upon an affidavit of the plaintiff that he believed the debtor was about to leave the Province. Better times have now supervened. The present generation may look back to the exertions of their fathers and grandfathers with gratitude for the great and glorious struggles in the cause of liberty, and in erasing forever from the Statute Book that barbarous law Imprisonment for Debt.

Poor Miller lay in Perth jail for two days without eating any food, and would have starved to death had it not been for the kindness and humanity of Mr. James Young, then the benevolent keeper of the county prison. This high-handed proceeding was characterized by the greatest cruelty as well as illegality on the part of the Chief. Let the reader refer to the original agreement between McNab and Sir Peregrine Maitland's government, and he will at a glance perceive that Miller had no right to pay a cent, either of principal or interest on the bond he had given to the Chief, and signed at Leney House, Scotland until

seven years after the date of his location; yet, notwithstanding this solemn agreement-notwithstanding all Dr. Hamilton's promises, the agreement was violated at the very outset, and his kinsman's promises the gentleman, who, out of his own resources, had paid the passage money of Miller and his family and the rest of the settlers to Canada were treated as flimsy nothings, for at the end of only the second year of Miller's emigration, he was arrested and imprisoned, and his family left to starve. For six weeks he remained in jail before the settlers in McNab knew of his incarceration, but as soon as the intelligence reached the township the following settlers traveled to Perth, a distance then of sixty miles, though scarcely any roads but mere pathways, and went special bail, viz: John McIntyre, James McFarlane (Kier), Peter McIntyre, Donald McNaughton and James McDonald, and poor Miller was liberated. The above persons were marked down as black sheep in the Chief's doomsday book, and set apart for the next batch to be sued. The settlers engaged Mr. James Boulton to defend Miller, while the Laird of McNab's legal adviser was the late Daniel McMartin, Esq. The upshot of the affair was that the settlers were sacrificed for want of a proper defense, and each of the persons who entered as bail for Miller were compelled to pay about 50 each.

It was during this memorable affair that the following letter was written by Mr. James McLaurin, one of the settlers who were located in the Lochwinnoch section of the township. When Miller's case came up for trial in April, 1827, it became necessary to prove the bond signed by Miller in Scotland. Now Mr. Donald McLaren, the subscribing witness, was in Scotland, and his handwriting was proven by others. The defense was that McNab had not fulfilled his part of the agreement to put the settlers on the land free of expense, and moreover, that he had ordered some salt and a portion of their provisions to be destroyed. Mr. McLaurin warmly espoused Miller's side, and in

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consequence was obliged to leave the township a few years afterwards, and he settled in the vicinity of the village of Renfrew. This is the letter:

March 9th, 1827.

MR. PETER MACNTYRE,

Dear Sir, Please send me notice concerning Miller's affair, for I am informed he is dropping all and coming to the land. I wish to let you know that the Chief intends to cast you all as evidences and take you as principals. Boss is to be taken in evidence on behalf of McNab. I wish to let you know that I am the man who spilt the salt by McNab's orders, saying there was plenty on the spot. Sir, please send me notice concerning a petition I was informed you got wrote in Perth. I hope you will count me worthy to sign it. Take some witness besides yourself to Perth and send me a letter without delay about all affairs. I will go as a witness. Remember me to all friends in that quarter that wish to give Satan a blow.

I am yours truly till death,  
(Signed), JAS. McLAURIN

I insert this letter to show that the spirit of discontent was fast creeping in among the settlers, and that something like an organized resistance was commencing; but it was not until ten years afterwards that it assumed form and consistency but to our narrative. All the efforts for Miller were vain; the Chief received a verdict, and in consequence of an error made by Miller of one day only that he should have surrendered and relieved his bail, the Chief abandoned his judgment against him and issued summonses against the six individuals who went his special bail. For many months he could not get them served, and McDonald and McFarlane were never served. Whenever a stranger appeared in the Flat Rapid settlement, a horn was blown as a signal, guns were fired at every house and the male inhabitants hid until the stranger disappeared. It was after many months of strategic maneuvering that four of the six "black sheep" were served, and

they subsequently had to pay the amount. Alex. Miller left the township entirely, and for many years taught school in the township of Beckwith. His death occurred as late as 1867. He was the first martyr to the Laird of McNab's despotism, and he was thus victimized as an example to the rest,

### CHAPTER V

#### NEW ARRIVALS

When McNab procured from the Government the "Order-in-Council" granting to him the privilege of settling the township, it was restricted to eighteen months, but in 1827 the Government, who granted his every request, extended it to an indefinite period. His power was almost unlimited, and none of the inhabitants for a moment doubted that it was his own property. Even as late as 1827 the settlers looked up to the Laird of McNab with that degree of dread and awe that Highlanders regarded the Chief of a Highland Clan, and that deference was kept up for a long period, and not till every tie that binds man to friendship and respect was severed did it entirely cease. Miller's treatment perpetuated a sentiment of respect in some, of fear in others, so that nearly at the very outset of its settlement the Township of McNab was divided into two parties, the Opposition and the staunch adherents of the Chief. When they first arrived, there were several lumberers carrying on their operations in the township, viz: Alexander McDonnell, Esq., Sand Point; Duncan Campbell, Matthew Barr, the Goodwins, Messrs. Mitchell & Sutherland, and John Brill. It was the interest of these parties to keep on terms with the chief. For about one-fourth of the real value he gave passes to all cutting timber in the township. These parties never questioned his title to the ownership of the land, and even Brill, who had at first treated him roughly, was obliged to succumb and propitiate his favor. The settlers had about this time (1827) cut several roads through the settlements, and though rough and unfinished, served as channels of communication. It was in January of this year that the Chief

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wrote to Dr. Hamilton of Leney, to send out more settlers, The Doctor, who had received some information of McNab's treatment to the settlers, point blank refused to take any more interest in him or his affairs. This was an unlooked-for repulse. He had to settle the township in order to keep on terms with the Government of the day, which gave him every latitude, and did for him whatever he asked. Accordingly he proceeded to Montreal, met with some emigrants (1827), and by glowing descriptions, plausible representations and enticing promises, induced them to come to " his township, " among whom were the Hamiltons, the Wilsons, and Mr. David Airth, Sr., now of Renfrew, and he located them upon lands at the rate of half a bushel of wheat per acre to be paid him and his heirs and successors forever. Here the reader will perceive that by the wording of his location tickets, he already contemplated the establishment of a principality on the Ottawa. Mr. Airth, soon after his arrival, discovered that he was entitled to a grant of 200 acres, as a sergeant in the Royal Artillery. He consequently left the Goshen settlement of McNab and drew land in the neighboring Township of Horton, where he at present resides. About this time (1829) Messrs. Alexander and Daniel Ross, having made improvements on Lot No. 3, in the 14th concession of McNab, with the intentions of erecting mills on that lot which is now partly occupied by the flourishing village of Arnprior, would not agree to the Chief's terms, as the lot was originally a Clergy Reserve. The Chief exchanged it for another lot, drew the patent in his own name, and ejected the Rosses who, as has been before stated, went to Lower Canada and settled in Bristol. They wrote an anonymous communication to Lieut. - Governor Sir John Colborne (Baron Seaton), severely reprobating the Chief's behavior, and animadverting in no measured terms on the conduct of the Government itself. This document was without a signature, and without either locality or date. The high-minded and honorable soldier who ruled

Upper Canada, scorning such a mode of attack and complaint, at once sent the communication to the Chief. They were intimate friends. Sir John had offered McNab a place in the Government and a seat in the Legislative Council, which was politely declined. The Chief's affable manner, his imposing and noble appearance, the manly beauty of his person, and that chivalrous politeness which he had acquired in France, together with his generous expenditure, both at home and abroad, had so won on the Lieut-Governor that he could not believe the accomplished gentleman was a tyrant, nor the handsome Highland Chieftain a cruel despot, as represented in the letter, and if one statement appeared false, the whole must be without foundation thus reasoned the simple and honorable soldier. Besides, the complaint was anonymous and consequently cowardly and untrue. It was attributed to ingratitude and discontent.

When the Laird of McNab received the communication, he was surprised at its audacity. To discover its author was his first object, to punish him his next effort. Being without a name it did not come within the category of privileged communication, and consequently the author in those days was liable to punishment. He, on the impulse of the moment, selected one of the settlers as the author one Alexander McNab, who had been a teacher in Scotland, and who had specially immigrated to Canada to follow his profession. As such he received the location ticket for 200 acres instead of one, as had been awarded to other settlers. He was now the only educated man among the settlers. He had shown symptoms of insubordination some time previously. His handwriting was very like that of the libelous communication. He resided within two miles of Kennell Lodge, near the present Flat Rapid Road. His place is now occupied by his son-in-law, Mr. John Yuill. He received a peremptory summons to attend upon the Laird. At once obeying the mandate of his Chief, he appeared before him anxious and apprehensive. The missive he received was couched in these terms

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not by any means calculated to remove his apprehension:

KENNEL LODGE, 13th March, 1829.

ALEXANDER McNab:

Degraded Clansman, You are accused to me by Sir John Colborne, of libel, sedition, and high treason. You will forthwith compeer before me, at my house of Kennell, and there make submission; and if you show a contrite and repentant spirit, and confess your faults against me, your legitimate Chief, and your crime against His Majesty King George, I will intercede for your pardon.

Your offended Chief,

(Signed) McNab

When he appeared at Kennell, McNab read the communication and asked poor Sandy to confess. Mr. McNab stoutly denied it. He was completely astonished and indignant at being thus charged and asked to acknowledge a crime he had never contemplated, and which, if his name had been affixed to it, would have been a privileged communication and beyond the bounds of prosecution.

"Well, my man," exclaimed the Chief, "I must send you to jail, and I assure you that your neck is in danger."

Alexander McNab was an innocent man, and had a bold and courageous spirit. Instead of begging for mercy, he defied the Chief. This was enough. The least opposition was sure to raise a whirlwind. He drew up a warrant of commitment, swore in two special constables, and sent Alex. McNab to Perth without bail or mainprize. He was six weeks imprisoned when the Assizes came on. Defended by the HON. Jonas Jones afterwards the late Judge Jones, of the Queen's Bench, he was at once acquitted, and the warrant of commitment was the subject of amusement from its quaint and patriarchal style to the lawyers and others assembled in Court. Alexander Ross, the writer of the alleged libelous communication, was in Court, and if Alexander McNab had been convicted, he would have acknowledged the authorship, and thus saved an innocent man from severe punishment.

For in those days the law of libel was very stringent and severe. It was a favorite axiom with both Judges and law officers of the Crown \* the greater the truth the greater the libel "a doctrine now justly exploded and subject to merited ridicule. Alexander McNab returned to his family in triumph. This was the first check the Chief had received, and he resolved to punish the "black sheep" the first opportunity that offered. His name was accordingly entered in the prescribed list, with what results the sequel will show. The Laird of McNab was a Magistrate, and this case shows the despotic sway of the Family Compact. He had, without information laid, without examination, without ex-parte evidence, acted as witness, prosecutor and Judge; and the first process issued was a warrant of commitment, so utterly illegal in point of force and substance that in the present day, no keeper of a prison would have received the person committed under it; yet the Laird of McNab, instead of being dismissed from the Commission of the Peace, was warmly applauded for his energy and decision. Times have changed. The occurrence of such a betise in the present day would be denounced in no measured terms by the public opinion and by the press, until the perpetrator would have been brought to justice and adequately punished. Our liberties are so sacredly guarded, our constitutional rights so well defined and protected that such an outrage is impossible ; and this we owe not only to responsible government, which was attained in 1841, after a severe and protracted struggle, but to the spirit of liberty it infused, and to the wholesome and salutary safeguards introduced.

### CHAPTER VI FRESH ARRIVALS

The Chief being a Magistrate had, by the law of the laud, the power of celebrating marriages, after banns had been duly published. The mode of publishing banns was by fixing written notices upon three of the most conspicuous pine trees in three public places in the township. The first



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marriage after this primitive fashion among the settlers was celebrated by the Chief at his residence, between Mr. Matthew Barr, a lumberer, and Miss Elizabeth McIntyre, daughter of John McIntyre, the oldest settler, who came out in 1825. After Mr. Barr's marriage, frequent inter-marriages occurred among the settlers, and since the trial of Alex. McNab, matters had subsided into a state of tranquility. Alex. McNab left the township, but his family still remained, cultivating and improving the farm. He, himself, traveled westward, and obtained a school which he taught for some years. About this time (1830), a fresh accession of settlers increased the numerical strength of the inhabitants. They consisted of the MacNabs, the Camerons, the Campbells, the McKays and the McNevis from Isia, and they took up land in the rear of the township, where there was a good hardwood country, viz., on the first, second, third and fourth concession, embracing the part of the country lying around White Lake, and what is called Canaan. The arrangements entered into with these settlers, whom McNab met in Montreal and induced to settle in what he called "his township differed from all the rest. It will be borne in mind that they paid their own passage money and expenses to McNab Township. It did not cost McNab or his friends in Scotland one single penny yet, in direct violation of the Order-in Council, quoted in the second chapter of this narrative, he located them as follows:

I, Archibald McNab, of McNab, do hereby locate you, James McKay, upon Lot No. 18, in the Second concession of McNab, upon the following terms and conditions, that is to say: I hereby bind myself, my heirs or successors, to give you the said land free of any quit tent or free rate, for three years from this date, and also procure you a patent for the same at your own expense, upon you having done the settlement duties, and your granting me a mortgage on the said lands, that you will yearly thereafter pay to me, my heirs or successors in the Chieftainship of the Clan McNab

forever, three barrels of flour, or Indian corn, or oats of like value, in name of Quit Rent, and fee duty for the same in the month of January. Your subscribing to these conditions being binding upon you to fulfill the terms thereof.

Signed and sealed by us at Kennell Lodge, this Twelfth day of August, 1830.

(Signed) ARCHIBALD McNab, [L. S.]

(Signed) JAMES McKay, [L. S.]

In Montreal he met these people, told them he had a township of his own on which he would place them at a merely nominal rent a trifle that the land was fertile. It was a Highland settlement, etc. His affable manners, imposing appearance, kindness and condescension had its desired end. The poor settlers in their inexperience and simplicity thought that three barrels of flour for 200 acres of land was a mere song. These people had been accustomed in the old country to see two or three hundred pounds annually paid as rent for similar quantity of land, and they eagerly embraced his offer and settled in McNab. It was there they found out by experience the difficulties and hardships and labor they had to surmount in the arduous task of clearing the land for agricultural purposes. They then discovered that a lien upon their lands of three barrels of flour a year in perpetuity was a heavy tax upon their industry and the proceeds of their labor, crippling their resources and cramping their energies, when they considered that it was imposed on themselves and descendants for ever. Both the settlers and the government were imposed upon, the settlers in being led to believe the township was bona fide the Chief's, the government that there were new settlers brought out at McNab's expense. The first settlers had now begun to pay their rents. They found that the bushel per cleared acre was a heavy burden, and they had to subsidize the amount by working on the Chiefs farm at Kennell. From some (the Flat Rapid settlers), he had as yet received nothing. They had become involved in the Miller suit and fell into arrears.



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Becoming disheartened, the McFarlanes and the McDonalds left the township entirely and went to Calabogie Lake, and James McLaren abandoned his lot, and settled in Horton within a short distance of the present village of Renfrew. Those who did pay the rent endeavored to procure some reduction. At length, in 1881, a Government commissioner was sent out to see how the settlement was progressing, and upon the complaint of the settlers, with the concurrence of the Laird of McNab, a reduction was promised to one-half, that is, one-half bushel per cleared acre, but this promised was never fulfilled. The full bushel was exacted, or a demand made for the passage money and interest. McNab received the duty off every stick of timber cut upon their land by the lumberers; nothing was allowed them for this, and it was calculated that the Chief drew about '30,000 from this source during the time the Township of McNab was under his control and superintendence. Whenever the Laird received a large amount from timber dues it was his custom to make periodical excursions to Montreal and Toronto. At Montreal he picked up settlers, at Toronto he hoodwinked the government.

At both these cities he indulged in lavish expenditure, gave dinners, and entertained his friends and flatterers with the profuse generosity of a high-souled and magnanimous Highland Laird. When his funds had dwindled away by this exhaustive line of conduct, he returned to Kennell, and there his hospitality was proverbial. No weary and travel worn wayfarer ever reached his Highland home in McNab without receiving a cordial welcome. Honorable poverty was treated with as much kindness as titled wealth. Prodigal in his hospitality, as well as in his promises, settlers from Perthshire and other places flocked to his Township, and in 1832 his domain began to show signs of life and prosperity.

With all his good qualities his conduct was characterized by many pernicious drawbacks. He never forgave. To oppose his wishes or his

schemes was to provoke unrelenting hostility. To offend in the least or to offer the merest slight to his vanity or pride was to make a powerful enemy forever. Vindictive oppression and unabating persecution followed quickly and surely upon what he considered a wrong to his plans, his dignity or his pride. He had erected his residence on the bold and high terraced acclivity on the banks of the Ottawa in close proximity to the mouth of the Madawaska, on the very spot where now stands the princely mansion of Mr. H. F. McLachlin. It commanded a panoramic view of the Ottawa and Chats Lake in all its solitude and wild grandeur. No clearance broke in upon the loneliness of the forest vista. On all sides of his abode were then trees and mountains, lakes and rivers; sometimes broken in upon by the passing voyageur or the adventurous lumberer, as they passed on to their annual labors. Here he dispensed the hospitalities of his race. Here he sat in state as lord of the manor and the patriarch of his clan.

Here he listened to the complaints of his settlers, and gave ear to one or two tale-bearers, who poisoned his mind against the "black sheep" and shut up his soul to reconciliation or mercy. Here he devised plans for the future, either of punishment on the refractory or of schemes for his own advancement. Numbers of the settlers paid their rents regularly. Their sons had at this time (1832) grown up to be men stalwart and hardy workers, and got employment and good wages from the lumberers, and thus contributed to the support of their parents and their families. At this period, too, the time had expired, as will be seen on reference to the Order-in Council of 1823, for the payment of their passage money unless compromised by rent. Now he was at liberty to proceed by law against the refractory. As I have before stated, the Flat Rapid settlers were the only ones that came beneath the ban of his vengeance for the part they had taken in the Miller case. They had as yet paid no rent. From them the Chief would receive no labor in lieu of rent. Their land was

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sandy and light and barely sufficed to support them. But the Chief cared not for this.

They had opposed his vengeance on Miller in 1829, and now they must be made examples of as a warning to the other settlers for all time to come. Writs were accordingly issued by Mr. MacMartin in February of this year against John, Peter and Daniel MacIntyre, Donald McNaughton, James McDonald, James McFarlane and James Maclaren, to recover the amount of their bond. These people got intelligence of this movement and prepared themselves accordingly. A road had been cut from their settlement to Kennell and the mouth of the Madawaska through dense swamps. It was a good winter road, but almost impassable in summer. The late Mr. Anthony Wiseman undertook the service of the writs. Having safely arrived at Kennell in the beginning of March of that year, accompanied by a guide he proceeded to the Flat Rapids. The appearance of a stranger was the signal for the ox-horned tocsin of alarm. No sooner had he stepped within the clearance than his ears were greeted with the trumpet sounds of horns resounding and echoed back from clearance to clearance, accompanied by a regular fusillade of small arms, his astonishment was quickly dispelled when he reached the shanties. Not a single male inhabitant was visible. The woman of the house "could talk no English." Poor Wiseman was in a maze, he had to return as he came, bewildered and discomfited. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to affect a service with similar results. It was two years before any of them could be served, and those were the two McIntyre's and Donald McNaughton. McDonald, McFarlaue (Kier), and McLaren had left the Township and retreated further into the wilderness. All attempts to bring the latter within the jurisdiction of the law proved abortive. Messrs. Duncan and John McFarlane, afterwards successful lumberers on the Madawaska, sons of James McFarlane of Kier, upon hearing of these proceedings, went to the Chief and offered him 1'80 in lieu of

passage money and in full of rent, but it was scornfully refused. "I don't want the money, my man," said the laird, "I wish to punish the damed scoundrels."

"Well, Chief," replied Duncan, "you will never get a copper, for this is the last offer we'll make," and to this day the Chief never received a farthing, through his own obstinacy and determination to punish.

An anecdote is related of old "Bill Matheson," who was about that time Deputy Sheriff, which is worth mentioning. When Wiseman and other bailiffs failed to get the "blister" clapped on the defendants, Mr. William Matheson swore he would serve them. Accordingly he set out from Perth with an assistant, and reached Kennell in safety. Here he got a guide by the name of John Madigan, one of the Chief's servants. Madigan very reluctantly accompanied him, for he had a friendly feeling towards the people. Accordingly they set out. It was about the beginning of June and the mosquitoes were to be found in swarms, especially in the swamps. Now, it was seven good miles to the nearest settler, John McIntyre. Madigan came with them as far as Milk's meadow, about three miles distant from the Laird's; he turned off upon a shanty road and pretended to have lost his way. Telling them to remain in the same place till he returned, Madigan, who was a bit of a wag, quickly took himself to the clearance of Mr. James McNee, the Chief's piper, and having made a smudge at its outskirts quietly rested there till evening and then approached the house, told the story of having lost his way, etc., and remained there all night.

In the meantime Matheson and his man staid in the same place where they had been left by their guide, vainly expecting his momentary return, ever and anon cheering up their spirits by frequent applications to the brandy flask, which was usually carried about the person in those anti-temperance days. At length the shades of night warned them it was time to look out. They proceeded backwards and forwards,

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and became involved in the swamps, wet, footsore and splashed all over with mud. Shouting was useless, for there was no one to hear them. At length they made a fire and camped out all night. In the morning Madigan returned to Kennell, told his story and feigned sickness owing to what he called his exposure. A party was instantly formed to search for the lost officers of the law. About noon they were discovered in a sad plight and brought back to Kennell, and Matheson swore he would never return on such an expedition, and he kept his word.

### CHAPTER VII A DIGRESSION

In the fall of 1831 Chief McNab had become acquainted in Montreal with two young gentlemen of some capital, who had just emigrated. These were Messrs. George and Andrew Buchanan. He had persuaded them to settle in "his Township," and erect mills. He spoke in glowing terms of the rapids at the mouth of the Madawaska, and of the advantages to be derived from an early settlement in that locality. Lavish of promises and protestations, he offered them the mill site free, and timber for saw logs to any amount for an interminable length of years for a trifling consideration. Further, he claimed them as distant relatives, being descended, as he discovered, from a collateral branch of the Buchanans of Arnprior. The young men accompanied the Chief from Montreal, and proceeded up the river to inspect the place. Impressed with the favorable nature of the locality, they agreed to the Chief's terms and named the place (in compliment to McNab, as well as on account of their origin) Arnprior, which name it bears to the present day. As has been before stated the Chief's grandfather on the mother's side was Buchanan of Arnprior. In 1745 he became connected with the rebellion, and on the final suppression of the revolt by the disastrous defeat of Culloden The Buchanan was arrested, brought to Carlisle, where his offence against the House of Hanover was first committed, tried and beheaded. His

estates were all forfeited with the exception of Leney, which he had previously assigned to his daughter. In 1809, Francis, Chief of McNab, uncle to the gentleman whose adventures we are recording, by his influence with Lord Breadalbane and the Scottish nobility, with whom he was a great favorite, owing to his eccentricity and originality, procured a reversal of the attainder, and being the only legitimate heir, succeeded to the possession of the Arnprior estates in Kippin. In 1819, Archibald, the last chieftain of the MacNabs, the subject of this narrative, sold the estates to a manufacturer for £80,000, and squandered most of the proceeds in Paris, and paid a small sum of it to Breadalbane, in part of his lordship's wadset against the Kennell estate. So that now a cotton spinner and cloth manufacturer is King of Kippin instead of the descendants of those who rivaled King James V. of Scotland in magnificence and hospitality. The Laird of McNab, in detailing this piece of historical biography to Mr. Andrew Buchanan, suggested the name and it was at once adopted, and a glorious jollification of it they had at Kennell that night. James McNee, in the full glory of a new set of pipes, decorated with beautiful ribbons, performed the part of the Ancient Minstrels at the castles of their lords and blew forth in joyous peals the martial strains of Scotland's music strains that have led on the sons of the heather and hill to those daring deeds of bravery and dazzling exploits of valor that have adorned the victories and triumphs of Britain in every age, and still have the same exhilarating effects wherever the trump and the drum, the roar of cannon and the clashing of steel, proclaim the strife, the battle and the victory. And thus the Arnprior of Canada was named, thus Arnprior of the Ottawa came into existence, a village which many years afterwards was visited by the eldest son of our gracious Queen, the descendant of that house to which the forefathers of the Buchanans of Arnprior were opposed in deadly strife from pure but mistaken

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loyalty to an unfortunate race of princes, whose tyranny and violation of constitutional rights drove them from a throne of now the greatest and proudest united nation in the universe. The arrangement between the Laird of McNab and Messrs. Andrew and George Buchanan was finally concluded. McNab was to give them a free deed of lot No. 3 in concession of McNab, subject to the reservations in the Patent from the Crown, and permit them to cut all the timber within three miles of the Madawaska River for saw logs, while they or their assigns occupied the mills. On their part they and their assigns were to pay the Chief for this privilege £300 per annum. In January, 1832, McNab procured the Patent from the Crown, with certain reservations of a peculiar nature, which we will treat of hereafter in the proper place, and the Buchanans were making the necessary preparations for bringing up goods in the spring, and of commencing at that season the erection of a grist and saw mill near the very spot where McLachlin's mills now stand. Mr. Rogerson, the manager of the Buchanans' concern, accordingly came up with the goods in the beginning of April, 1832, but he would not open a bale or make the least preparations for the works until the transfer deed of the Arnprior property was placed in his hands. Such were his instructions. It seems that the Buchanans had some suspicious conjectures respecting the Chief's good faith, as he had taken the same lot from Messrs. Dan. and Alex Ross, after they had begun to improve it, and even after they had made a considerable clearance upon it. The Chief reluctantly gave Mr. Rogerson the required transfer. It was executed on the 27th of April, 1832. The Buchanans gave the Chief a bond for the performance of their part of the contract, and immediately commenced operations. The land was cleared. Workshops built of logs were erected, a store and dwelling house of the same rude material were speedily thrown up, goods were opened out for sale, and energy and business and work and stir and bustle were in the height

of activity. A large dam was thrown completely across the Madawaska, and over the summit of the dam a bridge spanned the river from bank to bank. A grist mill was erected on the small island where now the present bridge rests one of its piers, and the saw mill stood exactly on the site of one of McLachlin's lumber mills, on the east side of the river. By the spring of 1833, all the works were in active operation. The mills were finished; saw logs were driven down the river, cut up into lumber, and sent to market. A gang of eleven saws were kept continually at work, and Arnprior then bid fair to become the nucleus of trade and manufacture for the surrounding country, under the auspices of the Messrs. Buchanan. A medical gentleman named Dr. Higginson, was induced to settle in the neighborhood, but finding the people too robust and the climate too salubrious, he was compelled to "vamoose the ranch" Mr. Andrew Buchanan was appointed a Justice of the Peace, and he sat with the Chief to administer the law, and also acted the part of clergyman in celebrating the marriage ceremony in the absence of the Chief. A number of emigrants from Scotland settled in the township this year (1833.) They were principally from Breadalbane, and it was about this time that Mr. James Morris, father to the High Sheriff of the County of Renfrew, took up his abode in the Canaan settlement of McNab. The settlers had a peculiar penchant for giving scriptural names to the several settlements which continue to this day and are used in common parlance. Thus they have Canaan on the 2nd line, and Goshen on the 4th and 5th, Dan on the East side of the Madawaska, etc., etc. The Chief was now receiving the rents pretty fairly. He had a number of settlers who looked upon him with respect and awe, and they thought that the Flat Rapid people were in a state of sinful rebellion.

The following letter, written by the Chief about this time, shows the kind of feeling that prevailed at the time between himself and the majority of

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the settlers. It was written to a person there on the most friendly terms with him, who from the force of circumstances five years afterwards, found himself impelled to join the other settlers in a strong remonstrance to the Government.

KENNEL LODGE, October 16th, 1832.

Mr. Matthew Barr:

DEAR MATTHEW, I again am to trouble with more letters. This will be put into your hands by James Dunlop, his brother accompanying him. He wishes to have 100 acres of land, and if you could show him a half lot of land that you think would suit him, I will thank you to point it out to him. I am certain Donald McNaughton or Donald Fisher will give them a night's lodgings if your house be thronged. Excuse this and believe me,  
Yours truly,  
(Signed) McNab

There were no taverns in those days, but the people were, as they still are, remarkably hospitable.

The Chief always signed himself "McNab," except in legal documents, and considered it a gross insult to be styled Mr. McNab.

It was in the commencement of 1834 that McNab procured judgment against Donald McNaughton, Sr., John McIntyre and Peter McIntyre, for the amount of their bond. The others of the "black sheep" could not be served with process, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Sheriff and his bailiffs. Donald McIntyre came to the Chief's terms and settled with him. It was about this time too that the Buchanans and McNab had a serious quarrel. Mr. John Powell had been member of the Legislature for Lanark, and he had discovered the tenure under which McNab held the township. George Buchanan had married his sister, and the fact came out that he was only an agent for the Government, consequently, when the annual subsidy of £300 became due, the Buchanans refused to pay, upon the grounds that they had been induced to sign the bond under misrepresentations. McNab instantly went to law and invoked the

common law courts to his aid. The Buchanans appealed to Chancery for an investigation upon the grounds they had alleged. The Buchanans, on their side, stated that the Chief had allowed Matthew Barr, Mitchell & Sutherland, and other lumberers to make timber on the particular localities set apart for them, viz., within three miles on both sides of the Madawaska, and had therefore broken his contract. The injunction was granted, and both parties were induced by mutual friends to leave the matter to arbitration, which was held at Fitzroy Harbor during the fall of 1835, and the arbitrators decided against the Chief. McNab then appealed to Chancery, and the case was going on when the Buchanans failed in 1836, and handed over the property to Messrs. Gold, Simpson & Mittleberger, and McNab lost the whole. The Buchanans had offered to compromise the matter by giving the Chief £150 per annum. This McNab indignantly refused.

### CHAPTER VIII

#### NEW SETTLERS SHERIFF'S RAID INCIPIENT REBELLION

In the year 1834 a large party of Highlanders from Blair Athol arrived, and finally settled in the township of McNab. They were hardy, healthy, robust and industrious men. They consisted of the McLachlans, the Stewarts, the Fergusons, the Robertsons, and the Duffs. The majority of these families still remain in the township, although some of them, as late as 1849 and 1850, removed to the Huron tract, and remained there. This was a great acquisition to the numerical strength of McNab. Being all located on lands of their own selection, assisted in this choice by others of their countrymen whose long residence had given them experience and knowledge, their location tickets were similar to the last band of settlers, with the exception of a new feature which was introduced into their agreement by the Chief, that all the pine timber was reserved for the use of the Arnprior mills." Their lands might be slashed, trees might be felled, roads cut through their lots, brush and rubbish



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and tree-tops accumulated, thus increasing the difficulties of clearing, and no compensation made for anything in the shape of a recompense or remuneration for the greater labor thus imposed, ever offered to them. They were, of course, serfs. They must submit without a murmur to their liege lord, and to those to whom he had partly assigned his rights, or his assumed rights. They did for a time acquiesce, believing that the whole property was McNab's, and that he had the right to dispose of it as he pleased. The question was afterwards tested in the law courts of the country, and there was then discovered by the people that the "Law of Trespass" existed in Canada as well as at home. Matters went on smoothly and tranquilly until the first Monday of January, 1835. Then an event occurred that sent an electric shock through the whole settlement, and the people looked on in consternation and apprehension. The township had by this time been regularly organized. They had come under the jurisdiction of the quasi Municipal Law as then administered by the Quarter Sessions, composed of broken-down gentlemen and half-pay officers from Richmond, March, and Perth. Every half-pay officer was made a justice, and every justice was a Socrates, combining in his person a knowledge both of military and civil law; but in their judicial decisions (and they were sometimes very lucid, especially when good old Jamaica used its influence,) the martial prevailed over the civil. This court, besides taking cognizance of assaults, petty thefts, and misdemeanor, laid out the statute labor, expended the taxes, and administered all the internal and municipal concerns of the District. The executive municipal officers were elected by the people at their annual meeting held in January. The officers then chosen were Town-Clerks, Assessors, Collectors, and Pathmasters all of them under the authority and jurisdiction of their Worships, the military and dilapidated Dogberrys in General Quarter Sessions assembled.

The town-meeting of 1835 for the township of McNab was held in the shanty of Mr. John McIntyre, in the Flat Rapid settlement, being the central lot of the township. It had just concluded its session. Almost all the male inhabitants of the town ship had assembled, more for the purpose of seeing each other than for the business they had to transact. They knew that the Chief was able to manage all the business of the township if they did not attend. The people were about to disperse, and were standing at the door, preparatory to their departure. All at once a Deputy - Sheriff of Perth, with a posse of bailiffs, made their appearance, and having seized all John McIntyre's cattle, were driving them off. Mrs. McIntyre, with the spirit and courage of her grandfather, who had fought at Culloden, regardless of law or of the consequences, rushed with a wooden pitchfork on the bailiffs and belabored them soundly, till she was disarmed and carried off a prisoner to Kennell. All her cows and all the cattle of Peter McIntyre were swept away, under the execution obtained a year before, but which could not previously be enforced. Taking advantage of a large assembly, and seizing the opportunity of making a durable example before the eyes of all the settlers, that they might continue true to their allegiance and not swerve in the slightest degree from their future loyalty to the Chief, McNab improvised the occasion, and completely effected his purpose. This judicial raid filled the minds of the people with anxiety and apprehension, blended with pity for the sufferers. To assist the McIntyre's was to impoverish themselves, and provoke the undying enmity of their leader. That year the rent was well paid: not a bushel was withheld. What had occurred to John and Peter McIntyre might any day happen to themselves. The Laird was all-powerful. He was supported and assisted by the Government. He held the social position of a great gentleman, and was undoubtedly a Highland Chieftain reduced in circumstances, it is true, but still



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the legitimate head of a clan, which office had been hereditary in his family since the days of Malcolm Canmore. To oppose him was useless, and not to submit and obey was worse than madness. Those who had not yielded implicitly to his commands had come to grief. Both Miller and Alexander McNab had been compelled to fly the township; and now the McIntyre's had been harried and ruined. Thus reasoned the poor Highlanders of McNab; and had the Chief at this juncture used his power and influence with moderation and prudence, the chains of feudalism would have been firmly riveted around the necks of his followers, which nothing but a legislative enactment, backed by adequate pecuniary compensation, could have burst asunder. Mrs. McIntyre, without as much as a cloak, was hurried to Kennell in the dead of winter, but was released next day by the advice of Mr. McMartin, who was there at the time. She had suffered so severely from exposure to the cold that she was confined to her bed for weeks.

The cattle were sold and barely paid expenses. It was no joke to travel with an execution any distance in those days. The expense was enormous, owing to the paucity of traveling facilities and the state of the roads

In the fall of this year the Chief turned his attention toward the back settlement of the township. He had heard from the settlers and others that there was a good tract of hardwood land around White Lake. Thither he betook himself in October. He sent the "fiery cross" through the people, and assembled on a spot where the village now stands a large concourse of settlers to assist him in making a new colony. A few acres were instantly cleared, and a small stone house with pavilion roof was erected, which he named Waba Cottage. The Chief's first motive for settling here was to be at a distance from the Buchanans, with whom he had quarreled a few weeks before he began his new undertaking ; but upon inspection he at once perceived the natural

advantages for milling purposes, and the employment of all kinds of machinery afforded by Waba brook the outlet of the lake, and it was judged both profitable and expedient to secure the land in this neighborhood for his son Allan, whom he represented to the Government as a settler ; and his pliable friend, Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieut. -Governor of Upper Canada, the year following made and ordered out a patent for 720 acres, round the lake, to Allan McNab, as a settler under McNab of McNab. This was making a splendid provision for his son (by the bar sinister] without impairing his own grant of 4,000 acres an amount of land formerly given to a field-officer. While these transactions were going on about White Lake, let us turn our eyes to other portions of the township, where improvements were being steadily made, and the furthering of which was the origin of a quarrel with the settlers which led to important results. The lands on the north side of the Madawaska were being rapidly filled up, and it became necessary to connect both sides of the river by a bridge at "Johnson's Rock"(the site of the present Burnstown Bridge). For this purpose, through the representations of the Chief, the House of Assembly, in February, 1835, on the motion of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, granted a sum of money for that and other improvements, and appointed Duncan McNab (Auchessan), Donald McNaughton, (Mohr), and James Carmichael commissioners to superintend its expenditure. These were the men nominated by the Laird himself. They were his particular friends. They, he imagined, would do as he bade them, and expend the money as he desired. It was £200. A moiety of this money was to be appropriated to the Madawaska Bridge. The Government handed the money to McNab to bring down to the commissioners. McNab called a meeting of these gentlemen to ascertain their views. He wished the other half to be expended at White Lake. To his utter astonishment the commissioners refused to accede to his proposal. They were independent men. They had paid their

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rents regularly. They had nothing to fear from the Chief. They firmly but respectfully suggested the plan of dividing a portion of the funds among other parts of the township. The Chief fumed and puffed with indignation at their presumption of even remonstrating.

"Then, my men," exclaimed he, foaming with rage, "you don't get the money at all; I will send it back to York."

They begged him to reconsider his resolution, and offered to expend £650 of the money at White Lake.

"No; not one farthing shall be spent elsewhere. You will suffer, my men, for this disobedience. The fate of Miller and the McIntyre's shall be yours."

Thereupon Duncan McNab, who was not only a settler but a lumberer, and had acquired considerable wealth, told the Chief flatly that he was nothing but an agent; that George Buchanan had found it out, and that the people were aware of it.

The Chief stared at him aghast, rolled up his eyes, made a number of pantomimic gestures, at which he was an adept; and terminated the interview by ordering them out of the house. This dispute eventually culminated in a law-suit, and four years elapsed before the money was obtained from the Chief, and expended.

While the Chief was building his cottage at White Lake, and disputing with the township commissioners, the Messrs. Buchanan were actively engaged in carrying on the improvements and investing capital in a new enterprise. Since the first settlers had taken up their locations in McNab, a regular line of steamboat communication had been established between Montreal and Fitzroy Harbor (the Chats). The Ottawa plied between Lachine and Carillon; the old Shannon performed its regular trips between Grenville and Bytown; and the Lady Colborne made its tri-weekly voyage between Aylmer and the Chats. The Messrs. Buchanan resolved to extend the communication to the Cheneaux. Accordingly, in the autumn

of 1835, they commenced making preparations to build the George Buchanan; the keel was laid the materials procured ship-builders actively at work when Mr. Andrew Buchanan fell ill and died. This was a sad blow to the prospects of the Company. The deceased was a gentleman of education, ability and energy; and the assistance of his great commercial abilities was much needed at this crisis. Mr. Buchanan was buried on a knoll on the west side of the Madawaska. The spot is now occupied by the house and store of Mr. William Kussell. Previous to commencing their building in 1853, Messrs. Russell caused Mr. Buchanan's remains to be removed to the Inch-Bhui burying ground at Arnprior, a beautiful spot at the mouth of the Madawaska, consisting of two acres specially granted by the Chief as a burying ground for the township.

At this eventful period the dispute between McNab and the Buchanans was at its height. McPhee, a foreman of theirs, had that season made an immense quantity of saw-logs on the settlers' lots for their mills, and had driven the greater part of them to the boom at Arnprior. To embarrass the Buchanans was now his object and delight. By the wording of the patent from the Crown, certain reservations and restrictions were made with respect to the river, and notice was served on Mr. George Buchanan and by the Chief's legal adviser that an injunction would be moved for in Chancery to restrain him from violating the restrictions in the patent, in consequence of which a new boom had to be made further up the river, where the lands were not severed from the Crown. As this patent is of the utmost consequence to the people now, and to the lumber trade on the Madawaska, the writer has, with no small trouble, obtained an exemplification of the original deed. It is as follows:

MAITLAND: Jp  
PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA, George the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the

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United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, KING:  
To all whom these presents shall come, greeting:  
Know Ye that We, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto ARCHIBALD McNab of McNab, of the township of McNab, in the County of Carleton, in the District of Bathurst, his heirs and assigns forever, all that parcel or tract of land situate in the township of McNab, in the County of Carleton, in the District of Bathurst, in our said Province, containing by admeasurements Four Hundred and Fifty Acres, be the same more or less, being the South Westerly halves of Lots Three and Four, the North-Easterly half of Lot number Three, and the broken Lot number Five, in concession C in the said township of McNab; together with all woods and waters lying and being under the reservations, limitations, and conditions hereinafter expressed.

(Then follow the surveyor's boundaries, which are in the usual form, except the boundaries of number Five, which we transcribe :) Also commencing where a post has been planted at the Southwest angle of the said broken Lot number Five, then north thirty six degrees west thirty chains more or less to the Grand or Ottawa River, then easterly along the shore to the mouth of the River Madawaska, then southerly along the water's edge of the said river, against the stream, to the southern limit of the said Lot, then south fifty -four degrees west to the place of beginning, containing One Hundred and Fifty acres, more or less.

To have and to hold the said parcel or tract of land hereby given or granted to him the said Archibald McNab (reserving free access to the beach by all vessels, boats and persons, and also all navigable waters within the said tract of land) his heirs and assigns forever, saving nevertheless to us, our heirs and successors, all mines of gold and silver that shall or may be hereafter found on any part of

the said parcel or tract of land hereby given and granted as aforesaid, &c., &c.

2nd proviso reserves all white-pine trees.

3rd proviso enjoins the erection of a dwelling house.

PROVIDED also that if at any time or times thereafter the land so hereby given and granted to the said Archibald McNab and his heirs shall come into possession or tenure of any person or persons whomsoever, either by virtue of any deed or sale, conveyance, enfeoffment, or exchange ; or by gift, inheritance, descent, devise, or marriage; such person or persons shall twelve months next after his, her, or their entry into and possession of the same, take the oaths prescribed by law, before some one of the magistrates of our said Province, and a certificate of such oath having been so taken, shall cause to be recorded in the Secretary's office of the said Province. In default of all or any of which conditions, limitations and restrictions, the said Grant, and everything herein contained, shall be, and We hereby declare the same to be null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and the land hereby granted, and every part and parcel thereof, shall revert to, and become vested in us, Our Heirs and Successors in like manner, as if the same had never been granted, etc., etc.  
(Signed) JOHN B. ROBINSON, Attorney General

Given under the Great Seal of our Province of Upper Canada: Witness our trusty and well beloved Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., etc., etc.; this Twenty-eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, and ninth of Our reign.  
By command of His Excellency in Council,  
(Signed) D. CAMERON, Sec'y.  
Entered with the Auditor, 8th March, 1828  
(Signed) S. HEWARD, Aud. Gen'L

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[NOTE: It will be observed that anyone who has purchased land from the McNab or his assigns, or from any one holding under them, in the village of Arnprior, itself, or in any portions of the lots described in the patent, must have the oaths of supremacy and allegiance taken and registered within a year of their entry and possession, or their land is forfeited to the Crown. And again, by another of the provisions it stipulates that if free access to the beach on the shores of the Ottawa and Madawaska by means of booms and other impediments is prevented, the whole of the above lands is forfeited; and the party hindered from this free access, either through the land, or by boat or vessels by water, has his remedy by action. There seems something strange in the wording of this particular patent, differing, as it does, from all others, but it was drafted by Sir John Beverly Robinson, late Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and was evidently drawn up with great care and forethought, in order to protect the rights of the lumbermen taking their timber down the Madawaska.]

At the close of this year, in consequence of his dispute with the Buchanans, the Chief procured a specific grant of all the white-pine timber on all unallocated lands in the township. This grant was made by patent, but he took special care in locating new lots to reserve the timber for his own use. We now find McNab at the close of this year (1835), engaged in a law-suit with Mr. George Buchanan and others involved in a dispute with the Commissioners respecting road-grants, and making a new farm and building a new cottage at White Lake. His hands were full, but this did not prevent him from carrying out his revenge on certain of the "black sheep," the full particulars of which will be detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IX  
1886 AND 1837 IMPRISONMENT OF THE  
M'INTYRES  
DISAFFECTION OF THE SETTLERS

This year opened with disputes between McNab and the people, about the road money. At the town meeting Duncan McNab resigned his commissionership, and Angus McNab was elected in his stead. Before the town-meeting had terminated its business, the Laird made his appearance, told the people he had the money, pulled out a large roll of bills, and openly defied the commissioners. If the money was not laid out where he wanted it, they would not have the satisfaction of expending it at all. He said he would return it to the Treasurer\* with instructions not to pay it over without his order. Accordingly he returned 100 to Mr. McKay, who was then County Treasurer; the remainder he kept in his own hands. The commissioners could not go on with improvements. The bridge at Johnston's Hock (Burnstown) had to be postponed; legal advice was taken, and a suit, under the management of the late T. M. Radenhurst, was commenced against the Chief. While this was going on the Chief had procured a casa against John McIntyre and his son Peter. In the dead of winter, in the latter end of January, 1836, the officers of the law made a raid into the Flat Rapid settlement, arrested and carried off the two unfortunate victims of the Chief's anger. The old man, John McIntyre, was then seventy years of age, and his son Peter was in the prime of manhood. Their wives accompanied them to Kennell. The old man was not allowed an overcoat to keep the cold from his attenuated frame. He was not permitted even to go to the house for a change of clothes, for fear of a rescue. Peter McIntyre was one of the persons who, in company with John Buchanan, had assisted the Chief to fly from his unrelenting creditors at home; and these were his thanks, and this the Chief's gratitude! Forgetting former kindness and former assistance in a pressing emergency, in thus gratifying his vengeance and appeasing his mortified pride the poor McIntyre's were made to suffer. He had not spent a shilling of his own money in bringing them out. Dr. Hamilton and his sister, Mrs.

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Fairfield, had paid all the settlers' expenses, and had they known that McNab would thus use the power vested in him by the bond, they would have cancelled all the obligations it imposed, and made the settlers a present of the consideration. The McIntyre's were brought to Perth. Peter McIntyre's wife's friends in Beckwith went security for the amount, and he was speedily liberated. Donald McIntyre, ar., was also arrested, but his sons paid the amount, and demanded the patent. Old Mr. McIntyre remained in the debtors' prison in Perth. He would allow no one to go security, or pay the amount. His feelings had been cruelly outraged. He, who had so gallantly fought for his country, was now imprisoned for no offence, but for the sake of his own philanthropy. He had assisted Miller, and thus provoked the sleepless enmity of the Laird. When pressed to take bail the noble old man rose immovable as a statue, his white locks hanging over his shoulders in profuse masses like a patriarch of old, and exclaimed, "I will have no one suffer for me. My earthly pilgrimage will soon be over; and if I end my life here, no one will be the worse. I will not undertake to do what I cannot perform. It was a weary 'day for me when I left Scotland. I have suffered trials and hardships ever since."

The old man remained imprisoned for three months, receiving the allowance of five shillings per week. One morning it was fortunately forgotten, and Mr. McIntyre was released. He went to a desolate home, and were it not for exertions of his two sons, John and Daniel, Mr. McIntyre would have perished from sheer inanition. He never got over it; he lingered for three years, and then died brokenhearted. The Chief had taken everything he possessed, and left him without a cow, or even a solitary hen. A burst of indignation went through the whole township against the Chief; and even his most intimate friends and subservient toadies could not defend him. Instead of this transaction being a warning to others, it proved the contrary. It called forth a universal

feeling of sympathy for the poor sufferers, and a determination of the settlers to resist further encroachments. The report the of Buchanans, that McNab was only an agent, about this time spread through the township like wildfire, and it was generally "believed that whatever the Chief might do with those who had signed the bond in Scotland, he could not pretend to harass those who came out at their own expense. The old settlers, with these four or five exceptions, endeavored to pay their rent regularly, although the majority determined to use every legal means to get rid of it. Some even offered to pay up the passage-money, with interest; but it was refused, the time for doing so having expired. Serfs they were, and serfs they must remain. The Laird became aware, through his spies and tale-bearers (in whom he took great delight), of this general feeling of dissatisfaction. He resolved to punish the whole township. Accordingly, in March, he and Mr. Richey, a brother-magistrate from Fitzroy, having been appointed by the Quarter Sessions to do the road business, sat to apportion the statute-labor. The Chief wanted a new road from White Lake to Bellamy's Mills; consequently, all the statute-labor on the east side of the Madawaska was ordered to be laid out on the road. The place of labor was about ten miles distant from some of the settlers' homes. The labor on the west side of the Madawaska was ordered to be expended between Arnprior and the 2nd concession line, bringing some of the settlers away from their own roads, which very much needed a large amount of work.

This apportionment the commissioners determined to oppose as unjust and unreasonable. They ordered the pathmasters to lay out the statute-labor in their own divisions, irrespective of the magisterial fiat. The same thing occurred next year 1837. The Laird now resolved to punish both pathmasters and commissioners; the pathmasters by forcing them to go to Perth at their own expense to give evidence, and the commissioners, to



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indict them before the Grand Jury. Accordingly, he procured a criminal subpoena from the Deputy Clerk of the Crown, Mr. Sache, summoning John McLachlin, James McKay, Duncan McNab, and ten other pathmasters to give evidence against Angus McNab, Donald Mohr McNaughton and, Jas. Carmichael. The poor pathmasters, dreading the consequences, obeyed, traveled to Perth a distance of between fifty and sixty miles, in the very middle of harvest (August, 1837), were detained there four days, and on the fourth were examined by the Attorney-General, Mr. W. H. Draper, (afterwards Chief Justice), and dismissed without a penny dismissed without even going before the Grand Jury, because Mr. Draper found there was no case to submit to the Grand Inquest. Thus, fourteen poor settlers and three commissioners, in the midst of their harvesting labors, were forced to go to Perth at their own expense, and when they applied to the Chief for compensation, his reply was, "My men, it is a Queen's case. I have nothing to do with it; every man is bound to obey the Queen's summons." In the meantime the commissioners had obtained judgment against the Laird for the money granted by the House of Assembly. It was sent to the Chief. He had retained £100 in his own hands. The other £100 was in the County Treasury. The Chief immediately gave an order for the money in the Treasury and told Mr. Kadenhurst he would pay the remainder when the bridge over the Madawaska was contracted for.

While these road disputes were going on, and the settlers were increasing in their disaffection and efforts of resistance, another act of injustice was perpetrated which never could have taken place under any other regime than that of the Family Compact an act so gross, so cruel, so unjust in its consequences, as to shake the confidence in the integrity of the Government. Sir F. B. Head was then Lieut-Governor of Upper Canada. Every measure calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of the people was frowned down, and every means used to build up and foster a small party

clique at the expense of the people, met with his cordial approbation and support. A majority of the House of Assembly, led by Mackenzie, Baldwin, Bidwell and Rolph, was against him and his government. He ignored the acts of the majority. C. H. Hagerman bullied, or attempted to bully, the independent members of the House. He did the dirty work of a dirty and oppressive government. These were the men who were then the bosom friends of the Chief. Sir F. B. Head and the Laird of McNab were similar in some traits of their character. Bond Head was pompous, vain and important; the Laird excelled him in these characteristics. The Lieut-Governor had the airs of a dancing-master, and the braggadocio of a Gascon; McNab possessed the same admirable qualities. Head was tyrannical and vindictive to all who opposed his measures: the Chief vied with him in these peculiar attributes. Sir Francis was a clever writer, speaker and politician. Here there was dissimilarity, for McNab in a great measure lacked these qualities. They were boon companions and swore eternal friendship. McNab asked for a patent of all the timber on the unallocated lots of the township. It was granted without hesitation; and now we will revert to the facts of the particular case that the writer is about to relate.

