

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XI.

1884-85.

Blair 28.

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*Gillian Stewart Murray
from her Mother*

Jan 15 1888

TRANSACTIONS

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THE GAELIC SOCIETY
OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XI.

1884-85.

Clann nan Gaidheal an Gwaillean a Gheile.

PRINTED FOR THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS,
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WILLIAM MACKAY, AND A. & W. MACKENZIE,
BOOKSELLERS, INVERNESS;
AND MACLACHLAN & STEWART, EDINBURGH.

1885.

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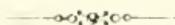
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GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.



OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1884.

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D. Cameron of Lochiel, M.P.

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Bailie Mackay.

HON. SECRETARY.

William Mackay, solicitor.

SECRETARY.

William Mackenzie, 3 Union Street.

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W. G. Stuart.

John Whyte.

LIBRARIAN.

John Whyte.

PIPER.

Pipe-Major Maclellan.

BARD.

Mrs Mary Mackellar.

OFFICE-BEARERS FOR 1885.

CHIEF.

A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail.

CHIEFTAINS.

Provost Macandrew

D. Campbell.

Councillor W. G. Stuart.

HON. SECRETARY.

William Mackay, solicitor.

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BARD;

Mrs Mary Mackellar.

COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS.



CO-SHUIDHEACHADH.

1. 'S e ainm a' Chomuinn "COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS."

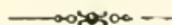
2. 'S e tha an rùn a' Chomuinn:—Na buill a dheanamh iomlan 'sa' Ghailig; cinneas Canaine, Bardachd, agus Ciuil na Gaidhealtachd; Bardachd, Seanachas, Sgeulachd, Leabhraichean agus Sgriobhanna 's a' chanain sin a thearnadh o dhearmad; Leabhar-lann a chur suas ann am baile Inbhir-Nis de leabhraichibh agus sgrìobhannaibh—ann an canain sam bith—a bhuineas do Chaileachd, Ionnsachadh, Eachdraidheachd agus Sheanachasaibh nan Gaidheal, no do thairbhe na Gaidhealtachd; còir agus cliu nan Gaidheal a dhion; agus Gaidheil a shoirbheachadh a ghna ge b'e ait' am bi iad.

3. 'S iad a bhitheas 'nam buill, cuideachd a tha gabhail suim do runtaibh a' Chomuinn; agus so mar gheibh iad a staigh:—Tairgidh aon bhall an t-iarradair, daingnichidh ball eile an tairgse, agus, aig an ath choinneimh, ma roghnaicheas a' mhor-chuid le crannchur, nithear ball dhith-se no dheth-san cho luath 's a phaidhear an comb-thoirt; cuirear crainn le ponair dhubh agus gheal, ach, gu so bhi dligheach, feumaidh trì buill dheug an crainn a chur. Feudaidh an Comunn Urram Cheannardan a thoirt do urrad 'us seachd daoine cliuiteach.

4. Paidhidh Ball Urramach, 'sa' bhliadhna	£0	10	6
Ball Cumanta	0	5	0
Foghlainte	0	1	0
Agus ni Ball-beatha aon chomh-thoirt de	7	7	0

5. 'S a' cheud-mhios, gach bliadhna, roghnaichear, le crainn, Co-chomhairle a riaghlas gnothuichean a' Chomuinn, 's e sin—aon Cheann, trì Iar-chinn, Cleireach Urramach, Runaire, Ionmhasair agus coig buill eile—feumaidh iad uile Gailig a thuigsinn 's a bhruidhinn; agus ni coigear dhiubh coinneamh.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.



CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called the "GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS."

2. The objects of the Society are the perfecting of the Members in the use of the Gaelic language; the cultivation of the language, poetry, and music of Scottish Highlands; the rescuing from oblivion of Celtic poetry traditions, legends, books, and manuscripts; the establishing in Inverness of a library, to consist of books and manuscripts, in whatever language, bearing upon the genius, the literature, the history, the antiquities, and the material interests of the Highlands and Highland people; the vindication of the rights and character of the Gaelic people; and, generally, the furtherance of their interests whether at home or abroad.