One Duncan Anderson was located by the Chief on Lot No. 14 in the 4th concession, Duncan McNab (Islay,) was located on Lot No. 18 in the 1st. The latter was a good place of business, and rather poor for agricultural purposes; the former was a splendid lot of good arable land. Anderson wished to engage an business, having made a good land speculation in connection with McNab upon a lot they jointly sold to Michael Koddy, as will hereafter be seen in the report of the late Francis Allan, Esq. Duncan McNab wanted a good lot for farming. They exchanged lots, and assigned location-tickets. D. McNab went to reside in the 14th of the 4th, and Anderson took possession of D. McNab's land. The Chief at first sanctioned the



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agreement. It was nothing to him. His interests did not suffer by the transfer. A few months afterwards Duncan McNab had given some offence to the Laird. He served a notice upon poor Duncan to quit the place, as he disapproved of the arrangement, and intended to take out the patent for himself. Six weeks afterwards he applied to his friend, Francis; and although a copy of the location ticket was filed in the Crown Land office, and Duncan McNab's name substituted for Anderson's in the diagram of the township, the patent was at once ordered to issue to the Chief. He immediately commenced proceedings in ejectment. Poor Duncan did not know who John Doe and Richard Roe were. He went to Perth and consulted Mr. Radenhurst, who undertook the defense. In August 1837, the case was brought down to trial at Nisi Prius, and a verdict entered for plaintiff at one-shilling damages. The Hon. Jonas Jones tried the case; said it was a great hardship, and openly recommended it to be referred to Chancery saying that the courts of law could give no relief to Duncan McNab. The Judge had made an error at the trial in not allowing the patent to be proved in the ordinary way. Mr. Radenhurst took advantage of this lapsus and moved for anew trial in term, which he obtained. Leaving this matter for the present, as its termination belongs to the record of a subsequent year; we now revert to stirring events in the township and in the province.

In the fall of 1836, George Buchanan failed. The steamboat which he had built had just received its engine, and the George Buchanan had made one trip to the Chenaux. The whole estate and business was transferred to Messrs. Simpson, Gould & Mettleberger. Mr. Buchanan went to his property on Victoria Island, at the Chats, where he had constructed a slide for the passing of timber, and which proved a lucrative speculation. The old company carried on the business at first briskly, but gradually declined in their operations till 1887 they ceased doing anything in the lumber line. They could get no logs from McNab

without paying too dearly for the privilege. Mr. Rogerson, (brother-in-law of Mr. William Eraser, afterwards the esteemed Treasurer of the County of Lanark) still remained at Arnprior collecting the debts due to the Buchanan estate, and winding up the business. This was the state of affairs at Arnprior at the close of 1837.

Towards the end of the year the commissioners gave out the contract of constructing the bridge at Johnson's Rock (Burnstown), to Mr. Duncan McNab (Auchessan), a lumberer, for 200. Mr. McNab set to work with skill and energy. He took into partnership Mr. Duncan Carmichael, and before the first of January, 1838, the new bridge the long-talked of and disputed structure was at length completed. This was now the only bridge on the Madawaska: that at Arnprior had been swept away by the spring freshet, and was not rebuilt till many years afterwards, when the Board of Works of the Province erected the White Bridge at Arnprior, further up the stream.

The Laird of McNab was now roused to fury. The repeated and successful acts of opposition to his will and his plans maddened him. The construction of the bridge had roused all his passions, and he resolved to punish the commissioners.....individually. He selected Mr. Donald Mohr McNaughton as his first victim. This gentleman, now the leader of the settlers in their efforts of resistance had been, in Scotland, head gamekeeper to Lord Panmure, and was a person of some education and intelligence. In person he was robust, tall and athletic. Measuring 6ft. 4in. in height, he towered above his fellow settlers in physical height, as well as in physical courage and moral resolution. He had emigrated a few years previously, believing the Laird of McNab to be a gentleman equal to the Earl of Fanmure, and settled in the township of McNab. For some years he paid regularly (3 barrels of flour for 200 acres); but when the haughty and overbearing disposition of McNab became apparent in his dispute with

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the commissioners, and also when he became convinced that the Chief was only an agent of the government, he determined to risk the result, and refused to pay any more rent. McNab could not sue for rent or passage money, as Donald Mohr had come to the country at his own expense, bringing a small capital with him which he partly expended in clearing and improving his farm. He devised another scheme as deep as it was malicious. Procuring the signature of twelve freeholders from Fitzroy and Pakenham to a requisition calling upon Manny Nowlan (since dead), a road-surveyor residing at Carleton Place, to run a road from White Lake to Muskrat Lake, he caused Mr. Nowlan to come to White Lake, (where the Chief had now taken up his permanent residence), in October, 1837, to commence operations.

Having given him full instructions how to run the road, the party started early on the following morning, consisting of two axmen, the Chief and the writer, who was then a youth of fifteen. The road was marked out and surveyed properly till they reached the lot of Donald McNaughton, Sr., which lay adjoining that of his gigantic namesake. Here a divergence was made; they made a turn at right angles, so as to go straight through both lots of the two McNaughton's. The poor old man McNaughton came to the Chief, bonnet in hand, and begged him not to spoil his land. The Laird scornfully laughed at him, and ordered the surveyor to proceed. Nowlan continued his survey till he came to the division line of Donald Mohr's lot. The Chief, seeing things progressing properly, according to his views, returned home. Scarcely, however, had the luckless Manny Nowlan crossed the side-line, when Mr. McNaughton, foaming with rage and just indignation, appeared in sight making gigantic strides towards him. The axmen flew in one direction. Manny Nowlan trembled in his shoes.

"What are you doing here, ha?" exclaimed Big Donald, in the thundering tones of a gorilla.

"Surveying a road," was the reply; "and beware how you oppose me."

"Be off! Away from my land! If you come one step further (clapping his hands) I will send you to eternity," roared McNaughton.

Nowlan shook with terror, and fled, and did not recover his equanimity till he was safely housed in the Chief's stone cottage at the lake. The Laird vowed vengeance; the whole terrors of the law were to be invoked. The surveyor was deforced. Ignorant of the consequences McNaughton had violated the law in defense of his property. The mode to oppose the survey was to appear before the Quarter Sessions. This Big Donald did not know at the time; and if he did, his passion and just indignation got the better of his discretion, and he thus fell into the trap and laid himself open to the Chief's vengeance. Accordingly, at the next meeting of the Quarter Session, Nowlan appeared to pass his road, and go before the Grand Jury. The road was constituted to the very spot where he was stopped, although opposed by Mr. McNaughton, A presentment was made against McNaughton, the usual process was moved for and a bench-warrant issued. McNaughton was arrested, and the bailiff left him on the road while he went down to the cottage to see if the Chief would take bail.

"Do not bring the fellow here," said the Laird, knitting his brows; "I smell the air foul already; let not this house be contaminated by his presence. Take him to McVicar, and give him this letter."

The Chief wrote to Mr. McVicar to accept none for bail except freeholders. Now there were no freeholders in the township, and he thought if Mr. McVicar would follow his instructions, McNaughton would be sent to prison. Not so, however; Mr. Alex. McVicar, of Pakenham, was a decent, upright, and benevolent man; he accepted the sureties of Mr. Duncan McLachlin and Mr. Donald McNaughton, Sr., and the prisoner was liberated. They were not freeholders, but Donald

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Mohr's next neighbor settlers like himself, who had not received their deeds. The trial was fixed for the ensuing March (1838), and McNaughton and his friends returned home in safety and triumph. The result will be narrated in its proper place.

### CHAPTER X

#### THE REBELLION MILITARY TACTICS OF MC NAB GENERAL INSUBORDINATION OF THE SETTLERS

While these things were transpiring in McNab, and the people were nerving themselves for a struggle which they saw was to terminate either in ruin or independence, other momentous affairs were being transacted in Upper and Lower Canada. Papineau had fanned the flame of discontent into an open rebellion, and Mackenzie and Bidwell, following his example, had roused the more enthusiastic and rash of the Reform party in the west to take up arms. The British troops had met with a reverse at St. Denis, which was amply retrieved and avenged by Col. Wetherall at St. Charles. Mackenzie was investing Toronto, and had marshaled his forces at Montgomery's farm, within a few miles of Toronto. All was panic and confusion in the immediate vicinity of the seat of the revolt, and the news was much exaggerated to those living at a distance. The political atmosphere was overcast. A portentous cloud of evil omen seemed to envelop both provinces. Volunteers, men of loyal hearts and warm love for the mother country, poured in. Thousands flocked to the standard of their Queen, and the Laird of McNab, among the rest, sent the following characteristic letter to Sir F. B. Head:

WABA COTTAGE, 15th Dec., 1837.

MY DEAR SIR FRANCIS, The spirit of my fathers has been infused into my soul by recent events, and has roused within me the recollection and memory of the prestige of my race. The only Highland chieftain in America offers himself, his clan, and the McNab Highlanders, to march forward in the defense of the country

"Their swords are a thousand their hearts are but one."

"We are ready to march at any moment. Command my services at once, and we will not leave the field till we have routed the hell-born rebels, or in death be laid low, with our backs to the field, and our face to the foe." I am yours sincerely,  
(Signed,) McNab

Immediately upon the receipt of this document. Sir Francis Head appointed the Laird Colonel of the 20th Battalion of Carleton Light Infantry, comprising the townships of McNab, Fitzroy and Pakenham, with instructions to nominate his officers, forward the list to headquarters, and call the regiment out to muster forthwith. On the 25th December, 1837, the whole regiment mustered at Pakenham, and were put under the militia law. McNab made a speech to them, read the names of their officers, and gave a general order that they were to muster by companies near the abodes of their captains, on the 15th and 17th of the ensuing month. The companies of the township of McNab, under the command of Captain Alex McDonnell and Captain John McNab, of Horton, assembled at Sand Point on the 15th of January. After the roll was called, and all had answered to their names, the Chief, who was present, read the Articles of War, and then addressed them thus "Now, my men, you are under martial law. If you behave well, obey my orders and the officers under me, you will be treated as good soldiers; but if you come under the lash, by the God that made me, I will use it without mercy, So you know your doom Now, I call upon as many of you as will do so willingly, to volunteer and go to the front, and I will lead you on to glory."

There was a murmur in the ranks, they were drawn up in line, two deep, in Mr. McDonnell's large stone shed, as it was a stormy day. When the whispering was over, a dead silence prevailed. Two and only two stepped forward as volunteers, and these were Mr. Young and Mr. Henniker, two of McDonnell's clerks.

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

"What! No more?" Exclaimed McNab:  
"then I must proceed to ballot and  
force you."

The men remained doggedly silent; at  
length some one asked him where his  
authority for the ballot was. The  
Chief turned away; told them he would  
call them together again for that  
purpose; and dismissed them. The  
people were in the highest state of  
indignation and apprehension. They  
held a meeting and sent the following  
petition to the Government:

McNab, 22nd January, 1838.  
To His Excellency, Sir Francis Bond  
Head, Lieutenant-Governor of the  
Province of Upper Canada, &c., &\*c.

THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED HUMBLY  
SHEWETH:

That the Carleton Light Infantry was  
mustered on the 25th ultimo, at  
Pakenham Mills, commanded by McNab of  
McNab, and on the 15th and 17th  
current by Companies at their  
Captains' respective places of abode.

That we the undersigned, one and all  
of us, consider ourselves true and  
loyal subjects, and are willing to  
serve Her Majesty in any part of  
British North America, where Your  
Excellency may think proper to call  
us, under any other commander than  
McNab.

That a number of us have suffered  
severely from McNab through the course  
of the Civil Law, and are therefore  
afraid to come under him in the  
Martial Law, being harsh in his  
disposition, and also inexperienced.

That we hope it may please Your  
Excellency to look into our  
circumstances as misled people by  
McNab, who made us give bonds for Quit  
Rents, which we, not knowing what the  
poor lands in this part of the country  
could produce, gave without  
hesitation; and notwithstanding all  
our industry and economy, with these  
bonds we are not able to comply.

That we trust Your Excellency will  
endeavor to set us on the same  
parallel with other loyal subjects in  
the Province, and free us of those

Quit Rents, as we find them a heavier  
burden than we can bear.

That there are twelve families in the  
Township who were brought from the old  
country at McNab's expense, and who  
are willing to pay any reasonable  
fraught Your Excellency may think  
proper; all the rest of the settlers  
came to the Township at their own  
expense, and beg to know from Your  
Excellency whether the land of this  
Township is McNab's or the  
Government's.

And your humble petitioners as in duty  
bound will ever pray.

(SIGNED)

James Robertson, James Brown, John  
Robertson Donald Stewart, Peter  
McGregor, Donald Kerr, Angus McNab,  
John McNab, Donald McNab, Duncan  
Campbell, Peter McMillan, John  
McMillan, Malcolm McLaren, Daniel  
McIntyre, John McGregor, Alexander  
McGregor, Peter McArthur, John  
McDermaid, James Stevenson, Alexander  
Cameron, Thomas McLaughlin, Donald  
McLaughlin, Jr., Donald McLaughlin,  
Sr., James McLaughlin, Donald  
McNaughton, Chas. Goodwin, Alex.  
Campbell, Izett Duff, Arch. McDonnell,  
James McDonnell, Dugal McGregor,  
Andrew Hamilton, Donald McNaughton,  
John McNaughton, Robt. McNaughton,  
Alex. McNaughton, Peter Fergusson,  
Duncan McNab, Angus Cameron, Alex.  
Dure, Donald Dure, Colin McFadden,  
Alex. McNiven, Arch. McNab, Alex.  
McNab, Colin McGregor, Arch. McNab,  
John McNab, Andrew Taylor, John  
Campbell, John Hamilton, Andrew  
Hamilton, Alexander Goodwin, Duncan  
McLachlin, Alexander Goodwin, Sr.,  
Donald McIntyre, Jas. McLaren, Donald  
McIntyre, Alex. Thomson, Jas.  
Robertson Jas. Robertson, James McKay,  
Alex. Fergusson, Donald Robertson,  
Duncan McNab, Matthew Barr, Thomas  
McLaughlin, Thomas Frood, Andrew  
Hamilton, Sr., Alex. McNiven, Jr,  
Alex. McNiven, Sr., John McDermaid,  
James Miller, John McInnes, Archibald  
Stewart, Sr., David Stewart, Peter  
Campbell, Patrick Callaghan, Leech  
McAlormae, Peter Robertson, J. Crego,  
John Fergusson.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

Toronto, 13th March, 1838.

GENTLEMEN: Having laid before His Excellency, no the Lieutenant Governor, your memorial of the 23rd of January, I am directed in reply to the several statements contained in it to inform you that the arrangements made between The McNab and his followers are of a purely private nature, and beyond the control of the Government that Martial Law which you apprehend will bring you more immediately under the control of your Chief, has not been proclaimed nor is it likely to be and that in any military organization which may eventually take place, the Government will take care in this, as in all other cases, not to put it in the power of any individual to treat Her Majesty's subjects harshly or oppressively.

I have, &c,

(Signed) J. JOSEPH.

ME. JAMES ROBERTSON and others  
McNab

Printed by order of the Government  
Adjutant-General's Office, | 14th  
March, 1838.

The above petition was drafted by Mr. Allan Stewart, afterwards Treasurer of the municipality of McNab, a gentleman of some literary pretensions, and the best Gaelic grammatical scholar the in County perhaps in the Province. It was signed by the majority of the settlers; a few kept in the background from timidity; others were staunch partisans of the Chief; while a few others were governed by a closer consideration. Even some of those who were under deep obligations to him for favors received felt themselves compelled to affix their signatures. Old Mr. Donald McNaughton one of the first settlers a man of the most pure and genuine Christian principles ; one who, like Enoch, daily walked with his God ; who was a perfect Ebenezer in Israel ; a man over eighty at the time ; who daily silently glided into the darkest and deepest glades of the forest, and there poured forth the ardent desires of his soul in unrestrained communion with his Maker ; who longed ardently to throw off the " mortal coil " and join the celestial

hosts of angels and seraphs who flood the regions of eternal felicity with streams of enchanting harmony, and make heaven's high and resplendent arch echo with the strains of immortal bliss that man, who longed ardently to be with his God, was among the very first to sign it. He has met with his soul's eager longings. At the advanced age of nearly a century of years, he yielded up the ghost, and the venerable patriarch, attended by the largest concourse of mourners that ever assembled in McNab, was gathered to his fathers. When such men sign a document of the above description, the oppression must have been great the tyranny intolerable. It is true the petition is not exactly according to form, and has a few Scottish idiomatic expressions embodied in it ; but it tells in clear and forcible language the wrongs the settlers had endured, and the grievances they still expected to bear. It breathes forth a spirit of loyalty to the throne: ' they were willing to go to any part of British America to defend their country under any other leader than McNab." Mr. Donald McIntyre (Paisley) went round with the petition to those who were not present at Sand Point; and Mr. Daniel McIntyre (Kilmabog) brought it to Perth to get it transmitted to the Government. In vain he applied to the Hon. W. Morris; that gentleman threw cold water on the whole business. Col. Taylor was applied to; he declined. Mr. Powell was sick; and Mr. M. Cameron, then one of the members, was absent from Perth. At length Mr. James Young placed it in an envelope and directed it to the proper quarter. Upon hearing that a petition had been transmitted, McNab wrote to Sir Francis Head not to reply to it until he arrived in Toronto. Accordingly, about the 3rd of March, 1838, he started for the seat of Government, and assisted the Governor to rivet the chains more firmly, and for the future to preclude any possibility on the part of the settlers to pursue a similar course. The reply conveyed the impression that the whole township was the Chief's "The arrangements made between The McNab and his followers



## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

are of a purely private nature, and beyond the control of the Government." How came Sir Francis to utter so gross a falsehood? Every buffoon and half-fledged harlequin is a liar, and Sir F. B. Head, impregnated with the spirit of braggadocio, scrupled at no falsehood, when he could turn a period, serve a friend, or carry out a purpose. It was this overweening vanity that caused him to insult the United States Government, and subsequently to lose his own situation, when he said in his memorable speech to the Legislature, speaking of the people of the United States, "In the name of every militia-man in the Province, I say, let them come if they dare." But this reply to the poor settlers did not alone satisfy the schemes of the Chief or his friends, the Family Compact. They were resolved to strike terror into their hearts, and make public the petition and reply. Accordingly both documents were ordered by the Executive to be printed, and four hundred copies were sent to be distributed among the people. They saw that further efforts with their present rulers would be useless; and they bowed quietly to the decision, waiting for better times, and these soon offered by the recall of Sir F. Head and the mission of the Earl of Durham.

The Chief had now entirely abandoned his Kennell residence on the banks of the Ottawa, and was now residing at Waba Cottage, White Lake, where he was preparing to erect a saw-mill. A characteristic anecdote is told of him, which is literally true. Meeting Mr. Walter McFarlane in one of the houses of the settlers with whom he had not quarreled, and impressed with his robust and ruddy appearance, he addressed him with a polite bow and said:

"Well, my man, you're a good-looking fellow. Are you a Highlander, too?"

"Yes, Chief," said Walter.

"And what may your name be, my fine fellow?"

"Walter McFarlane," was the reply; "you ought to know me; I am the son of James McFarlane, one of your first settlers."

"Ah!" said the Chief, turning away from him with a frown, and blowing a snort like a porpoise his usual habit when angry "bad weeds grow fast," and immediately left the house.

While the people and McNab were involved in these disputes, they did not neglect the social duties imposed on them as heads of families. Hitherto, there were no means of instruction, 'however poor, for the young, and they determined to procure some smattering of education for their children. Accordingly this year (1837) two schools were established in the township; one in "Canaan," near Mr. Wm. McNevin's, and the other in "Goschen," on the 4th concession line. Duncan Campbell, Peter McMillan, John McDermaid, and James Carmichael, four of the original settlers, with their families, had moved up to this more fertile locality in 1832, and their families were growing up without education of any kind. Indeed, some of the most intelligent men in the township, the sons of the first settlers are self-taught.

Three of them in particular, have occupied prominent positions; John Robertson and Duncan Campbell, of the Dochart, have been Reeves and Councilors, respectively. John Robertson was a J.P., and Duncan Campbell, for his smartness at figures, was Auditor for several years, and Donald McLaren, (son of Jas. McLaren, one of McNab's "black sheep,") was a Councilor for many years, and a thorough and well-posted politician.

The people, in conjunction with the inhabitants of the neighboring municipality of Horton, were beginning to agitate the question of getting a minister and building a church. The Presbytery hitherto had sent one of their number annually to preach and baptize the children, and remind the people of the faith and religion of their fathers. The preaching and



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meetings were held at the house and barn of Mr. Donald Fisher, until the bridge at Johnston's Rock was constructed, and the people flocked to the rendezvous, from a distance of twelve miles and upwards. A lamentable accident occurred in 1836 at one of these gatherings. While John Stewart and John McNab Acheson two of the best and noblest hearted Highlanders that ever settled in McNab were crossing the Madawaska at Johnston's Bock, in the middle of the Long Rapids, the canoe upset, and both of them were drowned. John McNab was an expert swimmer, but in endeavoring to save Stewart, he was locked in his struggling embrace and both sank never more to rise.

As soon as the bridge was completed, the people made preparations to organize a society to procure spiritual ministers; and they so far succeeded that the Bathurst Presbytery in 1838 sent out a reverend gentleman once every three months to officiate in what was then looked upon as a half-civilized country. The Rev Mr. Fairbairn, of Ramsay, was the first who commenced this quarterly mission tour. Such was the state of affairs at the close of 1837 and the commencement of the following year. The rebellion in both provinces had been put down; the Family Compact, with their little bantam, Sir Francis, began to cower; the people of McNab were fast verging to a state of revolt themselves, when the news reached this side of the Atlantic that the Earl of Durham and a special set of Commissioners were coming out to investigate all complaints and redress all grievances. This was news, indeed! It gave hope to the desponding, and inspired the settlers with new vigor. All hope was nearly crushed out by the supercilious mockery of their petition by Sir Francis and his Executive Council, and the delusive falsehoods which his reply contained; but when the advent of Lord Durham was announced, vigorous measures were taken, and a thorough and combined system of organization was planned and adopted. Messrs. Allan Stewart, Angus McNab, Donald Mohr McNaughton, Peter Campbell Dochart,

Daniel (Dancie) and James Carmichael, tacitly became the recognized leaders of the movement, the details of which will be found in subsequent chapters,

### CHAPTER XII

#### AN ANTICIPATION MR. ALLAN'S REPORT

The facts we are now about to record are incredible to persons who have had no act or part in the struggles of the settlers, and of so improbable a character that they might be treated as pure fiction, or at least as gross exaggerations. In order to do away with this impression, and preserve a connected thread to this very important narrative, the writer has now brought forward a document, which in point of time is subsequent to the events we are recording. While we are narrating facts, we desire the reader to be satisfied with their truth and correctness; therefore we proceed to publish the Report of the Special Commissioner sent by Lord Sydenham to investigate the alleged grievances of the petitioners, and to report on their petition.

TORONTO, 8th July, 1840

SIR, I am directed by His Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, to inform you that his Excellency has appointed you a Special Commissioner to investigate the complaints of the settlers in the township of McNab in your District, and you will report direct to His Excellency in Council. You will proceed, immediately on the receipt of this communication, to the work of investigation, taking the petition of Angus McNab and others as your basis. You will be minute and particular in your examinations, and will visit every lot, value the same, and if possible see every settler personally, and ascertain from him the truth or falsity of the complaints made to the Government.

I have the honor to be, etc,

(Signed), W. H. LEE,

C. E. Council.

FRANCIS ALLAN, ESQ., ^

Crown Land Agent, I

Bathurst District, Perth J

BATH. DISTRICT OFFICE,

PERTH, 4th Nov., 1840. J

THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

SIR, In compliance with the desire of His Excellency in Council, I beg to enclose you remarks upon the petition of Angus McNab and others, settlers in the township of McNab, which I trust will meet the approbation of the Council, and } )ft|

I am, etc,  
(Signed), FRANCIS ALLAN,  
Agent, Bathurst District  
W. H. LEE, ESQ., O. E. Council,  
Toronto

[REPORT]

Remarks upon the Petition of Angus McNab and other settlers in the Township of McNab, on the inspection and Report of the general affairs of the Township of McNab, by Francis Allan, Agent of the Honorable, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, in the Bathurst District:

With regard to the assertion of the Petitioners that the McNab "cannot show where he has laid out one shilling for their behoof," I have to state that after the most minute enquiries on the subject, both amongst the settlers and others in the neighborhood, I have not found it in a single instance contradicted. The roads, except where naturally hard and dry, are in a most miserable condition; and the settlers state that they have been prevented from working upon the regular lines of road by the McNab's exercising his authority as a magistrate, and calling them to work upon roads which they allege was either to conduce to his own personal advantage, or gratify his caprice. They state that they have been frequently called upon by him to expend their statute labor upon a new road in one season, and before the next, it was laid aside and another projected. The two roads of approach on the south-east side of the township are most wretched one of them all but impassable, a horse going to the belly every few rods, at least on one of them, for miles together, in the month of August. And yet I have not been able to discover that the MacNab ever laid out one shilling for the repair of roads, beyond his ordinary statute-labor. I heard, indeed, that he

subscribed 20 to assist in building a bridge across the Madawaska at Arnprior; but he paid it in oak cut off the Crown or settlers' lands, hewn by the settlers, either on their own private time, or time which they had subscribed for the bridge, and sold to the contractors at so much a foot. Therefore, whatever he might have subscribed. I conceive he paid nothing, McNab has stated (and he has done so in my presence), that he had to convey all the provisions for his settlers at the commencement upon men's backs, from Bolton's Mills in Beckwith. It is most confidently affirmed and that in the most general way that one pound of provisions was never conveyed from hence, or anywhere else, at his expense for the benefit of the settlers. They were under the necessity of traveling into Beckwith and Ramsay amongst their friends and acquaintances to procure provisions for themselves and families upon credit. And many of the settlers and others state that had it not been for the generosity of the Beckwith people they possibly might have perished; and worse than all, McNab wrote to one or more of the inhabitants of Beckwith, cautioning them against trusting or crediting his settlers.

That he has obtained timber duties, less or more, since the year 1832 to the present time, is perfectly true previous to his obtaining the privilege of the timber-duties in 1835, and even since, he was in the habit of granting licenses to cut timber on lands which he had actually located, and of locating lots in names of persons apparently for no other purpose than to obtain the timber. I have had no opportunity of judging of the amount of his receipts from this source, but felt confident it must have been immense, and do not discredit the statements in the petition, either with regard to his receipts in general, or this season. A person named Duncan Campbell, residing on No. 23 in 12th concession stated to me that he was ready to prove that he got his license from McNab to cut timber in the month of January last,

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

but it was dated in the month of August preceding.

It has also been most positively affirmed that McNab has passed great quantities of timber as having been cut in McNab Township, taken from the adjoining townships; and that on one occasion he passed a whole raft as such, which came down the Ottawa far above McNab. This last, though convinced in my own mind on the subject, would be very difficult to prove, seeing that the lumberers, the principal witnesses, were implicated in the fraud. It is also beyond all question that the McNab has collected rents of all settlers from whom he could obtain it, whether brought out by him or not. There are only about 5 or 16 families in the township that he brought out. It is also certain that he has sold land at high prices. He sold No. 17 and 18 broken lots in the 13th con. to Alexander McDonald for \$120. He sold No. 20 and 21 in the 13th con. to Michael Roddy, for \$50, as appeared from written evidence produced to me. And written evidence was also produced that Duncan Anderson sold No. 25 in the 11th con. to Michael Roddy, with the improvements, for \$500, and that McNab got one half and Anderson the other. And several other lots he had sold, or attempted to sell, for clearing land to him. To my certain knowledge, Anderson drew 100 acres of a free grant previous to his going to McNab, in the township of Beckwith, and afterwards sold it. Two other persons have also received grants from the McNab, viz.: Donald Fisher in the 1st con., and John McCallum in the 4th con., who formerly received free grants from the Government. Those two last, however, deny having paid McNab any consideration for their present possessions.

That very many of the settlers have been harassed with law is also incontrovertible; and many more kept in constant alarm by threats of being sued by the McNab. In the case of John Campbell, located on N. E. half of 13 in the 7th con., by trade a blacksmith, came into the country at

his own expense, refused to pay the Chief rent, or grant a mortgage on the lot. The Laird therefore, upon what authority I know not, seized his tools and kept them for a great number of years.

In another case, an illegal document was shown me, purporting to be a Declaration by the McNab regarding some alleged debt, stated to have been an extortion, annexed to which was a warrant signed by another magistrate of the name of Richey, for the purpose of arresting a sum of money in the hands of a third person; and I was informed that this illegal conduct was actually carried into effect.

Another case it is particularly my duty to mention. Duncan McNab, who was originally located on No. 13 in the 1st con., and Duncan Anderson, mentioned above as having sold 200 acres and was again located on another 100 acres in the 4th con., thought proper to exchange lots. The Chief, as is alleged, being offended with Duncan McNab, sued him with the intent of putting him off the lot. D. McNab gained his suit and in order to get the better of him, the Chief upon some pretext or other got out a patent for the lot, brought on the suit again, and now having the Government patent to produce, gained it, thus utterly ruining a poor man with a young family. Anderson, however, remains in undisturbed possession of D. McNab's lot.

To conclude, I beg to report that the McNab has drawn or procured the deeds of the greater part of the most valuable lots in the township; and also to record my opinion, that independent of the wanton oppression and outrages of humanity which the settlers allege against him, McNab has conducted the affairs of the township in the worst possible manner for the interests of the settlers or the country. There is not a grist-mill at present in the township and many of the settlers have to travel fourteen, fifteen and sixteen miles to mill, through roads which in any part of the country as long settled as McNab would be deemed disgraceful. The system of

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rent and mortgage, added to an arbitrary bearing and persecuting spirit, seems to have checked all enterprise, and paralyzed the industry of the settlers. In fine, had the McNab studied it he could not have followed a course more calculated to produce discontent and disaffection amongst a people. The devotion of Scotch Highlanders to the Chief is too well known to permit it to be believed that an alienation such as has taken place between McNab and his people, could have happened unless their feelings were most grossly outraged.

All of which I have the honor to submit to Your Excellency's consideration.

(Signed) FRANCIS ALLAN,  
Agent Bathurst District

We publish the reply of the Chief to Mr. Allan's remarks. It is anticipating the history for two years, but necessity requires us to insert it, so that the occurrences which follow may be believed.

M'NAB'S REPLY

Remarks by the Laird of McNab upon the Report of Francis Allan, Esq., on the Township of McNab:

Broken lot No. 12, concession 1, Thos. McLachlan: This agreement is cancelled, and these lots open.

Lot 15, con. 1, Donald Fisher: This lot was originally granted and deeded for a carpenter establishment, for encouragement of settling the township.

Lot 16, con. 1, John Wallace: McNab has received no duty of timber as yet.

Lot 18, con. 1, A. D. McNab: McNab reserved the timber upon this lot.

Lot 26, con. 1, Andrew Hamilton: False statement: paid all the expenses of passage from Montreal.

Lot 18, con. 2, Dugald Stewart: False statement: reserved the duties.

Lot 19, con. 2, A. C. McFadden: False statement: the son has fled accused of rape.

Lot 25, con. 2, James Morris: This is one of those who would not grant a mortgage upon his lot: conform to location ticket after the patent was taken out for him.

Lot 5, con. 3, Duncan Robertson: This agreement cancelled, as mentioned above.

Lots 6 and 7, Smith Luth and Allan McNab respectively: Originally granted to Gregor McNab and Allan McNab, with broken front of No. 6 of the 4th con., for erecting mills for the benefit of the township. Gregor McNab went home to Scotland to realize funds, where he died; and these broken fronts were deeded to Alan McNab. The saw mill has been in operation some time, and the grist-mill will be completed next year; McNab got no value for them.

Lot 25, con. 2, George Morris - Government has granted a location to one Robert Peak, an old soldier, for this lot.

Lot 6, con. 4, Gregor McNab: This statement is erroneous.

Lot 6, con. 4, Allan McNab: This is the saw-mill as stated above.

Lot 14, con. 6, Duncan Anderson: This is one of McNab's lots for which he is deeded.

Lot 24, con. 4, John McCallum: This was an original grant for which McNab got no value for erecting a school establishment for the benefit of the township.

Lot 25, con. 4, Wm. Richards: Wrong statement, it being the above lot.

Lot 5, con. 5, David Brunna: Original grant, and deeded for a blacksmith's establishment for public benefit.

Lot 11, con. 5, Joseph Patterson: This statement is not correct.

Lot 7, con. 6, Peter McIntyre: These 80 were incurred for law expenses, this fellow having denied that he ever signed the original bond in Scotland.

Lot 12, con. 7, Donald McIntyre: McNab considers himself bound, whenever this Donald McIntyre pays him in full of his claim, to be debited with the amount, conform to order in Council.

Lot 13, con. 7, John Campbell: This lot is deeded to one Archibald McNab by mistake.

Lot 25, con. 7, James Miller: False statement. This man has left the country.

Lot 25, con. 7, John Preston: This man McNab took from Montreal. He fled also.

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Lot 5, con. 8, Arch. McNab: This lot was deeded to McNab to establish a ferry.

Lot 11, con. 8, Neil Robertson: Took this man and family from Montreal.

Lot 17, con. 8, James Aitkin: Originally Colin McCaul, who was killed by a falling tree; afterwards to James Aitkin.

Lot 24, con. 10, James McLaren: This is one of those who after getting a patent taken out, refused to grant a mortgage.

Lot 21, con. 11, A. & G. Devin: These are father and son, who with their family, I took from Montréal.

Lot 25, con. 11, Duncan Anderson: This person, Anderson, was very useful to McNab on first settling the township, in procuring provisions and assisting to make the settlers comfortable, in which capacity and for his extra exertions and trouble; I originally granted him this lot. Many accounts accordingly passed between us which is impossible for McNab to bear in mind at this distance of time: 16 years ago.

Lot 6, con. 12, Alex. McNab: This is one of the most infamous characters in the township.

Lot 7, con. 12, Jas. McNee: This person is my old family Piper, to whom I granted a lot of land and deed, but never received any value. He has a large family of sons.

Lots 18 and 19, con. 13, Alex.

McDonell: Originally granted these broken fronts and deeded for building a good inn and store for the benefit of the township and the public, which Mr. McDonell did, much for the comfort and accommodation of that part of the country. It is a pity that Mr. Allan should state what he is not perfectly certain of.

Lots 20 and 21, con. 13, Michael Roddy: -This original grant was to one Walter Beckwith, under an agreement to build a comfortable inn for the accommodation of the public. In this he failed to cover what McNab had advanced; he sold the lot to one Michael Roddy, who is deeded for it.

It is here particularly to be observed that McNab was obliged to make many sacrifices, and in order to encourage

an infant settlement, was induced to make several gratuitous grants of land to encourage tradesmen to settle in this remote quarter.

McNab cannot conclude these remarks upon Mr. Allan's report, without regretting much the spirit in which it is made or drawn up, and in more points than one, its total deviation from truth. For instance, obviously from a desire to deteriorate the value of the township, he states positively that there is no grist-mill in the township. Now the truth is there has been a very extensive mill establishment in active operation for these ten years past, both saw and grist, at Arnprior; that there has been a saw mill in operation upon Waba River, for some time past, and a grist-mill erecting; also a third upon the very same creek (being reference to Mr. Hugh McGregor, who saw these mills frequently in operation). He takes also the liberty of remarking, under what consideration does Mr. Allan value the spot on lot McNab has built his cottage, at 15 shillings per acre? By much the highest price he has valued (but which comes the nearest to the real value of any one he has valued), for MacNab most positively avers, and that without doubt, that the one-half of the township as settled is as good, if not better, than it.

McNab, with due deference, submits that according to the Order in Council, of date 27th Sept., 1839, which particularly provides that in the event of McNab's having secured any payment from any of the settlers, in whole or in part of the expenses incurred in taking them either from Scotland or Montreal to the township of McNab (as in the case of Donald McNaughton particularly referred to and provided for), that the said sum should be deducted from the sum awarded him (for instance his remarks as to Donald McIntyre's claim, in his observations upon Mr. Allan's report), but he respectfully, though positively, asserts that no such inference or proposal as his repaying to the settlers any portion of the



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rents he received was ever mentioned or even proposed to him in his arrangements with the Government, the retaining, refunding, or repaying the small portion of rents he received never having been once suggested. Upon looking over the rent-roll according to the terms or statements of the list of lots located and guaranteed by McNab in his agreement with the Government, he finds he has located altogether, exclusive of his own lands and those lands particularly referred to in his memorial as originally granted by him to trades people and for inns to accommodate the public, he finds 15,000 acres ; and this at the upset price of lands, as sold by Government, will amount to .7,000, exclusive of 500 acres which can still be sold at 5 shillings per acre. This, with the value of 2,000 worth of timber now to be disposed of by Government, besides the slate-quarries, will present a fair state of the value of the township to the Government. McNab at the same time taking this opportunity of remarking that if the payment of the amount of money as awarded by Government and agreed upon (4,000), shall in no way be contingent upon the Report as given in by Mr. Francis Allan, as he considers that Report decidedly incorrect, and not consistent with facts which is in his power at any time to prove. The prices he has put upon each separate lot, as affixed to copy of rent-roll, he will refer to any Land Surveyor in the district, or take them at the same valuation himself, in whole or part payment of his money, as agreed upon by Government. It is here to be remarked that on making up any calculation upon this Report of Mr. Allan, that he has included all McNab's own lands and those lots he originally granted gratuitously for the encouraging the settlement of the township, and which, as he has already and frequently stated both in his Memorial and other documents to the Government, and to which he refers.

(Signed) ARCH. McNab  
Toronto, November, 1840.

P.S. There is a gratuitous and invidious remark by Mr. Allan at the close of his Report, by which he rather commits himself ; for after stating that there is no mill in McNab he says I am preventing other mills being built by not getting boards from my mill. Now, the truth is, I never had my mills in my own hands, having always let them for a rent, as they now are. I, of course, never interfere, nor can do so, only in getting my rent, no restrictions being put upon the tenants. A. McN.

### CHAPTER XII (1838) THE TRIALS PETITION TO THE EARL OF DURHAM

The rebellion of 1837 had been completely suppressed. To rush to arms against the constituted authorities is sinful, unless the people are ground down by repeated oppression, and even then the morality of a revolt is questionable, unless repeated applications for redress had been refused. Such was the case, then, in Upper Canada. Their petitions to the throne were unheeded, their remembrances ridiculed, their grievances unredressed. Driven to frenzy, they rebelled not against their amiable and youthful sovereign, but in opposition to the tyranny of Sir Francis Head and the mal-administration of the Family Compact of the Jones, the Sherwoods, the Macaulays, and the Hagermans all closely connected by marriage or consanguinity. The insurgents had now been put down; peace and tranquility reigned over the land, Court-martials were being held in Lower Canada, while two of the leading rebels in the Upper Province, Lount and Matthews, were condemned and executed. Executions were of daily occurrence in Montreal. The drama of political vengeance was acted out a l'outrance. Mercy was not dreamt of. The law of High Treason was carried out in all its horror, Lieut. Weir's cruel and treacherous murder by J Albert and his ruffian companions had steeled the hearts of the military judges and of the Executive against the common feelings of humanity. Montreal was baptized in a sea of blood. The minority had triumphed in



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both provinces. In both, the grievances of the people were overlooked, and their wrongs unredressed. The petty oligarchies in each looked forward for many years to a reign of supremacy, without question or molestation. But they were, fortunately for the country, disappointed. Statesmen at home came to the conclusion that something was wrong. Lord Glenelg roused himself from his sleepy apathy, and Viscount Glenelg from his luxurious ease and voluptuous excesses, and in alarm stayed the effusion of blood stopped all further executions, sent out a special commission composed of the Earl of Durham, as Governor-General, Sir George Grey, and Sir Charles Gibbs.

They recalled Sir Francis Head, and superseded Lord Gosford. Sir George Arthur was appointed Lieut. -Governor of the Province, instead of the notorious Bond Head. The Chief had now lost his best and most accommodating friend. Everything was looking up for the settlers. Lord Durham's name was the household word for radical reform. He was the very man for the aggrieved settlers of McNab.

While these important matters were going on through the country, the Laird was preparing fresh suits. Mr. Allan Stewart (late Treasurer of the Township) had inadvertently cut some timber on one of the unallocated lots in the township. The Chief, hearing of this, at once evoked the aid of the Attorney-General, and commenced a qui tarn suit against Mr. Stewart for trespassing on the lauds of the Crown. Stewart at once went and offered the Chief the duty. No; his Lairdship required the timber. This Mr., Stewart refused to give. While this action was in progress, the trial of Donald Mohr McNaughton was approaching. The Chief got his witnesses subpoenaed, and all parties bent their steps to Perth. The Quarter Sessions came on; Col. Alex Fraser was elected chairman. Donald McNaughton was put in the bar, and indicted on several counts, the principal of which was assault with intent, etc. Daniel McMartin, Esq.,

conducted the prosecution; Mr. Radenhurst the defense. Manny Nowlan, in his evidence, which was overstrained and exaggerated, did his best to convict the accused. Mr. D. C. McNab, then residing with the Chief a mere youth also was a witness, and simply related the facts as they occurred. Donald Mohr was quite satisfied with the la tier 'a evidence, and called no witnesses. Col. Fraser, to his credit be it spoken, charged the jury to find a simple assault, and entirely ignored that of a more aggravated nature. The jury retired, and brought in a verdict of "Guilty of simple assault of a trifling nature, under strong provocation, and recommends the defendant to the leniency of the Court." The sentence was £2 10s and costs. The sentence was light, but the costs amounted to £17 5s. Scarcely had the sentence been pronounced, when an execution was placed in the Sheriff's hands against the Chief for the balance of the judgment for the road money. The Chief's horse was at once seized at Cross's stables, and notices of sale freely distributed through the town. McNaughton at once paid his fine and the costs, amounting in all to £19 17s. 9d. Had he been a poor man, he would have been imprisoned for months, or perhaps years, but unfortunately McNab's victim had the means, and he was foiled somewhat in his expectations. The Court rose. The two antagonists met at the door of the Court House.

"See what it is, Donald," exclaimed MacNab, "to oppose your Chief."

"See what it is, Chief," replied McNaughton, "not to pay your debts. Your horse is now seized and will be sold for the road-money."

"Pho, nonsense!" said the Laird; "they would not dare to do that. You better not get up another petition against me."

"That we will, and a dozen of them," was the reply," now that Lord Durham is coming out."

The Chief stalked away in proud disdain, snorting like a rhinoceros;

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but he found Donald's words true; his horse was impounded, and he had to borrow the money from Craig-darroch to get him released.

No sooner had McNaughton reached home than a general meeting of the whole township was held at the Flat Rapids, and it was unanimously resolved to memorialize the new Governor-General, and send a special delegate to wait upon Lord Durham, upon his arrival at Montreal. Mr. Allan Stewart drafted the petition, and he was selected as the most proper person to present it. He started on his mission in July of this year, after having the petition signed by almost every settler in the township. A few of the timid and vacillating refused to do so. Dread of McNab's retributive anger alone prevented them. They wished the mission every success, but they declined compromising themselves by any overt act of domestic treason. When Mr. Stewart reached Montreal, the Earl of Durham was there. This proud democratic nobleman disdained to enter any house in the city. He chartered the John Bull steamer, which was fitted up sumptuously for his accommodation, and this was his temporary palace. Mr. Stewart intended to present the petition to him in person; but just as he reached the wharf Lord Durham had disembarked and instantly jumped into a carriage. His aide-de-camp Col. Cooper, seeing Stewart's perplexity, at once went up to him, frankly entered into conversation, took the petition, and promised to present it. Stewart gave him his address. Col. Cooper was as good as his word. Next day Stewart received a reply, stating that as soon as the viceroy reached Toronto, an investigation would be held in these matters, and justice should be done.

In the meantime, while the settlers were getting up active measures of resistance, the Chief was preparing a blow and maturing a plan, which if successful, would have placed the people completely under his power, and which nothing but endless litigation and the intervention of Chancery could render nugatory.

Upon hearing of the appointment of Lord Durham as Lord High Commissioner, he became intuitively aware of his danger, and hastily applied to the Government for a Trust-Deed for 10,000 acres, so that he might transfer to those settlers who had settled with him, the portion of land upon which each had been located. This application reached Toronto two days after the departure of Sir Francis Bond Head. Had that gentleman been occupying the gubernatorial chair, the Trust-deed would have been at once handed over to the Laird; but, luckily for the settlers, Sir George Arthur had arrived, and he was a different sort of character from his predecessor. The Council were for granting what Me Nab asked. The Lieut-Governor demurred, and the Chief was summoned to Toronto. He arrived early in June, 1838, and had an immediate interview with His Excellency. Sir George heard his story, and became more determined than ever to refuse his application; it was too much power to put in the hands of one man. McNab might, under the deed, sell to any one who would become a settler, the lands under location to his rebellious followers. Thus argued Sir George and he reasoned correctly. The application was refused. The Chief then devised another scheme more nefarious than the former, which he was within a hair's breath of accomplishing. The following public documents will speak for themselves, and tell the tale:

[COPY]

To His Excellency, Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, etc.  
The Petition of the McNab Sheweth:  
That since it appears to your Petitioner there are some difficulties entertained by Your Excellency and the Executive Council as to granting him a Trust-Deed for enforcing the terms of his agreement with his settlers for the present, and duly appreciating the motives, he humbly hopes there can be no objection to ordering him his patent-deed, for the Five-thousand acres granted this Petitioner originally for settling the Township.

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And your Petitioner shall ever pray,  
etc.

(Signed) ARCH. McNab  
Toronto, June 28th, 1838.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 29th June, '38.  
Referred to the consideration of the  
Honorable, the Executive Council.  
By Command,  
(Signed) JOHN MACAULAY.

IN COUNCIL, 29th June, 1838  
Recommended the Patent issue for 5,000  
acres, free of expense  
(Signed) R. B. SULLIVAN, P.C.  
(Signed) GEORGE ARTHUR.  
GOV'T HOUSE, 7th July, 1838.

Referred to the Surveyor-General to  
report thereon for the information of  
the Honorable, the Executive Council.  
By Command,  
JOHN MACAULAY.

The lots selected by the Laird of  
McNab to cover his grant of 5,000  
acres made to him in Council, 29th  
June last, are principally those lots  
located in the names of his followers.  
I was therefore under the necessity of  
withholding the description until the  
pleasure of Your Excellency could be  
had thereon.  
(Signed) J. RADBNHURST.

Sur. -General's Office, 20th July,  
'38.

IN COUNCIL, 11th Oct., 1838  
The Council cannot recommend a  
location to the Laird of McNab of  
lands located to his settlers.  
(Signed) R. B. SULLIVAN.  
(Signed) G. A.

This was a wholesome scheme of  
vengeance as flagitious and vindictive  
as it was heartless and unprincipled.  
The Laird had, when marking out the  
lots to be patented to him, inserted  
in the diagram of the Township that  
some of the original locatees were  
dead; others had fled to the United  
States; and others again had abandoned  
their lots and gone to reside in a  
neighboring county; and he was  
believed. The nefarious intrigue was  
frustrated by a mere accident. The  
hand of Providence had interfered to  
save the poor and oppressed settlers  
from utter ruin. Mr. T. M.

Ratdenhurst, of Perth, was in Toronto  
on the 12th July, 1838, attending to  
some law business, when in a casual  
conversation with his brother, Mr. J.  
Radenhurst, of the Surveyor-General's  
office, the affairs of the Township of  
McNab came upon the carpet, and Mr. T.  
Radenhurst informed his brother that  
the settlers represented as dead and  
absconded were living upon the lands  
located to them by the Chief, and for  
which lots he had applied to be  
covered by his patent. Immediately  
upon hearing this intelligence, Mr. J.  
Radenhurst forwarded to the Lieut-  
Governor the remonstrance dated the  
13th of July, 1838. All further action  
in the matter was stayed until  
inquiries should be made.

In August of the same year Lord Durham  
appointed a commission to investigate  
the affairs of the township. It sat in  
Toronto. Not a single settler was  
examined. The archives of the Crown  
Lauds Department were alone searched  
into. Discrepancies were discovered  
between the original assignment of the  
township for settlement and the manner  
in which McNab had carried on the  
business of his agency. The Chief was  
condemned. The Commission recommended  
the immediate deprivation from the  
Chief of all further power, and that  
the original grant should be carried  
out in all its integrity. That these  
settlers who came to the country at  
their own expense should receive their  
lands free, and that those brought out  
by the Laird should pay for their  
lands at a valuation and the proceeds  
be handed over to the Chief. This  
report was made in October.  
Immediately upon its substance being  
communicated to the Government of  
Upper Canada, the order for the patent  
to the Chief on the located lands  
(that is the lots of the settlers),  
was rescinded, as appears by the Hon.  
R. B. Sullivan's and Sir George  
Arthur's order of October, 1838,  
already published; but the equitable  
arrangement proposed by Lord Durham's  
investigating committee was  
indefinitely postponed. That nobleman,  
proud, haughty, and unrestrained in  
his indignation when aroused, took  
mortal offence at the attack made upon

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him by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords. He at once threw up his commission, left Sir John Colborne in his place, and went to England. With the exception of Sir George Arthur, the Laird's friends were now in power. The Family Compact still held the reigns of government, and although they dare not patent the settlers' lands to the Chief, they allowed the question to remain in abeyance; In the meantime McNab proceeded with his suits at the Fall Assizes. In that one against Mr. Allan Stewart, although the timber had been cut on his own located lot, the Chief was eminently successful, and obtained a verdict of some 40. His suit against Duncan McNab (Isla) also came on, and notwithstanding the law and the Judge's charge, the jury brought in a verdict for the defendant. It was a Dalhousie and Lanark jury that decided the case. They themselves had suffered oppression at home.

They looked to the justice of the case not to the law of real property and in spite of the ruling of the judge, the Chief was defeated. It was only a temporary success; yet, such as it was, it diffused unbounded joy throughout the whole township, McNab was not invincible. He could be conquered by his own weapons. What was accomplished now might be achieved again. Threats of new trials did not deter them from determined resistance. A subscription was got up and placed in a common fund to defray law expenses in opposing the Chief. A regular and systematic organization of the whole township was effected; and this was the state of affairs in December of this year, when the second rebellion broke out. A party of American sympathizers had invaded the country at Windsor. Those in West were soon put down. At Prescott it was different. They had a determined leader and a good general, Von Schoultz had taken possession of the windmill and the house adjoining. The first attacks of the Glengarry Highlanders and the regular troops were repulsed with great loss of life. This was the news that reached the Ottawa. The Chief, as Colonel, called

out his regiment. They assembled at Pakenham, 900 strong. A call was made for volunteers. It was almost unanimously responded to by Fitzroy and Pakenham; but the people of McNab held aloof. They would not volunteer under their Chief. They remembered the fate of some of the "Breadalbane Fencibles" under his uncle in 1798. They had volunteered to defend the country against the French, Lord Breadalbane, as Colonel, and Francis Chief of McNab as Major, tendered the services of the Fencibles to the Government to put down the rebellion in Ireland. An order was made for their departure. They refused to go. It was contrary to their agreement when they entered the service. They openly mutinied, and go they would not. A cavalry and an infantry regiment of the line were drawn up to compel them to march. The Highlanders, instead of submitting prepared themselves for battle and resolved to lie dead on the field of Dunbar sooner than budge a step. Muskets were loaded on both sides, and the novel spectacle of three British regiments drawn up in hostile array against each other, for the first time presented itself. The officers were obliged to submit. The order was countermanded, and the men returned peaceably to their quarters. Seven of the ringleaders were seized during the night, and were next morning tried by court-martial, and shot. The people of McNab remembered this, and they determined not to give McNab the slightest chance over them. In the evening of the same day, instigated, as some imagined, by the Chief, a fight took place between some of the Orangemen and Highlanders. The poor settlers were looked upon by the ultra, loyal as rebels, not only to their Chief, but to the Government; and to punish them severely was now the object of the Irishmen of Pakenham and Fitzroy. Although they numerically surpassed the McNab settlers, about five to one, the Highlanders fought bravely. They were compelled to retreat to Mrs. McFarlane's old house, in which they defended themselves with the utmost resolution. Frying-pans, pokers, tongs, kettles, brooms, and

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every article of any solidity, were used as weapons of war. The fight lasted till night, when both parties became tired of the contest; some ugly wounds were given and received; and a man of the name of Porter was so badly injured that he died in ten days afterwards. News reached Pakenham that night that the rebels were totally discomfited, and that Von Schoultz and most of his gang were taken prisoners. This was the final effort of the insurgents, or of their friends. Peace was finally restored, and the home Government earnestly set to work to redress the grievances of the colonies. Hope began to dawn upon the McNab settlers. Their petition to Lord Durham had not only been listened to, but acted upon. McNab's fraudulent scheme of obtaining their lands was completely frustrated, and at the close of this year the people looked forward to a speedy and equitable adjustment of all the matters in dispute between themselves and the Chief; but they had struggles yet before them; McNab was not going to yield up his advantages without a desperate effort. The struggle was yet to be protracted for four years before ample redress could be obtained.