3. The Society shall consist of persons who take a lively interest in its objects. Admission to be as follows:—The candidate shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, balloted for at the next meeting, and, if he or she have a majority of votes and have paid the subscription, be declared a member. The ballot shall be taken with black beans and white; and no election shall be valid unless thirteen members vote. The Society has power to elect distinguished men as Honorary Chieftains to the number of seven.

4. The Annual subscription shall be, for

Honorary Members	£0 10 6
Ordinary Members	0 5 0
Apprentices	0 1 0
A Life Member shall make one payment of .	7 7 0

5. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council, chosen annually, by ballot, in the month of January, to consist of a Chief, three Chieftains, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other Members of the Society, all of whom shall understand and speak Gaelic; five to form a quorum.

6. Cumar coinneamhan a' Chomuinn gach seachduin o thois-each an Deicheamh mios gu deireadh Mhairt, agus gach ceithir-la-deug o thois-each Ghiblein gu deireadh an Naothamh-mios. 'S i a' Ghailig a labhrar gach oidhche mu'n seach aig a' chuid a's lugha.

7. Cuiridh a' Cho-chomhairle la air leth anns an t-Seachdamh-mios air-son Coinneamh Bhliadhnaile aig an cumar Co-dheuchainn agus air an toirear duaisean air-son Piobaireachd 'us ciuil Ghaidhcalach eile; anns an fheasgar bithidh co-dheuchainn air Leughadh agus aithris Bardachd agus Rosg nuadh agus taghta; an deigh sin cumar Cuirm chuideachdail aig an faigh nithe Gaidhealach roghainn 'san uirghioll, ach gun roinn a dhiultadh dhaibh-san nach tuig Gailig. Giulainear cosdas na co-dheuchainne le trusadh sonraichte a dheanamh agus cuideachadh iarraidh o'n t-sluagh.

8. Cha deanar atharrachadh sam bith air coimh-dhealbhadh a' Chomuinn gun aontachadh dha thrian de na'm bheil de luchd-bruidhinn Gailig air a' chlar-ainm. Ma's mian atharrachadh a dheanamh is eiginn sin a chur an ceill do gach ball, mios, aig a' chuid a's lugha, roimh'n choinneimh a dh'fheudas an t-atharrachadh a dheanamh. Feudaidh ball nach bi lathair roghnachadh le lamh-aithne.

9. Taghaidh an Comunn Bard, Piobaire, agus Fear-leabharlann.

Ullaichear gach Paipear agus Leughadh, agus giulainear gach Deasboireachd le run fosgailte, duineil, durachdach air-son na firinn, agus cuirear gach ni air aghaidh ann an spiorad caomh, glan, agus a reir riaghailtean dearbhta.

6. The Society shall hold its meetings weekly from the beginning of October to the end of March, and fortnightly from the beginning of April to the end of September. The business shall be carried on in Gaelic on every alternate night at least.

7. There shall be an Annual Meeting in the Month of July, the day to be named by the Committee for the time being, when Competitions for Prizes shall take place in Pipe and other Highland Music. In the evening there shall be Competitions in Reading and Reciting Gaelic Poetry and Prose, both original and select. After which there will be a Social Meeting, at which Gaelic subjects shall have the preference, but not to such an extent as entirely to preclude participation by persons who do not understand Gaelic. The expenses of the competition shall be defrayed out of a special fund, to which the general public shall be invited to subscribe.

8. It is a fundamental rule of the Society that no part of the Constitution shall be altered without the assent of two-thirds of the Gaelic speaking Members on the roll ; but if any alterations be required, due notice of the same must be given to each member, at least one month before the meeting takes place at which the alteration is proposed to be made. Absent Members may vote by mandates.