### CHAPTER XIII (1839)

#### A SLIGHT RETROSPECT CUTTING THE GORDIAN KNOT IMPRISONMENT OF MR. STEWART

BOTH parties had temporarily ceased from hostilities. There was a cessation of arms a slight trace awaiting the action of the Government. Lord Durham had gone to England. Sir John Colborne was installed as Governor-General. Foiled in his efforts to get his patent, either upon the lands of his settlers, or upon any other lands at present, the McNab was concocting fresh schemes to aggrandize himself and to punish his refractory followers. Arnprior had been abandoned by Simpson, Mittleberger & Gould. The latter, for his share of the broken-down company, took possession of the George Buchanan steamboat, and run her regularly from the head of the Chats to the Cheneaux. The grist-mill at Arnprior had gone out of repair, and as no one was at that place to look

after the property, it was fast falling into decay. The mills were regularly plundered. They had been assigned to the Middleton's, in Liverpool. Everything bore the aspect of ruin and desolation. By degrees the gearing of both mills disappeared, and also the boarding and frame of the grist-mill was gradually being carried off, and only a skeleton remained. Mr. Minor Hillard took possession of Tom Landon's vacated tavern, without question or molestation; and he alone was the only person living at Arnprior, and who pretended to take some kind of surveillance over the place. Its ancient glory was gone. The buildings were in ruins, and by sheer neglect were fast hastening to decay. The people in the township were, however, notwithstanding all their discouragements, slightly advancing in the onward march of progress. A minister had been sent for to Scotland, and in response to their repeated applications, the Foreign Mission Board sent out the Rev. Alex. Mann, who took the three congregations of Fitzroy, McNab and Pakenham, and preached triweekly in each station. The settlers now prepared to build a church. After much consultation, a site was fixed upon the lot of Mrs. James Stewart, on the 2nd concession, and subscription lists were sent through the townships of McNab and Horton to raise funds. In the interim large barns of some of the settlers in Canaan during the summer, and the dwelling-houses in winter, were improvised for the purpose of temporary worship. The logs for the new church were got out during the ensuing winter, and it was completed in 1840. The building is still used as a place of worship for the Presbyterians of the Kirk in McNab. It is clap-boarded, painted, well-seated, and a comfortable house of worship.

Three schools were also established in the township; one in Canaan, another in Goshen and a third at White Lake. The system of instruction was quite different to what it is now, and the qualifications of the teachers were of a remarkably low order; any person who could write tolerably, read middlingly,



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and do a simple sum in addition or subtraction was eligible to be chosen as a teacher, particularly if he was disabled, maimed, or unfit for any other occupation. The Board of Education sat at Perth; its examinations were a farce, and its proceedings a mere burlesque. The whole process of testing the powers of the candidates occupied about half-an-hour, and they all generally passed the trying ordeal with flying colors.

In the summer of this year Mr. Allan Stewart was arrested for the judgment the Chief had obtained against him for the timber cut upon his own lot, or rather upon the land on which he had been located by the Chief. He was brought to Perth and lodged in the debtors' apartments, under the care of Mr. James Young. The Chief would hear of no compromise. He must exact the pound of flesh to its full extent. Mr. Stewart became equally obdurate. The weekly allowance was regularly paid; but fortunately one Monday evening the Chief was entertaining some friends at a dinner party in Perth, among whom was his legal adviser, Mr. Daniel McMartin; and in their conversation and enjoyment poor Allan was forgotten; the weekly alimentary supply was not paid; and Mr. Stewart was discharged. The Chief, to the day of his death, never received a penny of this judgment. When Mr. Stewart wished to settle the matter with the Chief by paying him some down and getting time for the remainder, McNab's reply was, "Go to Lord Durham; perhaps he will help you." Mr. Stewart began to remonstrate, but McNab haughtily ordered him out of the room. This proceeding nerved Mr. Stewart to the utmost, and inspired him with fresh energy in carrying on further proceedings against the Laird.

A new trial had been obtained in the Chief's case against Duncan McNab (Isla). The last verdict had been set aside, and it was brought down for trial to the Perth Assizes in October of this year. This was the third trial of this memorable case the jury had, in the last trial, given a verdict against law, and it was consequently

set aside. The trial came on, and McNab finally gained the suit. Poor Duncan left the court a broken hearted and ruined man. (See report of Francis Allan, Esq.) Mr. Allan had done everything that legal ingenuity and a consciousness of right could suggest, but it was of no avail. Duncan McNab was too poor to go into Chancery. He had no means to bring it there. The people of the township had already subscribed liberally to assist him. They were poor themselves, and they could not do more. He resolved to await the issue. The Chief having gained the victory did not wish to push things to extremities. He could not enter up judgment and issue a Hab. Fee. Pos. at any time. To do so now, would seriously implicate him with the Government. His affairs were on a ticklish footing. He himself stood in a critical position, and to drive McNab (Isla) out of the place at the present juncture would so embarrass his schemes as to defeat them altogether. The Commission had reported against him, and recommended his dismissal. To eject Duncan McNab would precipitate matters, and he would lose far greater advantages, both in money and character, than ten such lots were worth. His policy was therefore to keep matters in abeyance, and he did so. In October of this year, the Hon. Poulett Thompson (Lord Sydenham) arrived in Canada, and took the whole control of the public affairs. When his advent was announced, and a month before he set foot in Canada, a new arrangement had been made between McNab and Sir George Arthur's Government. The Chief dreaded the arrival of Lord Sydenham. Fearing he would be deprived of the township and receive nothing; apprehensive that the timber duties he had received and the rents he had taken from his followers would be set off against him for any claims to grants he might have; he made an application through his friends, Attorney General Hagerman and the Hon. H. Sherwood, to give up all his claims against the settlers, and give the 5,000 for 9,000. The Executive Council was called together. Sir George Arthur thought 2,000 was



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quite sufficient. At length, after a long and animated discussion, it was resolved to offer the Chief 4,000, and take the township off his hands, with the exception of the lots already deeded to him. The Chief accepted the proposal, and on the 27th Sept., 1839, the final Order-in-Council was passed to that effect. The Gordian Knot was cut. The attempted feudal tyranny was prevented. The details were yet to be arranged, and until these were satisfactorily settled, McNab was to have the same control over the township, as usual; but he was to exact no more rent. To close the matter, McNab that day was paid, 1,000 by the Receiver-General, as the first installment of the settlement of his claims.

### CHAPTER XIV (1840)

#### THE GREAT STRUGGLE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE SETTLERS IMPRISONMENT OF DUNCAN CAMPBELL

A vague rumor had reached the people at the commencement of this year that a new arrangement had been entered into between the Chief and the Government, but of its nature and tendency they were kept in entire ignorance. It is true that the Chief came down from Toronto, and informed some of his toadies, so that the intelligence might spread through McNab that he had sold the township, and that all the settlers were to be tuned off their lands, and set adrift with their families. But any news springing from that quarter was disbelieved, for they knew that Lord Durham's special commission had reported against the Chief, and in their favor; and they also were aware that a more sweepingly radical reformer than his lordship was appointed Governor-General. The Chief still claimed the timber of the township, under the Bond Head patent. That had not as yet been given up. He gave licenses as usual to cut timber. Not only on the unallocated lots had he done so, but he had given liberty to Mr. Michael Roddy to cut timber on the lands of some of his settlers, principally upon those of Mr. Robertson, Daniel McIntyre (Paisley), and John Stewart. Roddy proceeded to

the work of cutting down the trees. The parties came to the writer, and at once acted on his advice. They forbade Roddy to trespass on their lands. Roddy told them he was indemnified by the Chief, and he would go on in defiance of all they could do. Mr. D. C. McNab and Mr. Daniel McIntyre went immediately to Perth, and commenced suits in the Queen's Bench against Roddy, on the part of the three, for trespass. The three writs were simultaneously served upon Roddy. He immediately hastened to the Chief. McNab laughed him out of his fears, and scornfully exclaimed "W hen did any of the scoundrels prevail against me?" Although ostensibly carrying matters with a high hand and a proud bearing, the Laird was inwardly uneasy. He sent for Robert Robertson, because he was pretty well-to-do, and could carry the matter into court; and settled with him by paying the whole amount of his claims and the costs. He imagined that Mr. McIntyre and Stewart could proceed no farther. Little did he foresee the consequences. "We will become the assailants; we have acted too long on the defensive," exclaimed Mr. D. C. McNab, who then about nineteen years of age, threw all his youthful energies into the struggle. Both suits were carried into court, and in both verdicts were rendered for the plaintiffs. Poor Mr. Roddy was the sufferer. McNab never paid him a single farthing of the damages. Although he had paid the duties to the Chief, and he, by word only, had indemnified him, not one farthing of the duties was returned, not one penny of the costs paid. Mr. Roddy was nearly ruined. His misplaced confidence in McNab had led him on. He regarded not the wrongs of the settlers McNab's word was his ^Egis t and it proved but a sorry protection. To the settlers this proved a great triumph. The Laird could be vanquished. The awe of his invulnerability was dispelled. The charm was broken. Onward was the word. Fresh attacks were planned. New methods of assailing their opponents were prepared and successfully executed. It was a beautiful morning

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early in Jane. The day was balmy and mild. The lovely songsters of the grove warbled forth their notes of delicious music in joyful harmony. From all parts of the township horsemen and pedestrians were wending their way to one particular spot. This was the residence of Mr. Allan Stewart, in the very centre of the township, about a quarter of a mile distant from where the Town Hall now stands. It was then a romantic and sequestered spot, attractive by its lonely beauty. The stumps had nearly all decayed through age. A large barn in the midst of a level green pasture was the place of rendezvous. It was surrounded on all sides by the forest. The towering pine overtopping its less exalted fellows, in the dark somber green of the Canadian livery of the woods, added a picturesque charm to the scene. At the foot of this plateau rolled the never-ceasing Madawaska, on its way to the ocean. The sullen roar of the surging billows of the Long Rapids was distinctly audible as they lashed the sides of its banks, and poured in continuous swells over the rocks and shoals that partially impeded its irresistible progress. The Piper of the Township and of the people, Murdock McDonald, was there betimes, and the loud swelling notes of the martial music of "Auld Gaul" calling the people together in the pibroch of the "Gathering of the Clans," were heard for miles reverberating through the woods, and echoed and re-echoed by the rocky ridges of the mountain heights surrounding the deep sunk Madawaska. All the settlers of the township were there assembled on that momentous day, with the exception of the Chief's Cabinet Council of Five (Anderson, Fisher, McCallum, Roddy and McDonnell). They believed in the Chief. They saw no grounds for the discontent of the settlers. They looked upon the people as disloyal and ungrateful. The Chief had been to the cabal all that was generous and noble. From him they had received favors in lavish abundance. To them he was a faithful friend and steadfast ally.

Grants of land he had given to them with no sparing hand.

These henchmen of the Chief had no cause of complaint no grievance to lay at the foot of the Throne; and they truly believed that the grievances of the people were exaggerated or imaginary. The old, the middle-aged and the young those who had hitherto kept aloof from fear or from interest joined in that day's assembly. The venerable Donald McNaughton the oldest settler in the township was called to the chair. There he sat in all the glory of hoary old age, mildly tempered by the pious feelings of pure Christianity. His thin silver locks adorned a brow of no mean intelligence. His presence was august and serene. Virtue sat enthroned in noble and august benignity. Beside him the earthly majesty of monarchs paled. His was the nobility of integrity the majesty of virtue. He had suffered and came out scathless. His deed he had lately obtained. His passage money, with law expenses, was paid in full. His share of Miller's bond was liquidated. His three stalwart sons had made the forest subservient to the demands of law. By the prostration of the king of the woods the mighty pine they had achieved independence and freedom. This was a momentous meeting the most vitally great ever held in the Township of McNab. Two important questions had to be discussed: a fresh appeal to the Government, and the distribution of the statute labor. In March, the Chief and Mr. John Ritchie of Fitzroy had held a session as magistrates, at the inn of Mr. Duncan Anderson, Burnstown, to apportion the statute labor for the year. Due notice had been given to Mr. Peter Campbell, the Town Clerk, to attend. All the pathmasters assembled, and a large number of the settlers were there also. However, notwithstanding the remonstrance's of the Town Clerk and the people, they were ordered to perform their labor on two roads the Arnprior road, leading to Duncan Anderson's; and those on the east side of the Madawaska, on a road from the White Lake to Baker's mills, far away from their own roads. The average

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distance from each settler's residence to where work was to commence, in both cases was about eight miles. The meeting took this case up first and resolved to send the writer and Mr. James Morris, jr., the present Sheriff of Renfrew, to Perth to attend the Quarter Sessions, and lay their grievances before the bench of Magistrates ; and Mr. Donald Mohr McNaughton was to procure a sum of money, by subscription or otherwise, to defray their expenses.

The next and most important matter was the state of the township. Mr. Alexander McNab, one of the Laird's martyrs, had just arrived from the west. He first addressed the meeting in a fiery speech, replete with vengeance and vindictiveness, urging the people to take up arms, bring him before the meeting at once, try him, and execute him on the spot. He cited the case of Charles I. and Louis XVI as examples. Mr. John Forrest then arose, and in a mild and sensible address urged upon the people to use pacific measures, and try all constitutional means to obtain redress. Mr. D. C. McNab and other followed in the same strain, and it was finally resolved to send Mr. D. C. McNab as a special delegate to Lord Sydeuham at once, with a petition signed by all the settlers; that a sum sufficient to defray expenses should be immediately subscribed and paid; and that the delegate after returning from Perth should proceed to Toronto. A sum of fifty dollars was collected on the spot, and more promised, to carry out the views of the meeting. The writer drafted the celebrated petition for the meeting, which is worded as follows:

To the Right Honorable, His Excellency Charles Poulett Thompson, Governor-General of British North America, etc., etc., etc.

The Humble Petition of the Settlers in the Township of McNab,  
RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH:

That your Petitioners approach Your Excellency with feelings of loyalty to Her Majesty, our most gracious Queen, and with sentiments of the utmost

respect towards Your Excellency as Her Majesty's representative.

That your Petitioners sincerely hope that the object of Your Excellency's great mission to Canada may be speedily and successfully accomplished.

That for the last fifteen years your Petitioners, as settlers under the Laird of McNab, have been persecuted, harassed, with law-suits, threatened with deprivation of their lands, and subjected to threats by the McNab, of being driven from their present locations by the Government, for disobedience to the Chief.

That the said Chief has impoverished many families, and completely ruined those of Alex McNab, Peter and John McIntyre, whom he brought out to Canada.

That there are now sixteen families still remaining in the township whom his friends sent out to Canada as settlers under him, who are willing to pay to the Chief any reasonable sum as passage-money, that Your Excellency in Council may deem just to impose; but on the other hand your Petitioners have hitherto resisted, and will continue constitutionally to resist any attempts to impose the feudal system of the Dark Ages upon Your Petitioners or their descendants.

That whatever representations the McNab has made to the Government about the expenditure of money for the improvement of the Township, Your Petitioners beg leave to assure Your Excellency that the said McNab has never expended a single shilling of his own money for such a purpose on their behoof.

That Your Petitioners beg to assure Your Excellency that the Chief has received since he first came to the Township about 30,000 from the dues of timber cut on the Township, besides what he has plundered off the lands of the settlers.

That he has received money from lumberers for passing rafts as made in the Township of McNab, the timber of

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which was manufactured on the  
Bonnechere and in Westmeath.

That Your Petitioners have sent Mr. D.  
O. McNab to Your Excellency as their  
accredited delegate, who will fully  
explain to Your Excellency the  
condition of the Township and the  
state of the people, and give Your  
Excellency detailed information  
respecting the rents the Chief has  
exactd from them and of every matter  
connected with the Township of McNab.

That Your Petitioners therefore pray  
that Your Excellency will send a  
special Commissioner to investigate  
the truth of this petition, and be  
pleased to carry out the original  
Order in Council, which made a FREE  
GRANT of the lands of the township to  
those settlers who had come out at  
their own expense, and also to grant  
their patents to the first settlers  
upon paying a reasonable amount for  
their passage money, and not the  
exorbitant sum charged by the Laird.  
And by acceding to Your Petitioners'  
respectful requests, Your Excellency  
will do an act of justice as great and  
noble as it is imperatively necessary.  
Dated 3rd June, 1840

ANGUS McNab,  
(Signed) \ DONALD MCNAUGHTON, SR  
(JOHN FORREST, and 130 others

Township of McNab, 4th June, 1840.

T. A. Murdoch,  
Private Secretary,

Sir, I herewith enclose, to be  
presented to His Excellency the  
Governor-General, the petition of the  
inhabitants of the Township of McNab.  
I have taken the liberty to forward it  
by mail, as the Laird of McNab is  
quite unscrupulous as to the means he  
may adopt to frustrate the end in  
view, and prevent a personal interview  
with His Excellency.

I beg leave also to request that His  
Excellency will appoint a time for an  
interview, so that I may have the  
honor of laying the grievances of the  
settlers of McNab persons ally before  
His Excellency, with such documents  
and paper as may substantiate the  
allegations made in their petition. I  
have the honor to be, etc,

DUGALD CAMPBELL McNab

Government House,  
Toronto, 11th Jun, 1840

SIR, I have the honor to acknowledge  
the receipt of your letter enclosing  
the petition of the settlers in the  
Township of McNab, complaining of the  
conduct of the McNab, and in reply beg  
to state that I have laid it before  
His Excellency, the Governor-General.

I am commanded by His Excellency to  
state that free access to His  
Excellency is permitted by any of Her  
Majesty's subjects at all times upon  
public matters ; and that no private  
individual has the right to interfere  
with, or prevent the exercise of this  
privilege.

I am further directed to state that  
the memorial and complaint of the  
McNab settlers will receive His  
Excellency's immediate consideration,  
and that in the meantime it has been  
referred to the Lieut. -Governor and  
Executive Council of Upper Canada.

I am, Sir, etc,  
(Signed), T. A. MURDOCH  
D. Campbell McNab, Esq.,  
Township of McNab  
Bathurst District

CHAPTER XV (1840)  
MISSION TO PERTH THE LAIRD PRESENTED  
AS A PUBLIC NUISANCE MR. FRANCIS ALLAN  
SENT TO INVESTIGATE GRIEVANCES

The week after the great meeting  
described in the foregoing chapter,  
Mr. James Morris and the writer  
proceeded to Perth, to attend the  
Quarter Sessions, with the people's  
petition respecting the Statute Labor.  
The Court opened in due form. There  
sat the Hon. William Morris, as  
Chairman, the apparent  
impersonification of stern integrity.  
On his right was seated Capt. Joshua  
Adams and Mr. John McIntyre, of  
Dalhousie; and on his left was  
supported by the half-pay military  
magnates of Perth. The petition was  
presented through the Clerk of the  
Peace, Mr. Berford, to the Chairman.  
Its prayer was strongly advocated by  
the writer and by Mr. T. M.  
Radenhurst. It was useless. The Hon.  
Chairman and the magisterial wiseacres

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who surrounded him scouted the idea of yielding to the settler's wishes. "We have appointed two of our number to apportion the statute-labor, and that appropriation must be final." Only one gentleman advocated the prayer of the petition, and worked long and strenuously for its adoption, and that gentleman was Mr. McIntyre, of Dalhousie. It was futile. It was out-voted, and the petition was thrown under the table. Not satisfied with the decision of the Bench, the writer and Mr. Morris went before the Grand Jury, and laid the case before them. That popular body, feeling for the settlers, at once perceiving the justice of their claims, brought in the following Presentment:

The Grand Jurors of Our Lady the Queen on their oaths present. That having fully investigated the complaints of the inhabitants of the Township of McNab, they on their oaths say, that Archibald McNab of McNab and John Richey, of Fitzroy, Esqs., have not apportioned the statute labor of the township of McNab for the present year equitably or according to justice ; that the said Archibald McNab has acted tyrannically and oppressively, and is a nuisance to the public at large, and especially to the people of McNab ; and they recommend that the statute-labor be laid out according; to the wishes of the settlers of McNab, as represented by the Path masters of the said Township.  
(Signed), JOHN KING,  
Foreman

When this Presentment was read by Mr. Berford, the Chairman, Morris, turned almost purple with rage. Even his immobile features were moved. The cast-iron lineaments gave way to anger at the presumption of two young men questioning the decision of that august Court, and at the temerity of a Grand Jury for making such a Presentment. "File that away, Mr. Berford," exclaimed the Chairman; \*' but take no action upon it. The Bench will not interfere with action of magistrates out of session." The writer and Mr. Morris finding they

could get no further satisfaction, and having done all that it was possible for men to do under the circumstances, returned home and met the settlers, to whom they related all that occurred. A bright idea struck the writer. A law had passed the Legislature of Upper Canada appointing Town-Wardens for each township. Among their other duties, they had the power of commuting each ratepayer's statute-labor for five years. It was resolved instantly to take advantage of this clause of the Act. The writer pointed it out, and advised this mode of procedure; and it was at once put into execution. The three Wardens, with the writer, proceeded through the whole Township, and gave written contracts and commutations to all the settlers for four years. McNab was foiled. The arbitrary conduct of the military magistrates and the fossil-Tory abettors was set at naught. They were ridiculed and mocked at. The law had rendered their power for evil nugatory and void. The people of McNab that year performed their labor on their own concessions and side-lines. The Chief was incensed; the magistrates were furious. They wrote a letter, embodying the whole facts of the case, to the Hon. W. H. Draper, then Attorney General. The reply they received was that the Wardens and the people had acted strictly in accordance with the law. The benchers of the Solomon's Temple at Perth had to "grin and bear it." Their oppressive dicta and autocratic propaganda were treated with contempt. Two mere youths had circumvented the legal and military sagacity of the sages of Perth.

Their maxim was to keep down the people, to trample intelligence under foot, to protract the reign of semi-military despotism, to extend the influence of the Family Compact, and to crush anyone who dared to advocate the rights of the people; but Canada was on the eve of a bloodless revolution which in less than two years would deprive the magistrates of all municipal power, and leave the management of local affairs in the hands of the people alone. Their



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support of the Chief was carrying out and extending the principle of ultraistu, and at its shrine they were prepared to sacrifice truth, justice, integrity and honor.

This was the year of the great battle, and it was a year of signal triumph to the settlers. Threats were made of indicting the leaders for conspiracy. Threats could not now intimidate, or stay their proceedings. To indict a whole community was preposterous. Yet, incredible as it may appear, the attempt was made. The Chief went before the Grand Jury at the Fall Assizes, preferring a charge against fifty of the settlers. The Grand Inquest took no notice whatever of the accusation.

Another attempt was this year made by the Chief to ruin Mr. Allan Stewart and Mr. John Campbell (blacksmith). The scheme had been conceived two years before, but it was only now that McNab endeavored to complete it. To keep his own grant of 5,000 acres, or its equivalent in cash value unimpaired, he, in the spring of 1838, surreptitiously obtained a patent for Lot No. 13 in the 7th concession of McNab, the lot upon which Donald Stewart (the father of Allan Stewart) and John Campbell were located, in the name of \* ' Archibald McNab, a settler under McNab of McNab," in all confidence imagining that he could easily obtain a transfer from any of the Archibald MacNabs then residing in the township. There were two of that name from Isla very illiterate and simple-minded men old Archibald and his son Archibald McNab, Jr. Having procured the patent on the representation that they had fulfilled their terms of settlement, and had paid them up in full, he, in 1840, procured a conveyance to himself to be drafted, and proceeded to their residence. He represented to the old man that the patent had issued by mistake, and wished either of them to execute the conveyance to him. The old man having been warned beforehand absolutely refused to do anything of the kind. The son was equally obdurate. The Chief could not get the

patent cancelled without going into Chancery and falsifying all the representations he had made to the Government respecting the lot. He was in a dilemma. So the matter stood. Mr. D. C. McNab having heard of the attempt, strongly advised Archibald McNab to execute a conveyance to Donald Stewart. If it was legal for him to convey the lot to the Chief, it was equally legal to transfer it to any other person. The honest old man at once yielded to the claims of justice. He was saving two men from further persecution, and effectually frustrating the inimical designs of the Chief. The conveyance to Stewart and Campbell was executed and registered before the Chief knew anything of the transaction. He only discovered it some months afterwards, when he heard that both Stewart and Campbell had voted at the election of March, 1841, the first election under the "Union Act." Then his fury knew no bounds. He consulted his legal adviser. The courts of common law could give him no redress. He petitioned the Government to cancel the patent, as it had been issued in a mistake. He was met by his own report when the patent was applied for. "How could it have been a mistake," exclaimed Lord Sydenham, when the McNab himself states in his written application to Sir Francis Head in Council ' Archibald McNab, a worthy old settler, has performed all the settlement duties upon lot No. 13, in 7th concession, and has paid me up in full all the outlay in bringing him to this country -therefore I apply for his patent, and enclose the fee for it.' The patent must stand." Some years afterwards, the Chief got the Hon. J. H. Cameron to bring an action of Ejectment against Allan Stewart and Campbell, on the grounds of a mistake in the deed; but the conveyance was held to be good, and the case was laughed out of court, and the parties, Mr. Stewart and Mr. John Campbell are still in possession, and own the property. Thus his weapons of vengeance were turned against the Laird, and what he meant for evil and injury turned out for the benefit and



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advantage of the locatees. In August, 1840, Lord Sydenham as before stated, sent the late Francis Allan, Esq., of Perth, an impartial and upright man, as special commissioner to investigate all matters connected with the township of McNab. Mr. Allan was, before he undertook the mission, being a strong Conservative, rather biased against the settlers than otherwise, and favorable to the Chief ; but when he discovered upon personal inspection how matters stood ; when after a month's diligent enquiry from settler to settler, and upon the examination of both oral and documentary evidence, ascertained the real state of affairs, his strong integrity of soul, throwing aside all foregoing conclusions, all political bias, all hearsay reports, gave birth to that celebrated report already published which broke the chains of the set tiers, and emancipated them from the trammels of feudalism forever. The lands of the settlers were valued at their real worth, and a price fixed on each lot, in the event of their being sold to the people. They had strong hopes that the Government would carry out the original grant in all its integrity, as recommended by Lord Durham's committee. Their hopes were elevated into bright anticipations for the future, on the advent of a special commissioner; but it was not for two years afterwards they knew the result of the investigation, or the decision of the Executive.

### CHAPTER XVI (1840)

#### THE CHIEF'S REPLY PERSECUTION OF MR. PARIS THE LIBEL SUIT AGAINST MR. HINCKS

A copy of Mr. Allan's report was sent to the Laird by the order of Lord Sydenham. He sent a characteristic mass of answers and explanations which were manufactured for the purpose and had existence only in the fertile imagination of the writer. That they were plausible, any person who has carefully perused the reply in a preceding chapter must at once admit. But many of the charges were left unanswered, some slightly glanced at, others entirely passed over, and some of the graver charges he attempted to

extenuate. Lots of land either sold or given away to his friends, or for private reasons not suited now to publish, were set down as grants for carpenter-shops, school institutions, ferries, blacksmith shops. Donald Fisher, to whom one of these grants were made or sold, was a tailor and knew about as much about carpentering as the writer does about the literary institutions of Timbuktu. Again, John McCallum received his lot, according to the Chief, for "erecting a school establishment," and his acquaintance with erudition was of such a profound nature that he could scarcely spell his own name properly. It is true the people of Goshen built a school-house on another lot about a half a mile from his house. This suggested the scholastic idea to McNab, and he improvised it for the purpose. David Bremner is stated to have received his land for a "blacksmith establishment." Mr. Alex. McDonald for "putting up an inn," and McNab himself a lot bounded by the very centre of the roughest rapids of the Madawaska (the Flat Rapid), when in fact Bremner's lot was sold to him by McNab for clearing 40 acres of land at the Chief's White Lake farm, McDonnell's for hard cash, and Mr. Roddy's for a similar consideration. These representations might serve a temporary purpose and hoodwink the authorities at a distance, but Lord Sydenham was not so verdant as the Chief imagined, as his remarks were treated as mere gasconade. Mr. Allan's truthful report was made the basis of the future operations of the Government, and was their guide in dealing with the settlers. McNab's aim in making his remarks upon the report was to preserve his ^4,000, and to induce the Executive not to curtail it in the slightest. There is one case narrated by both parties of peculiar hardship, and the Government of the present day, late as it is, should make the necessary restitution. Donald McIntyre had paid upwards of £100 to the Chief for his passage money. McNab gave him a bond for his deed. The bond and receipts were placed in Mr. Allan's hands. They were by some unaccountable

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accident mislaid, and Mr. McIntyre had a second time to pay for his land (a lot of 100 acres) the sum of \$50 and was never remunerated for his loss. We will now dismiss the subject of the report and reply. While the former was all that truth, facts and justice could sustain, the latter was a tissue of wild inventions, fabricated for the occasion, and had as much real existence as the "slate quarries" mineral productions never heard of before until their locality was fixed in the Chief's bouncing remarks. Slate is not to be found anywhere in the township, and the whole tenor of the reply may be judged from this one assertion. All the inhabitants know that there is no slate in McNab, and when they read the Chiefs remarks they cannot refrain from sending forth ejaculations of astonishment and surprise. The Chief had completed his saw mill, and had erected it and a portion of his dam on the 4th concession line, in the very place where the main road to Renfrew and Pakenham now passes. No one could yet define his object for fixing it in that particular locality. There were plenty of mill sites on Waba-Brook without interfering with the public highway; but this did not suit his purpose, and he appropriated the public road and made another way round it, which his convenient friend, Manny Nowlan, surveyed. About the time of its completion, Mr. John Paris, a young man from Ramsay, located in the township. He had been invited thither by Mr. Duncan McLachlin and a number of the settlers, to erect a grist-mill. The settlers had to travel to Pakenham or to Horton to get their wheat to mill. The Arnprior mill was in ruins, and there was not a single grist-mill in McNab. The inconvenience of the settlers was in this respect very great. Many had to travel between sixteen and seventeen miles to procure flour for their families.

At length Mr. McLachlin induced Mr. Paris to select a site on a clergy-lot near the Lake, over which the Chief had no control. Mr. Paris set to work energetically, and notwithstanding every discouragement and opposition on

the part of the Chief, had the mill in operation by the fall. McNab had leased his sawmill, and he forbade his tenant to sell any boards or planks to Mr. Paris ; yet, notwithstanding these obstacles the mill was built, and this great boon was finally afforded to them by the exertions of Mr. Paris. The Chief's enmity did not end here. As soon as the winter had finally set in, he caused fresh planks to be nailed on the dam, so as to prevent the lower mills from getting any water. Fortunately for the country that year the water was high in White Lake and a sufficiency flowed over the dam to drive the grist-mill. The Chief did not stop at this. His persistence in endeavoring to ruin Mr. Paris are the events of a subsequent period ; and the persecution on one side, and the resistance on the other culminated in a lawsuit, which will be rendered in its proper place. The settlers in August of this year drew up a narrative of their sufferings, and the hardships and injustice they had endured under the Chief. It was prepared by Mr. D. C. McNab, and forwarded to Mr. Hincks for publication in the Examiner, at Toronto. Mr. Hincks, with all the ardor of a warm Reformer, not-only published it, but called public attention to the township of McNab and its grievances in a series of well-written editorials. He entered into the question with commendable zeal and warm-hearted enthusiasm. These articles exposed the whole management of the affairs of McNab at the very seat of Government. Simultaneously with Mr. Allan's report, it struck the Chiefs moral standing as the battle axe of a puissant knight would fell his mailed antagonist, crashing through shield and helmet and prostrating the foe. The Chief now trembled for his position. It is true he had received .1, 000, but 3,000 were remaining in the background. The damaging articles in the Examiner were opening the eyes of the Government as well as the people. Even the Family Compact were amazed that such things were permitted under their regime. They hitherto were indifferent

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careless of the poor settlers' interests. These searching and vigorous attacks roused them to action. So long the aggressors on popular rights, they were now put on the defensive. No longer able to oppress or to dominate over their fellows, they were now compelled to defend their own acts, which in law and justice and morality were in themselves indefensible.

McNab resorted to his usual weapons. He commenced, by the Hon. H. Sherwood, one of the principal members of the oligarchy that had for years ruled Canada, an action for libel against Mr. Francis Hincks, the editor of the Examiner. If the articles before the commencement of the action were severe, those published afterwards were doubly so. The Chief's private and domestic life was attacked with no sparing hand. The settlers backed up Mr. Hincks, and the trial was fixed for April, 1841. Mr. Hincks justified the alleged libel; there were eight pleas of justification placed upon the record, and everything was prepared for bringing the issue to trial, when McNab, not being prepared, countermanded notice, and the case was delayed till the Fall Assizes.

AH improvements were now stopped in the township. The people were awaiting the action of the Executive. Until their affairs were decided, all systematic labor was paralyzed. The spirit of enterprise was chilled, and the stupor and numbness of despair seem to be fast settling over them. They had petitioned over and over again. Favorable replies were transmitted. A commissioner was sent to investigate their complaints. He had espoused their cause warmly; yet no definite decision had been made. Lord Sydenham was absorbed in constitutional changes. The union of Upper and Lower Canada was occupying all his attention, and towards the close of this year (1840) he had effected his object. The Union was proclaimed. The Chief pressed for a settlement of his claims. The settlers urged for their final emancipation. At length in May, 1841, they sent another

petition^ praying for a decision; and the reason of the delay is fully explained in the following letter to Mr. Allan Stewart:

SECRETARY'S OFFICE, KINGSTON, \\  
24th June, 1841. /  
SIR, I am commanded by the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of a petition signed by you on behalf of the inhabitants of the township of McNab, praying for a decision on their petition of June, 1840, preferring complaints against Mr. Archibald McNab, the Township Agent.

In reply, I am to inform you that the petition alluded to was referred, by command of Sir George Arthur, for the consideration of the late Council of Upper Canada; but it appears that no decision had been come to on the subject previously to the re-union of the provinces. I have, however, been directed by His Excellency to refer your present petition to the Hon. the Executive Council, with a request that the matter may receive their early and attentive consideration.

I have the honor to be, etc,  
(Signed) S. B. HARRISON.  
ALLAN STEWART, ESQ.,  
Township of McNab

CHAPTER XVII  
FIYAL DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT  
BURNING OF DUNCAN M'NAB'S (ISLA)  
HOUSE, BARN, AND PROVISIONS WATER  
STOPPED ON MR. JOHN PARIS.

In August the long suspense was ended. The Government had decided. The settlers were free. Mr. Allan's report was adopted, and made the basis of Executive action. An Order-in-Council was passed that McNab should immediately give up to the Government all undelivered patents he had drawn up for any of the settlers, and his patent for the timber that the settlers were to receive their lands at the valuation put on them by Mr. Allan, which they were to pay to the Crown Lands Department in four annual installments that all labor they had performed for McNab, and all rents they had paid to him were to be deducted from these payments, and all these to be withheld from the money payable to the Chief, as fixed by the

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

Order-in-Council of September, 1839. Thus McNab's 4,000 was reduced to 2,500, of which he had already received 1,000. Many of the settlers had paid by these means for their lands in full. McNab's receipts for rent were accepted as payment. They now flocked in with their first installments. Mr. Duncan McLachlin and Mr. Donald Mohr McNaughton were the first two who commenced the joyful expenditure. They were no longer feudal serfs. The lands were their own in perpetuity. No landlord could now lord it over them with arbitrary haughtiness. No Highland Chieftain, his heirs, or successors, could claim their allegiance, or call them "my tenants." They felt they were free that in four years no one could put a trespasser's foot on their soil. A universal jubilee pervaded the whole township. The leaders of the movement, Mr. Allan Stewart, Donald McIntyre, Mr. McNab, and others, were feted to their heart's content. Fresh energies were infused into their labors. The clearances began to increase, and new inroads were made in the forest. Fresh settlers came; New Glasgow and Lochwinnoch were occupied, and all the arable lands taken up. The people had, single-handed and unaided, achieved the victory. Looked down upon by the neighboring townships as rebels, as ungrateful malcontents and as a discontented rabble, from them they received neither advice nor assistance. All the magnates of Perth beheld them with a holy horror, and did all that lay within the scope of their feeble efforts to oppose them all but Mr. Hincks and Mr. Malcolm Cameron. They stood true, but the battle was fought and the victory achieved before these gentlemen came into the field. The spirit of their ancestors that same British pluck that obtained the Magna Charta, swept away the throne of the Charles's, obtained the Bill of Rights, enthroned William III and established popular and constitutional government in the old country animated the settlers in McNab to struggle even against hope, to battle for their rights and amid poverty, persecution, and

imprisonment, win one of the greatest moral victories ever recorded in the historic annals of Canada, or of any other country. They were essentially alone in all these struggles their triumph was the more glorious, their victory more satisfactory and praiseworthy.

Deprived of his township, stripped of his power, the Chief would not forego his revenge. Now that everything had been arranged, a spirit of reconciliation might have supervened and he could have settled down and still lived happily among the people. But no; he still had some power over one or two individuals. The dying struggles of the leviathan of the deep are attended with the greatest peril. The flurry "of the whale in its expiring agonies, is most dreaded by its captors. So it was with the Laird. The Judgment in Ejectment against Duncan McNab (Isla) was held in abeyance. Now that the decision of the Government was given, and that, too, hostile and prejudicial to the Chief's interests, which no cajolery could alter, and no persuasion overcome, there was nothing to gain in withholding its execution. The writ of possession was in August placed in the hands of the Sheriff, and his deputy, accompanied by the Chief and a creature of the name of Lipsy, proceeded to put it into force. They accordingly proceeded to the premises. Mrs. McNab and the children were in the house; her husband and Mr. James McKay were in the bush at the time chopping for potash. The Deputy-Sheriff proceeded to his duty; took everything out of the house, turned the family out of doors, gave the Chief possession, and immediately went away. The Chief ordered Lipsy to draw everything to the concession line. Forcibly he dragged Mrs. McNab thither. Then ordering Lipsy to set fire to the shanty > he himself applied the burning brand to the barn and outhouses. Mrs. McNab saw the smoke rising. She missed two of her children. With frantic shrieks she rushed up to the burning buildings, called her children by name, and almost in despair ran into the burning

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barn. There, under the straw, frightened at what was taking place, the two children had concealed themselves. To drag them out from amidst the flames was the work of a moment; and had the mother been a few minutes later, two helpless infants would have perished in the flames, and been the martyred victims of revenge and malevolence. When Mr. James McKay and Duncan McNab saw the flames rising they hurried to the spot, and found the buildings in ruins and the family of the latter on the concession line, in all the misery of despair. Prompt measures were taken to remedy the evil. For the present the ejected ones took refuge in Mr. McKay's house, about half-a-mile distant. Together with all his summer's provisions and a barrel of pork, a number of Duncan Isla's agricultural implements were consumed in the flames. This outrage tilled the township and all the neighborhood with horror and dismay. A feeling was fast being discussed among the people that the Laird should be lynched. Mr. James McKay, a leading member of the church a pious and good man, and a warm-hearted neighbor and friend when he saw the house and barn in flames, exclaimed, "What a pity it is the good old times would not come back again, and a bullet would soon reach him for the deed!"

The people got up a subscription, turned out and put up a shanty on another lot, and rendered the family as comfortable as circumstances would permit. James McKay, Mrs. McKay, Duncan McNab, and the writer, two days after the perpetration of the outrage, proceeded to the residence of Mr. Alexander McVicar, the nearest magistrate, and laid the information necessary to commence criminal proceedings against the Chief. Squire McVicar immediately issued his warrant. The Laird was arrested and brought to Pakenham village. All the witnesses for the prosecution were present; Squires Richey, Scott and McVicar took their seats on the bench, and without hearing a witness, or entering into the case at all, dismissed the case, and referred the parties to Perth to the Assizes. Mr.

McVicar did all that he could to get the examination proceeded with, and the Chief committed for trial, but it was useless. The Chief's partisans were on the bench, and they out-voted him, and referred the matter to the Crown officer. Duncan McNab (Isla) and his friends had not the means to go to Perth, or proceed further with the prosecution; and thus the matter rested, and one of the most daring and atrocious crimes in the category of criminal jurisprudence was allowed to pass over with impunity, and the perpetrators to stalk abroad in the land unwhipt of justice. Besides losing his land and provisions, Duncan McNab nearly lost two of his children; and he never received any compensation from the Government, or from the legal tribunals of the law. He was poor, and poverty could be outraged and trampled upon without redress, and scarcely a single remonstrance.

In the fall of this year (1841), a number of witnesses were summoned to Toronto to give evidence on the part of the defense in the celebrated McNab and Hincks libel suit. They were Duncan Campbell, an old soldier, aged 75, who had two years before been imprisoned by the Chief for rent, Donald Mohr McNaughton, Daniel McIntyre, Alex. McNab, the Chief's first incarcerated victim, Andrew Taylor, and Dugald McNab. These parties arrived at Toronto on the second day of the Fall Assizes, remained in the City three days, when, on an affidavit and on payment of the costs of the day, the Laird procured a postponement of the trial till the spring. His object was to weary out the defense. He dreaded an exposure. An adjournment of six months might be attended with more favorable results. The witnesses then assembled to prove all the oppressions and exactions of McNab might not again appear. They were now present; but the distance was so great and the traveling communications so difficult of access that they might be deterred from again appearing.

It was also questionable whether Mr. Hincks could afford the expense of



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bringing them to court again. On the whole the putting off the trial was advantageous to McNab and postponed the exposure he dreaded, and the domestic criminality involved, which would overwhelm him with shame and degrade him even in the estimation of his friends the "Family Compact." He had still hopes that they would be reinstated in power, and if so, he would reap some of the benefits of the restoration.

In the fall of 1841 and the winter of 1842, the water in White Lake was very low. The Chief caused fresh planks to be nailed on his dam and raised it to such a height as to keep the water entirely from getting out. Mr. Paris was the object of his vengeance, and through him he could punish his refractory and victorious settlers. For seven months Mr. Paris could not get a drop of water to grind the grist's that were daily brought to him. At last the inhabitants had to remove their wheat and proceed to Pakenham to get their work done. During the whole of the winter this was the case. The Chief was remonstrated with without effect. Some of McNab's particular friends went to him and besought him to let the water go, but it was useless.

Mr. Paris even offered a sum of money for the water, but his answer was, "Go to Duncan McLachlin, he may get you water." In this oppressive transaction he had a willing coadjutor in the person of William Yuill, a lumberer at the time, but since he became a federal soldier and perished in the late American civil war. Yuill in the spring of 1842 pretended to lease the dam from the Chief, for the purpose, as he alleged, of getting out his timber, but would not open a sluice or let a drop of water out, and it was not till the end of April when the dam was opened, and when the grinding season was passed, that Mr. Paris could procure any water. Had Mr. Paris then appealed to the courts he would have obtained ample redress, but he was loath to go to law. He hated litigation and resolved to wait another season before he would take

any steps, in order to see if a recurrence of the vexatious stoppage would again take place. Some of Mr. Paris's friends, among whom was the writer, advised him to proceed at once and prevent such an act of unmeaning and malicious injury to the public as well as individuals from again being practiced ; but that gentleman, deeming that there was as much courage evinced in quietly enduring wrong for a season than in at once resenting it, resolved to wait and see, a course, which however prudent in some respects was attended, in so far as Mr. Paris was concerned, as we shall hereafter see, with further vexation and more loss, damage and expense, than he could well afford, and which took a steady and possessing course of industry for years afterwards to make up.

### CHAPTER XVIII

#### THE M'NAB AND HINCKS TRIAL 1842 SECOND PERSECUTION OF MR. JOHN PARIS

The Provinces had been united. A new Parliament had been convened. In September of the former year Lord Sydenham had been thrown off his horse and died in consequence of his fall. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot. The union had scarcely been inaugurated, when the mighty genius that had perfected its consummation had been called away by a fiat that there is no resisting. The seat of Government was removed to Kingston. The celebrated resolutions establishing "Responsible Government," introduced into the House by the late Hon. S. B. Harrison, were now the law of the land. The irresponsibility of the Executive was no more. Municipal Institutions were accorded to the people, and in the commencement of the year the first District Councilors were elected. Each township sent one representative to the District Council. It controlled the statute labors, district treasury, and the several municipal officers required by the Act. It also had under its direction the educational affairs of the District. Mr. James Morris, Sr., was the first District Councilor elected for McNab, and Mr. David Airth for Horton; the townships in the rear



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were being surveyed and had not yet been organized into municipalities. A new county was formed in the Ottawa from Pakenham upwards, called the County of Renfrew and for electoral purposes was attached to the County of Lanark. The Hon. M. Cameron was the first member for Lanark and Renfrew under the Union Act. He defeated Mr. John Powell, the then Sheriff of the Bathurst District, by a large majority. Such was the social and political condition of the people in the spring of 1842, when the tocsin of war again sounded. The Chief had determined to press on his libel suit. The roads were in an execrable condition. Access to Toronto was almost an impossibility. Navigation had not yet opened, and he imagined that none of the settlers could be induced to go to Toronto, and if they started they could not reach their destination in time. Only eight days' notice of trial had been given, and it was only three days before the opening of the Assizes that the subpoenas for the witnesses reached the writer. He immediately filed them all. The following witnesses were summoned: Messrs. W. R. Bereford, Francis Allan, John Robertson, Daniel McIntyre (Dancie), Alex. McNab (the martyr), Duncan McNab, (Paisley), C. McNab, Peter Campbell (Dochart), and Andrew Dicksou, Esq., of Pakenham. They reached Toronto in safety and in good time. Two days after their arrival the case was called. Mr. Justice McLean held the Assizes, and the evening before the eventful day in April the Judges had a consolation among themselves which of them would try the case. Judge McLean was loath to do so. He was a Highlander and was on intimate terms with the Chief, and felt delicate on the subject. Mr. Justice Macaulay was away on circuit. Chief Justice Robinson declined to have anything to do with it. In fact the Judges were more or less afraid of Mr. Hincks and the terrible Examiner. At length Mr. Justice Jonas Jones exclaimed, "I'll try the case, I'm not afraid of Hincks or any of the radical crew." Accordingly he took his seat on the bench and a special jury was

empanelled. A brilliant array of talent was engaged on both sides. On part of the plaintiff appeared Attorney-General Draper, Solicitor General Sherwood and Mr. Crawford. On the side of defense were ranged the Hon. Robert Baldwin, the Hon. Mr. Blake (late Chancellor), and Mr. (afterwards Judge) Adam Wilson.

Mr. Henry Sherwood in a flowery and harum-scarum speech opened the case for McNab, and as the publication of the alleged libel was admitted called no witnesses.

The Hon. Robert Baldwin rose in reply and opened the case for the defense in a speech of two hours duration. He detailed the wrongs of the settlers and the exactions of the Chief in glowing terms, and was extremely severe on the "Family Compact." The first witness called was Mr. Francis Allan who proved everything that had been stated in his report as published in a former chapter. Point by point of the pleas in justification was sustained by evidence. That the Chief had exacted rent that he had represented the Township of McNab as his own private property that he had sold and received the value of the timber on the settlers' lots that he had used his people harshly and oppressively that he had imprisoned several of his leading and more intelligent followers causelessly, or when a milder course would have been attended with better or more advantageous results, both to himself and his people that he had harassed them with lawsuits that his private life was not in accordance with the strict principles of domestic morality that he had in procuring grants for a few favorites made false representations to the Government in stating that they were for school, carpenter, blacksmith and other establishments for the benefit of the township that he had attempted to get deeds of the settlers' lands in his own name, by representing to the executive that the locatees had died or absconded that he had been presented by a Grand Jury as a public nuisance were all proved upon oath and

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clearly sustained by unimpeachable evidence except the last point. Mr. Beresford, Clerk of the Peace, had searched, but could not find the "presentment." Secondary evidence was admitted, and an argument arose as to the exact wording of the document, whether it was a legal presentment or not. The court ruled this point to be obscure and left it to the jury. The Attorney-General replied in an able and eloquent speech. The Judge then charged the jury, leaning if anything towards the Chief. One remarkable point in his charge is worthy of notice. He said, "The Chief could not have stated that the Township was his own property, and even if he did say so it was impossible the settlers could have believed him, because in the location tickets he agreed to procure them patents from the Crown. Now, if he had undertaken to give them transfer deeds, then there might have been some grounds for such a belief "This was casuistry of the most refined complexion. How could poor, ignorant, verdant emigrants know the difference between a patent and a transfer deed? They took everything the Chief said for granted, and implicitly believed all his statements. Even the inhabitants of all the townships in the Bathurst District firmly believed that the land was wholly McNab's. The Judge concluded his charge, which many thought was far from being impartial. The jury retired and after two hours' deliberation brought in a "verdict for the plaintiff, damages," stating at the same time that that part of the justification respecting "public nuisance presentment "was not clearly proved. This was a great triumph. The exposure was overwhelming and disgraceful. The eyes of the whole Province were opened to the wrongs of the settlers and the oppressions of McNab. His glory had departed, his prestige was gone. Although nominal damages were given for the failure of substantiating an immaterial point in the justification, the great and important charges in the alleged libel were by an intelligent jury of the Metropolis of Upper Canada declared to

be true, and that the wrongs of the settlers were not imaginary but real. This great trial for some time occupied the attention of the Canadian and American press. It was commented upon in the leading journals of the continent. The New York Albion, at that time a great stickler for rampant toryism, had the following paragraph in its issue of May, 1842:

SMALL POTATOES, The McNab of McNab, a quasi Canadian nobleman and Highland Chieftain, obtained from a Toronto jury the sum of £5 for the loss of his character. "

Such were the effects of the trial upon the public mind that Mr. Hincks, who was then member for Oxford, was six weeks afterwards gazetted as "Inspector-General," and he himself became a member of the Executive. The Chief returned from Toronto quite jubilant. He called his friends together, had a symposium over the victory, impressed his few adherents with the idea that he would be yet victorious, and that he would still punish the leaders of the people who had emancipated them from his thralldom. He made preparations for building a stone grist mill, and in spite of all former warnings began to build it on the concession line adjoining his saw mill. It reached to the height of one storey when its further construction was stopped, as will be detailed in the succeeding chapter. In the fall of this year he caused fresh boards and planks to be nailed on the dam to prevent the water, which was very low, from going over in order again to prevent Mr. Paris from grinding any during the ensuing winter, and eventually drive him away altogether. During the whole winter Mr. Paris's mill was inoperative for the want of water. All remonstrances were in vain; McNab was inflexible. Neither he nor Yuill would open a sluice. Mr. Paris suffered immense loss, and the settlers were put to incalculable inconvenience and expense. They were forced still to go to Pakenham with their grists.