9. The Society shall elect a Bard, a Piper, and a Librarian.

All Papers and Lectures shall be prepared, and all Discussions carried on, with an honest, earnest, and manful desire for truth ; and all proceedings shall be conducted in a pure and gentle spirit, and according to the usually recognised rules.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have had frequently, in presenting our periodical Volume of Transactions, to record that the one then issued was larger than any of its predecessors ; and it is our pleasing duty once more to record that this is the largest Volume of Transactions that the Society has ever placed in the hands of its members. We hope that the Volume, if it surpasses in bulk, will also prove equally satisfactory in matter. One novelty it may fairly lay claim to : the paper on “ Druid Circles ” is illustrated by seven drawings, for the best and most of which we are indebted to the kindness of Mr P. H. Smart, teacher of drawing, Inverness. Mr Smart has not merely put himself to much trouble in making these etchings for the Society’s Transactions, but at the reading of this paper and any others that required the exercise of art, he has always given his services freely and kindly to their authors.

The Volume begins with January 1884, and brings the Transactions down to May 1885. The Session of 1884 appears comparatively more barren than in reality it was ; it was rather an active session on the whole, for during it were initiated the Gaelic Classes which the Society conducted for its non-Gaelic and junior members and for the public at large, and which were attended with the most gratifying results. The reason why the Session does not bulk more largely in the Volume is simply because some of the gentlemen who delivered discourses before the Society made use of notes, or rough draft copies, which they had not since time to prepare for publication. In this way we have lost the Rev. Mr Cameron’s paper on “ Original Auslaut *n* ” in Gaelic— a paper that would have been of extreme value to students of historic Gaelic grammar. The Spring Session of 1885 has been one of

almost unequalled success and activity; the number and the quality of the papers read are both matters of congratulation.

In general Gaelic literature there is no work of importance to record since our last Volume appeared. But an event of moment to Gaelic Folk-lore and Tradition took place in the death of Mr J. F. Campbell of Islay. He died on the 17th February of this year, at the age of sixty-three. Next to Macpherson himself, Mr Campbell has done most to make the Highlands and its Gaelic speech known over all the world. His "Popular Tales of the West Highlands" was what the Germans call an "epoch-making book" in the general study of Folk-lore; while his "Leabhar na Feinne" is an invaluable contribution to the Ossianic controversy.

The field of general Celtic literature for the last year-and-a-half has been comparatively barren. The great activity of the three or four previous years, which produced Windisch's "Irische Texte," the translations of his admirable Old Irish Grammar, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's various books on the Study of Irish Literature and Celtic Mythology, Mr Elton's excellent "Origins of English History," Professor Rhys' "Celtic Britain," and several others,—this great activity has been succeeded by less effort. But books and pamphlets have been appearing, and we note the names of Thurneysen, Loth, Stokes, and Windisch (more "Irish Texts"), Zimmer, &c. Professor Windisch last year wrote an article for a German Encyclopedia, on the "Celtic Speeches;" it is an admirable *resumé* of the leading facts connected with the history, literature, and bibliography of the Celtic languages. It is a pity that it is practically shut out from British ken in its German form, and we trust it will soon be given to us in an English form.

One result of the report of the Crofters' Commission (to which reference was made in the introduction to volume X.), was Mr Mundella's sending of Dr Craik to the Highlands last September to report on the subject of Highland Education. He reported on the teaching of Gaelic in terms that deserve our highest praise; he presented every view candidly, and arrived at the conclusion

that Gaelic ought to be taught to the junior children, and might be taught to the senior children as a specific subject. He discussed the causes of the low attendance, and these he found in the natural difficulties of the country—distance from school, bad weather, and bad roads; also in the circumstances of the parents—poverty, appearing in want of clothes, food, and fees; the need of the children for herding and other works of the season; and some apathy or even hostility to education. Attendance, he argued, must be enforced, for the money returns and the education depended on it. For fostering secondary education, he recommended the employment of a graduate in one school in each district, with special facilities for teaching and gaining higher grants for the highest standards and subjects. The Commissioners urged that all rating above 2s. in the £ should be paid by Government, and that the building debts should be cancelled. Dr Craik opposed this recommendation, but suggested a considerable increase of school grants. The Department considered the matter very seriously, and early in May a Highland Minute appeared, making some important additions to the Code in regard to the Highlands, and generally giving effect to Dr Craik's recommendations. In the Highlands, burghs excluded, if a school makes an average attendance of 65 per cent. for the year as compared to the number on the roll (at the year's end), the average attendance grant is raised from 4s. to 5s. per head; if the school makes 70 per cent., 6s. is given; if 75, 7s.; and if 80 per cent. is made, the grant is 8s.—exactly doubled, when further grants are stopped. In regard to Gaelic, Gaelic-speaking pupil-teachers may be employed for the infants and junior children; such a teacher is recognised and paid the pupil-teacher grant, even should the numbers in the school not entitle the school to such; and, further, the pupil-teacher is to be allowed to spend the last year of apprenticeship at a preparatory school for entrance to the training colleges. A grant of 10s. for the infants is promised if such a pupil-teacher is employed. Gaelic is further made a specific subject, like Latin, Greek, and, for the matter of that, English; but the Gaelic schedule could not at the date of the

Minute be published, nor has it yet appeared. Secondary education is encouraged thus:—A central school, under a graduate, who has time for extra work by only having 30 pupils allotted him in average attendance, can earn 10s. for each pass in extra subjects instead of the present 4s. Such are the concessions made. The discussions held in various places at teachers' meetings bring out the fact that only some fifty per cent. of Highland children on the roll are in average attendance. The Highland Boards have therefore an initial pull or jump of 15 per cent. to make before even the 1s extra is gained. Can it be done, or, if done, how far can it be carried? The attendance concession will benefit greatly the East Coast boards, but in the Islands and the West Coast the matter is very doubtful.

We are glad to record the formation of a Scotch Ministry, which has also Education under its charge. The Duke of Richmond is the first Minister; Sir Francis Sandford is permanent Under-Secretary to the General Department; while Dr Craik is Secretary for Scotch Education. This last appointment augurs well for the Highlands.

From the list of donations to the Library we inadvertently omitted to mention a handsomely-bound large paper copy of Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," kindly presented by Miss H. G. Fraser, North Berwick.

Inverness, August 1885.

ERRATUM.

Page 144; at line 19 of text I. for "ímaic," read ímacc.

TRANSACTIONS.

22ND JANUARY 1884.

On this date the Rev. Alexander Cameron, Free Church minister of Brodick, delivered a lecture on "The Influence of an Original Nasal Termination on Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic," for which he was awarded a cordial vote of thanks.

23RD JANUARY.

On this date office-bearers for 1884 were nominated; and some routine business was transacted.

TWELFTH ANNUAL DINNER.

The Twelfth Annual Dinner of the Society took place in the Caledonian Hotel. Provost Macandrew, in the unavoidable absence of the Chief, presided, while the croupiers were Dean of Guild Mackenzie, and Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., Raining's School. Among those present were Captain O'Sullivan, Adjutant of the I.A.V.; Councillor Alexander Ross, Mr William Mackay, solicitor; Mr Hugh Rose, solicitor; Mr Robert Grant, of Macdougall & Co.'s; Dr F. M. Mackenzie, Dr Ogilvie Grant, Bailie Mackay, Mr William Morrison, Rector, Dingwall Academy; Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage; Mr James Barron, Ness Bank; Mr Duncan Campbell, Ballifeary; Dr D. Sinclair Macdonald, Mr James Cumming, Allanfearn; Councillor W. G. Stuart, Councillor James Macbean, Mr John Davidson, merchant; Mr A. K. Findlater, of Macdonald & Mackintosh; Mr Alexander Mactavish, of Mactavish & Mackintosh; Mr John Macdonald, merchant, Exchange; Mr Fraser Campbell, draper; Mr John Whyte, librarian;

Mr William Gunn, draper ; Mr James Mackintosh, ironmonger ; Mr Alex. Macgregor, solicitor ; Mr Duncan Chisholm, coal-merchant ; Mr Alex. Ranaldson Macrauld, writer ; Mr D. Macleunan, commission agent ; Mr D. K. Clark, of the *Courier* ; Mr Hector R. Mackenzie, Town-Clerk's Office ; Mr William Mackenzie, Secretary of the Society ; Mr Alexander Ross, of the *Chronicle* ; Mr William Cameron, The Castle ; Mr Macdonell, do. ; Mr F. Mackenzie, Mr Menzies, Blarich, Sutherlandshire ; Mr D. Nairne, &c.