CHAPTER XIX

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

1843 TRIUMPH OF MR. PARIS UTTER  
DISCOMFITURE OF THE CHIEF

Driven almost to desperation, Mr. John Paris at length resolved to institute legal proceedings for redress. To submit to this oppression was criminal. To apply to the courts for protection would entail enormous expense; but no alternative presented itself. Remonstrance had been used repeatedly and ineffectually. Every pacific effort had been tried in vain. The Chief was obdurate. A narration of the whole transaction, from first to last, had been prepared by the writer. Mr. Paris went to Perth and applied to Mr. Radenhurst and some of the veteran practitioners, who advised unfavorably as to the commencement of legal proceedings. As a last resort he consulted Mr. W. O. Buell, then a new beginner. Mr. Buell took time to reply. He studied the case profoundly in all its bearings, and found it was practicable to obtain ample redress. Hitherto, actions had been brought for damages done by back water. None had ever been tried in our courts for withholding and purposely stopping the natural flow of water down stream. Mr. Buell reported favorably on all points, and advised immediate legal proceedings. The Laird's mill and part of his dam were erected on the concession line, thus blocking up Her Majesty's highway. This was a public nuisance. This was a salient point of attack. It was resolved to proceed criminally on this point, by indictment. Actions on the case were also commenced against McNab and Wm. Yuill. At the Spring Assizes in May, 1843, Mr. Paris, attended by Daniel McIntyre (Dancie), Mr. James Hedrick's., and a number of witnesses, having proceeded to Perth, laid the matter before the Grand Inquest of the Bathurst District. A Presentment was brought into court indicting the Chief for erecting nuisances on the public thoroughfare of the township. Mr. Thomas M. Radenhurst was Crown Officer, and immediately prepared a formal Bill of Indictment. It was brought into court by the Grand Jury endorsed a "True Bill." The Chief, then in court, was immediately

arrested, and being arraigned pleaded "Not Guilty." On motion of Mr. McMartin the trial was put off till the Autumn Assizes, and the Chief admitted to bail. The civil suits were also on affidavit postponed by McNab.

To weary out, to cause useless expense, and still further to harass Mr. Paris was now the object of the defendant. He imagined that Mr. Paris could not enter upon or keep up a protracted legal contest that Mr. Paris, being a new beginner, could not furnish or procure the necessary funds to resume proceedings in the fall. He was mistaken. The friends of the latter, among whom was the writer, advanced all that was required. The Fall Assizes came on at the appointed time. Mr. Robert Hervey, of Ottawa and Mr. Buell, together with the late Mr. T. M. Radenhurst, appeared for the prosecution. The nuisance case was first proceeded with. A verdict of Guilty "was pronounced. The Chief was fined, the mill ordered to be removed, and the dam demolished. This was immediately done. The order of the court was at once carried out. The water in its downward rush nearly swept away the mills of Mr. Paris. The Chief's saw-mill was moved further down the stream, and was afterwards the property of Mr. William Lindsay, who purchased it and a large portion of the White Lake property from the late Allan McNab. The walls of the grist mill having never reached further than one storey, still remain in ruins on the concession line, near the spot where the saw-mill once stood, a monument of the Chief's folly and futile revenge. The traveler, unacquainted with the history of this transaction, is struck with the mournful aspect of the ruins so close to the bridge, and wonders what was the builder's intention. It is there a memorial of the past, and its ruins are a fitting memento of the downfall of attempted feudalism.

Mr. Paris was equally successful with his civil suits. The law was admirably laid down by Mr. Jonas Jones, who presided at the trial. Verdicts were returned by the jury for the

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

plaintiff. The damages against Yuill were 79, and against the Chief they were found and fixed at 35. No point of law was reserved. McNab was compelled to pay the verdict with costs, but Win. Yuill, having absconded soon after, has never paid a farthing to this day. The victory, however, was complete and effectual. It settled the question of water stoppage forever. It was the final culmination of the defeat of McNab's power. It was the last lawsuit with the Chief to establish any of the settlers' rights, and it was the most effectual and triumphant. It was the termination of the final struggle of right against might. As Mr. Daniel McIntyre (Deil) was the first who had the moral courage and boldness to defeat the Chief in a court of law, so Mr. John Paris was the last to gain the crowning triumph, and though seriously retarded and embarrassed for many years, yet by a course of persevering industry he overcame his difficulties and embarrassments, rose to a high position among the people, was for many years Reeve of the Township, and in middle age, surrounded by a numerous family, and in the midst of prosperity, looked back to the struggles of his youth, and the oppressions of the Chief as a dream which has vanished like the evanescent shadow of a disagreeable vision and is buried in the past forever. Soon after these verdicts the Laird left the township forever. Four years before he was in the height of power, had the ear of the Government, and could outrage the law with impunity; but a revolution had taken place, bloodless, it is true, but effectual and beneficial. Now forced to abandon a township where he might have lived happily and respected, venerated and beloved; and with the advantages he possessed might have redeemed his ancestral estate, and ended his days in the midst of wealth and affluence.

### CHAPTER XX

"LAST SCENE OF ALL 1843-60-70 THAT ENDS THIS STRANGE, EVENTFUL HISTORY"  
Soon after the suits with Mr. Paris the Chief left the township forever,

and for a few years lived in the city of Hamilton, in a small cottage purchased from Sir Allan McNab. In 1843 he left Hamilton for Scotland, having come into a small estate in the Orkneys. His enjoyment of the estate was of short continuance. Running through the property in a few years by lavish and profuse expenditure, he, in 1859, retired to France, living on a small pittance granted to him by his lady, from whom he had separated in 1819. On the 22nd of April, 1860, the Laird of McNab the last legitimate Chief of the Clan McNab was summoned before his Almighty Judge. He died at Lanion, a small fishing-village near Boulogne, in the 82nd year of his age. Twenty-eight years have rolled away since his death. Forty-seven years have passed over since he finally quitted the township, and what a change! After the final victory obtained by Mr. Paris, the people set to work with energy and vigor. New settlers flocked to the township left to the management of their own affairs by the Municipal Act of Mr. Baldwin, roads began to be improved and bridges erected. In 1855 a new bridge was constructed over the Madawaska River at Balmer Island, through the energy and exertions of Mr. Paris, the Reeve, and the assessed value of the township was yearly increased. In 1848 the dispute between the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland reached the Scottish townships on the Ottawa, and McNab, among the rest, was affected with the religious epidemic. A large portion of the people broke off from Mr. Mann's congregation. Two new congregations were formed at Burnstown and White Lake, and in 1849 the Rev. S. C. Fraser was inducted as the new pastor. This charge he held until the spring of 1868, when he resigned.

In 1852 Arnprior, which had been a dilapidated scene of log-house ruins, began to revive under the auspices of Mr. Daniel McLachlin, who that year purchased the property from the Messrs. Middleton, of Liverpool. When it came into his possession it wore a most dreary aspect. The dam built by the Buchanans had been torn down the grist-mill had entirely disappeared

## THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

the saw-mill was a shattered ruin, and all that stood was the tavern then occupied by Mr. James Hartney. The property was surveyed into town lots. The dam was rebuilt for Mr. McLachlin by the Hincks Government in 1853, and the saw-mill was renovated and put into operation. A stone grist-mill was erected mechanics, operatives, and laborers were encouraged to settle by the most alluring prospects and in 1854 the sound of workmen's implements, the blows of the axe clearing the surrounding forest, the hammering of the carpenters and the ringing strokes of the blacksmiths' sledges on the various anvils reminded one of the classic days of Queen Dido when busily occupied in the building\* of ancient Carthage, so beautifully described in the Eneid of Virgil. Now Arnprior may boast of its three thousand inhabitants. Then only two families occupied the neglected waste. A few short years has effected this prosperous change, and Mr. McLachlin's stone mansion is situated on the terraced banks of the majestic Ottawa, on the very site of Kennell Lodge, where the Chief of McNab once ruled a supreme despot, unchecked and uncontrolled. Then an order from the Chief was tantamount to a law and was obeyed with alacrity. Then the township of McNab was thinly peopled, having only 102 inhabitants all told; now, including Arnprior, it can number upwards of 6,500. Then the people were poor, struggling for a miserable existence, ground down by oppression; now the great majority are independent, and many are in affluent circumstances. Then McNab was the poorest and most miserably wretched township on the Ottawa; now its assessed value is by far the greatest of any municipality in the County of Renfrew. It may be said to be the empire township of the County. Had the contemplated feudal system been carried out had the attempt and the actual existence of the tenure not been resisted, and resisted too by the most heroic struggle ever carried on by an impoverished people against wealth and power it would have been in the same languishing condition as the

most besotted portions of degraded Spain, or in the same wretched state as those parts of Ireland where oppression has not been tempered by law or justice, and where Fenianism has taken the place of order to redress grievances which constitutional measures alone can remove.

In 1838 the first school was established in the township; now we have numerous educational establishments and a Grammar School all of a high order. In 1839 the first Presbyterian congregation was formed.

Our history has now drawn to a close. We have endeavored, without partiality or bias, to give a true record of what has taken place, and we trust we have done so to the satisfaction of our readers. At great pains to select documents to substantiate matters of fact, we grudge not the labor, so that we have made this history interesting as well as instructive interesting as a memento of the past; instructive as tending to impress upon our legislators caution in the opening up of new country, and in the formation of new settlements. Now that the great North-west is being opened up for immigration, the Government may take warning from the past, and not entrust the power which the Chief of McNab at one time wielded, to any single individual. Canada is too powerful, too great, too constitutional in the genius and intelligence of her people, ever again to permit a Family Compact to reign over them an oligarchy which for years governed Canada so badly that our beloved sovereign, the great and beneficent Victoria, herself generously interfered, and sent statesmen that uprooted this abominable autocracy that for years had been bane to the progress of the country, and a drag on the prosperity of Canada; yet by carelessness grievances may creep in, but if they do, this history will at all events teach statesmen to listen to and investigate the slightest complaint from individuals, however humble and poor, lest the disgrace which overwhelmed the Family Compact in

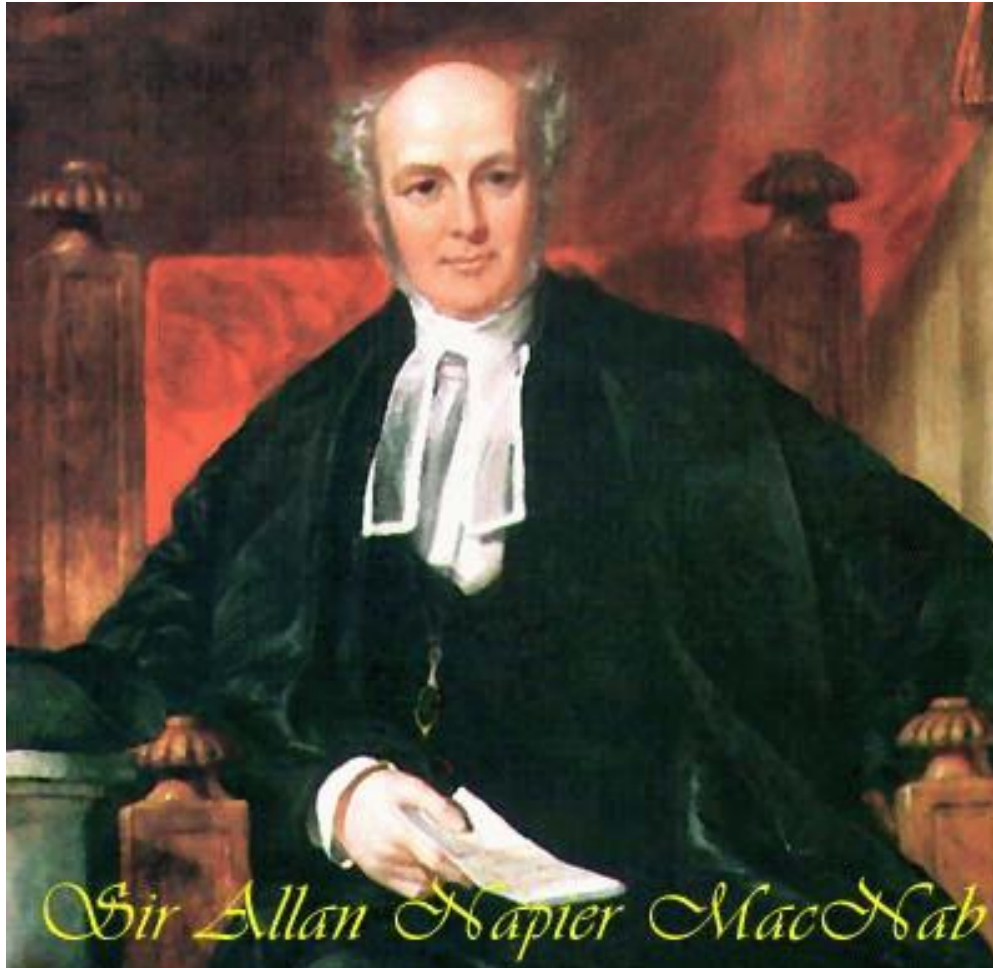
THE LAST LAIRD OF MACNAB

their dealings with the Laird of McNab  
be their fate, and their political  
destruction be pronounced by the fiat  
of public opinion which has changed  
the destinies of empires, and sealed  
the fate of the most powerful  
dynasties in the world.

[THE END]



Sir Allan Napier MacNab



**Sir Allan Napier MacNab 1798-1862**

Member of Canada's Parliament 1830-1857  
First Premier of the United Canadas 1854 - 1856  
Great-Great Grandson of Robert Macnab 14<sup>th</sup> Chief

Sir Allan's life and career are detailed in "Sir Allan Napier MacNab" by Donald R. Beer, published with the assistance of the Ontario Heritage Foundation, Ministry of Citizenship and Culture and the Corporation of the City of Hamilton, by the Dictionary of Hamilton Biography of Hamilton, Ontario. The picture is from a painting by John Partridge, showing Sir Allan as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, 1844-7, held in the Public Archives of Canada.

In 1855 his daughter Sophia Mary MacNab married William Coutts Keppel, 7th Earl of Albermarel. Sophia and William had ten children and their youngest son The Hon George Keppel, married Alice Edmonstone who became the last and said to be the most glamorous mistress of King Edward VII.

Alice and Colonel Hon. George Keppel are the great-great grandparents of Camilla Rosemary Shand, better known by her married name of Parker-Bowles. Today she is Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales and Countess of Chester, Duchess of Cornwall, Duchess of Rothesay, Countess of Carrick, Baroness of Renfrew, Lady of the Isles, Princess of Scotland, though at her own request she wishes to be known as "HRH The Duchess of Cornwall" and most

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**Sir Allan Napier MacNab**

importantly the wife of the Prince of Wales.

One day a descendent of the chiefs of the Mac-an-aba may be Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

## Sir Allan Napier MacNab

**Sir Allan and the Laird of MacNab** (from Appendix B of "Sir Allan Napier MacNab" by Donald R. Beer)

The years 1849-50 were remarkable for the virtual ending of one significant motif in MacNab's personal life, his long, lively, and tortuous relationship with Archibald, the Laird of MacNab. This charming, bibulous chieftain had always impressed his Canadian-born kinsman. However, during the early 1840's the laird's tyrannical and criminal conduct toward the clients of his Ottawa valley settlement had intruded into the political arena and



threatened embarrassment. It was probably a relief to MacNab, therefore, when in 1843, Archibald fled the settlement. MacNab was only too happy to provide him with a cottage in King Street, Hamilton. Archibald bore himself; it is said with a military swagger. Proud and unrepentant, he became a striking figure around the growing city in the latter part of the decade. He was not as consistently or extremely poor as his often been imagined. Aided by the gift of a small estate and income from his estranged wife, the laird had by 6 January 1849 built up a substantial credit balance with Sir Allan. Their complicated financial dealings revolved around promissory notes, bank stock, land, rents,

diamonds and labor. Undoubtedly the chief's assistance was of great value to MacNab in getting the latter through the economic crisis of 1849. MacNab's inability to repay the debt must have contributed substantially to the state of poverty into which the other now fell.

When Archibald decided to remove to Europe, the time for a financial settlement had clearly come, and it was then that the two men fell out. It is now impossible to tell who was the more to blame. Neither was scrupulous and the sum involved was large - nearly £1,300 at one stage. The laird went to court using MacNab's former partner John Hatt as his counsel. Judgment was given in favor of the plaintiff. On 14 January 1852 MacNab signed a note for £939-19-6, which was to have been the final settlement and presumably the end of their relationship. However, the note was protested for lack of funds and the matter dragged on for at least another eight years. Long before then Archibald had gone. On the eve of his departure one of his letters to MacNab had been returned unopened. MacNab also failed to keep an appointment with him. 'I have already suffered more than enough,' the chief wrote bitterly, and he ordered Hatt to close all transactions. The next day, 17 November 1850, he quit Hamilton.

To one as conscious as MacNab of his clan traditions it must ultimately have seemed a sad parting. Years later the two re-established contact, and MacNab extracted from his now seedy kinsman the gratifying declaration that, but for his lack of a male heir, he would have inherited the chieftainship.

## Killin Village and the district of Breadalbane

A HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND VILLAGE OF KILLIN, and the surrounding district of BREADALBANE

(The first part of this is taken from the Killin Village Website @ [www.killin.co.uk](http://www.killin.co.uk) )

The story of Killin and the surrounding area of Breadalbane, since recorded history, is as exciting, as villainous and as romantic as the history of any other part of the highlands of Scotland. The area of Breadalbane has never been properly defined although it is generally understood to cover an area stretching roughly from Tyndrum in the west to Aberfeldy in the east, Loch Earn in the south to Glen Lyon in the north. Until recently these were Campbell lands, although lived in by men of other clans as well whose loyalty was never given to a Campbell overlord. These Breadalbane Campbell's owned extensive lands out with the Breadalbane area as well, at one time in the nineteenth century being the largest private landowners in Scotland. Their lands stretched from the Atlantic near Oban to nearly the North Sea near Dundee. The Breadalbane's had started out Lords of Glen Orchy, kinsmen to the Dukes of Argyll, and as their lands spread east they moved from Argyll, first to Finlarig and latterly to Taymouth, called Balloch when they first moved to it.

Those with knowledge of the Gaels will know that they prided themselves on their oral knowledge of their history handed down father to son, family to family with the result that a lot of their history is anecdotal. It should be nonetheless accurate for that, as a lot of this folklore is actually recorded elsewhere although perhaps not with the gloss or bias it might receive when relating to a storytellers clan or district.

The Killin district is known to have been well populated in prehistoric times due to the number of ancient artifacts still to be found in the area. This ranges from a Stone Age axe factory on the side of Ben Lawers, Bronze Age "ring marked" stones at Dunchroisk, Crannogs in Loch Tay and Druid standing stone circles

throughout the area. Crannogs are artificial islands built near the edges of a loch but out in the water. They were built for defense from other tribes and protection for themselves and their stock from predators. The Crannogs are still visible today although many look just like spits of land jutting out into the loch because the stretch of water between the bank and the Crannogs has progressively silted up.

Crannogs are now covered in vegetation and are unrecognizable from normal land at the surface. However surveys done of them underwater have revealed much of their structure. At Acharn near Kenmore, a replica of a Crannog dwelling place has been built and is well worth a visit.

As we move into recorded history, we know that the area was well populated with people. These people were constantly in flux as other tribes pressed into their territories and they pressed into others territories in common with populace movements at that time throughout Europe. There would be exterminations, assimilation and victorious defenses by these peoples over many centuries as they were welded into the Pictish tribe that they were to become. As the Pictish tribes emerged, we can start to actually begin tracing the known history of these people. They have left us no written word however; there is a lot of evidence both historic and oral that gives us clues to the lifestyle of these peoples. These people were in contact with the Romans on and off for more than three centuries. The Romans had camps all around the southern extremities of the Breadalbane area although these are temporary camps made during particular campaigns. The permanent camps were behind both Hadrian's Wall and Antonine's Wall at various times during the Roman occupation.

## Killin Village and the district of Bredalbane

Even during the Roman occupation there were people moving into Scotland from various directions. After the Romans, came Angles, Saxons and Jutes from the east and south; Scots from the west and later still the Vikings from the north. The Picts however, for centuries were really only troubled round the margins of their territories. As the warlike tribe they were, they were unbeatable in their strongholds. Breadalbane must have been one such stronghold as it is about as far from the sea as you can get in central Scotland.

We know Viking incursions came as far west as Dunkeld and the Scots settled much of Argyll but could get no farther. However in the ninth century Kenneth McAlpine effectively united the Picts and Scots beginning Scotland as we know it today. The powerful leaders in the different districts at this time were the people who would later emerge as the clan chiefs during the heyday of the clan system. As Breadalbane was a Pictish stronghold it is no surprise to find that the oldest clan structure, the Siol Alpin, was very much of this area.

The legendary stories of Fionn (Fingal) are known throughout Scottish and Irish history. There is no real way to know if there was a Fingal or if they were a collection of heroic stories which through retelling came to be related to one hero. However, the fact is the stories are told all over, from the formation of the Giant's Causeway in Northern Ireland to Fingal's Cave in Staffa. The story as it is told in Scotland is that Taileachd lived on Eilean Lubhar an island in Loch Dochart and he had a fairy sweetheart. Fionn got to know this lady quite well and was seeing her.

Taileachd found out about the relationship and when he confronted Fionn they both became so jealous that the lady, frightened of their intentions to each other said that she

would follow the winner of a competition that she would set. This competition was to find out who could leap the farthest, so Taileachd leapt from the island to the shore and Fionn leapt after him. Taileachd then challenged Fionn to leap backwards back across the channel, Taileachd leapt first and landed on dry ground; Fionn leapt next but landed closer to the shore and sank up to his neck in the soft silt. This gave Taileachd his chance and he cut off Fionn's head. However he knew Fionn's warriors, the Fiann, would be out to avenge him, so taking the head he set off to hide. The Fiann found Fionn's headless corpse heard the story of what had happened and set off in pursuit. When Taileachd had reached the head of Loch Laidon he had grown tired of carrying the head he put it on a pole on the top of a black knoll at a ford in the river. This ford has ever since been called Ath Chinn (the ford of the head). When the Fiann came upon the head they put their finger under Fionn's tooth of knowledge and this revealed to them that Taileachd was hiding out in a cave on the side of Ben Alder. They captured him there and when he refused to repent they slew him. Fionn (Fingal) was buried behind a knoll in a grave ever afterward-called Cill Fhinn (burial place of Fingal). This is said to be one of the meanings for the name Killin (in the Gaelic an "h" after a letter aspirates the preceding letter, making the "f" in this context silent).<sup>1</sup>

### Fingal's Grave

The other main contender for the root of the name Killin is Cill Linn, which means the church by the stream. Other oft-quoted contenders are The White Church or Holy Church although they do not make as much sense as the previous two. There are countless references to Fingal, Fionn and Fiann and the Fingalian legends in place names throughout Breadalbane, Finlarig,

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<sup>1</sup>Chill (Fh) inn = Chill-inn which could have become Killin David Rorer

## Killin Village and the district of Bredalbane

Finglen being but two. Fingal and the Fiann were also reputed to be the protectors of the district from invaders such as the Romans. The saying was "Forty castles has the Fiann in the long crooked glen of the stones" (Glen Lyon), remains of these can be seen to this day all the way up the glen.

Recorded history in our area only begins with the coming of Christianity in the seventh century and the two main missionaries to our area are St Fillan and St Adamnan. The tradition is that they traveled together to the headwaters of the Tay at Tyndrum, where they drew lots to decide in what area they would labor. Adamnan drew the northern and eastern area (Glen Lyon to Aberfeldy) and Fillan drew the western end (Loch Tay to Tyndrum). Adamnan's seat was at Dull and Fillan's seat was at Glendochart where they both labored long and hard to bring the people of the area into Christianity. Some of the relics of St Fillan, which were individually looked after by a Dewar (keeper) have been lost but his bell and crozier are now with the Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. These saints founded chapels in many of the main settlements in their districts. The people who lived in these settlements would be the Siol Alpin progenitors of the clans and when clans were formed, they associated themselves with their district or with a powerful lord. The clans of our area retained or expanded their lands by the power of the sword. This way of life lasted longer in this area than in other areas and caused problems for these clans when it became customary to hold lands by charter.

In Breadalbane the clan system flourished from the earliest days until well into the nineteenth century. It is not surprising therefore to find that the Macgregor's and the MacNab's, both part of Siol Alpin were here from earliest times. In fact, the Macgregor's are the

senior line of Siol Alpin and it is thought that these Macgregor's originally peopled from Argyll right through to the eastern end of Breadalbane. The Macgregor's trace their name from a junior line of Kenneth MacAlpine hence their motto "Royal is my race." The Macnab's it is thought came from a Macgregor abbot of Glen Dochart whose children were known as "son of the abbot." Other clans of the district were the MacNaughtans, MacDiarmids and Menzies and latterly the Campbell's, who were latecomers but ultimately became the major force in the area. The MacNaughtans name means son of Nechtan, (Nechtán was a Pictish king) proving that this name comes from antiquity, prior to the coming of the Scots. The MacDiarmids name means "son of Diarmid," the Campbell's are known as clan Diarmid, so there must be a link somewhere although the MacDiarmids were long in the district before the coming of the first Campbell.

The Macnab's star started to wane in the 14th century because they were on the wrong side during the Scottish Wars of Independence. They were allied to the MacDougall's of Lorn who in turn were allied to the Comyns rivals for the throne with Robert the Bruce. When Robert the Bruce slew the Red Comyn in Greyfriars Kirk in Dumfries and dashed to Scone to be crowned King of Scots these seeds were sown.

After the crowning Bruce met an English army at Methven in 1306, his army was all but destroyed and the remnants, Bruce included, made their way into the Highlands of Perthshire to evade any other English army detachments. It is not sure if they traveled up Earnside or Tayside but they certainly made their way up Glendochart. They would not have been able to travel in this area without being noticed by the Macnab's the most powerful clan in the area, in those days far more powerful than they were latterly. The Macnab's passed the word to the MacDougall's who set a trap.



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Robert the Bruce's party stopped and rested at the small church of Strath Fillan where the abbot blessed the Bruce who was very grateful for this act, as the Church of Rome had excommunicated him following the murder of the Red Comyn.

This was still a church of the Culdees, the original church of St Fillan and it had no allegiance to the Church of Rome.<sup>2</sup> The Abbot is also supposed to have warned Bruce he was in dangerous territory and should get out as soon as possible. Not long after the party had left Strath Fillan they were ambushed by the MacDougall's and supposedly the Macnab's at Dal Righ (the Kings Field) near Tyndrum. Bruce only just managed to escape with his own life, a MacDougall clansman got close enough to grasp Bruce's cloak before Bruce had killed him. When the clansman was found later, he was still clasping the cloak and in his hand was a brooch that held the cloak. The MacDougall's still have that brooch to this day and it is called the brooch of Lorn. Bruce and most of his party escaped and hid out all over the Highlands and Islands building up the army that was eventually to win the Wars of Independence for Scotland.

When Bruce had consolidated his Kingdom the time came to pay his friends and enemies. The Macnab's had their lands ravaged and burned and their standing severely reduced, while the Abbot of Glendochart got new church built and dedicated for his help and assistance. It is said that at the Battle of Bannockburn it was the relics of St Fillan that was paraded in front of the Scottish troops before the battle to remind them of their history and antiquity and to show them their destiny. Bruce also proclaimed the rights of the Church of Glendochart and to the Dewars (Keepers) of the relics of St

Fillan. This law was to prove invaluable nearly two hundred years later when the Bishopric of Dunkeld tried to claim the relics for himself.

The MacNab's ever afterward struggled to maintain their estates and their own lifestyle added to the difficulties. They long held the view that in their own backyard they were immune from the rest of the world and that the king's writ did not extend as far as Killin. For many years this seemed to be true, during the heyday of the clans the MacNab's were a law unto themselves and ruled the area with an iron fist. However toward the late sixteenth century the House of Glenorchy, the Campbell's were moving into the area and as they became bigger and bigger creditors to the Macnab gradually took over more and more of their traditional lands. Eventually the law arrived as well and the MacNab's could then be forced to pay their debts. Archibald Macnab the 17th Clan Chief eventually fled to Canada in 1823 as the estates were in such a perilous financial condition. The Marquis of Breadalbane as one of the largest creditors got his pick of the rest of the estate, while others bought the rest as creditors or from creditors and so ended the Macnab clan association with Killin.

Today there is not one of the name of Macnab or Dewar living in the village of Killin. They are scattered to all of the ends of the earth with a fair proportion in Canada and some have become very famous.

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<sup>2</sup>See the article on the Culdees, which follows.

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### **Clan Campbell's Scotland**

Finlarig near Killin was one of the main strongholds of Clan Campbell. The earliest traceable ancestor of the Breadalbane family, and first of the house of Glenorchy, was Sir Colin Campbell, the third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochow. The Campbells were a powerful Clan with a burning desire to expand their lands, indeed the ambition of the 16 century Black Duncan Campbell of the Cowl was to be able to travel on his own lands from the east to the west coast of Scotland, one that he achieved to the cost of many of his neighbors. The Campbells acquired their lands mainly through guile and legal process, largely with the support of some of Scotland's kings. It was the Campbells who hounded the MacGregors, the MacEwans, MacNabs and many other unfortunate clans from their lands.

The Campbells were also great castle builders, owning at one stage castles spread over the full width of Scotland, including: Dunstafnage and Barcaldine near Oban, Kilchurn on Loch Awe, Lock Dochart Castle, Finlarig at Killin, Ardeonaig castle on Loch Tay and Balloch castle (later known as Taymouth) at Kenmore. Sir Colin Campbell, born about 1577 was probably the most notorious of the Campbells and it was he who hounded the unfortunate MacGregors of Glenstrae and their successors. The fortunes of the clan slowly changed and the last straw was the curse invoked by the 'Old Woman of Lawers' who predicted the extinction of the Campbells. The final problems for the Campbells started in the 1920s with taxation and the lack of direct descendants. They sold off their lands to meet debts until 1948 when the last land was sold.

Sir Colin Campbell the great expansionist had built Finlarig Castle at Killin and behind it the family mausoleum. The mausoleum was a ruin

when the last of the Campbells of Glenorchy died early in the 20th century. Beyond the ruins of the mausoleum and facing the ruins and Finlarig castle are two graves with Celtic crosses inscribed for Sir Gavin Campbell, Marquis of Breadalbane, and his wife of 50 years, Lady Alma St. Fillan, the Last of the Breadalbanes!

### **Breadalbane**

The name Breadalbane refers mainly to the lands owned by the Campbells from Oban to Aberfeldy. The Name Breadalbane derives from the old Celtic words signifying "high Albane" or "the high part of Scotland in the kingdom of Albany". The area is steeped in history, much of it recorded in ancient records, much recorded in ancient Pictish carvings and before that. Evidence of early occupation lies in 'cup and ring' markings which are found carved in the rocks all over Breadalbane. This is a beautiful part of Scotland, boasting some of the highest mountains and most beautiful and stunning scenery in Scotland. Along its length is loch Awe, Loch Dochart and Loch Tay as well many minor lochans. Mountains like Ben More, Stob Binnian, Ben Lawers and the Tarmachan range line both sides of the river valley. Sparkling little jewels of villages like, Killin, Kenmore and Fortingall are spread along the length of Breadalbane.

### **Castles of Breadalbane:**

#### **Barcaldine castle**

Barcaldine, the "Black Castle" of Benderloch is one of the few mediaeval castles in Scotland which is still habitable and which appears practically unchanged. Throughout its 400 year existence, Barcaldine has been a military outpost, a dwelling house, a ruin and now, in the 21st century, a place of interest for visitors to the area to enjoy.

Barcaldine Castle is built on the "L" plan with the smaller wing on the south side projecting to the west beyond the end part of the main wall

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of the castle. This projection enabled the main wall to be protected and covered with small arms. The walls are approximately 9 feet thick, thus allowing the stair passage inside them, and rise too approximately 32 feet.

Barcaldine owes its position to a design for defense. The builder was Sir Duncan Campbell, seventh Lord of Glenorchy. Turbulence and lawlessness followed the break-up of the Lordship of the Isles, abolished by James IV in 1493. It was during this period of lawlessness that Sir Duncan Campbell came to power. He was a very vigorous, ambitious and forceful character. Sir Duncan's lands stretched from Barcaldine in the west to Taymouth Castle on Loch Tay in the east. Such a wide distribution of property was extremely difficult to control and protect. To this end, The Campbells built or improved a string of seven castles including Barcaldine.

Kilchurn Castle on Loch Awe was repaired, as was Taymouth Castle, formally known as Balloch at the east end of Loch Tay. Edinample Castle at the west end of Loch Earn, Achallader at the head of Glenorchy, Finlarig at the west end of Loch Tay and the island Castle on Loch Dochart.

### **Kilchurn Castle**

Kilchurn was built in 1440 by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and was extended by his wife during his absence on crusade. It was used as a military garrison during the '45 rising before finally falling into disrepair.

Very picturesquely sited on a promontory on Loch Awe the castle is largely ruined but plenty remains intact and worth exploring. There is a keep and garret with corner towers. These lands were originally owned by the MacGregors who were ousted by the Campbells.

The castle is open to the public with steps to the battlements and garrets

and information boards liberally provided at strategic viewpoints.

### **Edinample Castle**

Built in the 16th century by Black Duncan of the cowl) who schemed to have the MacGregors proscribed (outlawed) in order to obtain their lands and property. Derelict by early 1970s but since restored privately. Reportedly the mason who erected the castle was pushed off the parapets by Black Duncan in order to avoid payment for his services!

Edinample castle is privately owned and is not open to the public. To see Edinample castle; take the unclassified South Lochearn road at the old church just south of Lochearnhead. About 800 yards down this road you will see the rear of Edinample.

For a more picturesque view, return to the main road, turn right to Lochearnhead, right again and drive 800 yds down the north side of Lochearn. You can now see Edinample across the loch.

### **Loch Dochart Castle**

Loch Dochart Castle is a 16th c tower house of two storeys with a round tower. It was built by Black Duncan Campbell of the cowl about 1590. (He built castles almost as a hobby and owned about 7 or 8)

The castle is inaccessible on an island, to see it, turn left at Lix Toll garage and continue for about 6 miles, just past Benmore farm. Loch Dochart Castle is on a wooded island in loch Dochart on the right.

### **Finlarig**

Drive east through Killin, and 400 yds past the Killin hotel you will see a bridge on the right over the river. Cross the bridge and in 250 yds, on the left, you'll see a wooded knoll. The Castle is on the knoll, but neglect has allowed it to fall into ruin. Finlarig was built in the early 1600s by Black Duncan of Glenorchy; probably the most feared of the

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acquisitions Campbell clan. He also built a chapel where the ruins of the mausoleum stand to the east of the castle on the mound. The mausoleum was built by the Campbells (of Breadalbane) in the early 1800s.

If you walk up to the castle, then face towards the mausoleum ruins, you'll see two gravestones side by side to the left. These stones mark the resting place of the Marquis and Marchioness of Breadalbane - the last of the Campbell line and descendants of Black Duncan of the cowl - who built this castle 1620's and the first mausoleum (also in ruins) behind the graves. (Don't miss the beheading pit to the north side of the castle - grizzly!)

Take care these ruins are dangerous! The castle consists of two towers and a passage past cellars to kitchen. The beheading pit with beheading block lies behind castle (to north)

### Comrie Castle

Built 15th century by Menzies family it is thought to have been in intermittent use as a Menzies home until 1745 when the Menzies family moved to Castle Menzies after it's burning in 1487.

Driving east from Coshieville, after about 2 miles, take the next on the right over a little bridge and is on your left over the bridge. This castle is in a private garden and not open to the public.

### Castle Menzies

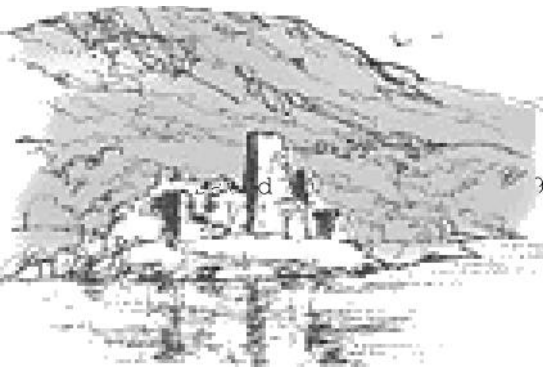
The Menzies family (formerly Mengies) built their castle at Weem which was totally destroyed by Neil Stewart of Garth in the 16th Century.

Hugely extended by a new wing, in the 19th century it became derelict after its use by the armed forces during World War II, but has been restored by

the Clan Menzies Society.

Three miles east of Coshieville, one mile west of Aberfeldy and on the north side of the road, you will see the castle across the field.

Bonnie Prince Charlie' stayed here for two nights in 1746. Four days later "Butcher" Cumberland stayed here on his way to Culloden.



## The Campbells of Breadalbane

The chiefs of the Macnab's imprudently lived beyond their means and amassed large debts. Those debts were acquired by the Campbell Earl of Breadalbane who foreclosed on them, forcing the Macnab into bankruptcy and thereby enabling him to acquire the Bovain Estates. The Campbells are included here because of the impact they had on the later history of the clan. This is a much shortened version of an article found on the Electric Scotland website. There it is stated that the original was discovered in an antiquarian bookshop and came from a 2 volume set written by James Taylor, M.A., D.D., F.S.A and published in 1887 as set 88 of a 250 print run. The original may be found at:

[http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/families/cambells\\_breadalbane.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/families/cambells_breadalbane.htm)

I have modernized the spelling and grammar as well as deleted much that is irrelevant to the history of the Breadalbane Campbells in relation to the Macnab's - David Rorer

The Campbells of Breadalbane were the most powerful branch of the house of Argyll. They are descended from Sir Colin Campbell, third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochaw, by Marjory Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland. In the "Black Book of Taymouth," printed from an old manuscript preserved in Taymouth Castle, it is stated that "Duncan Campbell, commonly called Duncan in Aa, Knight of Lochaw (lineallie descendit of a valiant man surnamit Cambell quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmore his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochaw) flourished in King David Bruce his dayes. The foresaid Duncan begat twa sons, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay."<sup>1</sup> That estate was bestowed on him by his father. It was the original seat of the MacGregors, who were settled there as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore. It was gradually wrested from them by the Campbells and in the reign of David II they managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy, but the MacGregors continued for a long time to retain possession of their ancient inheritance.

Sir Colin Campbell, founder of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane branch of the

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Campbell commonly called Duncan in Aa, Knight of Lochaw (lineal descendant of a valiant man surnamed Cambell who came to Scotland in the time of King Malcolm Canmore about 1067, of whom came the house of Lochaw) flourished in the time of King David Bruce. This Duncan had two sons, the elder called Archibald, the other named Colin who was first lord of Glenorchy

clan was known for his military prowess and for the virtues of social and domestic life. He was born about A.D. 1400, and according to the "Black Book," "throch his valiant actis and manheid maid knight in the Isle of Rhodes, quhilk standeth in the Carpathian Sea near to Caria and countrie of Asia the Less, and he was three sundrie tymes in Rome."<sup>2</sup>

After James I was murdered in 1437, Sir Colin succeeded in capturing two of the assassins, Chalmers and Colquhoun. For which service James II gave him the barony estate of Lawers. In 1440 Sir Colin erected the Castle of Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) on a rocky promontory at the east end of Loch Awe, under the shadow of Ben Cruachan, near the Pass of Brander, where the MacDougalls of Lorne were defeated by Robert Bruce. The castle occupies every foot of the island that is visible and appears to rise out of the water. According to tradition, Kilchurn Castle was built by Sir Colin's lady during his absence in the Holy Land on crusade, and is said to have consumed the greater part of the rents of his lands during the seven years it took to construct.

Sir Colin was married four times. His second wife was one of three daughters and co-heiresses of the Lord of Lorne, by whom he acquired a third of the estates of that ancient and powerful clan and hence forth quartered the galley of Lorne with his paternal coat of arms. His nephew, the first Earl of

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<sup>2</sup> -through his valiants acts and manhood (was) made (a) Knight of Rhodes which stands in the Carpathian Sea (Mediterranean Sea) near Candia (Crete) and Asia Minor, and he made three journeys to Rome.

## The Campbells of Breadalbane

Argyll, to whom he was guardian, married another of these heiresses. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Stirling of Keir, Sir Colin had a son named John, who was the ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun.

Sir Duncan Campbell, Sir Colin's eldest son, obtained in 1498 the office of Bailiary of the King's lands of Discher, Foyer, and Glenlyon. The office was hereditary, and on the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland in 1747, the second Earl of Breadalbane received the sum of one thousand pounds in compensation. Sir Duncan appears to have been very successful in carrying out the acquisitive policy of the Campbells, for he obtained grants of the crown lands at the port of Loch Tay, along with the lands of Glenlyon and Finlarig, which became the burying-place of the family, and other property in Perthshire.

Sir Duncan was killed at Flodden, along with his chief, the Earl of Argyll, and his sovereign. His eldest son, Colin Campbell, succeeded as third laird of Glenorchy, and the second was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenlyon, one of whom commanded the soldiers who perpetrated the massacre of Glencoe. Sir Colin is mentioned as having "biggit the chapel of Finlarig to be ane burial for himself and posteritie."<sup>3</sup> His three sons succeeded to the estates in turn, and the last of these, another Sir Colin, who became Laird of Glenorchy in 1550, "conquessit the superiority of M'Nabb his haill landis."<sup>4</sup> The MacNabs were an ancient clan who at one time possessed considerable property on the banks of the Docherty, near Killin, on the south side of Loch Tay, but their lands have been incorporated into those of the Breadalbane family.

Sir Colin is also said in the "Black Book of Taymouth" to have "behiddet the

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<sup>3</sup> Builddet the chapel of Finlarig to be a burial (place) for himself and his descendants

<sup>4</sup> -contested the superiority of Macnab (over) his whole lands

laird of MacGregor himself at Kandmoor in presence of the Erle of Athol, the Justice-Clerk, and sindrie other noblemen."<sup>5</sup> It was this laird who erected the castle of Balloch on the site now occupied by the splendid mansion of Taymouth Castle. When asked why he had built his house so near the extremity of his estate, he replied, "We'll brizz yont" (press onward). The possessions of the family have however extended in the opposite direction.

Sir Colin was succeeded by Sir Duncan Campbell, his eldest son, usually termed Donacha dhu na Curich, Black Duncan o' the Cowl, who seems to have been a man of considerable force of character, but unscrupulous and treacherous. He was appointed by James VI, 18th May, 1590, one of the barons to assist at the coronation of his queen, Anne of Denmark, when he received the honor of knighthood. Sir Duncan was one of the six guardians of the young Earl of Argyll appointed by the will of his father, the sixth Earl, in 1584, all of them cadets of the family, and one of whom, Campbell of Lochnell, was the nearest heir to the earldom.

Sir Duncan Campbell was deeply implicated in the conspiracy to which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Maitland of Thirleston, and the Earl of Huntly were parties, to murder the Earl of Argyll, Campbell of Calder or Cawdor, one of his guardians, and the Earl of Moray. Sir Duncan was the principal mover in the plot which led to the murder of Calder. Glenorchy knowing the feelings of personal animosity cherished by Campbell of Ardkinglas, his brother-in-law, against Calder, easily prevailed upon him to agree to the assassination of their common enemy. Glenorchy himself had an additional cause of quarrel arising from the protection given by Calder to some MacGregors who were at feud with Glenorchy.

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<sup>5</sup> Beheaded the lord of Macgregor himself at Kenmore in the presence of the Earl of Atholl, the Justice Clerk, and sundrie other noblemen



## The Campbells of Breadalbane

Though Sir Duncan was ambitious and grasping like his race, and utterly unprincipled, he was distinguished for his efforts in building, planting, and improving his estates, and in stimulating the industrious habits of his clan. He employed artists to decorate his house, and at a later period he was one of the most liberal patrons of George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyke.

The Household Books, which contain minute details of the economy of the Breadalbane establishment from the year 1590 downwards, show that the cheer was always abundant and of excellent quality. It consisted of fresh and salt beef, salmon and trout from Loch Tay, herrings from Loch Fyne, dried fish of several kinds, mutton of wedders from the Braes of Balquhidder, capons, geese, wild geese, brawn, venison, partridges, blackcock, "birsell" fowls, and rabbits.

The drink consumed by the chief and his own family and guests was "claret wyne," "quhyit [white] wine," "Spanis wyne;" and judging by the chalders of malt which appear in the accounts, the consumption of ale and beer must have been wonderful. There were three kinds of ale in use—ostler ale, household ale, and best ale—for the different grades of persons in the family. In 1590 the oatmeal consumed in the household was 364 bolls<sup>6</sup>, the malt 207 bolls (deducting a small quantity of struck barley used in the kitchen). They used go beeves ("neats," "stirks," or "fed oxen"), more than two-thirds consumed fresh; 20 swine, 200 sheep, 424 salmon, far the greater portion being from the native rivers; 15,000 herrings, 30 dozen of hard fish; 1,805 "heads" of cheese new and old, weighing 325 stone<sup>7</sup>; and 9 stones of butter, 26 dozen loaves of wheaten bread; of wheat flour 3¼ bolls. The wine, brought from Dundee, was claret and white wine, old and new. Of spices and sweetmeats we find notice only on one occasion of small quantities

<sup>6</sup> A boll of meal weighed about 140 pounds

<sup>7</sup> A stone equaled 20 pounds

of saffron, mace, ginger, pepper, "raises of cure plumdams, and one sugarloaf." These books also furnish us with the names of the Laird's guests. In the week beginning 18th September, 1590, besides Sir Duncan and Lady Campbell, there were at table the Laird of Tullibardine, the Laird of Abercairnie, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Tutor of Duncrub, the Laird of Inchbraikie, the Prior of Charterhouse, "with sindrie other cumeris and gangeris [goers]."

The Inventories of Plenishing, which commence in 1598, are of great value for understanding the habits and style of living of a powerful Scottish family. Besides the more homely furnishing of beds, sheets, blankets, and napery, there are entries of arras, work coverings, sewed coverings, woven Scots coverings, black and red mantles, Irish and Scottish "caddois" (a kind of woollen cloth), white plaid curtains—some of red and green plaiding, others of black worsted; green "sey," champit red "sey," purpouir plaiding pasmentit (decked with lace) with orange green, and blue "canabeis [canopies?] pasmentit with orange;" "damewark burde claithes, serviettes, and towelles," "sewit cushions, woven reid and orange," "green couterclaiths of French stennyng," "buffet stuillis." The lists comprise all the articles used in the kitchen, the brewhouse, "woman house," and other divisions of the establishment.

In 1600 are enumerated the pieces of armor in the House of Balloch—cut-throat guns, brazen pieces, hagbuts, muskets, two-handed swords, a steel bonnet, "a gilt pece with the Laird's armes, that come out of Dundie, stockit with brissell [Brazil wood]," "brasin pistollettes," "Jedburgh staves," Lochaber axes, "gilt harness quhilk was gotten fra the Prior of Charter-house, one stand embracing twelve peces." Curiously connected with the last entry is "ane Bibill," which may have come from the same reverend donor. There is an enumeration of articles indicative of the means which the chief, we fear too frequently, employed to vindicate his authority—"great iron fetters for men's

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feet and hands, long chains in the prison, high and low, with their shackles, &c.," and, most ominous of all, "ane heading ax."

An Inventory of the "Geir [goods, effects] left by Sir Colin, not to be disponit upon," made up by Sir Robert Campbell in 1640, contains a list of jewels and silver plate of no ordinary extent. Of the former is "ane targett of gold, set with three diamonds, four topacis, or jacincts, ane rubie, and ane sapphire enameled, given by King James the Fyft, of worthie memorie, to ane of the Laird of Glenurchay his predecessoures; item, ane round jewell of gold sett with precious stones, containing 29 diamonds and 4 great rubies, quhilk Queen Anna of worthie memorie, Queene of Great Britane, France, and Ireland [James VI's Queen] gave to umquhile [the late] Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy, and uther four small diamonds quhilk the said Queene Anna, of worthie memorie, gave to the said Sir Duncane; item, ane fair silver brotch sett with precious stones; item, ane stone of the quantitie of half an hen's eg sett in silver, being flat at the ane end and round at the uther end, lyke a peir, quhilk Sir Colin Campbell, first Laird of Glenurquhay, wore when he faught in battell at the Rhodes against the Turks, he being one of the Knychtis of the Rhodes; of great gold buttons 66." The "silver work" comprehended "plaittes," "chargers," "layers, with basons partly overgilt," "silver trenchers," and "sasars partly overgilt," "great silver cups," some of them "engraved" and "partly overgilt," and some with the Laird's arms, "little long schankit cups for acavite [whisky], silver goblets, saltfats, masers, spoons, some of which had the lairdis name on them."

Besides these heirlooms, the inventory contains many swords, guns, and armor, silk beds with rich hangings of taffety, one of them with "ane pend of blew velvett," embroidered with the names and arms of the laird and his lady; another bed of "incarnatt London cloath imbrouderit with black velvett;" a third

of "greine London cloath passimentit with green and orange silk lace;" a fourth of "changing taffite greine and yellow;" "sixteen uther weill and sufficient common furnischt beds with their furniture requisite;" "great cramosie velvett cuschiones for the kirk," "cuschiounes of Turkey work;" twenty-four pictures of the kings and queens of Scotland; "thirty-four pictures of the lairds and ladies of Glenurquhay, and other noblemen; ane great genealogie brod paintit of all the Lairds of Glenurquhay, and of those that ar come of the House of Glenurquhay."

In 1617 Sir Duncan obtained the office of heritable keeper of Mamlern. King Charles I afterwards conferred on him the sheriffship of Perthshire for life, and he was created baronet of Nova Scotia in 1625. He died in 1631, leaving seven sons and three daughters. His fifth son was the ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Lochlane and Finnab, in Perthshire.

As might have been expected from his character, the policy of the family towards the ill-fated MacGregors was pursued with unabated severity by Sir Duncan. His second son headed an attack upon them in 1616, at a place called Bintoich, or Ronefray, in the Brae of Glenorchy, at the head of two hundred men. The MacGregors were only sixty in number, but though thus overmatched, they fought with the fury of despair, and slew a number of their ruthless enemies in the conflict which ended in their defeat, with the loss of four of their leaders and twenty of their clansmen.

Little is known of Sir Colin Campbell, eldest son of Sir Duncan, except that he commissioned Jamesone, the celebrated painter, to paint for him a large number of family portraits, for which he paid the artist "ane hundred four scoire - pounds, quhilk are set up in the hall of Balloch"<sup>8</sup> (now Taymouth). His brother and successor, Sir Robert Campbell, was

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<sup>8</sup> One hundred and four score pounds = 2080 pounds a considerable sum for that time

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a Covenanter—a character which could not have been expected to descend from such a stock or to flourish in the wilds of Breadalbane. In consequence, "in the year of God 1644 and 1645, his whole landes and estate betwixt the foord of Lyon and point of Lismore were burnt and destroyed by James Graham, some time Erle of Montrose, and Alexander MacDonald with their associates. The tenants, their whole cattle were taken away by their enemies; and their comes, houses, plenishing and whole insight, weir burnt; and the said Sir Robert pressing to get the inhabitants repainted, wairit [spent] £48 Scots upon the bigging of every cuple in his landes, and also wairit seed comes upon his own charges to the most of his inhabitants. The occasion of this malice against Sir Robert and his friends and countrie people, was because the said Sir Robert joint in covenant with the kirk and kingdom of Scotland in maintaining the trew religion, the kingis majesty, his authority and laws and libertie of the kingdom of Scotland; and because the said Sir Robert altogether refusit to assist the said James Graham and Alexander MacDonald, their malicious doings in the kingdom of Scotland, so that the Laird of Glenurquhay and his countrie people, their loss within Perthshire and within Argyleshire exceeds the soums of 1,200,000<sup>9</sup> merks."