The Secretary read apologies for absence from Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart. ; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny Macpherson, C.B. ; Mr John Mackay, Hereford ; Mackintosh of Mackintosh ; Mr A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail ; Mr John Mackay of Herriesdale ; Mr W. M'K. Bannatyne, Bridge of Allan ; Mr D. Forbes of Culloden ; Mr Thomas O'Hara, Portarlinton ; Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant, Mr F. Macdonald, Druidaig ; &c.

The Chief of the Society wrote from Algiers, to the Secretary, as follows :—

DEAR SIR,—I beg to express, through you, my regret to the members of our Society at being unable to take the chair at this our annual meeting, but, owing unfortunately to the delicate state of my wife's health, we have been ordered here to Algiers for the winter, and as the distance is very great, it has been a matter of impossibility for me to get over in time to occupy that chair to which I had the honour last year to be appointed. But believe me when I tell you that my heart is with you on this occasion, and, although many hundred miles of ocean roll between us, there is no distance, however great, that cannot be bridged over by that bond of sympathy that unites the hearts of all true Highlanders. And it is thus I would have you think this day ; that, although absent in the body, I am with you in the spirit, wishing you every success in your great undertaking; that your efforts may continue to meet with that success they so justly deserve, and that the end will be the bringing about of the one thing so dear to all of us—namely, the preservation, in all its purity, of our most beautiful and ancient language, its literature, poetry, music, legends, and traditions—(Cheers)—and, more than all, the preservation of that feeling of clanship and brotherhood which should always exist among Highlanders of all classes—high and low, rich and poor—that feeling which has for ages and centuries existed; that feeling which has gone far towards making our beloved country take the high place she does among the nations of the world by reason of her sons being the bravest, staunchest, and most loyal adherents to their Sovereign and the land that gave them birth. (Cheers.)

With regard to the present state of affairs in the Highlands, it would ill become me to make many remarks until after we have the report of the Royal Commission—(Hear, hear)—but this I will venture to think—that, had the Gaelic tongue been taught in the high-class schools as a requisite language for those who reside in Gaelic-speaking districts, we should have heard little of discontent, and still less of a Crofters' Commission. Surely it must be more desirable to teach a boy his native tongue than to cram his brain with Greek mythology and a lot of rubbish that can be of little or no use to him in after life. (Applause.) And yet I have often been asked by some people what use is there in knowing Gaelic, or, as they facetiously term it in their painful ignorance, "That defunct barbarian lingo." (Laughter.) But if we are to deplore the non-existence of the Gaelic language amongst some of the landed gentry in the Highlands, what condemnation can be too severe for those men of the educated classes familiar with the language who have taken advantage of it to feed the flame of discontent among the ignorant and uneducated by applying the mischievous bellows of agitation? I say the Gaelic language has never been put to more unworthy and unpatriotic or wicked use than when it was employed, not as a means of tranquilising the poor people by reasoning with them in a spirit of pacification and conciliation in their own tongue, but, on the contrary, in urging them to rebellion and crime. Who are the most guilty, the preachers or the disciples? Let us hope that the year 1884 may be a happier one for all of us in the Highlands, and that the seeds of discontent may not have taken deep root in the hearts of our people, but that peace, quietness, and plenty may in future take the place of restless discontent and poverty; and that Providence in His goodness may see fit to bestow these blessings on our beloved country is, I am sure, the earnest wish of all of us. (Cheers.) Wishing the Society, in conclusion, every success.—I remain, yours truly,

DUNMORE, Chief of the Society.