Sir Robert Campbell had five sons and nine daughters. William Campbell, the third son, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloch, from whom the present Marquis of Breadalbane is descended. The daughters were all married to Highland lairds, and the eldest became the mother of Sir Ewan Cameron, of Lochiel.

Little is known of Sir Robert's eldest son, Sir John Campbell. He married the eldest daughter of the powerful but ill-fated Earl of Strathearn, and had by her

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<sup>9</sup> 810,000 pounds - one Merk = 13 ½ shillings - 20 shillings equal one pound. This is probably Scots Pounds which were worth much less than English Pounds.

a son, John Campbell, the first Earl of Breadalbane, born about 1635. The character of this powerful and unscrupulous chief has been drawn in dark but true colors by Lord Macaulay. "He could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field, and ten years before the Revolution he had actually marched into the Lowlands with this great force for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny. He affected zeal for monarchy and Episcopacy, but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council-chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption. After the Revolution he had like many of his fellow-nobles, joined and betrayed every party in turn; had sworn fealty to William and Mary, and had plotted against them." Mackay, in his "Memoirs," says, "the Earl is of a fair complexion, and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel. No Government, can trust him but where his own private interest is in view."

Breadalbane had claims upon the gratitude of the royal family for the great assistance which he gave, in 1653, to the forces collected in the Highlands under General Middleton, in the cause of Charles II., and for his endeavors to persuade Monk, after Cromwell's death, to declare for a free Parliament, as the most effectual way of bringing about the restoration of the Stewarts. He was a principal creditor of George Sinclair, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts were said to have exceeded a million merks. In 1672, Earl of Caithness executed a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles, in favor of Campbell of Glenorchy, who took on himself the the Earl's debts. On the death of Lord Caithness, without issue, in 1676, Sir John Campbell obtained a patent creating

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himself Earl of Caithness; but George Sinclair, of Keiss, the heir-male of the family, disputed his right to that title. Parliament decided in favor of Sinclair and in 1681 Sir John Campbell was created Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenorchy, Benderaloch, Ormelie, and Wick, with remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whomsoever.

The honors thus heaped upon him by the reigning sovereign failed to secure his fidelity when the trial came. After the Revolution of 1688 he gave in his adherence to William and Mary, though there was no end to "the turns and doublings of his course" during the year 1689 and the earlier part of 1690. But after the battle of the Boyne had apparently ruined the Jacobite cause, the Earl became more steady in his support of the new sovereigns; and, as it was at this time his interest, as he affirmed, to promote the stability of the Government and the tranquility of the country, it was resolved by the Ministry to employ the Earl to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and a sum of fifteen thousand pounds was placed at his disposal in order to induce them to swear allegiance to the reigning monarchs.

It was an unwise and unfortunate selection. Breadalbane's reputation for honesty was not high, and he was suspected of intending to cheat both the clans and the King. He alleged that the Macdonalds of Glencoe had ravaged his lands and driven away his cattle; and when their chief, MacIan, appeared with the other Jacobite heads of the clans at his residence in Glenorchy, the Earl, who ordinarily bore himself with the solemn dignity of a Castilian grandee, forgot his public character, forgot the laws of hospitality, and, with angry reproaches and menaces, demanded reparation for the herds which he claimed had been driven from his lands by MacIan's followers.

MacIan was seriously apprehensive of some personal outrage, and was glad to

get safe back to his own glen. His pride wounded; he had no motive to accept of the terms offered by the Government. He was well aware that he had little chance of receiving any portion of the money to be distributed among the Jacobite chiefs. His share of that money would scarcely meet Breadalbane's demands for compensation therefore MacIan used all his influence to dissuade the other chiefs from accepting the proposals made to them; and Breadalbane found the negotiations indefinitely protracted by the man who had long been a thorn in his side.

Breadalbane contrived, however, in one way or other, either to spend or to pocket the funds entrusted to him by the Government. Some chiefs he gratified with a share of the money; others with good words; others he kept quiet by threats. And when he was asked by Lord Nottingham to account for the money put into his hands to be distributed among the chiefs, answered, "My lord, the money is spent; the Highlands are quiet; and this is the only way of accounting among friends."

Before this pacification was effected, however, a most shocking tragedy had been enacted, in which Breadalbane was deeply implicated. His estates had suffered severely from the depredations of the men of Glencoe, and he hated them as "MacDonalds, thieves, and Papists." His anger against them was deepened by his knowledge of the fact that their chief had employed all his influence to thwart the negotiation with the clans, from which the Earl had hoped to gain credit with the Government. Its failure had indeed led the advisers of King William to strongly suspect Breadalbane's fidelity.

The authority of the Earl to conduct the negotiations was dated 24th April, 1690, and at the close of the autumn of 1691 the chiefs had not come to terms. The Scottish counselors of the King, therefore, resolved to try the effect of threats as well as bribes, and on the 27th of August they issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to those who should swear the oath of

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allegiance in the presence of a civil magistrate before the 1st of January, 1692, and threatening with military execution those who should hold out after that day. There is abundant evidence that the Master of Stair, the Earl of Linlithgow, King William himself, and in all probability the Earl of Breadalbane also, expected and wished that some of the Highland chiefs should refuse to avail themselves of the offer of indemnity within the prescribed period, and thus expose themselves to the summary vengeance of the Government.

The Earl of Linlithgow, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, recommended Breadalbane to "push the clans to do one thing or other, for such as will stand it out must not expect any more offers, and in that case those who have been their friends must act with the greatest vigor against them. The last standers-out must pay for all; and, besides, I know that the King does not care that some do it, that he may make examples of them." Stair declared to the Earl, on the 3rd of November, that "pulling down Glengarry's nest as the crows do, destroying him and his clan and garrisoning his house as a middle of communication between Inverlochy and Inverness, will be full as acceptable as his coming in." A month later, in a letter to Breadalbane, he refers to the Earl's "scheme for mauling them," probably much such a scheme as was adopted; and he adds, "Because I breathe nothing but destruction to Glengarry, Tarbet thinks that Keppoch will be a more proper example of severity, but I confess both's best to be ruined." It is well known that MacIan of Glencoe was caught in the net spread mainly for the MacDonalds of Keppoch and Glengarry, that the massacre of the chief and his clansmen was carried out in a manner peculiarly treacherous and cruel, and that though it excited deep and universal indignation, both the devisers of the shocking and bloody deed and the instruments employed in its execution escaped the punishment they deserved.

Breadalbane at once took guilt to himself. A few days after the massacre

he sent Campbell of Barcaldin, his chamberlain, to the men of Glencoe to say that if they would declare under their hands that his lordship had no concern in the massacre, they might be assured the Earl would procure their "remission and restitution." It was not until 1695, three years after the Glencoe massacre, that a commission was appointed to inquire into the shocking affair. They reported that they did not find it proved that Breadalbane was implicated in the slaughter, but they discovered that the Earl had laid himself open to a charge of high treason by the manner in which he had acted in his negotiations with the clans; that he had professed to be a zealous partisan of James, and had recommended the chiefs to accept the money offered them by the Government, but at the same time to be on the watch for an opportunity of taking up arms in favor of the exiled monarch. The Parliament immediately committed Breadalbane a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, but he was soon released by the Ministry on the plea that he had professed himself a Jacobite merely in order that he might discover and betray the plans of the Jacobite chiefs.

John Campbell the Earl of Breadalbane was three times married. His first wife was Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of the first Earl of Holland, who was executed for his loyalty to Charles I. She had a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those days, and out of numerous candidates for her hand the Earl of Breadalbane was the successful suitor. He was married to her in London, 17th December, 1657. According to tradition, after the marriage he set out with his bride for his Highland home, on horseback, with the lady behind him. Her fortune, which was all in gold, was deposited in a leather bag on the back of a Highland pony, which was guarded by a full-armed gillie on each side of the precious horse-load. The strange cavalcade passed unscathed through the Borders, and arrived safe at Balloch. A small room used to be shown in the old castle which, it was said, formed for some time at once the parlor and the



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bedroom of the newly married pair after their arrival.

The Earl died in 1716, and was succeeded by his second son— John Campbell, Lord Glenorchy, born in 1662, who was nominated in terms of his father's patent, as his successor in the earldom and in his extensive estates. There is no reason to suppose that his eldest son, Duncan, Lord Ormelie, whom he passed over, had given him any personal offence, or had done anything which warranted this treatment. The probability seems to be that the cunning and suspicious old Earl was apprehensive that though the part his clan, under the command of his eldest son, had taken in the Rebellion of 1715 had been condoned by the Government; they might after all revive the offence and deprive him of his titles and estates. He therefore disinherited Lord Ormelie in favor of his younger brother. The unfortunate youth seems to have passed his life in obscurity without any steps having been taken to preserve a record of his descendants.

In 1721, however, at a keenly contested election of a Scottish representative peer in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, the right of the second Earl to the peerage was called in question by his elder brother on the ground that any disposition or nomination from his father to the honors and dignity of Earl of Breadalbane "could not convey the honors, nor could the Crown effectually grant a peerage to any person and to such heirs as he should name, such patent being inconsistent with the nature of a peerage, and not agreeable to law, and also without precedent." Strange to say, these weighty objections were overruled by the peers, and by a decision which is quite unique, Lord Glenorchy was confirmed in his ancestral honors and estates. He was remarkable only for his longevity, having died in 1752 in his ninetieth year.

His only son, John Campbell third Earl, born in 1696, was noted for his precocious talents and attainments. In 1718, at the age of twenty-two, he was sent as envoy extraordinary and minister

plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark and in 1731 was appointed ambassador to Russia. He sat for a good many years in the House of Commons as member first for the borough of Saltash and then for Oxford, was a steady supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, and was for some time one of the Lords of the Admiralty. After his accession to the peerage he was appointed, in 1761, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre, and in 1776 was nominated Vice-Admiral of Scotland. His first wife was Lady Annabella Grey, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, Duke of Kent, an ancient and illustrious English house, and by her he had a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, who succeeded her grandfather as Baroness Lucas and Marchioness de Grey

By his second wife Lord Breadalbane had two sons, who predeceased him. The younger bore the courtesy title of Lord Glenorchy and died in 1771 at the age of thirty-four, leaving no surviving issue though he had married in 1761 Willielma, second daughter and co-heiress of William Maxwell of Preston, a cadet of the Nithsdale family.

On the death of the third Earl of Breadalbane, in 1782, the male line of the first Earl was supposed to have become extinct. John Campbell Of Carwhin, who was descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster, second son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, took possession without opposition. He raised a regiment in 1793, called the Breadalbane Fencibles<sup>10</sup>, for the service of the Government, and in various other ways displayed a patriotic spirit during the protracted war with France. He was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1806 by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, and in 1831 was raised to the rank of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. His attention was chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which he planted with trees fitted for the soil, and by his costly improvements

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<sup>10</sup> What today is known as a "Territorial Regiment" for service only within the United Kingdom



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he rendered the park at Taymouth one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom.

In 1828, the fourth earl of Breadalbane, principal creditor of the Macnab estates, exercised his right of purchase, after Archibald Macnab, 17<sup>th</sup> chief of Clan Macnab had fled to Canada to escape his debts. Subsequently, in 1849, the remaining Macnabs were evicted to make room for the breeding of capercaillie (a large black Old World grouse) for sport.

The Marquis of Breadalbane died in 1834, at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded in his titles and entailed estates by his only son, John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, second Marquis.

The second Marquis of Breadalbane represented Perthshire in the Parliament of 1832, was created a Knight of the Thistle in 1838, elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1841, and in 1848 was appointed Lord Chamberlain.

At his death, without issue, in 1862, the Marquisate and Barony of Breadalbane and the Earldom of Ormelie, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct. The Scottish honors were claimed by John Alexander Gavin Campbell, of Glenfalloch, and by Charles William Campbell, of Borland and the decision of the House of Lords was given, in favor of Campbell of Glenfalloch. He died in 1871, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the seventh Earl of Breadalbane, born in 1851, who was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1873, by the title of Lord Breadalbane of Kenmore, and was elevated to the rank of Marquis in 1885

**The Macnabs and MacDougalls in the Scottish Wars of Independence**  
**Part Two - The Battle of Dal Righ**

The Battle of Dal Righ or as some authors spell it Dalrigh or Dail Righ, is a real turning point in history. Had Robert the Bruce been killed at the battle or captured, and turned over to King Edward, the history of not only Scotland but of England would have been far different. Scotland, like the ancient kingdoms of Northumberland and Cumbria, could have been absorbed into the English kingdom without the ensuing four hundred years of warfare that devastated the region of the border between the two kingdoms. Who knows what a peaceful, united and prosperous Britain would have accomplished during those centuries.

Dal or Dail comes from the Gaelic word for field while Righ from the Gaelic word "Ri" which is translated into English as "king" though a Gaelic Ri was more like a war leader than our notion of a king. It is noteworthy that though the battle gave its name to this field, that descriptions of the battle clearly describe it as a running fight which took place in a narrow pass and probably over a considerable distance.

On the following pages are several accounts of the Battle of Dal Righ. The first is taken from the on-line encyclopedia, Wikipedia at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Dalrigh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Dalrigh)

The second account is adapted from Chapter nine of "*Robert Bruce & the Community of the Realm of Scotland*" by Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh 1988, which is listed as a source for the Wikipedia article. Note: in this account the chief of the clan Macnab is referred to as "Patrick (Macnab) lord of Glendochart, heir of the ancient abbots of Glendochart who were Fillan's successors and custodians of his famous pastoral staff." This is at variance with the "official" history of the clan which states that the chief at the time may have borne the name Malcolm Macbethad or Angus de Glendochart. Also, as we know the custodians of the "pastoral staff of St Fillan" were the several Dewars or custodians of his various relics, and not the Macnab's or the Abbot of Glendochart.

The third is taken from "The Clan MacNab, a short sketch" published by John McNab of Callander in 1907.

The fourth and last account of the battle (spelled in this instance as "Dalree") is from "*Historical Tales; Wars of Scotland and of the Border Raids, Forays, and Conflicts*" Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: A. Fullarton & Co., the original of which was found at [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) (The date of publication is not shown but the author; John Parker Lawson is noted as having died in 1852.)

This account contains numerous differences in names and spellings from other, especially more modern, accounts of the same events and persons, and although ostensibly the story of the battle of Dal Righ it is also the story of the celebrated Brooch of Lorn - though again this story differs greatly from other stories about that storied relic and the MacDougall's of Lorn.

These accounts are presented as found in the originals, with the exception that some words have been changed from British to American spellings.

**Dalrigh as described in Wikipedia -**

Dalrigh is a hamlet in Scotland on the road between Tyndrum and Crianlarich on the river Fillin. Dalrigh or Dail Righ means "King's Field" in Gaelic and its origin stems from a battle fought there in 1306 between the forces of Robert the Bruce and the MacDougall's of Argyll who had the probable assistance of the Macnab's.

The exact date of the battle cannot be established but it took place sometime in late July or early August in the summer of 1306 shortly after Robert the Bruce was crowned king of Scots at Scone. The Bruce and his army were reeling westwards after their defeat by the English at the Battle of Methven when they were intercepted and all but destroyed at or near the place

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now called Dail Righ. The Bruce barely escaped with his life and his bid for the throne almost came to an end.

By the late 13th century, the descendants of Dougal son of Somerled, King of the Isles had emerged as the most powerful of his descendants. Alexander MacDougall, head of this branch of the family, was related by marriage to John Balliol and his nephew, John Comyn younger of Badenoch (known as the Red Comyn). Alexander had attained high office during the short reign of John Balliol as king. He was appointed sheriff of Lorn in February 1293 and had extended his power still further at the expense of the MacDonald's of Islay and the Campbells of Loch Awe, whom he defeated in battle sometime in the mid-1290s. The outbreak of the War of Independence in 1296 placed the MacDougall's firmly in the anti-English camp, but this changed in the most dramatic fashion in February 1306, when Robert Bruce murdered John Comyn and had himself crowned at Scone. At this the MacDougall's and other families with Balliol and Comyn associations, rivals of the Bruce factions for the throne, became firm allies of the English.

**The King's Field**

In June 1306, Robert Bruce and his army were at Methven to the west of Perth where they were caught unprepared by Aymer de Valence, who was acting as King Edward's lieutenant in Scotland. Badly defeated The Bruce and the remnants of his army retreated westwards, towards the mountains of Argyll. Reaching Strathfillan they found their path blocked at Tyndrum by a large force of MacDougall's, said to have numbered about a 1000,, commanded by Alexander MacDougalls son, John of Lorn, also known as John Baccach - the Lame. It is likely that Valence was not far to the east in pursuit, so being unable to retreat, the Bruce was forced into battle in disadvantageous circumstances at the place now known as Dail Righ - the King's Field - though it is uncertain if this was the name at the time or added afterwards by the chroniclers.

The only sources we have for the battle are pro-Bruce, and tend at every turn to put a favorable interpretation upon the King's actions. John Barbour has him 'boldly waiting' to engage John in battle, though "his followers were all too few". However, Bruce's army had just been badly routed and would have needed time to recoup; so it is possible that the MacDougall's took him by surprise. Barbour provides some justification for such an interpretation, providing no description of preparations or dispositions, just an account of a quick and very close engagement.

Many of The Bruce's remaining horses were killed by the MacDougall axmen, who also wounded many of his men, including Sir James Douglas and Gilbert Hay. Under considerable pressure Bruce did his best to disengage;

They thereupon withdrew. In this  
There was no mark of cowardice.  
They kept together; and the king  
Was ever busy rescuing  
The rearmost of his company  
With skill and valor there wrought he,  
And safely all his men withdrew.  
He daunted those that would pursue  
So none durst leave their close array,  
For he was never far away

Bruce was so heavily involved in action with the rearguard that he found himself at one point alone and under attack between a hill and the loch side, in a pass so narrow that he could not turn his horse. For the king to be placed in such a position, seemingly unsupported, provides some further evidence of the weakness of the royal forces. The enemy was fought off and the Bruce's army retreated to safety; but not long after it ceased to exist as an organized military force.

After Dail Righ, the Bruce, now styled dismissively as 'King Hob' in English propaganda, was little better than a fugitive, closely pursued by his many enemies, both domestic and foreign. For a time his party took refuge in the mountains of Athol. From here the

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king sent his wife Elizabeth, his daughter Marjorie Bruce, his sister, Mary, and Isabella MacDuff the Countess of Buchan to the relative safety of Kildrummy Castle, near the River Don in Aberdeenshire. With James Douglas and a few others he then went southwards into the territory of his friend Maol Choluim II, Earl of Lennox. From here he was helped to cross over to the Kintyre Peninsula by way of Bute, where he was aided by Angus Og of Islay, chief of the MacDonald's and a bitter enemy of the MacDougall's. Bruce was given temporary refuge in Dunaverty Castle, a location far too exposed and dangerous to remain in for long. He fled from here into a very uncertain future, not fully reappearing on the stage of history until the early spring of 1307. The recovery of his

cause from this point counts as one of the most remarkable episodes in the history of warfare. Two years after Dal Righ the MacDougalls were destroyed at the Battle of Pass of Brander.

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This account of the battle is adapted from Chapter nine of "*Robert Bruce & the Community of the Realm of Scotland*" by Geoffrey W.S. Barrow, Edinburgh University Press, 22 George Square, Edinburgh 1988. Note that this author names "Patrick (Macnab) lord of Glendochart" and refers to him as "Fillian's successor and custodians of his famous pastoral staff." The staff was actually entrusted not to the chief of the clan, but to a guardian, called the Mac-an-deoir or Dewar. Obviously he is confused as to who was what at that time.

**The Battle of Dail Righ -**

On February 10, 1306 Robert the Bruce met with John Comyn, younger of Badenoch (known as the Red Comyn) in the Greyfriar's kirk at Dumfries. The purpose of the meeting is believed to have been to discuss a power sharing agreement between the Bruce and the Red Comyn, the closest claimants to the throne, after the deposed king John Balliol. However, words were uttered, daggers drawn and when it was over the Red Comyn lay dead, before the altar.

Although the murder itself was surely an act of unpremeditated violence, what followed must have been part of a pre-arranged plan and six weeks later, on Lady Day, Friday, March 25, 1306, Bruce was inaugurated as King of Scots at Scone.

Bruce began his reign traveling about the country quelling sympathizers of the Balliol and Comyn factions, taking the homage of magnates like the earl of Strathearn and seizing castles.

King Edward was taken by surprise by these events, but by April 5<sup>th</sup> had appointed Aymer de Valence, his own half-cousin and the Red Comyn's brother-in-law, as his special lieutenant in Scotland. Valence moved with speed and vigor and by the early part of June was at Perth. Bruce judged the moment ripe for an attack in strength and on June 18<sup>th</sup> approached the town from the mountains to the west to tempt Valence out to fight. Failing to do so Bruce bivouacked at Methven, in a wood on high ground south of the Almond, and unwisely, some of his men went off to forage while others scattered to find sleeping quarters.

Valence seized his opportunity and coming out from Perth before daylight

he took the Scots unawares in a fierce onslaught. There was hard fighting at first but Methven was a rout rather than a battle, and it ended with Bruce fleeing westward with a few hundred men.

Bruce headed to Drumalban, the mountain country dividing Perthshire from Argyll where he believed that he had the blessing of one of the most celebrated of the ancient Scottish saints, Fillan of Glendochart whose shrine lay in Strathfillan. It is likely that as Bruce and his companions made their way westward from Methven they were helped by the canons of Inchaffray Abbey and Maurice its abbot since 1305, who was later to bring Saint Fillan's relics to Bannockburn and exhort the Scottish army on the eve of that battle.

To travel westward from Strathearn by Lochearnside and Glen Ogle into Glen Dochart was to enter what might be called Saint Fillan's sanctuary. Here the chief men included Gilchrist and Henry of Balquhidder and Patrick (Macnab) lord of Glendochart, heir of the ancient abbots of Glendochart who were Fillan's successors and custodians of his famous pastoral staff. We do not know how they received the new king of Scots; we know only that in later years Bruce granted the barony of Glendochart to Alexander Menzies of Weem in Strathtay, one of the knights who were with him in 1306. This partial displacement of the Macnabs may mean that Patrick of Glendochart was Bruce's enemy.

An appreciable portion of the nobility including the earls of Sutherland, Ross, Buchan, Angus and Dunbar was hostile to Bruce at this time; while Caithness and Fife were at best neutral. Alexander Macdougall, lord of

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Argyll, and his son and heir John, respectively uncle and cousin of the murdered John Comyn and related by marriage to Edwards lieutenant in Scotland Aymer de Valance, were fiercely opposed to Bruce. So, for different reasons, were the leading men of Galloway. The majority of them opposed Bruce not because they were on principle pro-English and held English estates but because they could accept neither the overthrow of the Comyns, the leading supporters of the government for nearly a century, nor the claims of Bruce, who, in their view, was a plain usurper.

Sometime between mid July and early August, Bruce halted at the shrine of St Fillan, in Strathfillan, on his way west and northwards through Glendochart, to pray at the shrine receive the blessing of its abbot. A short distance beyond at the head of Strathfillan, at a place called Dail Righ (also spelt Dalry or Dalree), near Tyndrum, Bruce found his escape route barred by John Macdougall of Argyll, at whose hands he met his second defeat. As a result Bruce and his men ceased to form an organized military force and scattered through out the highlands.



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The following account of the Macnabs and MacDougalls at the battle of Dal Righ is taken from "The Clan MacNab, a short sketch" published by John McNab of Callander in 1907.

Note: this is the only one of the several histories of the clan to refer to a "Macnab Brooch!" The story of the Brooch of Lorn held by the MacDougalls is well known but another for the Macnab's?

**The Battle of Dal Righ -**

In 1306 the Macnab's and their followers, along with the MacNaughtans<sup>1</sup>, joined the MacDougall's of Lorn in their attack on the Bruce. The two parties met at Dalrigh, near Tyndrum, and in the conflict which ensued, the Macnabs, under their stalwart chief, Angus Mor<sup>2</sup>, are said to have displayed great prowess and ferocity. It was in this battle that the celebrated Brooch of Lorn was lost by the Bruce.

Barbour speaks of Bruce's assailants as "Makyn Dorsers," and, if such they were, then they were followers of Macnab, as they were the hereditary door-keepers of St. Fillan's Church.<sup>3</sup>

The Lorn tradition varies somewhat from Barbour's account; but, strange to say, there was also a Macnab tradition which agreed with Barbour's version, and there was a Macnab brooch which was said to have been won from the Bruce.

The tradition that is generally accepted as correct is, that Bruce was suddenly attacked by three powerful followers of Macnab. The King dispatched two of his opponents, and hurled the third backward; but the man

in falling seized the King's mantle or plaid, and to save himself the King was obliged to abandon his garment, and with it the brooch which secured it. It was a moment for haste, too, for Angus Mor was coming up in hot pursuit, and had he and the Bruce met in mortal combat, it is probable that Scottish history would have been changed. For Angus was herculean in stature and strength<sup>4</sup> and in swordsmanship he ranked with Wallace.

The Macnab brooch remained in the possession of the family of the Chief until the time of the Commonwealth, when it passed into the hands of the Campbells of Glenlyon, whose descendants retained it until a few years ago, when it was purchased for the British Museum.

Many of the place names in the neighborhood of Dalrigh owe their origin to this battle. About this time Barbour ascribes to a Macnab the credit of seizing and delivering Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of Bruce, into the hands of the English.

In 1308 the cause of Bruce was prospering, and he resolved to wipe off all old scores against the Lord of the Isles and his allies. Collecting a strong force, he marched into Argyleshire in quest of his enemy.

John, the son of Alexander MacDougall of Lorn, had timely notice of the King's intentions, and accordingly prepared to give him a warm reception. He posted his men and their allies in ambush in the Pass of Brander, where the road was so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. It was the scene of M'Fadyean's defeat; but

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<sup>1</sup> Goffrey Barrow in "Robert Bruce & the Community of The Realm of Scotland" names MacNaughton of Cowal as being with MacDougall of Lorn at the battle.

<sup>2</sup> The official clan history merely calls him Angus. Mor - the dark or black - is a common nickname for someone who had black hair or a dark complexion as many of the Macnabs seem to have had.

<sup>3</sup> Mac-an-deoirs or Dewar, the hereditary custodians of the crozier of St. Fillan

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<sup>4</sup> Many of the chiefly family are described in this manner and a few definitely were - Francis the 16<sup>th</sup> chief for example.

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Bruce was acquainted with the country, and he was, moreover, an abler and a craftier soldier than the Irish adventurer. He divided his force into two portions; one of these he sent under Douglas to scale the heights which commanded the Highlanders' position, and the other he led in person into the Pass.

The King, on entering the defile, was at once attacked by Lorn and his men, who hurled rocks and arrows upon his force. It seemed a critical moment, but Douglas, having reached his appointed place, in turn attacked the Highlanders, and threw them into confusion.

The fighting was sternly contested, but eventually the allies had to seek safety in flight. They attempted to secure their retreat by breaking down **MacDougal of Lorn** from "Historical Tales; Wars of Scotland and of the Border Raids, Forays, and Conflicts" Vol. II, Edinburgh, London, and Dublin: A. Fullarton & Co.

The chiefs of Lorn were descended from Dougal, a son of Somerled, Lord of the Isles, slain near Renfrew in 1164, and a daughter of Olaus, King of Man. They assumed the patronymic appellation of Mac-Dougal, by which they are distinguished in subsequent centuries. This ancient and once powerful family, the chiefs of which were petty princes rather than feudal barons, is still represented by their descendant, MacDougal of Dunolly in Argyleshire.

The Lord of Lorn, with about a thousand Argyleshire Highlanders, attacked Bruce at the locality now called Dalree in Glen-Dochart, and the conflict was unfavorable to the latter. Many of the horses belonging to Bruce's party were killed by the long pole-axes, of which the followers of Lorn had learnt the use from the Norwegians<sup>5</sup>; nevertheless the King's

<sup>5</sup> By Norwegians the author means those Norse primarily from Norway, many of whom settled in the western Isles. The "long pole-axes" would be the so-called Danish Axe which had a wide, thin blade, with pronounced "horns" at both the toe and heel of the bit and a haft usually between 4 and 6 feet long

a bridge over which they passed; but in this endeavor they were foiled, as the victors were too close upon their steps.

This defeat, sharp and decisive though it was, did not suffice to overthrow the power of the MacDougall's and Macnabs, nor did it subdue their martial ardor. For, in 1314, we find them once more along with the Comyns arrayed under the English Standard at Bannockburn.

This latter defeat placed the Macnabs in a rather delicate position; but concentrating their strength round a portion of their once great possessions, they were able to maintain themselves by their swords until the arrival of better and more tranquil times.

adherents behaved with such great gallantry as to command the admiration of Lorn himself, and successfully confronted the Argyleshire Highlanders, although greatly inferior to them in numbers.

At length Bruce sounded a retreat through a narrow and difficult pass, bringing up the rear in person, and repeatedly turning and driving back the more adventurous assailants. Lorn, while admiring the prowess of the King, and observing his skill in protecting the retreat of his followers, exclaimed to one of his men that he resembled Gaul, or Gol, the son of Morni, celebrated in Celtic tradition. Two brothers, the strongest among Lorn's followers, whom Barbour designates MacIndrosser<sup>6</sup>, interpreted

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be an attempt to render Mac-an-deoirs or Dewar. The Mac-an-deoirs or Dewar's of Glendochart were the hereditary custodians of the *Bachuil*, crozier, or *cuigreach*<sup>6</sup> of St. Fillan. The "interpretation" of the name as Durward or Porterson may arise from the, incorrect, notion that they were

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Durward or Porterson, resolved to rid their chief of his formidable enemy, and a third person, named MacKeoch, associated himself with them for this purpose. Watching an opportunity until Bruce's party had entered a pass between Loch-Dochart, and a precipice where the King had scarcely space to manage his steed; those three persons threw themselves upon him. One seized his bridle, but Bruce dealt him a blow which struck off his right arm; a second grasped him by the stirrup and leg, but the King, putting spurs to his horse, threw him down, and dragged him along the ground still holding by the stirrup; a third, taking advantage of an acclivity, sprung up behind him on his horse, yet Bruce extricated himself from his grasp, threw him to the ground, and cleft his skull with his sword. By a similar exertion he killed the one holding by the stirrup.

MacNaughton, a baron of Cowal, could not refrain from pointing out to Lorn the valor displayed by Bruce in this memorable retreat, and spoke of him in terms of the highest admiration. "It seems to give thee pleasure," said Lorn, "that he makes such havoc among our friends." "Not so, by my faith," replied MacNaughton, "but be he friend or foe who achieves high deeds of chivalry, men should bear faithful witness to his valor, and never have I heard of one who by his knightly feats has extricated himself from such dangers as have this day surrounded Bruce.'

Connected with this unfortunate skirmish is the celebrated Brooch of Lorn, a jeweled brooch of silver, and not of gold, as stated in Sir Walter Scott's "Lord of the Isles," as a means of keeping together the plaid and mantle which covered his armor. The tradition in the Family of the MacDougalls of Lorn is that their chieftain engaged in a personal conflict with Bruce while the latter was protecting the retreat of his men. MacDougal was struck down by the King, and would have been slain on the spot,

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hereditary door keepers (porters) of St Fillans Chapel in Strathfillian.

if two of his vassals, father and his son, named MacKeoch, had not rescued him by seizing Bruce's mantle, and dragging him from above his adversary. The King rid himself of those foes by two blows of his battle-axe, but he was now so closely beset by the other followers of Lorn that he was compelled to leave the mantle and the brooch which fastened it in the dying grasp of the MacKeochs. The brooch continued for centuries in the possession of the MacDougalls of Lorn as a proud trophy of their victory in Glen Dochart.

Another tradition states that Finlay MacNab<sup>7</sup>, chief of that clan, who was present at the conflict on the side of Lorn, engaged in a personal encounter with Bruce. Throwing down his sword, MacNab grappled with Bruce, and being a man of great strength<sup>8</sup>, a quality in which the King also was not deficient, he was about gaining the advantage. When Bruce felt himself likely to be overpowered, he contrived to escape from the grasp of MacNab, leaving his mantle and the brooch in his hands.

The King and his followers were permitted to retire, and he is said to have taken refuge that night in a cave at the head of the glen of Balquidder still designated Craigree, or the King's Rock. There is also a tradition that Bruce took shelter in a cave at Craig Royston on the side of Loch Lomond, having crossed the Falloch, which runs into the lake, and comes down thither on the north side. It is farther ludicrously added, that during the night Bruce slept in this cave his companions were a Sock of mountain goats, who were in the habit of resorting to it for shelter. He found himself so comfortable with those

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<sup>7</sup> Although the chief at this time does not appear to be named Finlay, another clan member with this name certainly could have been present.

<sup>8</sup> The chiefs of the Clan Macnab are consistently referred to as being big men and of great strength, witness Francis the 16<sup>th</sup> chief who was over six feet and of large proportions.

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animals, who were of gentler mood than the biped followers of Lorn, that he afterwards made a law, in compliment to his nocturnal associates, that all goats should be exempted from grassmail or rent, as if the animals could be conscious of this mighty boon conferred on them. On the following day Bruce fell in with the Laird of Buchanan, who introduced him to the loyal Earl of Lennox. That nobleman welcomed him with tears, but could render him no effective assistance. In this district the King and his few followers subsisted by hunting and fishing, until the weather compelled them to seek better shelter and sustenance than that which Highland mountains and lakes afforded. The Lord of the Isles, at that time in possession of a great part of Kintyre, received the fugitive monarch into his castle of Dunnaverty, but he was even compelled to leave the hospitable roof of this loyal chief, and he embarked with the remnant of his followers for a small island almost opposite the shore of Ballycastle, on the coast of Ireland, called Ratherin<sup>9</sup>, or Rachrine. Here he resided until the approach of the ensuing spring, when he returned to Scotland with the resolution of achieving its independence, or of dying in the attempt.

But the brooch of Lorn, worn by Bruce at Dalree, must not be forgotten, as it is still in existence. There is a model of it in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland in Edinburgh, but the brooch itself is

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<sup>9</sup> Rathlin Island (Irish and Scottish Gaelic: Reachlainn, also Reachra in Scottish Gaelic) is an island off the coast of County Antrim in Northern Ireland, and is the northernmost point of the region. Six miles from the mainland, Rathlin is the only inhabited offshore island in Northern Ireland, and is the most northerly inhabited island off the Irish coast. The L-shaped island is 4 mi from east to west, and 2.5 mi from north to south. Rathlin is located only 15.5 mi from the Mull of Kintyre, the southern tip of Scotland's Kintyre peninsula.

carefully preserved in Dunolly Castle, the seat of MacDougal of Dunolly, the representative of the ancient Lords of Lorn.

Sir Walter Scott makes the minstrel in the LORD OF THE ISLES exclaim:

"Whence the brooch of burning gold,  
That clasps the chieftain's mantle fold,  
Wrought and chased with rare device,  
Studded fair with gems of price;  
On the varied tartans beaming.  
As, thro' night's pale rainbow gleaming,  
Fainter now, now seen afar.  
Fitful shines the northern star?"

But the brooch, as already intimated, is not of gold, and we must view the above statement either as a poetical license, or as proceeding from misinformation. It is of silver, and is described as consisting of a "circular plate, about four inches in diameter, having a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The upper part is magnificently ornamented. From the margin rises a neatly formed rim, with hollows cut in the edges at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From a circle within this rim rise eight round tapering obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, finely cut, and each studded at top with a river pearl. Within this circle of obelisks there is a second rim, also ornamented with carved work, and within which rises a neat circular case, occupying the whole centre of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the obelisks. The exterior of this case, instead of forming a plain circle, projects into eight semi-cylinders, which relieve it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is likewise carved very elegantly, and in the centre there is a large gem. This case may be taken off, and within there is a hollow which might have contained any small articles upon which a particular value was set."

This precious memorial of the great restorer of the Scottish monarchy is immortalized by our national minstrel.

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The Lord of Lorn is supposed to be the person who secured the brooch, and the song is in praise of his achievement, the whole being a vituperation of Bruce for the murder of Comyn.

Gem! ne'er wrought on Highland mountain,  
Did the fairy of the fountain,  
Or the mermaid of the wave,  
Frame thee in some coral cave?  
Did in Iceland's darksome mine,  
Dwarfs' swarthy hands thy metal twine'  
Or, mortal moulded. come't thou here,  
From England's love or France's fear?

No! thy splendors nothing tell  
Foreign art or faery spell,  
Moulded thou for monarch's use  
By the overweening Bruce,

When the royal robe he tied  
O'er a heart of wrath and pride;  
Thence in triumph wert thou torn  
By the victor hand of Lorn!

While the gem was won and lost,  
Widely was the war-cry toss'd!  
Rung aloud  
Bendourish Fell,  
Answering  
Dochart's sounding dell,  
Fled the deer from wild Tyndrum,  
When the homicide o'ercome,  
Hardly 'scaped with scathe and scorn,  
Left the pledge with conquering Lorn!  
Vain was then the Douglas brand,  
Vain the Campbell's vaunted hand,  
Vain Kilpatrick's bloody dirk,  
Making sure of murder's work:  
Barendoun fled fast away,

Fled the fiery De la Hay,  
When this brooch, triumphant borne,  
Beam'd upon the breast of Lorn.  
Farthest fled its former lord,  
Left his men to brand and cord,  
Bloody brand of Highland steel,  
English gibbet, axe, and wheel,  
Let him fly from coast to coast,  
Dogg'd by Comyn's vengeful ghost.  
While his spoils, in triumph worn,  
Long shall grace victorious Lorn

The poet represents this song in praise of Lorn, as giving mortal offence to a warrior who heard it, who turns out to be Bruce himself, and the

following fine historical passage occurs:

As glares the tiger on his foes,  
Heram'd in by hunters' spears and bows,

And, ere he bounds upon the ring,  
Selects the object of his spring  
Now on the bard, now on his Lord,  
So Edward glared and grasped his sword;

But stern his brother spoke"  
Be still!

What! art thou yet so wild of will,  
After high deeds and sufferings long,  
To chafe thee for a menial's song?  
Well hast thou framed, old man, thy strains,  
To praise the hand that pays thy pains.

Yet something might thy song have told  
Of Lorn's three vassals, true and bold.

Who rent their Lord from Bruce's hold,  
As underneath his knee he lay,  
And died to save him in the fray.

I've heard the Bruce's cloak and clasp  
Were clench'd within their dying grasp,

What time a hundred foemen more  
Rush'd in and back the victor bore,  
Long after Lorn had left the strife,  
Full glad to 'scape with limb and life.

Enough of this. And, minstrel, hold,  
As minstrel-hire, this chain of gold.  
For future lays a fair excuse

To speak more nobly of the Bruce.'  
"Now by Columba's shrine I swear,  
And every saint that's buried there,  
'Tis he himself!" Lorn sternly cries,"  
And for my kinsman's death he dies."

As loudly Ronald calls "Forbear!  
Not in my sight while brand I wear,  
O'ermatched by odds, shall warrior fall,

Or blood of stranger stain my hall  
This ancient fortress of my race  
Shall be misfortune's dwelling place,  
Shelter and shield of the distress'd,

No slaughter-house for shipwreck'd  
guest."

"Talk not to me," fierce Lorn  
replied,"

Of odds or match! When Comyn died,  
Three daggers clash'd within his side  
Talk not to me of sheltering hall,



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The church of God saw Comyn fall!  
On God's own altar streamed his blood,  
While o'er my prostrate kinsman stood  
The ruthless murderer e'en as now  
With armed hand and scornful brow.  
Up, all who love me! Blow on blow!  
And lay the outlawed felons low!"

The adventures of the Brooch of Lorn form an appropriate conclusion to the present narrative, and they are given in a well known and popular periodical. The ultimate ascendancy of Bruce proved ruinous to this great family, on the ruins of which rose the Campbells and other clans. In the seventeenth century the MacDougalls, once styled of Argyle, afterwards of Lorn, but now of Dunolly, while boasting of a most distinguished ancestry, and the chiefs of their clan, possessed but a comparatively small estate. Dunolly Castle, which overlooks the sea near Oban, and Goalen Castle in the neighboring island of Kerrera, were their chief seats. In the civil war, the MacDougal of that day adhered to the royal cause, and suffered as much thereby as his ancestor had done by opposing it. In 1647 he was besieged in Dunolly by a detachment of General Leslie's troops under Colonel Montgomery. From the impregnable nature of the situation, he was successful in holding out this strength, but Goalen Castle was taken, sacked, and burned. Campbell of Inveraw, who took part in the latter affair, secured the brooch of King Robert, or, as it was now commonly called, the Brooch of Lorn, which he took into his possession as fair spoil, though he did think proper to make his good fortune too well known, lest the MacDougal might have thought it necessary afterwards to attempt the recovery of the highly valued relic by force. Time rolled on; the MacDougal of the early part of the last century lost his lands in consequence of embracing the cause of the Pretender in 1715, but his son regained them in consequence of keeping loyal in 1745. Meanwhile the brooch won at Dalree continued safe, amidst all the vicissitudes of the family fortunes, in the strong chest at Inveraw. To the MacDougalls

themselves it was not even known to exist. At length this precious relic passed into the hands of a cadet of the Inveraw family, who at a subsequent time appointed it by testament to be sold, and the proceeds divided among his younger children. It was accordingly, about the year 1819, sent to Messrs Rundell and Bridge in London, to be exposed for sale, the price put upon it being one thousand pounds. The late King George IV, then Prince Regent, is said to have offered £500 for the brooch, but without obtaining it, and no customer appeared who was willing to give the large sum put upon it by the possessor. It must be understood that, when thus laid before the public, it was openly described as the Brooch of Lorn, originally the property of King Robert Bruce, yet the fact of its existence and exposure for sale did not become known to the representative of the MacDougal family till after it had been withdrawn from the market. Ultimately, in the year 1825, the late amiable General Campbell of Lochnell, being anxious to bestow some mark of grateful regard on his esteemed friend and neighbor MacDougal, purchased the brooch, and caused it to be presented to that gentleman by his chief, the Duke of Argyle, at a social meeting of the landholders of that county. It thus, after an interval of more than a century and a half, found its way back to the family, who, next to King Robert, and his heirs and representatives, were certainly its most rightful owners. It is at present kept with great care in Dunolly Castle."

The loss sustained by the MacDougalls of their extensive possessions is given in a lucid and condensed manner by Mr. Donald Gregory, in the Introductory Sketch to his History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland. "In the series of struggles for Scottish independence which marked the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth centuries, the Lords of Lorn, who were closely connected by marriage with the Comyn and Baliol party, naturally arrayed themselves in opposition to the claims



**The Macnabs and MacDougalls in the Scottish Wars of Independence**  
**Part Two - The Battle of Dal Righ**

of Bruce. On the other hand, the Houses of Isla and the North Isles supported with all their power the apparently desperate fortunes of King Robert I; and thus, when he came to be firmly seated on the throne, had earned the gratitude of that prince, in the same proportion as the family of Lorn, by the inveteracy of their hostility had provoked his resentment. On the forfeiture of Alexander Lord of Lorn, and his son and heir John, these extensive territories were granted by Bruce to various of his supporters; and among others, to Angus Oig, or junior, of Isla, and to Roderick or Ruari MacAlan, the bastard brother and leader of the vassals of Christina, the daughter and heiress of Alan MacRuari of the North Isles. The Isles of Mull, the possession of which had for some time past been disputed between the Lords of Isla and Lorn, Jura, Coll, and Tiree, with the districts of Duror and Glenco, fell in this way to the share of Angus Oig. Lorn Proper, or the greatest part of it, was bestowed on Roderick MacAlan, to whom his sister Christina gave at the same time a large portion of her inheritance in Gamoran and the North Isles. The lordship of Lochaber, forfeited by one of the powerful family of Comyns, seems to have been divided between Angus Oig and Roderick. The former likewise obtained in this reign the lands of Morvern and Ardnamurchan, which seem previously to have been in the hands of the crown. But while Bruce thus rewarded his faithful adherents, he was too sensible of the weakness of Scotland on the side of the Isles, not to take precautionary measures against the probable defection of any of the great families on that coast, who might with ease admit an English force into the heart of the kingdom. He procured from Angus Oig, who was now apparently the principal crown vassal in Kintyre, the resignation of his lands in that district, which were immediately bestowed upon Robert the son and heir of Walter the High Steward, and the Princess Marjory Bruce. At the same time the fortifications of the Castle of Tarbert between Kintyre and

Knapdale, the most important position on the coast of Argyleshire, were greatly enlarged and strengthened, and the custody of this commanding post was committed to a royal garrison. Following out the same policy in other places, the keeping of the Castle of Dunstaffnage, the principal messuage of Lorn, was given by Bruce, not to Roderick MacAlan, the High Chief of Lorn, but to an individual of the name of Campbell, who was placed there as a royal constable."

It appears that John, the son and heir of Alexander MacDougal of Lorn, who encountered Bruce in Glen-Dochart, received a great portion of his family possessions from David II., consisting of the Isles of Isla, Gigha, Jura, Scarba, Colonsay, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Lewis, and the districts of Morvern, Lochaber, Duror, and Glenco. The representatives of the MacDougalls of Lorn had married a niece of the King, which facilitated his restoration to these portions of his family estates. His daughter and heiress carried Lorn Proper to her husband Robert Stuart, founder of the Rosyth branch of the House of Stuart, by whom the lordship was sold to his brother, John Stuart of Innermeath, ancestor of the Stuarts, Lords of Lorn.

Yet Bruce did not subdue the indomitable MacDougalls without infinitude of trouble. After his return from the exile occasioned by his defeat at Dalree and the unbending opposition of the Lord of Lorn, he resolved to take the first opportunity of requiting the latter for the injuries he had received. Marching into Argyleshire, he laid waste the country, carrying every thing before him, until he came to the formidable and narrow pass between Dalmally and Bunawe, along the verge of the vast and precipitous mountain Cruachan-Ben, and guarded on the other side by a precipice overhanging Loch Awe. No position is apparently stronger, but the genius of Bruce overcame the difficulty. While his main body engaged with the men of Lorn, and kept their attention directed to the point,

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Bruce ordered James of Douglas, Sir Alexander Fraser, Sir William Wiseman, and Sir Andrew Gray, to ascend the mountain with a select band of archers, who obtained possession of the heights commanding the pass. A volley of arrows intimated to the men of Lorn that resistance was now useless, and they betook themselves to a precipitate flight. Barbour informs us that the deep and rapid river of Awe was even in that early period passed by a bridge, which the Argyleshire men attempted to demolish; but the followers of Bruce were too close upon their rear, and they were dispersed with great slaughter. John of Lorn, anticipating the issue of this conflict, had early betaken himself to his galleys upon Loch Awe. After this decisive engagement Bruce laid waste Argyle and besieged Dunstaffnage Castle, which he compelled to surrender, and, as already intimated, placed a royal garrison in that principal stronghold of the Lords of Lorn.

Notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of fortune, owing to their hereditary enmity to the house of Bruce, the MacDougalls of Lorn continued to survive the loss of power, and, says Sir Walter Scott, they " afford a very rare, if not an unique, instance of a family of such unlimited power, and so distinguished during the Middle Ages, surviving the decay of their grandeur, and flourishing in a private station. The Castle of Dunolly, with its dependencies, was the principal part of what remained to them, with the right of chieftainship over the families of their name and blood. Nothing can be more wildly beautiful

than the situation of Dunolly. The ruins are situated upon a bold and precipitous promontory, overhanging Loch Etive, and distant about a mile from the village and port of Oban. The principal part which remains is the donjon or keep, but fragments of other buildings, overgrown with ivy, attest that it had been once a place of importance, as large apparently as Artornish or Dunstaffnage. These fragments include a court-yard, of which the keep probably formed one side, the entrance being by a steep ascent from the neck of the isthmus, formerly cut across by a moat, and defended, doubtless, by outworks and a drawbridge. Beneath the castle stands the present mansion of the family, having on the one side Loch Etive with its islands and mountains, on the other two romantic eminences tufted with copse wood. There are other accompaniments suited to the scene; in particular, a huge upright pillar, a detached fragment of that sort of rock called plumb-pudding-stone, upon the shore, about a quarter of a mile from the castle. It is called Clach-itacau, or the Dog's Pillar, because Fingal is said to have used it as a stake to which he bound his celebrated dog Bran. Others say that when the Lord of the Isles came upon a visit to the Lord of Lorn, the dogs, brought for his sport, were kept beside this pillar. Upon the whole, a mere delightful and romantic spot can scarce be conceived, and it receives a moral interest from the considerations attached to the residence of a family once powerful enough to confront and defeat Robert Bruce, and now sunk into the shade of private life.

### **Background to the battle**

The Battle of Bannockburn is usually hailed as "the" defining moment in Scottish history when Robert the Bruce's victory over the English, confirmed the re-establishment of an independent Scotland. What is not usually mentioned in accounts of this battle, and the events leading up to it is that support for the Bruce was not universal and a sizable portion of the Scottish people including the Comyn's, MacNabs and MacDougal's, were his enemies, and with good reason. A sizable contingent of Scots were known to have been present, at Bannockburn, with the English forces including the above mentioned Comyns, MacNabs and MacDougals. The mention of the Macnabs can be found on page 2

This account of the battle of Bannockburn is taken from "Scottish Battles from Mons Graupius to Culloden" by John Sadler. Published in Great Britain in 1996 by Canongate Books Ltd, 14 High Street, Edinburgh EH1 1TE. The text and maps are presented as printed in the book, without alteration. The footnotes, however, are my own.

### **THE ROAD TO BANNOCKBURN**

With Wallace dead, the mantle of leadership passed to Robert though, in the early years, the future king lived - as had his predecessor - the life of an outlaw. Bruce, however, had the inestimable advantage of noble birth and a legitimate claim to the throne. On 10 February 1306 he met with his arch-rival John Comyn in sacrosanct cloisters of Greyfriars' Church in Dumfries. Harsh words passed between the two men, neither noted for his patience, and Bruce settled the argument with his dirk. Within five weeks, he was enthroned at Scone.

Experience had tempered the hot-blooded passion of the king's youth. He was dogged, single-minded, courageous, a superb warrior and natural leader who had the rare gift of being able to combine generalship with statesmanship; he would need both in abundance. He could be both violent and ruthless whilst capable of compassion; his conviction and charisma won over old enemies and promoted fierce loyalty. He chose his subordinates well. The names

of Edward Bruce, Douglas and Randolph became synonymous with valor.

Edward of England, though aging, had not forgotten Scotland and he chose as his lieutenant his half-cousin Aymer de Valence, who also happened to be brother-in-law to the murdered Comyn. De Valence was given a free hand in his treatment of the Scottish rebels and set to work with a will. By June he had secured Perth and left a trail of gallows and grieving widows in his wake. Bruce rashly decided to take the offensive and on 18 June approached the town from the west but the English refused to be drawn and the Scots made camp in Methven Wood, an elevated position south of the Almond. Both discipline and intelligence were singularly lax. Men were scattered either in billets or foraging parties. Seizing the opportunity de Valence led his men out in a pre-dawn sortie and though Bruce and his partisans fought hard the Scots, were utterly routed and many made captive.

The king's fortunes were now at their lowest, a fugitive, hunted, his family dead or in chains, his wife and sister held, like captive birds in iron cages hung suspended over the battlements of Berwick and Roxburgh.

The very savagery of the repression guaranteed support for the rebels and, in the following year, the old tyrant died almost literally in the saddle as he prepared for yet another campaign. Though dead, his spirit seemed destined to live on - he left instructions for his son, now crowned Edward II, to continue the offensive and that the king's coffin, like some malevolent talisman, be carried before the army. Edward II was not the man his father had been; indolent, pleasure seeking, surrounded by favored catamites; war did not hold the same allure.

As the pressure eased, Bruce rebuilt his army. By the autumn of 1308 he commanded a force numbering some 700. However, worn out by his efforts, he fell sick at Inverurie whilst in the north. It was a dangerous moment, for the earl of Buchan had raised forces from Buchan and the north-east and the invalid had to be carried to safety through the sparse

Foudland hills to Slioch in Drumblade, the cold November wind biting as the tiny army huddled in bare woodland. A series of savage little skirmishes, with English shafts flicking through the trees erupted as Buchan's men closed in, but the Scots broke contact, drawing off in good order towards Strathbogie and from there back to Inverurie. On 23 December Buchan made camp at Old Meldrum. His skirmishers pushed forward and ambushed some of Bruce's pickets. Though still weak, the king rose from his sickbed, donned his mail and led out his men. The sight of the king, at the head of his troops, had the desired effect on morale and the rebels swept down upon Buchan's force like the wrath of God.

The victory, though relatively minor and largely bloodless, proved a turning point. Harrying the north, Bruce stamped his will on the region and then turned westward, never allowing the momentum to slacken, the key fortress of Dunstaffnage fell to him whilst Edward Bruce and Douglas, the son of the defender of Berwick in 1296, took control of Galloway. Raiding down the length of the Tweed, they freed young Randolph, a captive since the defeat at Methven. Linlithgow fell by deception in 1313 and early in the following year Douglas stormed Roxburgh, and Randolph, in a lightning attack, seized Edinburgh.

Edward made no effort to stem the rot until 1310 when he came north in force. Declining battle, King Robert pursued a Fabian course until the English withdrew leaving Northumberland to bear the fury of Scottish vengeance. By 1314 Stirling Castle was the only major fortress that remained in English hands, her only significant claim to dominion. Soon Stirling was besieged and, according to custom, the castellan undertook to strike his colors if not relieved by 25 June. Stung into action by the peril attending this last remaining bastion, Edward summoned a vast array of English arms including the flower of his chivalry. The army, which mustered at Wark on 10 June, may have numbered as many as 17,000 including a substantial Scots contingent the Comyns, still unreconciled, MacDougall's and MacNabs. A train of 200 wagons was needed to equip and feed this great host. Though

Edward himself commanded in name, he relied heavily on the advice of a council of war made up of such seasoned warriors as the earls of Hereford and Gloucester.

Though King Robert was anxious to prevent the relief of Stirling, he could not hope to match the English numbers, relying, at best, on perhaps 5000 foot and 500 horse, pitifully few of whom were knights. Edward had longbow men drawn from the breadth of his dominions, from Wales, Ireland, and the northern shires. Bruce, by contrast, had but a few of those valiant bowmen from Ettrick, kin to those who had fallen at Falkirk and commanded now by Sir Alexander Keith. Behind the main Scots army came a motley of camp followers and barely armed militia, stiffened by clansmen from the west, mainly Robertsons under their chief Duncan Reamhair. This reserve, technically termed the 'small folk', remained concealed, some way to the rear of the main position in a valley behind Coxer Hill. In total they may have numbered 2000.

The Scottish foot were deployed in four divisions; the first was commanded by Randolph, now Earl of Moray, and comprised the men of the north, from Ross, Moray, the citizenry of Inverness, Elgin, Nairn and Forres. Next came Edward Bruce who led the men of Buchan, Mar, Angus, the Mearns, Strathearn, Menteith and Lennox with a sprinkling of wild Galwegians. The third division was nominally under the command of Walter the High Steward, but as Walter was a boy the real power devolved on the redoubtable Douglas, whose followers were drawn from the untamed borderland and from Renfrew, Lanark and the west march. The last, and most powerful, brigade was the direct orders of the king, and beneath his standard fought the Highlanders led by Angus Og MacDonald of the Isles. Clans (if they may so be called at this early date) Cameron, Campbell, Fraser, Gordon, MacKintosh, MacLean, Macgregor, Ross and Sinclair were represented---the Pride and fury of the Gael allied to the cause of liberty.

On 17 June the English army marched from Wark, a dazzling array of the hot spring

sun glancing from burnished plate and mail, a forest of pennons proclaiming the pride of English knighthood, the greatest host ever to cross the border. Edinburgh was reached without opposition and a halt was called to await revictualling by sea. On the 22nd the army marched on to Falkirk. The next morning the old Roman road echoed to the tramp of marching feet and the ring of hoof beats as the English set out for Stirling. They had two days left before the deadline expired.

23 JUNE 1314

One of the greatest failures of the English command, which may be said to have led to all of the rest, and these, were numerous, was their residual contempt for the Scots. Neither the defeat at Stirling Bridge, the dogged valor of Falkirk, nor, Bruce's inexorable rise had managed to dent this condescension.

Keith's light horse operated as a screen, the king's division formed the rearguard whilst the rest labored to improve the natural advantages of their position astride the road from Falkirk. The Bannock Burn, with its many feeders and uncertain ground between, created a strong base made stronger by lines of concealed pits and traps, sown with ghastly triangular spikes or caltrops designed specifically to maim horses.

The Scots occupied an elevated position overlooking the low ground known as the Carse of Balquhiderock, whilst the line of the road lay inside the wooded area called New Park, the actual track passing between the Borestone and the Bannock Burn<sup>1</sup>. The right front of the Scots was protected by scrubland and forest; the left followed the natural line of the escarpment swinging back towards St Ninian's Kirk<sup>2</sup>. King Edward had come to relieve Stirling Castle but the despised battalions of the rebel king now effectively barred his further advance. To overrun them meant a frontal assault on a strongly posted position over ground disturbingly unfavorable, especially to heavy cavalry. If he sought to outflank the Scots the only viable line of march lay through the

Carse where the ground appeared scarcely more encouraging.

The previous evening King Robert had pulled his own brigade out of their earlier position at Torwood and redeployed along the fringe of trees crowding New Park. His brother's division was stationed on ground to the left, and to the left of him Randolph was drawn up by St. Ninian's, overlooking the Carse. Douglas took the rear by the Borestone whilst the light horse patrolled and the lightly armed followers remained hidden in dead ground.

Despite the difficulties posed by the terrain an English council of war determined upon a frontal assault combining both horse and foot, the latter mainly archers. A commanded party of between 500 and 800 strong under two proven knights, Clifford and De Bowmont, was to attempt a flanking maneuver by the margin of the Carse to interpose themselves between the Scots and the Castle. If the enemy were pushed back then they would be well placed to complete the rout.

As the English advanced one of their number Sir Henry de Bol spotted King Robert, ambling in front of the Scots line, doubtless giving a word of encouragement to his men. Spurring forward, lance level the fully armored de Bohun charged towards Bruce, an ungallant act considering the King was without mail and mounted only upon a humble garron<sup>3</sup>. He did, however, have his battleaxe and with matchless skill turned, almost at the last moment, to avoid the Englishman's thrust and standing in the stirrups, deal him a mighty blow cleaving helmet and skull.

The incompetent de Bohun was not the only English knight to have miscalculated. The whole advance was soon in difficulties. Order began to dissolve as obstacles, both natural and manmade, took their toll. The Scottish horse darted like kingfishers and the attack foundered. The Earl of Gloucester, attempting to restore order,

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<sup>1</sup>Burn = in Scots a small stream

<sup>2</sup>Kirk - in Scots a church

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<sup>3</sup>I.e. Bruce was riding a pony not his warhorse

was unhorsed and obliged to retire, ignominiously, on foot.

Clifford and de Bowmont, trotting briskly by the fringe of the Carse, had somehow escaped notice and the king was obliged to send a sharp rejoinder to Randolph. Once awakened, Randolph strove to make amends leading his brigade, spears bristling, towards the lower ground. Clifford could not resist the urge to strike a blow at these despised rebels and gave the order to charge. In doing so he not only missed his objective but also committed the cardinal folly of attacking whilst unsupported. English riders lapped around the solid phalanx, men and horses going down; at least one English knight, Sir Thomas Grey, was unhorsed, dragged unceremoniously beneath the Scottish spears and made captive. As the cavalry faltered the spearmen pushed forward, throwing the English back in disorder.

At around three o'clock King Edward called a further council of war, undoubtedly a somewhat chastened gathering. Further offensive action was ruled out, the king preferring instead to concentrate upon his primary concern, the relief of Stirling. Sir Robert Mowbray, the castellan, had slipped out of the fortress, and, at least in theory, may have considered his position relieved. Edward ordered that the army move more circumspectly towards Stirling fording the middle reaches of the Bannock Burn. It is unlikely that any of the English commanders seriously considered the possibility the Scots might attack.

The Carse, towards which the English advanced was, at this time, an area of low-lying agricultural land, traversed by the Bannock Burn, the Pelstream and innumerable drainage ditches, some of which were effected by the ebb and flow of the tides. As the afternoon wore on the English struggled over the fords and ditches, the weight of men and horses jamming and slithering, chewing the soft ground into a quagmire. It is unlikely that any of the supply wagons were able to follow and the commissariat broke down altogether. As the light thickened it was a tired, hungry and dispirited army crammed into an area no more than half a mile square.

Bruce was inclined to let them go; to chance all on a single throw would daunt any general. The younger men, Randolph and Douglas, were all for attacking and legend relates that it was the urging of a recently defected knight, Sir Alexander Seton, that completed the King's resolve: 'Now's the time.' So be it.

24 JUNE 1314

The northern nights are short at this time of the year and usually mild. Sunrise on Monday, 24 June, the Feast of St John the Baptist, would be around 3:34 a.m. Swallowing down a hurried meal, those who had the stomach to eat, the Scots army heard Mass before 2.00 a.m. By 2.30 a.m. a pale light was already showing, as the Scots began their advance, the forest of spears giving dreadful note of their intent. As there was insufficient room for the schiltrons to advance in line the attack was delivered with the brigades deployed in echelon. In front and on the right marched Edward Bruce's brigade, then Randolph, and Douglas; the king followed, his own strong division forming the rear with Keith's horse as a reserve. Each division comprised eight files of 188 men, each warrior leaving one foot bare to ensure a sound grip. The "small folk" were moved up from their previous position to the rim of the high ground, ready to exploit any opportunity.

The night had been an unhappy experience for the English, few of whom had found either food or rest, though one of King Edward's Scottish allies, the earl of Atholl, had used the cover of darkness to "beat up" Bruce's depot at Cambuskenneth Abbey, scoring a minor success and leaving Sir John Airth and his slender guard dead at their posts. The English king was not quite the fool he has been portrayed and though the sight of the Scots advance may have been startling the outcome was far from certain. The right of the English position was protected by the Bannock Burn itself and the English army still enjoyed numerical superiority. What they lacked was space, and by attacking in echelon the Scots could exploit any area of weakness so that, if the invaders were forced to give ground, they would



be pushed back towards the morass around the Pelstream.

Both sides threw out skirmishers; English longbow men swapped missiles with Scottish slingers and archers. Though the longbow had the advantage of range the Scots were soon to close. Hungry for glory and having learnt nothing from the previous day's debacle Gloucester swept forward at the head of his knights, compounding this folly by riding out without full armor, a mistake that cost him his life. The English crashed into Edward Bruce's brigade, making little headway until, taken in flank by Randolph's division, they precipitated a headlong flight scattering their own, already disordered skirmishers.

Packed as tightly as they were the solid mass of English foot utterly halted the advance and a savage melee ensued, English bills hacking Scottish spears with scarcely room for the dead and injured to fall. A body of King Edward's archers worked their way around to the left of the Scots and poured a deadly barrage into the massed ranks. The Scots' own bowmen failed to make any effective response, casualties mounted. Keith's mounted reserve smashed into the unprotected flank of the English archers, driving the survivors back behind the struggling mass of foot.

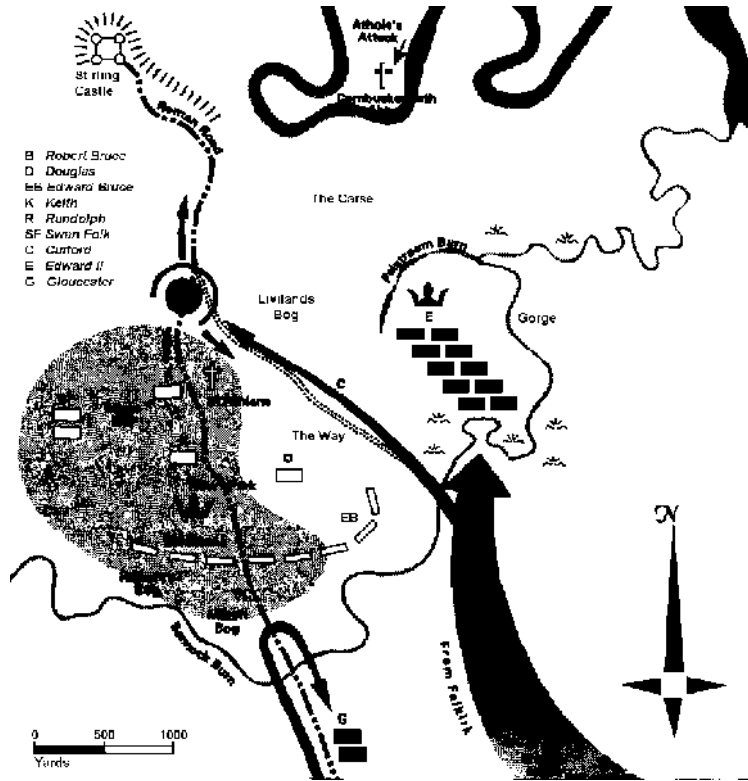
For an hour the ranks remained locked, like two battered heavyweights, neither giving ground, though the Scots, better fed and less heavily accoutered tired less quickly. Douglas's brigade had been weakened by the flank attack from the English archers and the foot began to lap around his depleted files. For another twenty minutes or so the slaughter continued with undiminished fury, the Scots urged on by their officers chanting, 'Push, push, push...' as the relentless press continued. Ominous gaps began to appear in the English ranks, the first cracks as the dam prepares to give way, dead and dying choked the Carse, and defeat was near. Though he had fought bravely and well, King Edward had failed singularly to demonstrate any spark of generalship and was persuaded, guarded by 500 knights, to flee the stricken field.

Sir Giles D'Argentan, a renowned paladin, is said to have led the king towards the refuge of Stirling Castle, whereupon having seen his royal charge safe he returned unhesitatingly to the fight and spurring into the mass of Scots there met his death. As the Royal Standard vanished English morale foundered, at which point, with matchless timing, the final Scottish reserve, the 'small folk', appeared, sweeping jubilantly against the thinning ranks, picking up weapons from the fallen. This was too much. The English broke, though small groups continued to fight on with the fury of despair. Hundreds of fleeing men stumbled, fell and died in the churned waters of the Forth, Pelstream and Bannock Burn. The Carse became a butcher's yard. Before its confluence with Pelstream the Bannock Burn flowed swiftly through a narrow passage and here the press of struggling men and horses became truly dreadful. Many an English knight who, the day before, had glanced contemptuously at the ragtag Scots, ended his life here. 'Bannock Burn betwixt the braes of horses and men so charged was that upon drowned horses and man one might pass dry over it.'<sup>4</sup>

The Battle of Bannockburn was over and the English army lay ruins; between 3000 and 4000 perished, 100 men of rank and their entire magnificent equipage fell into Scottish hands. Casualties amongst Bruce's men were perhaps a tenth of those suffered by the English. De Mobray, accepting the reality of defeat, handed over the keys to the Castle whilst Edward and his retainers spurred south in ignominious flight. Bruce valued the Highlanders' contribution so much so that he awarded the MacDonald's the honor of holding the right flank of royal armies, (over 400 years later they would need to remind a Jacobite Pretender of this proud tradition.)

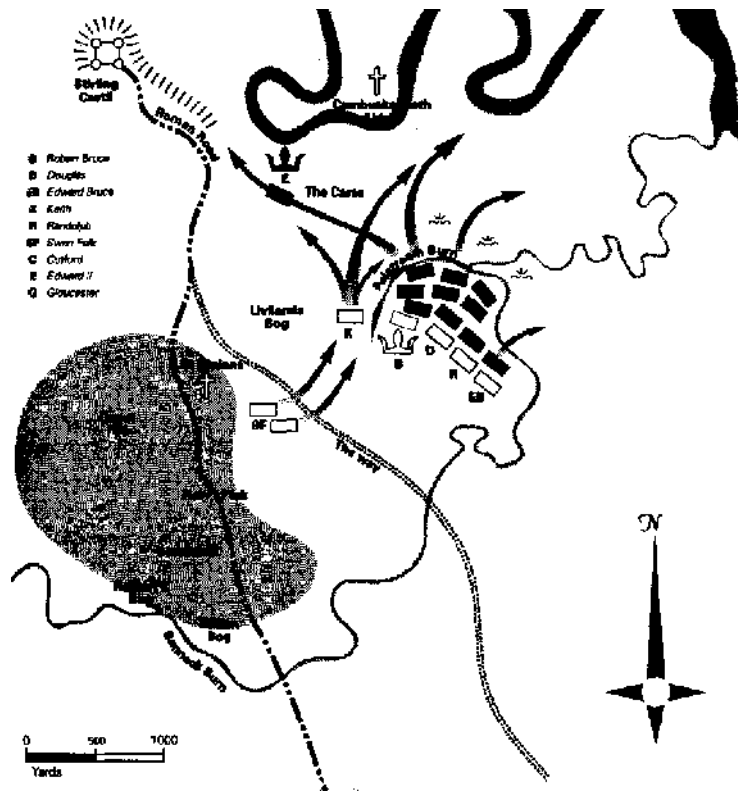
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<sup>4</sup>The Bannock Burn was so filled with the bodies of men and horses that it was possible to walk dry shod from bank to bank.



Battle of Bannockburn 23 June 1314  
(above)

24 June 1314 (below)



**The Macnabs and MacDougalls in the Scottish Wars of Independence**  
**Part one - background to the Scottish Wars of Independence**

**The Abbot of Glendochart and the MacDougalls of Argyll**

All of the various histories of the Clan Macnab state that, at the time Robert the Bruce was trying to establish himself as king of Scotland, the Macnabs were allied with the MacDougalls and both were bitter enemies of the Bruce. But the image of a clan as a distinct group of people all bearing the same name, wearing the same tartan and living in a clearly defined area is a myth.

Scottish clans were complex institutions; they changed and modified through time. Patronymics only started to be adopted during the course of the thirteenth century and surnames were largely unknown among the common people of the Highlands until the early eighteenth century. Many then simply adopted the surname of their chief, implying a kinship that only ever existed in legend.

There really was no "Clan Macnab" or "Clan MacDougall" at this time, what is actually being referred to is the secular Abbot of Glendochart and the MacDougall lords of Argyll along with their dependents. Both of these lords were major landholders in Argyll and supporters of the Comyn family, which had dominated the government of Scotland for most of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Bruce family was, comparatively speaking, newcomers with competing pretensions to the throne.

To fully explain the enmity between the Comyns, their supporters, and the Bruces, one must look at the broader scope of the history of that time and understand that, the Scottish War of Independence was not simply a war between the Scots and the English; it was also a civil war between two powerful factions of the Scots nobility. Patriotism and nationality did not have the same meanings that these concepts now have, and self interest and loyalty to family could and did take precedent over any notion of nationality.

The Abbots of Glendochart had become lay administrators of the lands owned by the Abbey of Glendochart and after the Abbey had decayed and no longer existed, retained those lands as personal possessions. The barony, or estate, of Glendochart the extent of which we no longer know.

The background of the relationship between the hereditary Abbot of Glendochart and the MacDougalls of Argyle goes back almost a century before Robert the Bruce began his bid for the throne. We know that William the Lion (1164-1214), in his efforts to extend royal control into the highlands, made the Abbot of Glendochart and the Earl of Athol responsible for administering the law in Argyll, presumably reflecting their status as the major local landowners in Argyll.

Later Alexander III (1249-1286) appears to have erected a sheriffdom in Argyle incorporating agreements with the principal barons, presumably including the Abbot of Glendochart and the Earl of Atholl. In 1292, king John Balliol reaffirmed a sheriffdom, in Lorn and Argyll, and the agreement included Angus More (MacDonald) of Islay, Alexander de Ergadia (Alexander MacDougall of Argyll), Colin Cambel (later Campbell) of Lochaw, the Earl of Menteith and Magister (Master) Randolph of Dundee, with seven other Gaelic chiefs, presumably including the Abbot of Glendochart. We must assume from this that the MacDougalls of Argyle and the Abbots of Glendochart must have had a long history of working together, the families may have intermarried executed formal bonds of friendship.

The Clan Macnab histories state that Angus of Innishewen, also known as Angus de Glendochart, the Abbot of Glendochart was a brother-in-law of John Comyn, younger of Badenoch, known as the "Red Comyn". However, while the Comyn genealogies do show the Red Comyn as having four sisters, none of them are

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shown as married to anyone named Angus. Possibly Angus was instead married to a MacDougall, or there has been a misreading of who actually was the Red Comyn's brother-in-law, but it is clearly possible that these two families were related by marriage.

John Comyn, younger of Badenoch, the Red Comyn, was in turn a nephew of King John Balliol, his mother being a sister of King John. After Edward of England deposed King John and took him off to England as a prisoner, the next strongest claim to the throne came from the Comyn family, of whom the Red Comyn was then the senior representative. However, the Red Comyn was killed by Robert the Bruce and this act automatically made the MacDougalls and their supporters, including the Abbot of Glendochart, enemies of the Bruces and forced them into an alliance with King Edward of England against whom the Bruce was rebelling.

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**The Succession Crisis -**

To help explain the political situation in Scotland, at the end of the Thirteenth and beginning of the Fourteenth centuries, and why the MacDougalls and were aligned with the Comyns and the English against Robert the Bruce, in his bid for the throne, we must look at the history of the Thirteenth Century.

This complicated story begins with the death of Alexander III and the dynastic crisis which ensued. In March 1286, King Alexander III was killed in a night time riding mishap. Both his son and heir, Alexander, and his daughter, Margaret, queen of Norway, had predeceased him, and the sole surviving representative of the ancient Scottish royal line was his infant grand-daughter, Margaret, the "Maid of Norway".

Margaret had been acknowledged, as Alexander's heir at a council in 1284, and by the summer of 1290 her marriage to the heir of Edward of England had been negotiated and had received the consent of the Scottish nobles in the treaty of Birgham, which contained safeguards for Scottish independence. But these were nullified when, in September 1290, the little girl died at Kirkwall, Orkney, en route to Scotland. A simple accident on a stormy night in 1286 became a dynastic tragedy and a succession crisis that would shatter the relatively peaceful conditions of the thirteenth century.

Even before the death of the Maid of Norway and within a few weeks of Alexander III's accident, her claim was challenged in parliament by Robert Bruce "the Competitor" the aged lord of Annandale and grandfather of the future (king) Robert I, who advanced his own claim as a descendant of King David I. Soon afterwards John Balliol, the Lord of Galloway, another descendant of David I, appeared to advance his own claim to the throne. For two years Scotland teetered on the brink of civil war; and following the death of the Maid

of Norway in 1290, with war between Bruce and Balliol and their supporters threatening, Edward of England was invited to arbitrate in the dispute. Edward's motives have often been the subject of considerable debate; however, he was a logical choice as an experienced ruler and arbitrator.

By June 1291 Edward had secured his recognition as overlord of Scotland by the various competitors and the promise they would abide by his decision. With this out of the way, the first session of the drawn-out lawsuit known as the "Great Cause on the Scottish Succession" got underway in August 1291. It began with the determination of the composition of the court, which was to consist of 104 auditors: twenty-four nominated by Edward, forty by John Balliol and his kinsman John Comyn, and forty by Robert Bruce.

After several lengthy recesses and long and convoluted legal discussions, Edward finally delivered a judgment in favor of John Balliol in mid-November 1292. John was inaugurated king at Scone on 30 November, and on 26 December did homage to Edward at Newcastle. More ominously, he was made to repudiate the terms of the Treaty of Birgham and all of the other safeguards of Scottish liberty.

John Balliol's kingship lasted scarcely four years, his position made increasingly difficult by demands that he appear in person at parliament, in England, to answer for his own court's decisions. In effect, appeals were now permitted to go directly from Scotland to England, undermining the authority and independence of the Scottish king.

The last straw was a demand that King John and his nobles should provide feudal military service for King Edward in his war with Phillip IV of France. In 1295, the Scottish nobility took control of the government out of King John's hands,

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and in early 1296, ratified a treaty with France, actions that clearly implied war between Scotland and England.

The war began in March 1296, when the Scots, led by John Comyn, Balliol's kinsman, attacked Carlisle. Edward responded by attacking and sacking Berwick, at the end of May, massacring many of its inhabitants. A month later, on 27 April 1296, the Scottish army was overwhelmed at Dunbar, and many Scottish nobles hastened to submit to Edward. On 2 July, John Balliol was forced to append his seal to a document admitting his wrongdoing, and surrendering his kingdom and people into the hands of Edward. He was then ceremonially stripped of his royal attire, and left Scotland, never to return. Edward made a triumphant progress through Scotland, as far north as Elgin, during the summer of 1296, in the course of which he collected the fealty of many Scottish nobles. At the end of August more submissions were made in a Parliament at Berwick, and, before departing for the south, Edward appointed governors to rule Scotland on his behalf.

**MacDougalls and MacDonalds -**

It is difficult to know how the MacDougalls reacted to the decision in favor of Balliol's claim to the Scottish kingship in November 1292. But it is noteworthy that, at John Balliol's first parliament in February 1293, Alexander MacDougall of Argyll was appointed sheriff of Lorn. This appointment might be regarded as a reward for his support but, as noted before, Alexander had also held a wide-ranging lieutenancy during the reign of King Alexander III.

Though Alexander of Argyll's position probably depended more upon his status as a prominent landholder in the region than upon his adherence to Balliol, it certainly must have owed something to his allegiance and service to the Scottish king. At the same time, it is noteworthy that

Angus Mór, the head of the Clan Donald, absented himself from the parliament of February 1293.

The MacDonalds may have been following the lead of the Bruces, but whatever the Clan Donald's attitude to Balliol's accession, the way that the MacDonalds and the MacDougalls adhered to opposite sides during the period of the Guardianship, the Great Cause, and Balliol's kingship mirrors the wider division of the Scottish nobility during these troubled years.

It was the question of Scottish appeals to King Edward which caused part of the crisis in John Balliol's kingship. Of six Scottish appellants to Edward, no fewer than three were of Hebridean or Manx origin; and the most important of these was Alexander MacDonald of the Isles, the eldest son of Angus Mór MacDonald.

The roots of the dispute, which Alexander MacDonald of the Isles appealed to King Edward, lies in a marriage alliance between the MacDonalds and the MacDougalls. Sometime before 1292, Alexander MacDonald of the Isles married Juliana, a sister or daughter, of Alexander MacDougall of Argyll. This marriage seems to have sparked a dispute between the two kindreds, and in 1292 the two Alexander's referred a territorial dispute to King John, though neither the identity of the lands nor the outcome is known. Then, in 1295, Alexander of the Isles appealed to Edward alleging that John Balliol had occupied part of Lismore and was refusing to hand it over to Alexander and his wife. Since Alexander was joined in his complaint by Juliana, Lismore may be her dowry; that it was occupied by Balliol means the earlier judgment had gone against the family of the Isles. This dispute over Lismore ensured that the MacDonalds and MacDougalls were polarized to opposite sides of the Scottish civil conflict.

**The Bruce -**



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On 10 February 1306, Robert Bruce killed his rival, John Comyn, in the Greyfriars' church at Dumfries. The underlying motivation behind the meeting of the two men, as well as the circumstances of the murder remain problematic, but the event, followed by Bruce's inauguration at Scone on 25 March, made the Comyns and their kinsmen his bitter enemies, and from 1306 there was civil war between the Balliol-Comyn and Bruce factions, in addition to the war between England and Scotland.

To the enemies of the Bruces, English over lordship was a lesser evil than Bruce kingship, and so the Balliol-Comyn faction, hitherto prominent upholders of Scottish independence, now allied with the English. By contrast so long as Balliol had been king, the MacDonalds had been pro-English and the MacDougalls had upheld the Scottish cause. But the events of 1306 swept Alexander and John MacDougall, kinsmen of Comyn and Balliol, into the English camp and the MacDonalds into that of the Bruces where they remained implacable foes until their deaths.

The MacDougall desire for vengeance upon the king was not long in coming. Within three months of his inauguration at Scone, Bruce was a fugitive. On 19 June he had been defeated by the English at Methven, near Perth. Following this Bruce and his remaining supporters fled west to Drumalban, the mountainous region that divides Perthshire from Argyll, hoping to find refuge in the remoteness of the West Highlands.

Some time in July, 1306, at the head of Strathfillan, at Dal Righ near Tyndrum, Bruce found his route blocked by the men of Lorn, probably led by John MacDougall, who inflicted a second defeat on the fugitive king. The impact of this second defeat, coming within a month of that at Methven, was profound. From this point Bruce and his men took to the mountains as fugitives and ceased to form an organized fighting force.

Moreover, the dual defeats at Dal Righ and Methven paved the way for the subsequent capture and imprisonment of many of Bruce's followers, including his wife and daughter and his brother Neil. Thus, the MacDougalls had played a prominent role in the opening stages of the Scottish civil conflict. They dealt the Bruce and his cause a crippling blow, which ultimately forced the king to flee from Scotland in the closing months of 1306.

In 1307, the tide began to turn in favor of King Robert. Early in that year he had returned to his own earldom of Carrick, from where he launched one of the most remarkable military achievements in British history. In May he routed the English at Loudon Hill, and then suddenly king Edward died to be succeeded by his ineffectual son Edward II.

The initiative in the struggle passed to Bruce, but for several years his chief opponents were not the English but rather the Comyn-Balliol faction rooted in Galloway, the northeast and Argyll. In May 1308 the Comyns were decisively defeated at the battle of Inverurie, and the northeast was subdued by the "herschip" (harrowing) of Buchan. In June 1308 James Douglas brought Galloway under Bruce's control and by December 1309 the power of the MacDougalls had been broken and they now joined their kinsmen, the Comyn, as refugees at the English court.

The defeat of the last of the Comyn-Balliol faction by late 1309 paved the way for the establishment of Bruce's rule throughout Scotland between 1310 and 1314. The dominant theme of these years was the capture of the strongholds in the south of Scotland held by the English and their allies. By the spring of 1314 only five strongholds remained in English hands, including Stirling, which, by an arrangement between Edward Bruce and the commander of the garrison of the castle, was due to surrender if not relieved by

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midsummer. This was a challenge that Edward II could not ignore and he invaded Scotland with a massive force of cavalry and infantry with which to relieve Stirling Castle. The resulting conflict at Bannockburn on 23-24 June 1314 saw the English routed in what has been called "a complete victory for Bruce's army.

The battle of Bannockburn was a complicated affair that occupied two days; a preliminary engagement in the afternoon of 23 June lifted the morale of the Scots, and in the morning of 24 June the Scots bore down on the English, who had spent an uncomfortable night in a marshy position. After hard fighting the English rear ranks began to flee across the Bannock Burn and a general panic ensued; Edward II was chased to Dunbar where he set sail for England, and with his flight the Scots had inflicted the greatest humiliation on English arms since the loss of Normandy over a century earlier.

The Macnabs, MacDougalls and Comyns were present, with the English forces and some of them, such as David Comyn of Kilbride and John Comyn, claimant of Badenoch died in the fighting, but there is no mention of Angus of Innishewen or the Abbot of Glendochart. Nor, after Bannockburn, is there any further mention of the Macnabs participating in any fighting against the forces of King Robert. Some of them may have been with the MacDougalls when the Bruce turned on them and drove Alexander MacDougall of Argyll and his sons into exile in England.

Five months after the battle of Bannockburn a parliament at Cambuskenneth enacted that those who had died in battle against the king, or who had not come into his peace, "are to be disinherited forever of lands and tenements and all other status within the realm of Scotland. And they are to be held as foes of the king and kingdom." The estates of those who suffered forfeiture were used to reward Bruce's supporters.

Argyll, most of which had been held by the MacDougalls, was parceled out as fiefs to King Robert's supporters, including Angus Og MacDonald and the Campbells, propelling the latter into the foremost ranks of the Scottish nobility. The Abbot of Glendochart was one of those declared forfeit, his writs were burnt and the barony of Glendochart was given to Alexander Menzies of Weem, one of the knights who had been with Bruce in 1306. The *Macnab Oire* - of Innishewan, the heirs of the Abbot and senior line of the family then seems to have disappeared.

**After the Bruce -**

Robert the Bruce - King Robert I - died in July 1329, to be succeeded by his five year old son David. Scotland was a free and independent nation and its people looked forward to a long period of peace after the years of constant warfare, both internal and external. But no sooner was Bruce in his grave; however, than it all came undone.

The great loyalists of his reign soon died, a child sat on the throne and the governance of Scotland was once more in the hands of Guardians. Furthermore the Scots now had an opponent almost as implacable and aggressive as Edward I had been - his grandson - Edward III.

Edward III resented what he called the "shameful peace" of 1328, which had been signed in his name under the regency of his mother. In 1330, as soon as he reached the age of eighteen, he deposed his mother, Isabella of France and her lover Roger Mortimer and repudiated the treaty on the grounds that it had been arranged when he was under-age and against his will.

Edward Balliol, son of the exiled King John Balliol was also waiting to lay claim to the Scottish crown. In 1331 he was brought to England, from his family estates in Picardy, and with the compliance of Edward III, gathered support among Scottish and English nobles who had been deprived

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of their estates by Robert Bruce. On 6 August 1332 they landed at Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife. The Guardian, Donald, Earl of Mar, had mustered a large army - much larger than the invasion force - and took up position on Duplin Moor on the banks of the Earn, near Perth.

The battle of Duplin Moor ended in a dreadful carnage. The Scots had superior numbers but were charging uphill in blazing sunshine and soon became clenched in one massive melee. The English archers poured in volley after volley of arrows and by noon the attack had turned into a retreat. Balliol then sent in his small mounted reserve to harry the fugitives. The Guardian was killed, along with two earls, several lesser noblemen, sixty knights and nearly two thousand spearmen against only thirty for Balliol.

Edward Balliol had himself crowned as King of Scots at Scone on 24 September 1332. Two months later, at Roxburgh Castle, he swore homage and fealty to Edward III, as lord superior of all Scotland.

**Two Kings -**

The Eight-year-old King David was a fugitive holed up in Dumbarton Castle and Scotland was again a province of England and in the grip of civil war.

In May 1333 Edward III came north to support Balliol who ceded to him the town of Berwick upon Tweed, which had been in Scottish hands since 1318. The new Guardian, Archibald, lord of Douglas (brother of Bruce's great comrade, the 'Black' Douglas), mustered an army to come to Berwick's aid.

The Battle of Halidon Hill took place northwest of Berwick on a site well chosen for both defense and offence, high at the rear with a slope to the front leveling out into boggy ground at the base. Edward deployed his forces in three brigades of dismounted knights and men-at-arms, each flanked by archers. The Scots occupied the high ground at Witches

Knowe, facing the English in three massed schiiltrons, each of thirteen thousand spearmen, and a division of 1,200 knights.

At noon on 19 July the Scots launched themselves in a disorderly massed charge; but quickly bogged down in the wet ground below the slope of Halidon Hill. As they struggled forward the English archers unleashed a deadly crossfire. The charge was spent before the Scots reached the English lines and then the English knights crashed into them. Douglas fell, along with the earls of Ross, Sutherland and Carrick, seventy barons, five hundred knights and thousands of foot, the annihilation was complete. It was one of the worst of Scotland's long, sad litany of military disasters- and once again it had been the English archers who had done the damage. Edward occupied Berwick, the other disputed lands and castles of southern Scotland soon fell and the whole country lay at the mercy of Edward III.

The position of the supporters of the boy king was now so perilous that David II and his wife Joan were sent to France, where they to stay for the next seven years, as guests of King Philippe IV. A Bruce king was once more fleeing to escape destruction by his Scottish and English enemies.

When the king and his entourage set sail to France, Robert Steward, his uncle and the presumptive heir to the throne, did not go with him as might have been expected. Instead, he remained behind to serve as guardian or 'king's lieutenant'. Robert Steward, now seventeen and already blooded at the battle of Hallidon Hill, had barely escaped with his life to join his royal uncle in Dumbarton Castle and he now turned to the support of his western allies such as the Campbells of Lochaw.

Robert Steward's early success was impressive. He recovered Rosneath and Bute then pressed on to link up with the men of Renfrew, Lanarkshire, Annandale and Carrick sweeping into

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the hotbed of the civil war, the southwest and much of this region now began to submit to Robert in David's name. It was during this period that the Campbells of Lochaw received a charter for the lands of Glenorchy from Robert the Steward in the king's name as rewards for supporting the Bruce cause.

In 1336, Gilbert Mac-an-abba was given a charter for the lands of the barony of Bovain, also presumably from Robert the Steward in the king's name, probably as a reward for supporting the Bruce cause. The relationship of Gilbert Mac-an-abba to Angus of Innishewan, the deposed Abbot of Glendochart, is not known. The granting of this charter came a generation after the Barony of Glendochart was forfeit and given to Alexander Menzies of Weem so Gilbert could have either a son or cousin of Angus de Glendochart. Gilbert of Bovain, as he is became known, has been recognized by the Lord Lyon king-at-arms, the chief heraldic officer for Scotland, as the first chief of the Clan Macnab.

The Macnabs appear to have gradually acquired more lands, largely by marriage, but seem to never have regained the influence exercised by the Abbots of Glendochart. Gradually the Macnabs became dependents of the Campbells, the descendants of Colin Cambel of Lochaw.

The Campbells married into the house of Stewart, eventually became the Earls of Bredalbane and gradually displaced many other, less prudent families in Perthshire, including the MacGregors and the Macnabs. In 1828 the Earl of Bredalbane, as principal creditor of the Bovain estate finally acquired all its lands and a few years later he evicted the last of the Macnabs from their ancestral lands so that they could be converted into a grouse moor.

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Principle players in the events leading to the Wars of Independence

**Alexander III** (reigned 1249-86) was born in 1241, the only son of Alexander II and his second wife, Marie de Coucy and became king at the age of seven. On Christmas Day 1251, at the age of ten, he was knighted at York by Henry III of England, and the following day was married to his eldest daughter Princess Margaret. Alexander proved a strong-willed king who, despite the English influence in his youth, refused to swear homage for his kingdom.

Alexander enjoyed good relations with his brother-in-law King Edward of England and on 19 August 1274, Alexander and Margaret attended his coronation in Westminster Abbey. Margaret died six months later, leaving three children. Within the next few years, Alexander suffered a series of family tragedies. His younger son David died in 1281 at the age of eight, his daughter Margaret, who had married King Eric of Norway, died in childbirth in 1283, and his elder son Alexander died childless in 1284 after a long illness. A week after prince Alexander's death, the Scottish Parliament recognized Margaret, the little daughter of Eric of Norway and Margaret of Scotland, as the heir presumptive to the Scottish throne.

Alexander was only 44, and so he decided that the best way to avoid a constitutional crisis was to remarry and have more sons. On 14 October 1285 he therefore took as his wife Yolande de Dreux, Comtesse de Montfort, daughter of Robert IV, Comte de Dreux in France. Five months later, on 19 March 1286 Alexander determined against all advice that he must go to her. The night was dark and stormy, he became separated from his guide, his horse stumbled and he fell from a cliff near Kinghorn, Fife. Next morning he was found dead upon the shore, leaving the Scots to mourn an energetic, effective monarch who had brought them peace and

prosperity, but one who had no male heir.

**Princess Margaret**, "the Maid of Norway"

Margaret (reigned 1286-90) was three years old at the death of her grandfather so the Scottish Parliament appointed six Guardians to rule on her behalf. On 18 July 1290 the Scots agreed in the Treaty of Birgham (Berwickshire) with Edward of England that she should marry his eldest son, the future Edward I<sup>1</sup>. At the end of September, 1290, the then eight-year-old Queen set sail for Scotland, escorted by Bishop Narve of Bergen. She was taken ill on the voyage and her ship put in at Orkney, where she died in the arms of the Bishop. The Norwegians took her body back to Bergen, where she was buried beside her mother.

**The competitors**

The death of Margaret plunged Scotland into a complicated dynastic crisis, for there was no obvious heir to the throne. The four surviving Guardians were ruling the country and one of them, William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews, wrote to King Edward of their fears that civil war would ensue, since rival claimants were already assembling armies. Edward offered himself as arbitrator, on condition that the various claimants acknowledge him as the feudal superior of Scotland. In the end, fourteen competitors put their names forward, and nine of them made the acknowledgment required by Edward. They also agreed that possession of the lands and castles of Scotland be

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<sup>1</sup>Had this marriage taken place and produced an heir who lived to rule and produce an heir, the two kingdoms would have been united some 250 years before the ascension of James the VI and I to the throne of England. Both kingdoms would have been spared centuries of warfare and economic destruction.



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given to him to pass on to the rightful king, when the choice had been made.

The fourteen competitors for the throne were:

King Edward of England - descended from Edith, daughter of Malcolm III

Floris V, count of Holland - descended from Henry, Earl of Huntingdon through his daughter Ada

Patrick of Dunbar, 7th Earl of Dunbar - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Ada

William de Veschi, descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Margaret

William de Ros, 2nd Lord Ros - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Isabel

Robert of Pinkeney - descended from Henry, Earl of Huntingdon through his illegitimate daughter Marjory

Nicholas de Soules - descended from Alexander II through his illegitimate daughter Marjory

Patrick de Galithly - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate son Henry de Galithly

Roger de Mandeville - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Aufrica

John de Comyn, Lord of Badenoch - descended from Domnall III, king of Scots 1094-1097 through his daughter Bethoc

John de Hastings, 2nd Lord Hastings - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his daughter Ada

John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his eldest daughter Margaret

Robert de Brus or Bruce, 5<sup>th</sup> Lord of Annandale (grandfather of "the Burce" - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his younger daughter Isabel

Eric II, King of Norway as father and heir of Margaret of Norway

The thirteen claimants were reduced to the three with the strongest claims: John Balliol, Robert Bruce and John Hastings, all of whom were descendants of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, youngest son of Malcolm IV and a grandson of King David I.

Robert Bruce (the "Competitor") could claim a greater nearness of degree than his rivals. He was the *grandson*, thru his father, of Isabella, the *younger* daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

John Balliol had the senior claim: he was the *great-grandson*, thru his mother of Margaret, the *eldest* daughter of Earl David. The argument would center on which was more important, proximity or primogeniture. Although Robert de Bruce was descended from the second daughter, he was a generation nearer David I.

After a period of deliberation Edward of England awarded the throne to John Balliol; primogeniture, it was decided was more significant than proximity.

Two days after the verdict was given, Robert Bruce (the Competitor) formally resigned his claim to his son and heir, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick so that it would not be lost after his death. The Earl of Carrick, in turn, surrendered his earldom to his own son, Robert the Bruce (the future king), who was now eighteen years old to maintain the Bruce claim to the throne.

**John Balliol** (reigned 1292-96) was born about 1250, son of John, 5th Baron de Balliol and his wife Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway and great granddaughter of Earl David. The crown was awarded to him at Berwick, 17 November 1292. He swore fealty to Edward and was installed as king at Scone and on 26 December at Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, did homage to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland.

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Edward soon made it clear that he regarded the country as his vassal state. Balliol had never expected to assume the throne and was unprepared to resist all of Edwards's demands. In 1294 when John and the nobles of Scotland were instructed to attend him for his war with France, a council of ecclesiastics and noblemen was set up to rule Scotland instead of Balliol, although in his name. The council then made a defensive alliance with Philip IV of France against England. This Treaty marked the formal beginning of the "Auld Alliance" between Scotland and France, which was to last for nearly 300 years.

Balliol finally renounced his fealty to Edward on 5 April 1296, whereupon Edward marched north, defeated the Scots at the Battle of Dunbar in East Lothian and captured the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling. On 10 July, in the churchyard at Stracathro, Balliol surrendered himself, his kingdom and his people to Edward. He was forced to seal a document confessing that he had wrongly allied himself with his overlord's enemies. His subsequent nickname, "Toom Tabard" [empty coat] is thought to refer to the ceremonious removal of heraldic insignia from his coat as part of his submission.

Subsequently Balliol was taken to England as a prisoner, but in 1299 he was allowed to go to France, where he lived on his family estates at Bailleul until his death in April 1313 at about the age of 63.

**William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland**

Despite the events of 1296, most Scots continued to regard John Balliol as the rightful king, and the following year William Wallace, son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderlsie in Renfrewshire, raised a revolt against the English. After killing the English sheriff of Lanark, he waged guerrilla warfare against Edward's army and on 11 September 1297 joined forces with Sir Andrew

Moray to rout the English at the Battle of Stirling Bridge. He then recaptured Berwick and invaded the north of England. From there, he and Murray wrote to the merchants of Lubeck and Hanover, inviting them to trade once more, "because the kingdom of Scotland, thanks be to God, is recovered by war from the power of the English."

Wallace was knighted and acted as Guardian of the realm in the name of John Balliol, but he lacked the support of the noblemen and Edward continued to wage war implacably against the Scots. On 22 July 1298 Wallace was defeated at the Battle of Falkirk, Stirlingshire. His later movements are unclear but it is known that he resigned his Guardianship, traveled to France in an unsuccessful attempt to enlist support, and then returned to Scotland. Seven years later, he was betrayed to the English and captured near Glasgow. William Wallace was tried for treason at Westminster Hall, and hanged, drawn and quartered in London on 23 August 1305.

**Robert I** (reigned 1306-29) on 25 March 1306 Robert de Brus, 7th Lord of Annandale, Robert the Bruce was crowned King of Scots<sup>2</sup> and to lead the fight for Scottish independence against Edward of England. Born in 1274 in Ayr, the son of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, he was the grandson of the Robert Bruce who had been one of the competitors for the throne after the death of the Maid of Norway. He had fought with the English when Edward moved against Balliol, but subsequently joined Wallace's revolt. When Wallace gave up the Guardianship of Scotland in 1298, Robert became joint Guardian with Sir John Comyn, younger of Badenoch (King John Balliol's nephew known as "the Red Comyn").

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<sup>2</sup> Because John Balliol was still living, seizing the throne in this manner makes the Bruce a usurper, in spite of Balliol's having been deposed by Edward.

**The Macnabs and MacDougalls in the Scottish Wars of Independence**  
**Part one - background to the Scottish Wars of Independence**

Robert killed his greatest rival for the crown and joint Guardian, the Red Comyn, in the church of the Grey Friars in Dumfries, during the last of many arguments between them. After this he had no choice but to seize the throne since he could gain it no other way. For this murder, Robert was outlawed by Edward and excommunicated by Pope Clement V.

His reign did not begin well. He was defeated by the English at Methven and Dal Righ in Perthshire; his wife, daughter and sisters were imprisoned; and three of his brothers were executed by the English.

However, he persevered and he was helped by the fact that in 1307 Edward, the self-styled "Hammer of the Scots", died to be succeeded by his less effective son Edward II. From 1307 onwards Robert waged successful guerrilla warfare against the English, establishing control north of the Forth, and gradually winning back his kingdom; by 1314, Stirling was the only castle in English hands.

His campaign culminated in resounding victory over Edward II (whose larger army of 20,000 outnumbered Robert's forces by three to one) at the Battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling on 24 June 1314. Bannockburn confirmed the re-establishment of an independent Scottish monarchy. However this was not the end of the fighting which raged onwards for years afterward and repeatedly devastated the border marches.

## CLAN MACGREGOR

The Clan Gregor or MacGregor were near neighbors to the Macnab's. Their home territory of Glen Orchy lay just to the west of Glen Dochart, the Macnab's home ground. The MacGregor's also held lands to the north of Glen Dochart in Glen Lyon and on the borders of Perthshire. Like the Macnab's, the MacGregors held their territories by right of first occupation, from before there were written records and so had no written charters giving them title to the land.

As the Campbell's of Breadalbane moved west from their first holdings at Taymouth and gained power at court they obtained charters granting them land they coveted including that of the MacGregors, who were reduced to tenants in their own country. In fighting against the encroachments of the Campbells, the MacGregors not only lost their land but their very name and became a broken clan. Eventually they did regain the right to once again use the name of MacGregor but only after a long struggle.

The Clan Nish or Macnish, who were the great enemies of the Macnab's and lived to the south of Loch Tay in the area around Lock Earn, have been attributed as a sept of the MacGregors by Frank Adam in his seminal book *CLANS, SEPTS, AND REGIMENTS OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS*, though he gives no source for this. In the following history of the Clan Macgregor, taken from that book, the Macnish are mentioned tenth in the list of that clan's septs.

### Clan Macgregor

from

*CLANS, SEPTS, AND REGIMENTS OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS*

by Frank Adam

Revised by Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Lord Lyon King of Arms

Seventh edition of 1965

*'S rioghail mo dhream* (Royal is my Race) is the motto of this ancient clan, the senior one of the Clan Alpin, and the most unfortunate. The clan claims descent from Griogar, third son of King Alpin, who ascended the Celtic Scottish throne about 787; but this is mere tradition, and in history it seems that it is from *Aodh Urchaidh*, a native ruler of Glenorchy, that the Chiefs of the Clan Gregor were descended.

Though Glenorchy was the original seat of the Clan Gregor, they, in their halcyon days, possessed much territory on the borders of Perthshire and Argyll, Glenstrae and Glenloch, lands in Glenlyon, and (later) Glengyle being at one time MacGregor territory. These broad acres, however, were held allodially by right of first occupation. They had, therefore, no title deeds; and when the MacGregor's neighbors, the Campbell's, began to wax powerful they got Crown charters for

lands which had been in the possession of the Clan Gregor for years. Harassed and deprived by powerful neighbors of the territories which, rightly or wrongly, they looked upon as their own, is it to be wondered at that the Clan Gregor adopted lawless and desperate courses, and endeavored to hold by the sword what their ancestors appear to have held by immemorial possession

Glenorchy's proud mountains, Caolchurn and  
her towers,  
Glenstrae and Glenlyon no longer are ours  
We're landless, landless, Gregalach

In early days their chiefs bore a territorial style. John of Glenorchy was the chief in 1292; and the name MacGregor was not apparently used until the clan lost possession of Glenorchy through the marriage of an heiress, Mariota, to John Campbell, a son of Cambell of Lochawe. For a time the junior branch of the clan, who succeeded to the chiefship, remained in

Glenorchy as tenants of the Campbell's; but when their main line also seems to have become extinct, even the tenancy of Glenorchy was lost to the clan. The chiefship passed to a junior line of that branch, the MacGregor of Glenstrae, with their seat at Strommelochan; and even in Glenstrae they were only tenants of the Campbell's.

While they were in that precarious situation Duncan Ladasach ("the lordly") of Ardchoille, whose father was probably Tutor of Glenstrae during the minority of Alasdair, the young chief (and who himself became Tutor for Gregor Roy, Alasdair's heir) acquired for the Macgregor's by his lawlessness an evil reputation that they could never shake off. The Campbells of Glenorchy accordingly tried to evict first Gregor Roy, and then his son Alasdair, from their tenancy of Glenstrae; and the Clan Gregor were driven into conflicts with the authority of the Crown, which culminated in their victory in 1603 at Glen Fruin over the Colquhouns, who held the King's commission. This was the final fatal event, which decided the Government to exterminate the Clan. Those who had fought at Glen Fruin became outlaws, any of whom being captured were tried and executed, as was Alasdair, the Chief. Innocent MacGregor had to change their name, under pain of death. They were prohibited from carrying arms, except a pointless knife for use at their meals; no more than four of the clan were permitted to meet together. In 1606 it was ordained that the change of name should apply not only to the rising generation, but also to the unborn children of themselves and their parents. Various members of the Clan Gregor:

"weir that in all tyme cumin that they sail, call thaim selffs and thair bairnis already procreat or to be procreat of thair bodyis efter the surnames respective abone written and use the samyn in all thair doingis under the paine of deid to be execute upoun them without favour or ony of

them in caice thay failyie in the premissis."