The Chairman, who was warmly received, then proposed "The Queen." He said—Among the many claims to our loyalty which Queen Victoria possesses, there are two which I have not seen noticed before, and which, it appears to me, may be very appropriately noticed in proposing this toast at a meeting of a Gaelic Society in the Town of Inverness. About thirteen hundred years ago a very remarkable and interesting event happened in this city, which was then the capital of the Pictish kingdom of

Albyn. I allude to the visit of St Columba to Brude, the King of the Picts, when the Saint persuaded that monarch to embrace Christianity, and formed with him that friendship which appears to have lasted while they lived. Now, I think we have good reason for believing that her Gracious Majesty is of the blood of both the principal actors in that memorable scene. We do not know accurately the pedigree of the Pictish Royal Family, because succession, according to the Pictish law, was through females; the Kings never have the names of their fathers, and they seem to have been succeeded, not by their own sons, but by the sons of sisters, who appear always to have had foreign husbands. We know, however, that, according to their law, there was a regular succession for a very long time. For some time before the establishment of the Scottish Monarchy by Kenneth Macalpine, there was a period of great confusion, but we know that Alpine, Kenneth's father, was the son of a Pictish mother, through whom he claimed the throne. From Kenneth the Queen's pedigree is clear. I think, then, we have fair historical probability for the statement that the Queen is of the blood of the ancient Pictish Royalty, and that she is the descendant, as she is the political representative, of the royal race who had their seat at Inverness. (Oheers.) As to the other proposition that she is of the blood of Saint Columba, we know that about 850 Kenneth Macalpine re-established the Columban Church in Scotland, that when so doing he gave the primacy to the Abbey of Dunkeld which he then founded, and that he then removed to Dunkeld the relics of Saint Columba. I cannot give you the pedigree of the Abbot to whom the government of the Abbacy of Dunkeld and the Primacy of the Scottish Church at this time were given, but we know that the law of succession in the early Celtic Abbacies was that the Abbot was always appointed from the family of the Saint if there was any person of the family qualified. At this time, and for 100 years after, there were Abbots of Saint Columba's family in the Monastery at Iona and in other Monasteries of his foundation, and we may fairly assume that for the primacy of his church Kenneth would have chosen an Abbot of the Saint's family. In the course of time what happened in other Celtic Monasteries happened at Dunkeld. The Abbots abandoned the practice of celibacy, the office became hereditary in their family, and ultimately the Abbots ceased to be priests and became lay lords. In the time of Malcolm, the Second Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld, was a very powerful man. He married the daughter of Malcolm, and the fruit of the marriage was "the gracious" Duncan, father of

Malcolm Canmore, and ancestor of the Queen. (Cheers.) Here again I say that there is fair historical probability that the Queen is of the blood of Saint Columba, and that she is thus a descendant of Niall of the nine hostages who was supreme King of Ireland in the end of the fourth century. This is truly a good and Royal Celtic ancestry, and I now give you the health of Queen Victoria, the descendant of the Royal race who ruled at Inverness, and the representative of the Royal Saint and bard who converted our ancestors. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The toast of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the other members of the Royal Family followed.

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, proposed the "Navy, Army, and Auxiliary Forces." In doing so, he said—This toast is usually given from the chair, but as our Chairman this evening is a distinguished officer in the citizen army, I have been done the honour of being asked to propose it. (Cheers.) It is with great pleasure I do so, although I feel I am able to do but scant justice to my glorious theme. Fortunately for me, however, the subject is one not requiring words of eloquence to commend it to you, for, no matter where Highlanders meet, they loyally remember the guardians of their native land. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, although in the far off olden time western waves were ploughed by the fleets of the Lords of the Isles and other Island chiefs, we Highlanders cannot as a race boast of any great exploits on the ocean, and we have not to any appreciable extent contributed to the glorious history of the British Navy. That history, we must confess, is the special property of the Saxon, who, of all nations, make the best and bravest sea-soldiers. But in this matter we have learned to rejoice in the Saxon's triumphs, and to look back with feelings of pride and pleasure on a long roll of naval victories in which we took little or no part. (Cheers.) In regard to the army we are on a different footing, for our forefathers were naturally men of war, and Highland soldiers have added lustre to British arms in all quarters of the globe. (Applause.) The author of a recent pamphlet has questioned the military ardour of the old Highlander, and he more than insinuates that the "hardy and intrepid race," whom the great Pitt and his successors called forth from our Northern glens, were forced, in press-gang fashion, into the ranks of the British army. It is true that, about the commencement of the present century, Celts as well as Saxons were, under the Army Reserve Act, subject to a kind of conscription for home service, and it may also be true that it occasionally happened in the past, as it sometimes