In consequence members of the Clan Gregor adopted various names, such as Campbell, Cunynghame, Dougall, Drummond, Gordon, Graham, Grant, Murray, Ramsay, Stewart, etc. In 1643 it was re-enacted that it was unlawful for any man to bear the name of MacGregor. No signature bearing that name, and no agreement entered into with a MacGregor, was legal; and to kill a man of that name was not punishable; no minister was to baptize any male child of a MacGregor.

Although the MacGregor had thus no reason for gratitude to the Stuart Kings, yet when Montrose raised King Charles I.'s standard in the Highlands the Laird of MacGregor (as the Chiefs styled themselves after losing Glenstrae) brought out his people in 1644, to join Montrose, hoping to recover his ancestral lands from the King's enemies, the Campbells; and till the Restoration, Clan Gregor consistently upheld the Stuarts' cause. Charles II in 1661 was not indeed sufficiently grateful for their support to give the MacGregor back their lands, but at least he restored to them their Name by repealing the Act of 1633, which made its use unlawful.

considering [to quote this Act of Repeal] that those who were formerly designed by the name of Macgregor had, during the troubles, carried themselves with such loyalty and affection to his Majesty as might justly wipe out all memory of their former miscarriages, and take off all mark of reproach put upon them for the same.

For thirty-two years the MacGregor enjoyed the benefits of the restoration of their Name and their civil rights. The Revolution of 1688, however, gave the Crown to William III and Mary II instead of James VII; Clan Gregor took arms in support of King James; and in 1693 the penal statutes against them were reimposed. Nevertheless, in 1714 an attempt was made to restore the clan. This failed, partly because Queen Anne died, to be succeeded by William III alone and then George I, partly because MacGregor of Balhaldie, who had

no just right to the chiefship, was put forward. Thereafter MacGregor fought for the Stuarts in three Jacobite Risings, in 1715 under Balhaldie, Glengyle and his uncle Rob Roy, in 1719 under Rob Roy, in 1745 under Glengyle and MacGregor of Glencarnaig.

At last, in 1775, by Act of Parliament the Name of MacGregor was restored to the clan--a clan being thus statutorily recognized by the *Imperial Parliament*; and John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick, nephew of Glencarnaig of the '45, was, by 856 MacGregor's endorsing his pedigree, submitted to the Lord Lyon. Lanrick's claim to the chiefship had been disputed by the MacGregor of Glengyle and of Balhadie. But in 1795 the Lord Lyon, in exercise of the Royal prerogative, was pleased to give effect to this by confirming to Sir John the chief arms of MacGregor of MacGregor, and the line of baronets, of Lanrick and Balquhiddel, have accordingly since been the hereditary chiefs of the clan.

Auchmar says of the MacGregor: The surname is now divided into four principal families. The first is that of the laird of MacGregor, being in a manner extinct, there being few or none of any account of the same. The next family to that of MacGregor is Dugald Keir's family, so named from their ancestor, Dugal Keir, a son of the laird of MacGregor; the principal person of that family is MacGregor of Glengyle, whose residence and interest is at the head of Lochcattern, in the parish of Callander, in the shire of Perth. The third family is that of Rora in Rannoch, in the shire of Perth. The fourth family is that of Brackly.

The famous outlaw Rob Roy MacGregor was a son of MacGregor of Glengyle by a sister of the notorious Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon. Rob Roy, deprived of his lands by quarrels with the House of Montrose, became a prominent Jacobite and his exploits form a vivid chapter in Highland romance.

In 1624 about 300 MacGregor from the Earl of Moray's estates in Menteith had been brought north to oppose the Mackintoshes. Many of these settled in

Aberdeenshire. In 1715 Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to raise them for the Pretender, since these MacGregor were of the same stock as his own family.

During the time of the proscription of the MacGregor in 1748 a conference was held at Blair Atholl of the Clan Alpin (Grants, Mackinnons, Macnabs, etc.), for assuming a common name. If reversal of the proscription of the MacGregor could be obtained, the name of MacGregor might be adopted by all the branches of Clan Alpin; but if it were found impossible to obtain such reversal, then some other name should be adopted. Two matters caused the conference to break up without any result: (1) the question of the chiefship, (2) the name to be adopted.

#### CLAN MACGREGOR SEPTS

Owing to the MacGregor having been long a "broken" clan, forbidden to use the clan name, they had resort to many surnames to conceal their identity. Not only were "by-names" of Highland origin adopted, but also names of other clans were assumed, as well as names, such as Cunninghame, Ramsay, etc. The last two classes cannot be included in a list of sept names.

(1) *Gregor, Gregory, etc.*— All these names are modifications of MacGregor. In 1715, when Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to raise a body of men in Aberdeenshire from those of his own race (the Ciar Mor), who were located there by the Earl of Moray in 1624, he became acquainted with a relation of his own, Dr. James Gregory, Professor of Medicine in King's College, Aberdeen. In return for the kindness shown to him by the Professor, Rob Roy offered to take his son also named James, then a boy, to the Highlands with him, and "make a man of him. The lad's father however, delicately declined this attention. The boy, when he grew up, succeeded his father at King's College. The Griersons of Lag, in Dumfriesshire, are descended from Gilbert, second son of Malcolm, dominus de MacGregor, who died in 1374.

(2) *MacGrowther, MacGreder, MacGruther,*



etc.- Owing to being derived from a profession, "grudair" *Anglice* "brewer"), they may be appropriate to several clans. The names seem, however, to be more closely connected with the MacGregor and the Drummonds than with any other clan. Some of the bearers have, when going south, anglicized their names to "Brewer," much in the same manner as Macintyres have become Wrights; MacCalmans, Doves or Dows; Macsporrans, Purcells, etc. The name "Macgrowther" appears in old records in many forms, such as Macgruther, Macgruder, Macgrewar, Grewar, and Gruer.

Alexander MacBain, the well-known authority on Highland names, remarks: The maltster and brewster were represented by the Gaelic names of "*brachadair*" and "*grudair*" respectively. Both were used in personal designations and surnames, but the former disappeared soon.... The earliest reference to the name is possibly 1447, when there was a Gillawone M'gruder at Comrie. John M'gruder, servant to Lord Drummond, gives trouble at Bocastle in 1580.

(3) *MacLiver Macliomhair* was the surname of Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde). In deference, however, to the wishes of his maternal uncle, Colonel Campbell, through whose influence young Colin procured a commission in the army, the future - Lord Clyde assumed the name of Campbell in lieu of his own name of Manlier

(4) *MacAdam*. - descended from Gregor MacGregor, second son of the chief, who, after the outlawry of Clan Gregor, took refuge in Galloway. John Loudoun MacAdam, the well-known improver of the public roads, member of this sept, was born in Ayr 1756.

(5) *Fletcher, MacLeister*. - The *Mac-an-leisdears*, modernized into Fletcher, etc., were arrow-makers to the MacGregor. They were the original inhabitants of the highest and most mountainous parts of Glenorchy, the lands of Achallader and Baravurich. There is a saying current in Glenorchy, '*Se Clann-ae-leisdear a thog a chiad*

*smkid a thug goil air uisge 'an Urcha* (The Fletchers were the first to raise smoke to boil water in Glenorchy). The stronghold of the Fletchers was Achallader Castle, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the shores of Loch Tulle. Shortly after "the '45" the Fletchers of Achallader removed to Doneness, at the head of Glendaruel. They carried with them the door of the old castle of Achallader (made of pine grown in the forest of Crannich), and this door is now that of the private chapel at Doneness House. MacLeister is the form of the name, which is found in Islay.

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

(6) *Black, MacIlduy*. - Names assumed by the MacGregor when their own name was proscribed. The name MacIlduy is common in the southwest of Perthshire. (7) *White, Whyte*. - Names assumed for the same reason. (8) *MacAra, Macaree, MacNee, King*. - All supposed to be forms of *Mac-an-righ* (or ree), or King's son. Buchanan of Auchmar alludes to the MacCarras as a sept of the MacGregor in north Perthshire. Some

changed their name to King.

(9) MacChoiter. - " Son of the Cotter," one of the MacGregor sept names mentioned by Auchmar.

(10) MacNeish, *Neish, etc.* - This small sept were all but exterminated during a feud with the Macnabs.

(11) MacPeter, *Peter.* - Assumed by MacGregor after the proscription.

(12) *Malloch.* - Alluded to in Heron's *Tour of Scotland* (1793) as MacGregor who had changed their name when the clan was proscribed. In MacLeay's *Highlanders of Scotland* the Mallochs or Mhallichs are said to be so named owing to the heavy eyebrows of their ancestor.

(13) *Leckie, Lecky.* - The name of an old Dunbartonshire family, the head of which was Leckie of Croy-Leckie. John Leckie, of Croy-Leckie and Balvie, married a daughter of MacGregor of Glengyle by his wife, Campbell of Glenfalloch. He was brother-in-law of Rob Roy whom he joined during the Rising of 1715 and was with Rob Roy at Sheriffmuir.

(14) *Mac-Conachies.* - *Shochd Dhonnachaidh A.baraich* derive their descent and name from Duncan, 17th Chief of MacGregor by his second lady, a daughter of MacFarlane of that Ilk, by whom he had three sons, whose descendants are known by the same name, viz., the progeny of Lochaber Duncan.

(15). *Dochart.* - According to Dean Ramsay:

A good many families in and around Dunblane rejoice in the patronymic of Dochart. This name, which sounds somewhat Irish, is derived from Loch Dochart, in Argyllshire. The MacGregor, having been proscribed, were subjected to severe penalties, and a group of the clan having been hunted by their superiors, swam the stream, which issues from Loch Dochart, and in gratitude to the river they afterwards assumed the family name of Dochart.

Many Docharts are, however, probably of a sept of Clan Macnab.

(16) *Comrie.* - At the time of the

proscription of the clan and name of MacGregor, some of that clan settled at Comrie in Strathearn, which name was adopted by the fugitive MacGregor.

(17) *MacPetrie.* - The MacPetries of Marr are MacGregor.

## The Campbells of Breadalbane

The chiefs of the Macnab's imprudently lived beyond their means and amassed large debts. Those debts were acquired by the Campbell's of Breadalbane who foreclosed on them forcing the Macnab into bankruptcy and thereby enabling them to acquire his estates. The Campbells are included here because of the impact they had on the later history of the clan. This is a much shortened version of an article found on the Electric Scotland website. There it is stated that the original was discovered in an antiquarian bookshop and came from a 2 volume set written by James Taylor, M.A., D.D., F.S.A and published in 1887 as set 88 of a 250 print run. and may be found at: [http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/families/cambells\\_breadalbane.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/families/cambells_breadalbane.htm)

I have modernized the spelling and grammar as well as deleted much that is irrelevant to the history of the Breadalbane Campbells in relation to the Macnab's - David Rorer

The Campbells of Breadalbane were the most powerful branch of the house of Argyll. They are descended from Sir Colin Campbell, third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochaw, by Marjory Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland. In the "Black Book of Taymouth," printed from an old manuscript preserved in Taymouth Castle, it is stated that "Duncan Campbell, commonly called Duncan in Aa, Knight of Lochaw (lineallie descendit of a valiant man surnamit Campbell quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmore his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochaw) flourished in King David Bruce his dayes. The foresaid Duncan begat twa sons, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay.<sup>1</sup>" That estate was bestowed on him by his father. It was the original seat of the MacGregors, who were settled there as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore. It was gradually wrested from them by the Campbells and in the reign of David II they managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy, but the MacGregors continued for a long time to retain possession of their ancient inheritance.

Sir Colin Campbell, founder of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane branch of the

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<sup>1</sup> Duncan Campbell commonly called Duncan in Aa, Knight of Lochaw (lineal descendant of a valiant man surnamed Cambell who came to Scotland in the time of King Malcolm Canmore about 1067, of whom came the house of Lochaw) flourished in the time of King David Bruce. This Duncan had two sons, the elder called Archibald, the other named Colin who was first lord of Glenorchy

clan was known for his military prowess and for the virtues of social and domestic life. He was born about A.D. 1400, and according to the "Black Book," "throch his valiant actis and manheid maid knight in the Isle of Rhodes, quhilk standeth in the Carpathian Sea near to Caria and countrie of Asia the Less, and he was three sundrie tymes in Rome."<sup>2</sup>

After James I was murdered in 1437, Sir Colin succeeded in capturing two of the assassins, Chalmers and Colquhoun. For which service James II gave him the barony estate of Lawers. In 1440 Sir Colin erected the Castle of Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) on a rocky promontory at the east end of Loch Awe, under the shadow of Ben Cruachan, near the Pass of Brander, where the MacDougalls of Lorne were defeated by Robert Bruce. The castle occupies every foot of the island that is visible and appears to rise out of the water. According to tradition, Kilchurn Castle was built by Sir Colin's lady during his absence in the Holy Land on crusade, and is said to have consumed the greater part of the rents of his lands during the seven years it took to construct.

Sir Colin was married four times. His second wife was one of three daughters and co-heiresses of the Lord of Lorne, by whom he acquired a third of the estates of that ancient and powerful clan and hence forth quartered the galley of Lorne with his paternal coat of arms. His nephew, the first Earl of

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<sup>2</sup> -through his valiants acts and manhood (was) made (a) Knight of Rhodes which stands in the Carpathian Sea (Mediterranean Sea) near Candia (Crete) and Asia Minor, and he made three journeys to Rome.

Argyll, to whom he was guardian, married another of these heiresses. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Stirling of Keir, Sir Colin had a son named John, who was the ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun.

Sir Duncan Campbell, Sir Colin's eldest son, obtained in 1498 the office of Bailiary of the King's lands of Discher, Foyer, and Glenlyon. The office was hereditary, and on the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland in 1747, the second Earl of Breadalbane received the sum of one thousand pounds in compensation. Sir Duncan appears to have been very successful in carrying out the acquisitive policy of the Campbells, for he obtained grants of the crown lands at the port of Loch Tay, along with the lands of Glenlyon and Finlarig, which became the burying-place of the family, and other property in Perthshire.

Sir Duncan was killed at Flodden, along with his chief, the Earl of Argyll, and his sovereign. His eldest son, Colin Campbell, succeeded as third laird of Glenorchy, and the second was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenlyon, one of whom commanded the soldiers who perpetrated the massacre of Glencoe. Sir Colin is mentioned as having "biggit the chapel of Finlarig to be ane burial for himself and posteritie."<sup>3</sup> His three sons succeeded to the estates in turn, and the last of these, another Sir Colin, who became Laird of Glenorchy in 1550, "conquessit the superiority of M'Nabb his haill landis."<sup>4</sup> The MacNabs were an ancient clan who at one time possessed considerable property on the banks of the Docherty, near Killin, on the south side of Loch Tay, but their lands have been incorporated into those of the Breadalbane family.

Sir Colin is also said in the "Black Book of Taymouth" to have "behiddet the laird of MacGregor himself at Kandmoor in presence of the Erle of Athol, the Justice-Clerk, and sindrie other

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<sup>3</sup> Builddet the chapel of Finlarig to be a burial (place) for himself and his descendants

<sup>4</sup> -contested the superiority of Macnab (over) his whole lands

noblemen."<sup>5</sup> It was this laird who erected the castle of Balloch on the site now occupied by the splendid mansion of Taymouth Castle. When asked why he had built his house so near the extremity of his estate, he replied, "We'll brizz yont" (press onward). The possessions of the family have however extended in the opposite direction.

Sir Colin was succeeded by Sir Duncan Campbell, his eldest son, usually termed Donacha dhu na Curich, Black Duncan o' the Cowl, who seems to have been a man of considerable force of character, but unscrupulous and treacherous. He was appointed by James VI, 18th May, 1590, one of the barons to assist at the coronation of his queen, Anne of Denmark, when he received the honor of knighthood. Sir Duncan was one of the six guardians of the young Earl of Argyll appointed by the will of his father, the sixth Earl, in 1584, all of them cadets of the family, and one of whom, Campbell of Lochnell, was the nearest heir to the earldom.

Sir Duncan Campbell was deeply implicated in the conspiracy to which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Maitland of Thirleston, and the Earl of Huntly were parties, to murder the Earl of Argyll, Campbell of Calder or Cawdor, one of his guardians, and the Earl of Moray. Sir Duncan was the principal mover in the plot which led to the murder of Calder. Glenorchy knowing the feelings of personal animosity cherished by Campbell of Ardkinglas, his brother-in-law, against Calder, easily prevailed upon him to agree to the assassination of their common enemy. Glenorchy himself had an additional cause of quarrel arising from the protection given by Calder to some MacGregors who were at feud with Glenorchy.

Though Sir Duncan was ambitious and grasping like his race, and utterly unprincipled, he was distinguished for his efforts in building, planting, and improving his estates, and in stimulating the industrious habits of his clan. He employed artists to

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<sup>5</sup> Beheaded the lord of Macgregor himself at Kenmore in the presence of the Earl of Atholl, the Justice Clerk, and sundrie other noblemen

decorate his house, and at a later period he was one of the most liberal patrons of George Jamesone, the Scottish Vandyke.

The Household Books, which contain minute details of the economy of the Breadalbane establishment from the year 1590 downwards, show that the cheer was always abundant and of excellent quality. It consisted of fresh and salt beef, salmon and trout from Loch Tay, herrings from Loch Fyne, dried fish of several kinds, mutton of wedders from the Braes of Balquhiddel, capons, geese, wild geese, brawn, venison, partridges, blackcock, "birsell" fowls, and rabbits.

The drink consumed by the chief and his own family and guests was "claret wyne," "quhyit [white] wine," "Spanis wyne;" and judging by the chalders of malt which appear in the accounts, the consumption of ale and beer must have been wonderful. There were three kinds of ale in use—ostler ale, household ale, and best ale—for the different grades of persons in the family. In 1590 the oatmeal consumed in the household was 364 bolls<sup>6</sup>, the malt 207 bolls (deducting a small quantity of struck barley used in the kitchen). They used go beeves ("neats," "stirks," or "fed oxen"), more than two-thirds consumed fresh; 20 swine, 200 sheep, 424 salmon, far the greater portion being from the native rivers; 15,000 herrings, 30 dozen of hard fish; 1,805 "heads" of cheese new and old, weighing 325 stone<sup>7</sup>; and 9 stones of butter, 26 dozen loaves of wheaten bread; of wheat flour 3¼ bolls. The wine, brought from Dundee, was claret and white wine, old and new. Of spices and sweetmeats we find notice only on one occasion of small quantities of saffron, mace, ginger, pepper, "raises of cure plumdamas, and one sugarloaf." These books also furnish us with the names of the Laird's guests. In the week beginning 18th September, 1590, besides Sir Duncan and Lady Campbell, there were at table the Laird of Tullibardine, the Laird of Abercairnie, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Tutor of Duncrub, the Laird of Inchbraikie, the

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<sup>6</sup> A boll of meal weighed about 140 pounds

<sup>7</sup> A stone equaled 20 pounds

Prior of Charterhouse, "with sindrie other cumeris and gangeris [goers]."

The Inventories of Plenishing, which commence in 1598, are of great value for understanding the habits and style of living of a powerful Scottish family. Besides the more homely furnishing of beds, sheets, blankets, and napery, there are entries of arras, work coverings, sewed coverings, woven Scots coverings, black and red mantles, Irish and Scottish "caddois" (a kind of woollen cloth), white plaid curtains—some of red and green plaiding, others of black worsted; green "sey," champit red "sey," purpouir plaiding pasmentit (decked with lace) with orange green, and blue "canabeis [canopies?] pasmentit with orange;" "damewark burde claites, serviettes, and towelles," "sewit cushions, woven reid and orange," "green couterclaiths of French stennyng," "buffet stuillis." The lists comprise all the articles used in the kitchen, the brewhouse, "woman house," and other divisions of the establishment.

In 1600 are enumerated the pieces of armor in the House of Balloch—cut-throat guns, brazen pieces, hagbuts, muskets, two-handed swords, a steel bonnet, "a gilt pece with the Laird's armes, that come out of Dundie, stockit with brissell [Brazil wood]," "brasin pistolletes," "Jedburgh staves," Lochaber axes, "gilt harness quhilk was gotten fra the Prior of Charter-house, one stand embracing twelve peces." Curiously connected with the last entry is "ane Bibill," which may have come from the same reverend donor. There is an enumeration of articles indicative of the means which the chief, we fear too frequently, employed to vindicate his authority—"great iron fetters for men's feet and hands, long chains in the prison, high and low, with their shackles, &c.," and, most ominous of all, "ane heading ax."

An Inventory of the "Geir [goods, effects] left by Sir Colin, not to be disponit upon," made up by Sir Robert Campbell in 1640, contains a list of jewels and silver plate of no ordinary extent. Of the former is "ane targett of gold, set with three diamonds, four topacis, or jacincts, ane rubie, and ane sapphire enammeled, given by King James

the Fyft, of worthie memorie, to ane of the Laird of Glenurchay his predecessoures; item, ane round jewell of gold sett with precious stones, containing 29 diamonds and 4 great rubies, quhilk Queen Anna of worthie memorie, Queene of Great Britane, France, and Ireland [James VI's Queen] gave to umquhile [the late] Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhy, and uther four small diamonds quhilk the said Queene Anna, of worthie memorie, gave to the said Sir Duncane; item, ane fair silver brotch sett with precious stones; item, ane stone of the quantitie of half an hen's eg sett in silver, being flat at the ane end and round at the uther end, lyke a peir, quhilk Sir Colin Campbell, first Laird of Glenurquhay, wore when he faught in battell at the Rhodes against the Turks, he being one of the Knychtis of the Rhodes; of great gold buttons 66." The "silver work" comprehended "plaittes," "chargers," "layers, with basons partly overgilt," "silver trenchers," and "sasars partly overgilt," "great silver cups," some of them "engraved" and "partly overgilt," and some with the Laird's arms, "little long schankit cups for acavite [whisky], silver goblets, saltfats, masers, spoons, some of which had the lairdis name on them."

Besides these heirlooms, the inventory contains many swords, guns, and armor, silk beds with rich hangings of taffety, one of them with "ane pend of blew velvett," embroidered with the names and arms of the laird and his lady; another bed of "incarnatt London cloath imbrouderit with black velvett;" a third of "greine London cloath passimentit with green and orange silk lace;" a fourth of "changing taffite greine and yellow;" "sixteen uther weill and sufficient common furnischt beds with their furniture requisite;" "great cramosie velvett cuschiones for the kirk," "cuschiounes of Turkey work;" twenty-four pictures of the kings and queens of Scotland; "thirty-four pictures of the lairds and ladies of Glenurquhay, and other noblemen; ane great genealogie brod paintit of all the Lairds of Glenurquhay, and of those that ar come of the House of Glenurquhay."

In 1617 Sir Duncan obtained the office of heritable keeper of Mamlern. King

Charles I afterwards conferred on him the sheriffship of Perthshire for life, and he was created baronet of Nova Scotia in 1625. He died in 1631, leaving seven sons and three daughters. His fifth son was the ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Lochlane and Fin nab, in Perthshire.

As might have been expected from his character, the policy of the family towards the ill-fated MacGregors was pursued with unabated severity by Sir Duncan. His second son headed an attack upon them in 1616, at a place called Bintoich, or Ronefray, in the Brae of Glenorchy, at the head of two hundred men. The MacGregors were only sixty in number, but though thus overmatched, they fought with the fury of despair, and slew a number of their ruthless enemies in the conflict which ended in their defeat, with the loss of four of their leaders and twenty of their clansmen.

Little is known of Sir Colin Campbell, eldest son of Sir Duncan, except that he commissioned Jamesone, the celebrated painter, to paint for him a large number of family portraits, for which he paid the artist "ane hundred four scoire - pounds, quhilk are set up in the hall of Balloch"<sup>8</sup> (now Taymouth). His brother and successor, Sir Robert Campbell, was a Covenanter—a character which could not have been expected to descend from such a stock or to flourish in the wilds of Breadalbane. In consequence, "in the year of God 1644 and 1645, his whole landes and esteat betwixt the foord of Lyon and point of Lismore were burnt and destroyit by James Graham, some time Erle of Montrose, and Alexander MacDonald with their associates. The tenants, their whole cattle were taken away by their enemies; and their comes, houses, plenishing and whole insight, weir burnt; and the said Sir Robert pressing to get the inhabitants repaint, wairit [spent] £48 Scots upon the bigging of every cuple in his landes, and also wairit seed comes upon his own charges to the most of his inhabitants. The occasion of this malice against Sir Robert and his friends and countrie

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<sup>8</sup> One hundred and four score pounds = 2080 pounds a considerable sum for that time



people, was because the said Sir Robert joint in covenant with the kirk and kingdom of Scotland in maintaining the trew religion, the kingis majesty, his authority and laws and libertie of the kingdom of Scotland; and because the said Sir Robert altogether refusit to assist the said James Graham and Alexander MacDonalld, their malicious doings in the kingdom of Scotland, so that the Laird of Glenurquhay and his countrie people, their loss within Perthshire and within Argyleshire exceeds the soums of 1,200,000<sup>9</sup> merks."

Sir Robert Campbell had five sons and nine daughters. William Campbell, the third son, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloch, from whom the present Marquis of Breadalbane is descended. The daughters were all married to Highland lairds, and the eldest became the mother of Sir Ewan Cameron, of Lochiel.

Little is known of Sir Robert's eldest son, Sir John Campbell. He married the eldest daughter of the powerful but ill-fated Earl of Strathearn, and had by her a son, John Campbell, the first Earl of Breadalbane, born about 1635. The character of this powerful and unscrupulous chief has been drawn in dark but true colors by Lord Macaulay. "He could bring seventeen hundred claymores into the field, and ten years before the Revolution he had actually marched into the Lowlands with this great force for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny. He affected zeal for monarchy and Episcopacy, but in truth he cared for no government and no religion. He seems to have united two different sets of vices, the growth of two different regions, and of two different stages in the progress of society. In his castle among the hills he had learned the barbarian pride and ferocity of a Highland chief. In the Council-chamber at Edinburgh he had contracted the deep taint of treachery and corruption. After the Revolution he had like many of his fellow-nobles, joined and betrayed every party in turn;

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<sup>9</sup> 810,000 pounds - one Merk = 13 ½ shillings - 20 shillings equal one pound. This is probably Scots Pounds which were worth much less than English Pounds.

had sworn fealty to William and Mary, and had plotted against them." Mackay, in his "Memoirs," says, "the Earl is of a fair complexion, and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel. No Government, can trust him but where his own private interest is in view."

Breadalbane had claims upon the gratitude of the royal family for the great assistance which he gave, in 1653, to the forces collected in the Highlands under General Middleton, in the cause of Charles II., and for his endeavors to persuade Monk, after Cromwell's death, to declare for a free Parliament, as the most effectual way of bringing about the restoration of the Stewarts. He was a principal creditor of George Sinclair, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts were said to have exceeded a million merks. In 1672, Earl of Caithness executed a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles, in favor of Campbell of Glenorchy, who took on himself the the Earl's debts. On the death of Lord Caithness, without issue, in 1676, Sir John Campbell obtained a patent creating himself Earl of Caithness; but George Sinclair, of Keiss, the heir-male of the family, disputed his right to that title. Parliament decided in favor of Sinclair and in 1681 Sir John Campbell was created Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenorchy, Benderaloch, Ormelie, and Wick, with remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whomsoever.

The honors thus heaped upon him by the reigning sovereign failed to secure his fidelity when the trial came. After the Revolution of 1688 he gave in his adherence to William and Mary, though there was no end to "the turns and doublings of his course" during the year 1689 and the earlier part of 1690. But after the battle of the Boyne had apparently ruined the Jacobite cause, the Earl became more steady in his support of the new sovereigns; and, as it was at this time his interest, as he affirmed, to promote the stability of the Government and the tranquility of the country, it was resolved by the

Ministry to employ the Earl to treat with the Jacobite chiefs, and a sum of fifteen thousand pounds was placed at his disposal in order to induce them to swear allegiance to the reigning monarchs.

It was an unwise and unfortunate selection. Breadalbane's reputation for honesty was not high, and he was suspected of intending to cheat both the clans and the King. He alleged that the Macdonalds of Glencoe had ravaged his lands and driven away his cattle; and when their chief, MacIan, appeared with the other Jacobite heads of the clans at his residence in Glenorchy, the Earl, who ordinarily bore himself with the solemn dignity of a Castilian grandee, forgot his public character, forgot the laws of hospitality, and, with angry reproaches and menaces, demanded reparation for the herds which he claimed had been driven from his lands by MacIan's followers.

MacIan was seriously apprehensive of some personal outrage, and was glad to get safe back to his own glen. His pride wounded; he had no motive to accept of the terms offered by the Government. He was well aware that he had little chance of receiving any portion of the money to be distributed among the Jacobite chiefs. His share of that money would scarcely meet Breadalbane's demands for compensation therefore MacIan used all his influence to dissuade the other chiefs from accepting the proposals made to them; and Breadalbane found the negotiations indefinitely protracted by the man who had long been a thorn in his side.

Breadalbane contrived, however, in one way or other, either to spend or to pocket the funds entrusted to him by the Government. Some chiefs he gratified with a share of the money; others with good words; others he kept quiet by threats. And when he was asked by Lord Nottingham to account for the money put into his hands to be distributed among the chiefs, answered, "My lord, the money is spent; the Highlands are quiet: and this is the only way of accounting among friends."

Before this pacification was effected, however, a most shocking tragedy had

been enacted, in which Breadalbane was deeply implicated. His estates had suffered severely from the depredations of the men of Glencoe, and he hated them as "Macdonalds, thieves, and Papists." His anger against them was deepened by his knowledge of the fact that their chief had employed all his influence to thwart the negotiation with the clans, from which the Earl had hoped to gain credit with the Government. Its failure had indeed led the advisers of King William to strongly suspect Breadalbane's fidelity.

The authority of the Earl to conduct the negotiations was dated 24th April, 1690, and at the close of the autumn of 1691 the chiefs had not come to terms. The Scottish counselors of the King, therefore, resolved to try the effect of threats as well as bribes, and on the 27th of August they issued a proclamation promising an indemnity to those who should swear the oath of allegiance in the presence of a civil magistrate before the 1st of January, 1692, and threatening with military execution those who should hold out after that day. There is abundant evidence that the Master of Stair, the Earl of Linlithgow, King William himself, and in all probability the Earl of Breadalbane also, expected and wished that some of the Highland chiefs should refuse to avail themselves of the offer of indemnity within the prescribed period, and thus expose themselves to the summary vengeance of the Government.

The Earl of Linlithgow, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, recommended Breadalbane to "push the clans to do one thing or other, for such as will stand it out must not expect any more offers, and in that case those who have been their friends must act with the greatest vigor against them. The last standers-out must pay for all; and, besides, I know that the King does not care that some do it, that he may make examples of them." Stair declared to the Earl, on the 3rd of November, that "pulling down Glengarry's nest as the crows do, destroying him and his clan and garrisoning his house as a middle of communication between Inverlochry and Inverness, will be full as acceptable as his coming in." A month later, in a letter to Breadalbane, he refers to the

Earl's "scheme for mauling them," probably much such a scheme as was adopted; and he adds, "Because I breathe nothing but destruction to Glengarry, Tarbet thinks that Keppoch will be a more proper example of severity, but I confess both's best to be ruined." It is well known that MacIain of Glencoe was caught in the net spread mainly for the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glengarry, that the massacre of the chief and his clansmen was carried out in a manner peculiarly treacherous and cruel, and that though it excited deep and universal indignation, both the devisers of the shocking and bloody deed and the instruments employed in its execution escaped the punishment they deserved.

Breadalbane at once took guilt to himself. A few days after the massacre he sent Campbell of Barcaldin, his chamberlain, to the men of Glencoe to say that if they would declare under their hands that his lordship had no concern in the massacre, they might be assured the Earl would procure their "remission and restitution." It was not until 1695, three years after the Glencoe massacre, that a commission was appointed to inquire into the shocking affair. They reported that they did not find it proved that Breadalbane was implicated in the slaughter, but they discovered that the Earl had laid himself open to a charge of high treason by the manner in which he had acted in his negotiations with the clans; that he had professed to be a zealous partisan of James, and had recommended the chiefs to accept the money offered them by the Government, but at the same time to be on the watch for an opportunity of taking up arms in favor of the exiled monarch. The Parliament immediately committed Breadalbane a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, but he was soon released by the Ministry on the plea that he had professed himself a Jacobite merely in order that he might discover and betray the plans of the Jacobite chiefs.

John Campbell the Earl of Breadalbane was three times married. His first wife was Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of the first Earl of Holland, who was executed for his loyalty to Charles I. She had a fortune of £10,000, a large sum in those days, and out of numerous

candidates for her hand the Earl of Breadalbane was the successful suitor. He was married to her in London, 17th December, 1657. According to tradition, after the marriage he set out with his bride for his Highland home, on horseback, with the lady behind him. Her fortune, which was all in gold, was deposited in a leather bag on the back of a Highland pony, which was guarded by a full-armed gillie on each side of the precious horse-load. The strange cavalcade passed unscathed through the Borders, and arrived safe at Balloch. A small room used to be shown in the old castle which, it was said, formed for some time at once the parlor and the bedroom of the newly married pair after their arrival.

The Earl died in 1716, and was succeeded by his second son— John Campbell, Lord Glenorchy, born in 1662, who was nominated in terms of his father's patent, as his successor in the earldom and in his extensive estates. There is no reason to suppose that his eldest son, Duncan, Lord Ormelie, whom he passed over, had given him any personal offence, or had done anything which warranted this treatment. The probability seems to be that the cunning and suspicious old Earl was apprehensive that though the part his clan, under the command of his eldest son, had taken in the Rebellion of 1715 had been condoned by the Government; they might after all revive the offence and deprive him of his titles and estates. He therefore disinherited Lord Ormelie in favor of his younger brother. The unfortunate youth seems to have passed his life in obscurity without any steps having been taken to preserve a record of his descendants.

In 1721, however, at a keenly contested election of a Scottish representative peer in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, the right of the second Earl to the peerage was called in question by his elder brother on the ground that any disposition or nomination from his father to the honors and dignity of Earl of Breadalbane "could not convey the honors, nor could the Crown effectually grant a peerage to any person and to such heirs as he should name, such patent being inconsistent with the nature of a peerage, and not agreeable

to law, and also without precedent." Strange to say, these weighty objections were overruled by the peers, and by a decision which is quite unique, Lord Glenorchy was confirmed in his ancestral honors and estates. He was remarkable only for his longevity, having died in 1752 in his ninetieth year.

His only son, John Campbell third Earl, born in 1696, was noted for his precocious talents and attainments. In 1718, at the age of twenty-two, he was sent as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Denmark and in 1731 was appointed ambassador to Russia. He sat for a good many years in the House of Commons as member first for the borough of Saltash and then for Oxford, was a steady supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, and was for some time one of the Lords of the Admiralty. After his accession to the peerage he was appointed, in 1761, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre, and in 1776 was nominated Vice-Admiral of Scotland. His first wife was Lady Annabella Grey, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, Duke of Kent, an ancient and illustrious English house, and by her he had a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, who succeeded her grandfather as Baroness Lucas and Marchioness de Grey

By his second wife Lord Breadalbane had two sons, who predeceased him. The younger bore the courtesy title of Lord Glenorchy and died in 1771 at the age of thirty-four, leaving no surviving issue though he had married in 1761 Willielma, second daughter and co-heiress of William Maxwell of Preston, a cadet of the Nithsdale family.

On the death of the third Earl of Breadalbane, in 1782, the male line of the first Earl was supposed to have become extinct. John Campbell Of Carwhin, who was descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster, second son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, took possession without opposition. He raised a regiment in 1793, called the Breadalbane Fencibles<sup>10</sup>, for the service of the Government, and in various other ways displayed a patriotic spirit during

the protracted war with France. He was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1806 by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, and in 1831 was raised to the rank of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. His attention was chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which he planted with trees fitted for the soil, and by his costly improvements he rendered the park at Taymouth one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom.

In 1828, the fourth earl of Breadalbane, principal creditor of the Macnab estates, exercised his right of purchase, after Archibald Macnab, 17<sup>th</sup> chief of Clan Macnab had fled to Canada to escape his debts. Subsequently, in 1849, the remaining Macnabs were evicted to make room for the breeding of capercaillie (a large black Old World grouse) for sport.

The Marquis of Breadalbane died in 1834, at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded in his titles and entailed estates by his only son, John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, second Marquis.

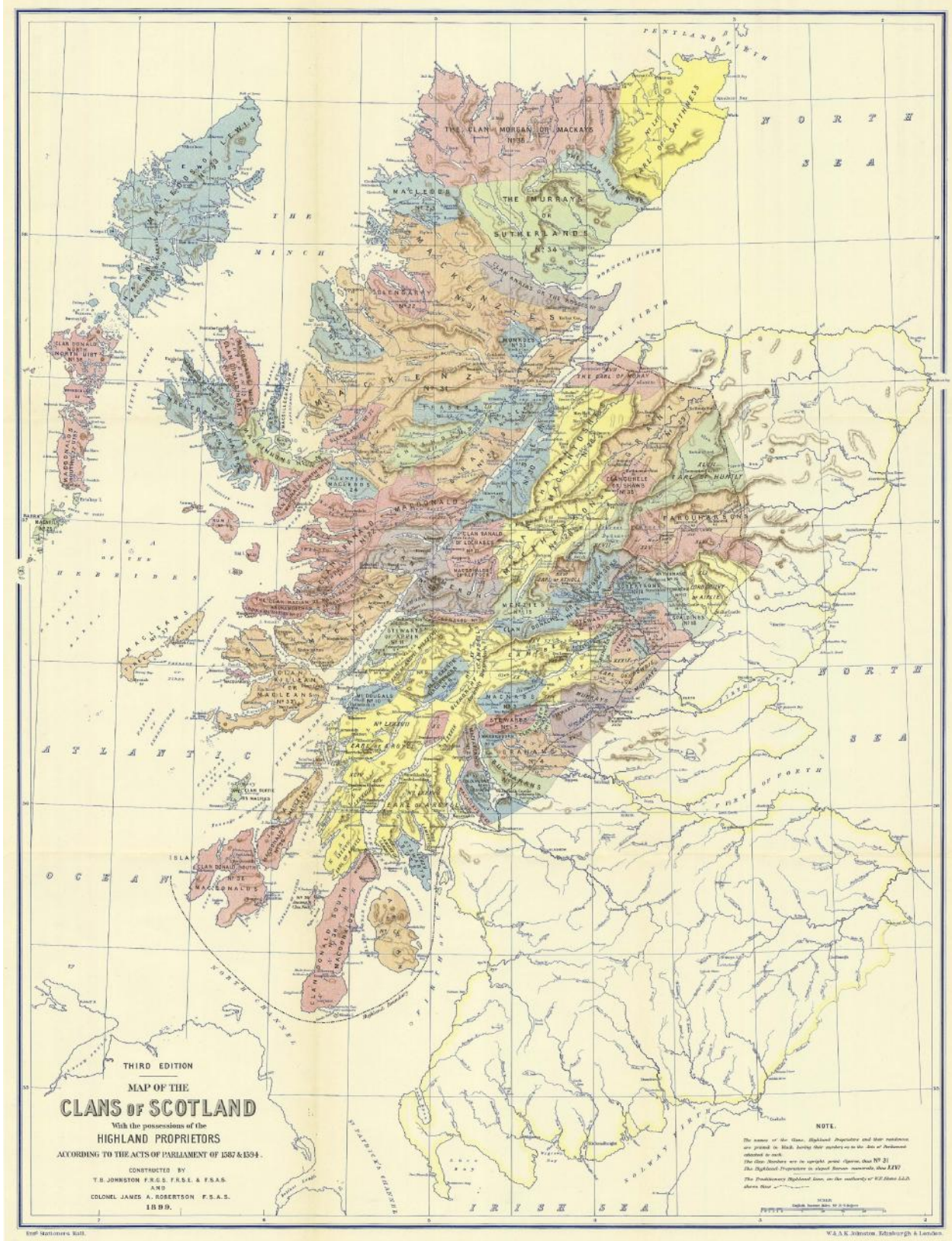
The second Marquis of Breadalbane represented Perthshire in the Parliament of 1832, was created a Knight of the Thistle in 1838, elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1841, and in 1848 was appointed Lord Chamberlain.

At his death, without issue, in 1862, the Marquisate and Barony of Breadalbane and the Earldom of Ormelie, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct. The Scottish honors were claimed by John Alexander Gavin Campbell, of Glenfalloch, and by Charles William Campbell, of Borland and the decision of the House of Lords was given, in favor of Campbell of Glenfalloch. He died in 1871, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the seventh Earl of Breadalbane, born in 1851, who was created a peer of the United Kingdom in 1873, by the title of Lord Breadalbane of Kenmore, and was elevated to the rank of Marquis in 1885

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<sup>10</sup> What today is known as a "Territorial Regiment" for service only within the United Kingdom





Traditional Clan Territories at the end of the Sixteenth Century

## Traditional Clan Territories

The original of these maps came from the Electric Scotland Website at [www.electricscotland.com/webclans/geog/index.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/geog/index.htm). Though the map is dated 1899 it is colored to show the Historical Geography of the Clans of Scotland as enumerated in two Acts of the Scots Parliament, passed in 1587 and 1594 respectively. At this early date most of the Highland tribes were still in occupation of the lands they had inherited from their forefathers although in most cases the clan territories can be only approximately indicated.

The numbering of the Clans and Landlords has been made as they occur in the Acts of Parliament, the Macnabs being number 3 on that list.

The residences of the chiefs and heads of families are marked in black, having the number of the clan below in upright print,

01 Buchananans	23 all Macdonalds
02 MacFarlanes	24 MacLeods of Lewis
03 MacNabs	25 MacLeods of Harris
04 Grahams of Menteith	26 Clan Neil, or MacNeils
05 Stewarts of Balquhidder	27 Clan Kinnon, or MacKinnons
06 Clan Gregor, the MacGregors	28 Clan Macian, or Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan and Sunart
07 Clan Lauren, the M'Larens	29 Clan Chattan, Macphersons and Mackintoshes
08 Campbells of Lochnell	30 Grants
09 Campbells of Inverawe	31 Frasers
10 Clan Dougal, M'Dougals	32 Clan Kenzie, or Mackenzies
11 Stewarts of Appin	33 Clan Anrias, or Ross's
12 Clan Ian Abrach, or Macdonalds of Glencoe	34 Munroes
13 Stewarts in Atholl, and parts adjacent	35 Murrays, or Sutherlands
14 Clan Donachy, or Robertsons of Atholl, and parts adjacent	36 Clanquhele, or Shaws of Rothiemurchus
15 Menzies	37 Clan Donald, north and south, Macdonalds
16 Clan M'Thomas, in Glenshee	38 Clan Gillean, or MacLeans
17 Fergusons, in Glenshee	39 Clan Morgan, or Mackays
18 Spaldings, in Glenshee	40 Clan Gunn
19 M'Intoshes of Glentilt	41 Macaulays
20 Clan Cameron	42 Galbraiths
21 Clan Ranald of Lochaber, or Macdonalds of Keppoch	43 Farquharsons
22 Clan Ranald of Moydart, Knoydart, Arasaig, Morar, and Glengarry	

List of Chiefs and Landlords as given in the Act of 1587

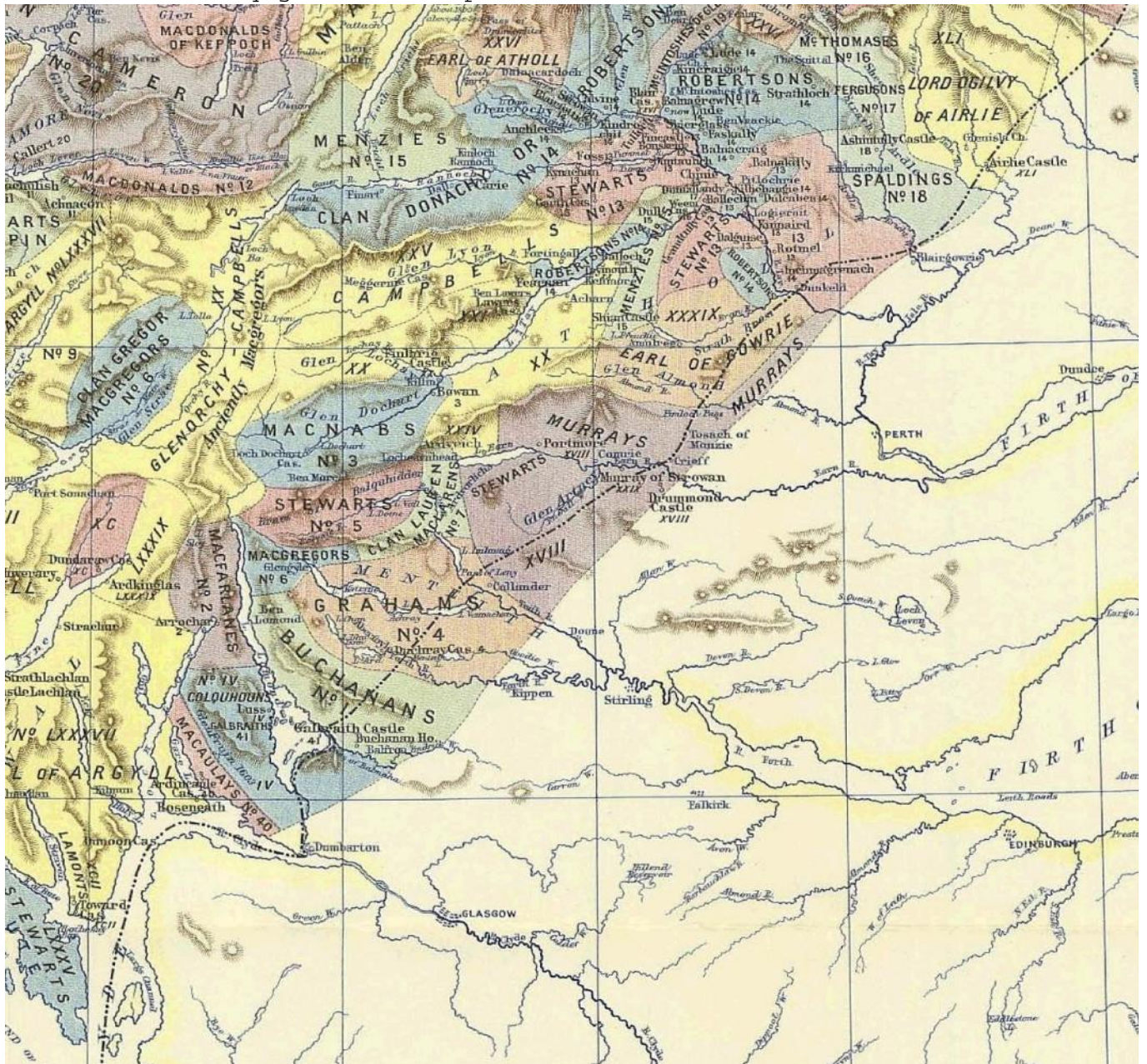
The possessions of the landlords are named in italics with Roman numerals.

IV. Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss	XXXIX. James, second Earl of Gowrie, and fifth Lord Ruthven
XVII. James, Earl of Moray	XLI. James, sixth Lord Ogilvie of Airlie
XVIII. Patrick, third Lord Drummond	XLVII. George, sixth Earl, and first Marquis of Huntly
XX. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy	LII. Alexander Chisholm of that ilk, and Strathglass
XXI. Sir John Campbell of Lawers	LXI. George, fifth Earl of Caithness
XXIV. Colin Campbell of Ardveck, brother of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy	LXXXV. John Stewart, Sheriff of Bute
XXV. Colin Campbell of Glenlyon	LXXXVII. Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll
XXVI. John, fifth Earl of Atholl of the Innermeath line	LXXXVIII. Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck
XXIX. John Murray of Strowan, in Strathern	



LXXXIX. Sir James Campbell of  
 Ardkinglas  
 XC. Malcolm Macnaughtan of Dundaraw  
 XCI. Archibald Maclachlan of  
 Strathlachlan  
 XCII. James Lamont of that ilk,  
 Inveryne  
 XCIII. Colin Campbell of Barbreck  
 XCIV. John Campbell of Duntrune  
 XCV. Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope

and Glassary  
 XCVII. Archibald Campbell of Otter  
 C. Murdoch Macfie of Colonsay  
 CI. John, first Marquis of Hamilton



Detail of the map, showing the territory of the Clan Macnab and their neighbors the Campbells and MacGregors with some Stewarts and other small clan territories

The Macnab's occupied the glen of the river Dochart, which runs from west to east to empty into Loch Tay. Near the mouth of the Dochart, where it empties into Loch Tay is the Macnab estate of "Bowan" (Bovain in its modern spelling) and the village of Killen. The Macnab burial ground of Inch Buie is there, on an island in the middle of the river and just above Killen is the Campbell stronghold of Finlarig Castle, only a quarter mile from the site of the Macnab's castle of Elian Ran, which was destroyed by the government at the instigation of the Campbell's in 1654

In 1828, the Marquis of Breadalbane, principal creditor of the Macnab estates, exercised his right of purchase, after Archibald Macnab, 17<sup>th</sup> chief of Clan Macnab had fled to Canada to escape his debts.

Subsequently the Marquis followed up on a suggestion that he introduce the capercaillie (a large black Old World grouse) to his estates for sport.

This effort did not initially meet with success as the following article from the "Inverness Courier of 1840 suggests

May 6.—an account is given of an effort to introduce the capercaillie on the Breadalbane estates. Mr Fowell Buxton had received a pair from a friend in Sweden, which he kept in Norfolk. They bred, but in the hot weather all died except the cock, which was afterwards accidentally shot. In 1837 Mr Fowell Buxton was shooting on the Marquis of Breadalbane's moors, and proposed to him to make another trial with the capercaillie. "Mr. Buxton sent his gamekeeper all the way to Sweden on purpose to bring the birds to Scotland; and the same friend who had formerly assisted succeeded in procuring sixteen hens and thirteen cocks. Part of them died by the way, but the greater number arrived safe, and were conveyed to Taymouth Castle.

Some of the birds were turned out in the autumn of 1837, and part were kept in a house. In the year 1838 a brace only were reared by the keeper, but two fine broods were seen in the woods. In the summer of 1838 sixteen hens were forwarded to Taymouth. In the spring of 1839, instead of attempting to rear any capercaillie, the Marquis's game-keeper placed the eggs laid by the birds in confinement, in the nests of grey hens, which brought them up in a wild state." The experiment had so far answered fairly well, but the head-keeper did not feel assured of the final result. He says that the Marquis of Breadalbane had abstained from shooting a single capercaillie, and had even forbidden the shooting of any black-game in the neighborhood of Taymouth, lest a young capercaillie might be killed by mistake; but others had not been so scrupulous. "I mention this," says the keeper, "because I am convinced that these birds cannot generally be established in the North of Scotland unless sportsmen will unite to preserve them for some years to come, and until their numbers are very much increased." Subsequently, in 1849, the remaining Macnabs were evicted to make room for the capercaillie.

In 1949 Archibald Corrie MacNab bought back Kinnell House and 7,000 acres from the Breadalbane Trustees. In 1954 James Alexander Macnab, 21<sup>st</sup> chief de jure relinquished his claim to the succession in favor of his uncle, Archibald Corrie, who was recognized by the Lord Lyon as the "de facto" 22<sup>nd</sup> chief of Clan Macnab. However, following Archibald's death, his nephew James Charles Macnab, son of James Alexander 21<sup>st</sup> chief de jure became the 23<sup>rd</sup> chief. Faced with a large death duty liability on the estate he eventually had to dispose of all of it except for the island of Inch Buie which is now held in a perpetual trust.



The Clan Nish or Macnish, who were the great enemies of the Macnab's lived south of Loch Tay in the area around Loch Earn, their last stronghold an island in that loch.

West and south of the Macnab lands are the remnants of the Macgregor territories separated by the Glenorchy Campbell's, noted as "Anciently Macgregor's." The Macgregor's had held Glen Orchy and Glen Lyon by right of first occupation and had no written charters giving them title to the land. As the Campbell's gained power at court they obtained charters for land they coveted and gradually reduced the Clan Gregor to tenants in their own country.

John Campbell<sup>1</sup> yr of Glenorchy (1635-1717) the son and heir to Sir John Campbell Bt., who acquired the Macnab estates, turned land acquisition into an art form. He would buy up IOU's of less provident landowners then foreclosed on the debts and took over the property at bargain prices. In 1672, as the principal creditor of George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness, he obtained a conveyance of all the Caithness lands and titles, of which he obtained a Crown Charter in the following year. Glenorchy did not insist on taking up his legal rights but lived with the former Earl and his wife, allowing him to keep outward show of his former status. Sinclair died in May 1676 and in June 1677 Glenorchy, who had in the meantime married the former Caithness's Widow Mary Campbell, a daughter of the Marquess of Argyll., claimed and was granted the Earldom of Caithness together with the title of Viscount of Breadalbane. However, possession of the lands required an armed invasion in the face of determined opposition by George Sinclair of Keiss, the Caithness heir male.

<sup>1</sup> Known as Ian Glas or Grey John, it was written that "he has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning a fox, wise as a Serpent and slippery as an Eel,"

Grey John sent round the fiery cross and raised seven hundred men between the Tay and Orchy. He gave command to Robert Campbell of Glenlyon who marched north and slaughtered the Sinclairs. But George escaped and took his just complaint to the king.

In 1681 King Charles II, who disliked subjects who awarded themselves titles, cancelled his grant to Glenorchy and gave it to George Sinclair. On August 13, in its place



he created Glenorchy Earl of Breadalbane (Breadalbane) Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenurchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie and Weick. In 1685, when Charles II died and James VII succeeded, Breadalbane had become the king's most powerful Scottish subject.

The area of Breadalbane has never been defined although it is generally understood to cover an area stretching roughly from Tyndrum in the west to Aberfeldy in the east, Loch Earn in the south to Glen Lyon in the north. Kinsmen to the Dukes of Argyll and Lords of Glen Orchy, as the lands of the Breadalbane Campbells spread eastwards they moved their seat from Argyll, first to the castle of Finlarig (near Killin) and latterly to the castle of Taymouth, originally called Balloch. They owned extensive lands outside the Breadalbane area as well, stretching from the Atlantic near Oban almost to the North Sea near

Dundee. At one time in the nineteenth century they were the largest private landowners in Scotland.

Brea d'Albane comes from the words "Brea," an unusual form of "Brae" meaning specifically the brow of a hill or more generally hills or high ground adjoining a river. Alba is the ancient name for the kingdom that became Scotland, hence, Brea d'Albane = The Heights of Scotland.

In common usage Brea d'Albane has become run together as one word to become Breadalbane and the Earls are simply known as the Earls of Breadalbane.

A personal note:

My 2<sup>nd</sup> great grandfather, John McNabb, immigrated to Glasgow, sometime before 1800, and found employment in the cotton industry in the town of Pollokshaws, just southwest of Glasgow and within the county of Renfrewshire. We do not know where John McNabb or his wife, Ann Buchanan, was born. The first record we have of them is from the Parochial Register of the Parish of Eastwood, County of Renfrew, in 1800, when they were booked for 3 days proclamation on October 16<sup>th</sup>. Much later, in the 1841 Census, "562 Eastwood, County of Renfrew, at Thornliebank," they are noted as having been "Not born in County."

During the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries many highlanders migrated to

the newly industrializing cities area of Glasgow, in search of work in the cotton industry. As the map indicates Glasgow is directly south of the traditional Macnab territories and the Buchanan lands lie directly in between. Assuming that John McNabb was a highlander, it seems reasonable that as he traveled south to Glasgow looking for a better opportunity he would have passed through the Buchanan lands. We would like to think that he may have met his future wife, Ann Buchanan on his way to Glasgow or traveled with her family. We will never know but it would make a good story should someone care to write it.

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## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

### Further background to the events of the Scottish Wars of Independence.

The Macnabs were allied with the MacDougalls who were bitter enemies of Robert the Bruce, today held up as the national hero and the father of Scottish Independence. As a result the Macnabs lost their lands and influence in the region. Though they eventually regained part of the lands the Macnabs never regained their influence and entered a slow decline that saw them come under the influence of and finally lose their lands to the Campbells of Bredalbane. This complicated story begins with the death of Alexander III and the dynastic crisis which ensued.

**Alexander III** (reigned 1249-86) was born in 1241, the only son of Alexander II and his second wife, Marie de Coucy and became king at the age of seven. On Christmas Day 1251, at the age of ten, he was knighted at York by Henry III of England, and the following day was married to his eldest daughter Princess Margaret. Alexander proved a strong-willed king who, despite the English influence in his youth, refused to swear homage for his kingdom.

Alexander enjoyed good relations with his brother-in-law King Edward I of England and on 19 August 1274, Alexander and Margaret attended his coronation in Westminster Abbey. Margaret died six months later, leaving three children. Within the next few years, Alexander suffered a series of family tragedies. His younger son David died in 1281 at the age of eight, his daughter Margaret, who had married King Eric of Norway, died in childbirth in 1283, and his elder son Alexander died childless in 1284 after a long illness. A week after prince Alexander's death, the Scottish Parliament recognized Margaret, the little daughter of Eric of Norway and Margaret of Scotland, as the heir presumptive to the Scottish throne.

Alexander was only 44, and so he decided that the best way to avoid a constitutional crisis was to remarry and have more sons. On 14 October 1285 he therefore took as his wife Yolande de Dreux, Comtesse de Montfort, daughter of Robert IV, Comte de Dreux. Five months later, on 19 March 1286 Alexander determined against all advice that he must go to her. The night was dark and stormy,

he became separated from his guide, his horse stumbled and he fell from a cliff near Kinghorn, Fife. Next morning he was found dead upon the shore, leaving the Scots to mourn an energetic, effective monarch who had brought them peace and prosperity, but one who had no male heir.

#### **Princess Margaret**, 'the Maid of Norway'

Margaret (reigned 1286-90) was three years old at the death of her grandfather so the Scottish Parliament appointed six Guardians to rule on her behalf. On 18 July 1290 the Scots agreed in the Treaty of Birgham (Berwickshire) with Edward I of England that she should marry his eldest son, the future Edward II<sup>1</sup>. At the end of September, 1290, the then eight-year-old Queen set sail for Scotland, escorted by Bishop Narve of Bergen. She was taken ill on the voyage and her ship put in at Orkney, where she died in the arms of the Bishop. The Norwegians took her body back to Bergen, where she was buried beside her mother.

#### **The competitors**

The death of Margaret plunged Scotland into a complicated dynastic crisis, for there was no obvious heir to the throne. The four surviving Guardians were ruling the country and

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<sup>1</sup>Had this marriage taken place and produced an heir who lived to rule and produce an heir, the two kingdoms would have been united some 250 years before the ascension of James the VI and I to the throne of England. Both kingdoms would have been spared centuries of warfare and economic destruction.



## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

one of them, William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews, wrote to King Edward of their fears that civil war would ensue, since rival claimants were already assembling armies. Edward offered himself as arbitrator, on condition that the various claimants acknowledge him as the feudal superior of Scotland. In the end, fourteen competitors put their names forward, and nine of them made the acknowledgment required by Edward. They also agreed that possession of the lands and castles of Scotland be given to him to pass on to the rightful king, when the choice had been made.

The fourteen competitors for the throne were:

- King Edward of England - descended from Edith, daughter of Malcolm III
- Floris V, count of Holland - descended from Henry, Earl of Huntingdon through his daughter Ada
- Patrick of Dunbar, 7th Earl of Dunbar - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Ada
- William de Veschi, descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Margaret
- William de Ros, 2nd Lord Ros - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Isabel
- Robert of Pinkeney - descended from Henry, Earl of Huntingdon through his illegitimate daughter Marjory
- Nicholas de Soules - descended from Alexander II through his illegitimate daughter Marjory
- Patrick de Galithly - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate son Henry de Galithly
- Roger de Mandeville - descended from William "the Lion" through his illegitimate daughter Aufrica
- John de Comyn, Lord of Badenoch - descended from Donnall III, king of Scots 1094-1097 through his daughter Bethoc

John de Hastings, 2nd Lord Hastings - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his daughter Ada

John de Balliol, Lord of Galloway - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his eldest daughter Margaret

Robert de Brus or Bruce, 5<sup>th</sup> Lord of Annandale (grandfather of "the Burce" - descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon through his younger daughter Isabel

Eric II, King of Norway as father and heir of Margaret of Norway

The thirteen claimants were reduced to the three with the strongest claims: John Balliol, Robert Bruce and John Hastings, all of whom were descendants of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, youngest son of Malcolm IV and a grandson of King David I.

Robert Bruce (the "Competitor") could claim a greater nearness of degree than his rivals. He was the *grandson*, thru his father, of Isabella, the *younger* daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

John Balliol had the senior claim: he was the *great-grandson*, thru his mother of Margaret, the *eldest* daughter of Earl David. The argument would center on which was more important, proximity or primogeniture. Although Robert de Bruce was descended from the second daughter, he was a generation nearer David I.

After a period of deliberation Edward of England awarded the throne to John Balliol; primogeniture, it was decided was more significant than proximity.

Two days after the verdict was given, Robert Bruce (the Competitor) formally resigned his claim to his son and heir, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick so that it would not be lost after his death. The Earl of Carrick, in turn, surrendered his earldom to his own son, Robert the Bruce (the future king), who was now eighteen

## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

years old to maintain the Bruce claim to the throne.

**John Balliol** (reigned 1292-96) was born about 1250, son of John, 5th Baron de Balliol and his wife Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway. The crown was awarded to him at Berwick, 17 November 1292. He swore fealty to Edward I and was installed as king at Scone and on 26 December at Newcastle upon Tyne, Northumberland, did homage to Edward I for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward soon made it clear that he regarded the country as his vassal state. Balliol had never expected to assume the throne and was unprepared to resist all of Edwards's demands. In 1294 when John and the nobles of Scotland were instructed to attend him for his war with France, a council of ecclesiastics and noblemen was set up to rule Scotland instead of Balliol, although in his name. The council then made a defensive alliance with Philip IV of France against England. This Treaty marked the formal beginning of the 'Auld Alliance' between Scotland and France, which was to last for nearly 300 years.

Balliol finally renounced his fealty to Edward I on 5 April 1296, whereupon Edward marched north, defeated the Scots at the Battle of Dunbar in East Lothian and captured the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling. On 10 July, in the churchyard at Stracathro, Balliol surrendered himself, his kingdom and his people to Edward. He was forced to seal a document confessing that he had wrongly allied himself with his overlord's enemies. His subsequent nickname, 'Toom Tabard' [empty coat] is thought to refer to the ceremonious removal of heraldic insignia from his coat as part of his submission.

Edward I marched north as far as Elgin before turning south to Scone, to carry off the Stone of Destiny upon which the Scottish kings were crowned. He had it sent to

Westminster Abbey (where it remained for the next 700 years). Balliol was taken to England as a prisoner, but in 1299 he was allowed to go to France, where he lived on his family estates at Bailleul until his death in April 1313 at about the age of 63.

### **William Wallace, Guardian of Scotland**

Despite the events of 1296, most Scots continued to regard John Balliol as the rightful king, and the following year William Wallace, son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderlsie in Renfrewshire, raised a revolt against the English. After killing the English sheriff of Lanark, he waged guerrilla warfare against Edward I's army and on 11 September 1297 joined forces with Sir Andrew Moray to rout the English at the Battle of Stirling Bridge. He then recaptured Berwick and invaded the north of England. From there, he and Murray wrote to the merchants of Lubeck and Hanover, inviting them to trade once more, 'because the kingdom of Scotland, thanks be to God, is recovered by war from the power of the English.'

Wallace was knighted and acted as Guardian of the realm in the name of John Balliol, but he lacked the support of the noblemen and Edward I continued to wage war implacably against the Scots. On 22 July 1298 Wallace was defeated at the Battle of Falkirk, Stirlingshire. His later movements are unclear but it is known that he resigned his Guardianship, traveled to France in an unsuccessful attempt to enlist support, and then returned to Scotland. Seven years later, he was betrayed to the English and captured near Glasgow. William Wallace was tried for treason at Westminster Hall, and hanged, drawn and quartered in London on 23 August 1305.

**Robert I** (reigned 1306-29) On 25 March 1306, Robert the Bruce was crowned King of Scots<sup>2</sup> and to lead

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<sup>2</sup> Because John Balliol was still living, seizing the throne in this

## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

the fight for Scottish independence against Edward I of England. Born in 1274 in Ayr, the son of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, he was the grandson of the Robert Bruce who had been one of the competitors for the throne after the death of the Maid of Norway. He had fought with the English when Edward moved against Balliol, but subsequently joined Wallace's revolt. When Wallace gave up the Guardianship of Scotland in 1298, Robert became joint Guardian with Sir John Comyn of Badenoch (King John Balliol's nephew known as "the Red Comyn"). A few weeks before his coronation, Robert killed his greatest rival for the crown and joint Guardian, the Red Comyn, in the church of the Grey Friars in Dumfries, during the last of many arguments between them. For this murder, Robert was outlawed by Edward I and excommunicated by Pope Clement V.

His reign did not begin well. He was defeated by the English at Methven in Perthshire; his wife, daughter and sisters were imprisoned; and three of his brothers were executed by the English.

However, he persevered and he was helped by the fact that in 1307 Edward I, the self-styled 'Hammer of the Scots', died to be succeeded by his less effective son Edward II. From 1307 onwards Robert waged successful guerrilla warfare against the English, establishing control north of the Forth, and gradually winning back his kingdom; by 1314, Stirling was the only castle in English hands.

His campaign culminated in resounding victory over Edward II (whose larger army of 20,000 outnumbered Robert's forces by three to one) at the Battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling on 24 June 1314. Bannockburn confirmed the re-establishment of an independent

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manner makes the Bruce a usurper, in spite of Balliol's having been deposed by Edward.

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## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

### The Macnabs in the wars of Independence

Angus Macnab of Macnab was related by marriage to MacDougall of Lorn who was a son-in-law of John Comyn of Badenoch, known as the Red Comyn, a nephew of King John Balliol, and representative of the Comyn family claims to the throne. Incensed by the murder of the Red Comyn, Angus and Lorn ambushed and nearly captured Bruce at the Battle of Dalrigh in Strathfillan in 1306. But in 1308 they were defeated by the Bruce in a battle at the Pass of Brander and later at Bannockburn.

Though the Comyns, MacDougalls, MacNabs and the Scottish earl of Atholl are known to have been with the English forces at Bannockburn, there appears to be no record of their having actually engaged in battle. Atholl did attack the Scottish supply depot at Cambuskenneth Abbey and the Macnab's might have participated in that raid. If so they certainly would have then headed for home with their booty and been long gone before the English offensive came apart.

**The following account is taken from the Clan History of 1907** by John McNab of Callander:

In 1306 the MacNabs and their followers, along with the MacNaughtans, joined the MacDougalls of Lorn in their attack on the Bruce. The two parties met at Dalrigh, near Tyndrum, and in the conflict which ensued, the MacNabs, under their stalwart chief, Angus Mor, are said to have displayed great prowess and ferocity. It was in this battle that the celebrated brooch of Lorn was lost by the Bruce.

Barbour speaks of Bruce's assailants as "Makyn Dorsers," and, if such they were, then they were followers of Macnab, as they were the hereditary door-keepers of St. Fillan's Church.

The Lorn tradition varies somewhat from Barbour's account; but, strange to say, there was also a Macnab tradition which agreed with Barbour's version, and there was a Macnab brooch which was said to have been won from the Bruce.

The tradition that is generally accepted as correct is, that Bruce was suddenly attacked by three powerful followers of Macnab. The King dispatched two of his opponents, and hurled the third backward; but the man in falling seized the King's mantle or plaid, and to save himself the King was obliged to abandon his garment, and with it the brooch which secured it. It was a moment for

haste, too, for Angus Mor was coming up in hot pursuit, and had he and the Bruce met in mortal combat, it is probable that Scottish history would have been changed. For Angus was herculean in stature and strength, and in swordsmanship he ranked with Wallace.

The Macnab brooch remained in the possession of the family of the Chief until the time of the Commonwealth, when it passed into the hands of the Campbells of Glenlyon, whose descendants retained it until a few years ago, when it was purchased for the British Museum.

Many of the place names in the neighborhood of Dalrigh owe their origin to this battle. About this time Barbour ascribes to a Macnab the credit of seizing and delivering Christopher Seton, brother-in-law of Bruce, into the hands of the English.

In 1308 the cause of Bruce was prospering, and he resolved to wipe off all old scores against the Lord of the Isles and his allies. Collecting a strong force, he marched into Argyllshire in quest of his enemy.

John, the son of Alexander MacDougall of Lorn, had timely notice of the King's intentions, and accordingly prepared to give him a warm

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reception. He posted his men and their allies in ambush in the Pass of Brander, where the road was so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. It was the scene of M'Fadyean's defeat; but Bruce was acquainted with the country, and he was, moreover, an abler and a craftier soldier than the Irish adventurer. He divided his force into two portions; one of these he sent under Douglas to scale the heights which commanded the Highlanders' position, and the other he led in person into the Pass.

The King, on entering the defile, was at once attacked by Lorn and his men, who hurled rocks and arrows upon his force. It seemed a critical moment, but Douglas, having reached his appointed place, in turn attacked the Highlanders, and threw them into confusion.

The fighting was sternly contested, but eventually the allies had to seek

safety in flight. They attempted to secure their retreat by breaking down a bridge over which they passed; but in this endeavor they were foiled, as the victors were too close upon their steps.

This defeat, sharp and decisive though it was, did not suffice to overthrow the power of the MacDougall's and MacNabs, nor did it subdue their martial ardor. For, in 1314, we find them once more along with the Comyns arrayed under the English Standard at Bannockburn.

This latter defeat placed the MacNabs in a rather delicate position; but concentrating their strength round a portion of their once great possessions, they were able to maintain themselves by their swords until the arrival of better and more tranquil times.



## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

### Dougalls, MacDonalds and MacRuairis in the Wars of Independence 1293–1329

The following has been taken from chapter six of "The Kingdom of The Isles, by R. Andrew McDonald, Tuckwell Press. It is included here in an effort to explain the complicated political situation that existed at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, between the time of the dynastic crisis caused by the death of Alexander III and the Accession of Robert I. It has been slightly edited to concentrate on the story as relevant to the MacDougalls. David Rorer

Yis Ihon off Lorne hattyt ye king  
For Ihon Cumyn his emys sak

\*\* \*

Angus off lie yat tyme wes syr  
And lord and ledar off Kyntyre,  
Ye king rycht weili resawyt he  
And wnderduk his man to be

(John Barour, c. 1375)

In the decades between the Treaty of Perth and the first parliament of John Balliol, the western seaboard was brought in from the margins and integrated into the community of the realm of Scotland. A by-product of this integration was that the West would be, almost for the first time, directly affected by events unfolding beyond Drumalban, in the Scottish kingdom itself; and, conversely, that Hebridean chieftains would play a prominent role in the Anglo-Scottish conflicts that characterize the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century in Scottish history:

...the most important political consequence [of the cession of the West to Scotland] was that the Lords of the Isles and their followers now became much more involved in the internal affairs of the kingdom of Scotland. Very soon we find them taking sides in the wars of Independence.

Thus, some of Robert Bruce's most implacable enemies were the MacDougall lords of Argyll, while he received considerable aid from the MacDonalds of Islay and the MacRuairis of Garmoran. The roles of the descendants of Somerled in the Wars of Independence are a further reflection of the new-found place of the western seaboard in the Scottish kingdom; indeed, it might be said that the Scottish civil conflicts and Anglo-Scottish wars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth were

the crucible in which the integration of the kingdom was tested.

The dominant theme of Hebridean politics in the later thirteenth early fourteenth century – from about 1286 to 1329 – is the struggle for dominance between the MacDougalls and the MacDonalds. Traditionally the two kindreds are regarded as occupying opposing sides in the Scottish civil war and the Anglo-Scottish conflict:

The tribe of Dugald, son of Somerled, took the side of the Baliol and the race of Ranald, son of Somerled, the side of Robert Bruce and all the garrisons from Dingwall in Ross to the Mull of Kintyre were in the possession of MacDugald during that time, while the tribe of Ranald were under the yoke of their enemies.

Other traditions suggest that the MacDonalds themselves were divided in their allegiance to the Bruce cause, but acknowledge that the MacDougalls remained steadfast in their opposition:

[Angus Og MacDonald] was always a follower of King Robert Bruce in all his wars ... But Alexander, Angus' brother ... being married to a daughter of Macdougall of Lorn, otherwise called John Baccach, or Lame ... would by no means own King Robert's quarrell [sic], but fought always against him with Macdougall, and likewise with Macdougall against his brother Angus ... For the MacDougalls for long time fought against the MacDonalds.

The reality is better reflected in the contemporary documents, which become more abundant for the 1290s, and reveal a much more complicated situation than these late sources suggest. By 1296 Angus Mór (MacDonald's) son, Alexander Og, who was a hostage at Ayr for the good

## Further background to the Scottish Wars of Independence

behavior of his father in 1264 or 1266, was in the forefront of events in the western seaboard, although the problem of his allegiances during the turbulent decade of the 1290s has yet to be satisfactorily explained. It is not however, Alexander Og, but rather his younger brother, Angus Og, who is best known for his role in the Anglo-Scottish conflict and who is generally regarded as a consistent supporter of Bruce. His role, to needs to be clarified, for although he was certainly instrumental in the Bruce cause from about 1306, his early allegiance was not to Bruce rather, with his brother, to Edward I (of England). The struggle between the Clan Dougall and the Clan Donald is not, therefore, as straightforward as is often suggested, and must be viewed within the context of the dynamics of both the Scottish civil conflict and the Anglo-Scottish wars.

In March 1286, King Alexander III was killed in a night-time riding mishap. Both his son and heir, Alexander, and his daughter, Margaret the queen of Norway, had predeceased him, and the sole surviving representative of the ancient Scottish royal line was his infant grand-daughter, Margaret, the "Maid of Norway". She had been acknowledged, as Alexander's heir at a council in 1284, and by the summer of 1290 her marriage to the heir of Edward I of England had been negotiated and had received the consent of the Scottish nobles in the treaty of Birgham which obtained safeguards for Scottish independence. But these were nullified when, in September 1290, the little girl died at Kirkwall, Orkney, en route to Scotland, turning a simple accident on a stormy night in 1286 into a dynastic tragedy and a succession crisis that would shatter the relatively peaceful conditions of the thirteenth century.

Even before the death of the Maid of Norway in 1290, storm clouds were brewing on the horizon. Within a few weeks of Alexander's accident, Margaret's claim was probably

challenged in parliament by Robert Bruce "the Competitor" the aged lord of Annandale and grandfather of the future King Robert I, who advanced his own claim as a descendant of King David I; soon afterwards John Balliol, the Lord of Galloway, another descendant of David I, appears to have arrived to contest the Bruce claim and advance his own. For two years Scotland teetered on the brink of civil war; and it is hardly surprising that following the death of the Maid of Norway in 1290, with war between Bruce and Balliol and their supporters threatening, Edward I of England was invited to arbitrate in the dispute. Although Edward's motives concerning the Scottish succession have often been the subject of considerable debate, he was a logical choice as an experienced ruler and arbitrator, and by June 1291 he had secured his recognition as overlord of Scotland by the various competitors and their promise that they would abide by his decision. With these preliminaries out of the way, the first session of the drawn-out lawsuit known as the "Great Cause" on the Scottish succession got underway in August 1291. It began with the determination of the composition of the court, which was to consist of 104 auditors: twenty-four were nominated by Edward, forty by two of the competitors, Balliol and his kinsman, John Comyn, and forty more by Robert Bruce. After several lengthy recesses and long and convoluted legal discussions, Edward finally delivered a judgment in favor of Balliol in mid-November 1292. John Balliol was inaugurated King at Scone on 30 November, and finally, on 26 December, he did homage to Edward at Newcastle; more ominously, he was made to repudiate the terms of the Treaty of Birgham and all of the other safeguards of Scottish liberty.

John Balliol's kingship lasted scarcely four years. His position had been made increasingly difficult by demands that he appear in person at parliament in England to answer for

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his own court's decisions; in effect, appeals were now permitted to go directly from Scotland to England, which undermined the authority and independence of the Scottish king. This had been explicitly prohibited by the treaty of Birgham: "If not designed deliberately to make the new king's position intolerable, there can be no doubt that the English measures were meant to demonstrate that a Scottish ruler was now no more than one of the king of England's feudal barons..." The last straw was a demand that King John and many of his nobles should provide feudal military service for King Edward in his war with Philip IV of France. In 1295, control of Scottish government was taken out of King John's hands, and in early 1296, the Scots ratified a treaty with France. These actions clearly implied war between Scotland and England.

The war began in March 1296, when the Scots army, led by John Comyn, Balliol's kinsman, mustered and attacked Carlisle; Edward responded by attacking and sacking Berwick at the end of May massacring many of its inhabitants. A month later, on 27 April 1296, the Scottish army was overwhelmed at Dunbar, and many Scottish nobles hastened to submit to Edward. On 2 July, John Balliol was forced to append his seal to a document admitting his wrongdoing, and surrender his kingdom and people into the hands of Edward I. He was then ceremonially stripped of his royal attire, and left Scotland, never to return. Edward made a triumphant progress through Scotland, as far north as Elgin, during the summer of 1296, in the course of which he collected the fealty of many Scottish nobles. At the end of August more submissions were made in a Parliament at Berwick, and, before departing for the south, the English king appointed governors to rule Scotland on his behalf.

How did these turbulent events affect the MacSorleys, and what roles did they play in them? It is certainly

possible, in the years between 1286 and 1296, to discern a polarization in the allegiances of the two main kindred's descended from Somerled, the MacDougalls and the MacDonalds. In 1286, Angus Mór, the son of Donald, and his eldest son, Alexander Og, were members of the "Turnberry Band", along with the Bruces, James Stewart, and two Scottish earls. The context of the document is admittedly not easy to discern. Although its wording reflects a Bruce claim to the kingship, it is perhaps more significant that its members agreed to support the earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh, and Thomas de Clare, against their Irish adversaries. The Turnberry Band<sup>3</sup> is, indeed, often seen in the light of affairs in Ireland, where de Burgh and ad been campaigning against the Irish in Connacht in both 1285 and 1286, since Robert Bruce the competitor was a nephew by marriage to Thomas de Clare, it has been suggested that the Anglo-Irish lords were in fact enlisting support in Scotland for an Irish expedition. However, it is important to bear in mind that Bruce was unlikely to become involved in Ireland without reciprocation, and it has been suggested that he was seeking Irish troops for an anticipated contest with Balliol.

Whatever the context, the inclusion in the agreement of Angus More one of he most powerful magnates of the western seaboard, was natural. It is

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<sup>3</sup> Robert Bruce was born on 11th July 1274 at Turnberry Castle on the Ayrshire Coast, overlooking Ailsa Craig. His mother's family owned lands in County Antrim between Larne and Glenarm, and in 1286 his father had agreed an alliance with a number of powerful people in Ulster and Scotland (including William Wallace's father Malcolm, and Richard de Burgh, the Earl of Ulster), known as "The Turnberry Band". This agreement asserted the claims of the Bruce family to the vacant Scottish throne.

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not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been responsible for supplying galleys and fighting men for enterprises in Ireland, or that other Hebridean troops may have been sought by Robert Bruce. Moreover, an alliance between the Bruces and the Clan Donald made sense in geopolitical terms, too. With their chief castle at Trunberry on the Ayrshire coast, the Bruces were in a sense west-coast magnates themselves, and their power base lay in close proximity to the lords of Islay. But there is more to it than simple facts of geography, and it has been argued that the Bruces were well integrated into Gaelic society. In this context it is surely significant to note that Robert Bruce the lord of Annandale and Robert Bruce his son appear as witnesses to a charter of Alexander of the Isles to Paisley Abbey, sometime before the death of King Alexander in 1286. Many of Bruce's followers were, in fact, neighboring lords like the Loulases, Linsays and Biggars and Angus Mor and his son should probably also be seen as falling into this category as well.

It is not surprising to find the MacDonalds adhering to the Bruce cause, it is even more natural to find the Clan Dougall of Argyle supporting the Balliols, although here the motivation is more straightforward. The adherence of the MacDougalls to Balliol was based on kinship, for Alexander of Argyll, the son of Ewen, was married to a daughter of John Comyn "the Red." Since the Comyns were in turn, allied to the Balliols through marriage - John Balliol's sister had married John Comyn - it was natural for Alexander to support the Balliol cause along with his kinsmen, the Comyns. This connection is nicely reflected in the choice of Alexander of Argyll as one of the forty auditors chosen by Balliol in August 1291 to adjudicate in the Great Cause; it has been noted that many of Balliol's most important auditors were related to him by blood.

It is difficult to know how the kindred of Somerled reacted to the decision in favor of Balliol's claim to the Scottish kingship in November 1292, for the evidence is patchy. But it is certainly noteworthy that, at John Balliol's first parliament in February, 1293, Alexander of Argyll was appointed sheriff of Lorn and became the king's representative in a large part of the western seaboard. Although it might be tempting to regard this appointment as a reward for his support, it is important to recall that Alexander had also held a wide-ranging lieutenancy in the West during the reign of King Alexander III. Alexander of Argyll's position probably depended more upon his status as a prominent landholder in the region than upon his adherence to the Balliol cause, although it certainly must have owed something to his allegiance and service to the Scottish king. At the same time, it is noteworthy that Angus Mor, the head of the Clan Donalds, absented himself from the parliament of February 1293. Moreover, a few weeks later, as we have seen, Alexander of Argyll was ordered in his capacity as sheriff to summon Angus More and several other landholders of the West to perform homage. It is tempting to speculate that the MacDonalds were following the lead of the Bruces, for in November 1292, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, son of the Competitor, refused to do homage to Balliol, tried to transfer the earldom to his son (the future king), and went to Norway. However, Clan Donald's attitude to Balliol's succession, the way that the MacDonalds and the MacDougalls adhered to opposite sides during the period of the Guardianship, the Great Cause and Balliol's kingship neatly mirrors the wider division of the Scottish nobility during these troubled years.

It was the question of Scottish appeals to King Edward which caused part of the crisis in the authority of John Balliol's kingship. It is

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noteworthy that, of six Scottish appellants to Edward, no fewer than three were of Hebridean or Manx origin; and the most important of these was none other than Alexander of the Isles, the eldest son of Angus Mor. The appeal of Alexander to the English king or more accurately the dispute that underlay it provides the key to understanding the dynamics of the politics of the later 1290's in the western seaboard.

The roots of the dispute and subsequent appeal lie in a marriage alliance between the Clan Donald and the Clan Dugall. Sometime before 1292, Alexander of the Isles married Juliana, a sister or a daughter, of Alexander of Argyll. This marriage seems to have sparked a dispute between the two kindreds, and in 1292 the two Alexanders referred a territorial dispute to King John, although neither the identity of the lands nor the outcome is known. Then, in 1295, Alexander of the Isles appealed to Edward I. In his complaint, it was alleged that John Balliol had occupied part of Lismore and was refusing to hand it over to Alexander and his wife. Since Alexander was joined in his complaint by Juliana, Lismore has been seen as representing her dowry; the fact that it was occupied by Balliol means that the earlier judgment had gone against the family of the Isles.

The decade of the worst Anglo-Scottish warfare, between 1296 and 1306, was also marked by extreme unrest in the western seaboard and the impression left by the surviving documentation is that Edward I had very little control over the affairs of the West. Alexander of Argyll had, like most of the Scottish nobles, sworn loyalty to Edward I in the summer of 1296 at Elgin, and his name also appears in the so-called Ragman Rolls from the parliament at Berwick in late August. But despite this he seems to have been distrusted by Edward, possibly because of his kinship to the Comyns and Balliols or possibly because of the ongoing

dispute between him and his MacDonald namesake. Whatever the case for some five years between late summer 1296 and June 1301 the MacDougalls were clearly out of favor with King Edward. Thus, on 10 September, 1296, Alexander, Earl of Menteith, the son of Earl Walter, who had displaced the MacSweens of Knapdale in 1262, was granted a commission to take possession of the "castles, fortresses, islands and all the lands" belonging to Alexander of Argyll and his son, John, who, "have not yet come into our peace".

It would appear that Edward's wishes were successfully executed, for we next hear of Alexander as a prisoner at Berwick Castle. Edward I authorized his release in May 1297, and in that same month Alexander's son, John, was named among those magnates invited to accompany Edward on a military campaign in Flanders. The invitation to John, coming so close on the heels of his father's release from incarceration, has all the appearance of the son serving as a hostage for the good behavior of the father. But to judge by subsequent references it is unlikely that John accompanied the expedition; this is perhaps just as well, since almost immediately upon his release Alexander was the prime mover of unrest in the western seaboard again.

It seems clear that Alexander of Argyll and his son, John were pursuing an aggressive policy of expansion in the 1290s, which both fed on the lawlessness in the western seaboard and added to it. Two reports written by Alexander of Islay to King Edward I in the summer of 1297 claim Alexander MacDougall of Argyll had been plundering and devastating MacDonald lands. He complained that, having come to the king's peace at Elgin (in the summer of 1296) and then having been released from captivity (May 1297), Alexander had laid waste the writer's lands, "and the men living in the same lands were killed, fires were set, and many other evils were done". At the conclusion

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of the letter, Alexander begged Edward to instruct the nobles of Argyll and Ross to aid him in keeping the peace; perhaps he was either holding or aspiring to hold the lieutenancy previously enjoyed by his MacDonald namesake. According to a second letter, Alexander of Argyll was guilty of providing refuge to other enemies of Edward in the West. He complained that the lord of Argyll had given refuge to his kinsman Lachlan MacRuaini after he escaped from custody, and that Alexander had aided him in fitting out massive war galleys. The letter concluded with a reminder to the English king that none of the money Alexander of Islay had been promised for his service had yet been received.

But the Clan Donald was not the only kindred to feel the threat of MacDougall expansion in the 1290s. Sometime around 1296, John of Argyll defeated the Campbells and killed their leader, Cohn Mór, in an encounter at the String of Lorn, a stretch of territory between Avich and Loch Scamadale. The seventeenth-century *Genealogie of the Campbells* relates how Cohn Campbell was also known as "Coline na Sreinge" that is, of the String,

because in a fight with McCoul [MacDougall] of Lorn in the mountain betwixt Lochow and Lorn called the String after he had put McCouls [MacDougalls] to flight throw his eager persuing the chase and forcing a pass called the a-dhearg that is to say the red ford he was unfortunately killed and a heap of stones ... stands near that place as a monument of it to this day.

It may be as a result of this victory over the Campbells that we find Alexander of Argyll in control of revenues of the Campbell lands of Lochawe and Ardskeodnish in 1304-5; certainly the evidence points to the fortunes of the Campbells taking a downturn at this time. So, too apparently, did those of the long-suffering MacSweens; in 1301 we find

the authority of the English king. In June 1301, Edward I empowered the Admiral and Captain of the Cinque Ports to receive Alexander of Argyll, his sons John and Duncan, and other members of the family into the king's peace. The submission of the MacDougalls had certainly been made good by 1304, in which year Edward I wrote to John of Argyll to excuse him from coming to Parliament at St Andrews by reason of his illness; he added that "we have great confidence in you and your loyalty", and further urged John to remain active in keeping the peace in his territory. For his part, Alexander also appears to have entered the king's peace. In 1304-5 he rendered account for some Campbell lands in Argyll, and in September 1305, when Edward I appointed John of Brittany as his lieutenant in Scotland, Alexander of Argyll was among those named to his advisory council. From about 1304-5, then, the MacDougalls were adherents of the Edward; it was a position that was to be buttressed by the murder of their kinsman, John Comyn, by Robert Bruce in 1306.

In contrast to the MacDougalls, there is a dearth of evidence for the MacDonalds between 1301 and 1306; indeed, both Alexander and Angus Og vanish from the record during these years. The major difficulty is determining when Alexander passed from the scene and was replaced by his brother, Angus Og. Historians have puzzled over the fate of Alexander MacDonald, and his lack of activity between 1297 and 1308. Some have argued, on the basis of the chronicle of John of Fordun (who was himself very confused at this point) that he was captured in Galloway by Edward Bruce in 1308; while others have suggested, not very convincingly, that Alexander was less influential with the MacDonald clansmen and was eventually displaced by his brother, Angus Og. These explanations are unsatisfactory, and to answer the question of what happened to Alexander MacDonald we



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must look to contemporary Irish annals.

The Annals of Ulster record, under the year 1299, that:

Alexander MacDomnaih, the person who was the best for hospitality and excellence that was in Ireland and in Scotland, was killed together with a countless number of his own people that were slaughtered around him, by Alexander MacDubghaill.

This contemporary account provides the most straightforward account of Alexander's fate. He was not on the scene between 1301 and 1308 because he was dead, and his demise at the hands of Alexander MacDougall must surely be seen as the final act in the ongoing dispute over Lismore that had been simmering, since 1292, and which was played out with particular violence in the chaotic years 1296-7. The death of Alexander of the Isles by his kinsman and namesake in 1299 goes far towards explaining the intensive naval activities of the MacDonalds, Bissets, and MacSweens in 1301 to subdue Alexander of Argyll. Moreover, there is other contemporary evidence to support the view that Alexander had passed from the scene by 1301. It may be no coincidence that, in his letter to Edward I in 1301, Angus Og styles himself 'de Yle', the designation reserved for the head of the kindred; moreover, it is apparent from the content of the letters that he had taken over the campaign against the MacDougalls from his brother. Although it was Alexander who had defeated the MacRuairis in 1297 and taken them into custody, it was Angus who was holding them and who was negotiating with Edward on their behalf in 1301. It is also noteworthy that John Barbour makes no mention of Alexander in his epic poem, *The Bruce*, and this seems to suggest that he was unaware of the existence of Alexander. Taken altogether, then, the evidence seems overwhelmingly to indicate that Alexander had been removed from the scene by 1301.

On 10 February 1306, Robert Bruce killed his rival, John Comyn, in the Greyfriars church at Dumfries. The underlying motivation behind the meeting of the two men, as well as the circumstances of the murder remain problematic, but the event, followed by Bruce's inauguration at Scone on 25 March, changed the complexion of the whole conflict, and added a new dimension as well. Bruce's murder of John Comyn, and his seizure of the throne, made the Comyns and their kinsmen his bitter foes, and from 1306 there was civil war between the Balliol-Comyn and Bruce factions in addition to the war between England and Scotland. One authority has put it, "To Robert I's Scottish enemies, English overlordship was a lesser evil than Bruce kingship, and so the Balliol-Comyn faction, hitherto prominent upholders of Scottish independence, allied with the English. Accordingly, if the murder of Comyn and the installation of Bruce as king signaled a revolution in Scotland it also produced a revolution in the politics of the western Highlands. So long as

should be instructed to perform their duty. This seems to suggest that the inhabitants of Kintyre were loyal to Angus Og and Robert Bruce.

Where Robert Bruce sojourned for the remaining months of 1306 and early 1307 is one of the unsolved mysteries surrounding his life (although not one of the most important), and it is unlikely to conclusively resolved on the basis of the surviving evidence. The problem is, however, relevant in the present context. Since Bruce's sister, Isabella, was the queen of Norway, it has been argued that he took refuge in the Orkney Islands, at that time still under Norwegian control while another view holds that he sheltered in Ulster and in Hebrides. But these apparently disparate opinions are not mutually exclusive, and Ranald Nicholson has argued that "the truth is probably

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that Bruce visited all of these places: the whole western seaboard from Ulster to Orkney was linked by rapid sea communication, and, for various reasons, he had cause to traverse the whole of it". It thus seems certain that, at some point during his self-imposed exile, Bruce was in the Hebrides. According to Fordun, he received considerable aid from Christiana of the Isles, the daughter and sole legitimate heir of Alan MacRuairi, lord of Garmoran; she was related to Bruce by marriage and was probably instrumental in aiding him during troubled months. Certainly by late January 1307 the English believed Bruce to be in the Clyde estuary, and dispatched ships to intercept him there, but it was too late. By February he had managed to slip back into his earldom of Carrick. So, just as the MacDougalls had been instrumental in turning the newly inaugurated king into a fugitive in the summer of 1306, so had other west-coast kindred's been instrumental in assisting his cause. As Cohn MacDonald put it,

It was fortunate, indeed, for Bruce that he had at this dangerous moment such devoted and trustworthy supporters as the MacDonalds, the MacRuairis and the Campbells, for if they had been overawed by Edward's threats, had wavered and had deserted Bruce he would have been captured by the English forces an fallen a victim to Edward's pitiless vengeance.

In 1307 the tide began to turn in favor of King Robert. In May he routed the English at Loudon Hill, and then on 7 July, Edward I died, "an event from which King Robert's cause could draw immeasurable encouragement." The initiative in the struggle passed to Bruce, but for several years his chief opponents were not the English but rather the Comyn-Balliol faction rooted in Galloway, the Northeast, and Argyll. In late 1307 Bruce concluded a truce with the earl of Ross that secured Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness in the far North; in May 1308 the Comyns were decisively defeated at the battle of Inverurie, and the North-

East was subdued by the "herschip" (harrowing) of Buchan; and in June 1308 James Douglas brought Galloway under Bruce's control. It is interesting to note that John of Argyll had been among those endeavoring to apprehend Robert Bruce in 1307: in July of that year he was given money and supplies for two men-at-arms and 800 foot soldiers to guard the town of Ayr and environs.

These successes against his domestic foes form the backdrop to Robert Bruce's conquest of Argyll, by which the power of the MacDougalls was shattered and the way cleared for further campaigns against the English. According to Fordun:

The same year [1301], within a week after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary [15—23 August], the king overcame the men of Argyll, in the middle of Argyll, and subdued the whole land unto himself. Their leader, named Alexander of Argyll, fled to Dunstaffin [Dunstaffnage] castle, where he was, for some time, besieged by the king. On giving up the castle to the king, he refused to do him homage. So a safe conduct was given to him, and to all who wished to withdraw with him; and he fled to England...

Walter Bower, a fifteenth-century chronicler, incorporated Fordun's narrative but added some lines from an earlier verse chronicle which I ~ independent value for Robert Bruce:

If you add a thousand, three hundred and five and three,  
in the week when the feast of the Assumption of our Lady is held,  
King Robert had conquered the people of Argyll.  
This people, reared in arrogant words and deeds,  
Obeyed the king's commands whether willingly or not

But if Christiana MacRuairi was a consistent supporter of Bruce, the attitude of her half brothers, Lachlan (who appears in contemporary documents as Roland) and Ruairi (Latinised as Roderick was more ambiguous and opportunistic. They have been likened to "Highland rovers", and it has been suggested

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that they inherited the piratical tendencies of the Vikings; modern scholars have tended to share this view, regarding Lachlan, at any rate, as a "sinister figure", and "buccaneering predator" who played "solely for his own hand". Although they had ostensibly submitted to Edward in 1296, within a year we find Lachlan and Ruairi causing trouble in the western seaboard. Along with Alexander of Argyll, their names figured prominently in the reports that Alexander of the Isles sent to King Edward in 1297. It was reported that Lachlan and Ruairi, "plundered the greater of the king's land of Skye and Lewis, and killed the men in the same lands and set fires, and violently oppressed the women, and burned up the ships in the service of the king'." Eventually, however, the two brothers were apprehended by their MacDonald kinsman. Lachlan soon escaped this custody and sought refuge in Lochaber with Alexander MacDonald and his Comyn kinsmen, where it was reported they were outfitting massive war galleys. In 1299 Lachlan allied himself with Alexander Comyn, the brother of John Comyn, and was reported to be ravaging the North; in 1306 we find him at Ebchester in County Durham where he petitioned the English king to have the lands of Sir Patrick Graham. The last mention of him comes in 1308, in a letter of the earl of the earl of Ross to King Edward II. The earl reported that he had assigned lands in the Isles to Lachlan, but that he was not answering for their revenues. The earl therefore asked the king whether he would command Lachlan to do so, and the letter ends with the apt observation that "Lachlan is such a high and mighty lord, he will not answer to anyone except under & force or through fear of you." Lachlan then disappears from the record; the earl of Ross had surely taken the measure of the man. His brother, Ruairi, seems to have submitted to the English king, perhaps around 1301, and although the duration of his

custody is not known, in 1301 his sons were in the power of Angus Og, who held himself responsible for their loyalty and recommended them to the English king. It is likely that, following the demise of his brother Ruairi stepped into his shoes, but he was a supporter of Robert Bruce and was rewarded by that king, for some time during his reign Christiana, perhaps at the instigation of the crown made over to him extensive lands in the West, for which he owed the service of one twenty-six oared vessel to the king. He was probably the "MacRuaidhri king of Innsi Gall" whose death at Dundalk was recorded by Irish Annals in 1318. It may well be that the death of Angus Og had allowed the Clan Ruairi to come to the fore in the western seaboard, however briefly, and the extensive territories made over to Ruairi by his half-sister serve as a reminder that the MacRuairis, too, were a potent force to be reckoned with in the western seas.

## Crannogs

The following is taken from ElectricScotland.net and concerns the Crannogs in Loch Tay. Crannog's were artificial islands set in the shallows of lochs upon which the ancient's constructed their dwellings. There is one on the north shore of Loch Tay very near to Killin and the Macnab's great enemies, the MacNishes lived on one such on Loch Earn known today as Nish Island.

Following the link [www.crannog.co.uk](http://www.crannog.co.uk) takes one to the Crannog web site

### Crannogs and Clan Donnachaidh

Dr Nick Dixon and his American-born wife Barrie Andriaan have an obsession. Some 25 years ago Nick began his life's work in exploring the crannogs - in fact one in particular - in Loch Tay. Since then he has uncovered a huge storehouse of artifacts and information about an aspect of Highland heritage that was virtually unknown. As a byproduct of his work, he and Barrie have also created one of the country's premier visitor attractions as a way to raise money to continue their research.

Crannogs are artificial islands set in the shallows of lochs, most surviving today as little more than submerged boulder-mounds or islets topped by stands of trees. However, these defensive homesteads figured prominently throughout Scotland's past as flourishing waterborne communities that lasted for centuries and came to play an important part in clan refuge and warfare. They were occupied as early as the Neolithic period, some 5,000 years ago, until the 17th century AD.

Most Scottish crannogs appear to have consisted of a single thatched roundhouse, deliberately built out in the water for protection from wild animals and invaders. Based on the results of Nick's underwater surveys and excavations, we now know that the crannogs were built as free-standing timber pile-dwellings in the lochs of woodland environments, and as circular or sub-circular stone buildings on man-made or modified natural rocky islands in more barren environments.

There are many crannogs in Ireland, one known example in Wales, but none in England. More than 400 are known in Scotland but, as there are

more than 30,000 lochs in the country, the total number is likely to run into thousands. In Loch Tay, Perthshire, where Nick's Scottish Trust for Underwater Archaeology has been excavating periodically since 1980, there are 18. At one of these, the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age site of Oakbank Crannog, water logging has made the preservation of organic materials spectacular. Surviving structural remains include the original pointed alder posts of the supporting platform, floor timbers and hazel hurdles forming walls and partitions, as well as the posts that once provided a walkway to the shore.

The finds from the site paint an amazingly clear picture of the lifestyle of the crannog-dwellers in the area, and increase our knowledge of this period in prehistory. Wooden domestic utensils, finely woven cloth, beads, and even food and plant remains have all been well preserved. We know that the crannog-dwellers kept cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs, and produced dairy products including butter, which in one instance was found still adhering to a wooden dish probably only discarded because it had split apart.

Most crannogs are situated opposite good agricultural land, and the discovery of a wooden cultivation implement at Oakbank Crannog, together with grain and pollen evidence, indicates a local population of peaceful farmers. They grew a range of cereal crops including spelt, an early form of wheat previously thought imported by the Romans. These loch-dwellers also cultivated a taste for parsley which is not indigenous to Scotland, and therefore perhaps indicative of trade with people further south or on the Continent.

The crannog-dwellers went to some trouble in search of the finer things in life. They supplemented their diet with a range of nuts and berries including hazelnuts, wild cherries and sloes, but they had to make an extra effort to pick cloudberry, which only grow up on the mountains. They also made special trips to higher ground to collect branches of pine to make tapers or 'fir candles'.

Every discovery brings up more questions; and in an effort to address at least one unknown area, Nick and his team have constructed as authentically as possible a full-size crannog near Kenmore in the shallows of the south shore of Loch Tay. At the Crannog Centre is an exhibition displaying some of the finds and a chance for the visitor to actually try out some of the ancient technologies of the people who lived there three thousand years ago.

Two crannogs have particular associations with Clan Donnachaidh. In the north west corner of Loch Tummel, there was a small, partly artificial island on which Stout Duncan 'built a strong house and a garden, which gave the name of Port-an-Eilean, or the Fort of the Island, to that place' (Statistical Account [OSA] 1792) In 1913 it was described as being '50 yds by 35 yds, standing in about 7' of water, but there is a deep channel between it and the shore. Carefully-laid stones appear to rest on trees.' It was submerged in the post-war hydro-electric scheme but in the early 1970s 'was briefly exposed when the water level was lowered and Mrs. Torry (Port an Eilean Hotel, Loch Tummel) saw stone slabs which she thought were steps, on the N edge of the island.

In 2004 Nick Dixon, as part of a survey of Perthshire crannogs dived over the site and reported 'The top of the site is now 3m under water and is covered with the stumps of trees cut down before submergence. The remains are still very obvious of a well-made flagstone floor with a path leading to a flight of steps that went down to the loch bed, some 2m deeper. One of a number of upright timbers at the

bottom of the stairs was sampled and produced a date of 110±50 BP (AD 1840).

The other clan crannog is Eilean nam Faoileag - the Island of Gulls - in Loch Rannoch which is now topped by a 19th century tower folly. In a 1969 survey it was 'a completely stone built island now measuring 17.0m NS by 10.0m transversely. A considerable part of the island lies beneath the surface of the Loch which has been raised at least 6ft in the last 30 years. According to local information the sand bank on which it is constructed sweeps round in a gradual curve to meet the S shore and prior to the raising of the loch it formed a causeway just below the water.'

In the words of the MS first written by the Poet Chief 'the King having defeated McDougall of Lorn somewhere in the hills betwixt Rannoch & Breadalbane and taken McDougall himself prisoner, committed him to Duncan's care who conveyed him to the island of Loch Rannoch. McDougall obtained some freedoms upon his parole, but by an evasion of that parole grounded upon the ambiguity of the words in which it was expressed in the Gaelic Language he made his escape.' The date for this incident is the early 1300s

During the survey of 2004, 'A large oak timber, lying partly embedded under the stones on the E side of the mound, and wood from lower down on the W side were sampled for radiocarbon dating. The oak gave a date of 840±60 BP (AD 1110) and the lower sample produced 660±50 BP (AD 1290)'. These are preliminary results but they seem to place the crannog right in Stout Duncan's time frame. It would be pleasant to speculate that Duncan himself managed the construction of the island.

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