happens now, that a man found himself in possession of the King's shilling who did not want to fight; but it is as absurd as it is contrary to fact to say that the thousands of clansmen who fought Britain's battles from Fontenoy to Waterloo were impelled by any force stronger than the freedom of their own will. (Applause.) No, gentlemen. It was long ago said of Highlanders that they could be led, but not driven; and we may safely assume that driven Highlanders could no more have swept the slopes of Killiecrankie, or climbed the heights of Abraham, or, as Sir Colin Campbell's thin red line, turned the Russian horse at Balaclava, than could the unwilling wretches who are at this moment goaded on by Egyptian officers to meet the False Prophet of the Soudan. (Hear, hear.) The fact is that, although Highlanders now find it pays better to follow the more peaceful pursuits of life, down to the beginning of this century they were essentially a fighting people. I need not tell you of their own internecine feuds in the olden times, or how, when they had no fighting to do at home, they joined the ranks of Gustavus Adolphus, or of the Kings of France; but I may mention that, on recently going over certain Church records of the seventeenth century, I was simply astonished at the frequent mention therein made of Highland soldiers, who are described as being absent in France and in Germany, and some of them even in Russia. We cannot conceive that these men left their native land perforce, or under any other influence than that of love for war. (Hear, hear.) Permit me, before I sit down, to refer in one word to the proposal now made to do away with the graceful feather bonnet of our Highland soldiers. It is not what may be called an original Highland head-dress. It was worn first by the old Fraser Regiment, and it has since continued the distinguishing dress-feature of the Highland regiments, outside the tartan. (Hear, hear.) I would suggest that the Gaelic Society take up this question as they did the question of the tartans. (Cheers.) I trust you will join in resisting the proposal to the utmost—(Applause)—and although it does seem hopeless that we shall ever be able to teach the War Authorities the difference between one tartan and another, or between our martial feathers and a policeman's helmet, if we are firm in our present opposition, I am satisfied that our reward will be the same success that three years ago crowned our efforts on behalf of the tartan. (Applause.) But I must conclude, and ask you to drink, with all enthusiasm, to the Navy, Army, and Reserve Forces. (Loud cheers.)

Captain O'Sullivan replied for the Army. I don't think, he

said, the Gaels have been cured of their warlike propensities yet. (Cheers.) I am sorry to see another of those tailoring changes being attempted by the Government—I refer to the Highland feather bonnet—and with all due respect to my superior officers, I am of opinion that the War Office have many other more important matters to take up their time with than the turning of a military button or the changing of a regimental head-dress. (Hear.) The Highland bonnet was a most serviceable, and, in the end, an inexpensive one. It was sometimes said that Germans and other foreigners laughed at the dress of the British soldier; but on the occasion of a recent review at Aldershot I remember a German lady exclaiming, on seeing the Scottish regiments approach—“Why not dress the whole of your infantry like that?” And there was no doubt that for a soldier’s dress nothing was more perfect on parade than the Highland garb. (Applause.)

Dr Ogilvie Grant, Surgeon to the Naval Reserve, replied for the Navy; and Major Ross, I.A.V., replied for the Auxiliary Forces.

Mr William Mackenzie, the Secretary, then read the annual report, which reviewed the work performed by the Society during last year—work which he said was of an exceedingly useful character, and eminently calculated to advance the objects for the promotion of which the Society was formed. During the year the Society had initiated a movement to get a Civil List pension conferred on Mrs Mary Mackellar, the Bard of the Society—(Cheers)—and had gone thoroughly into the proposal to acknowledge Professor Blackie’s great services to Celtic language and literature—(Applause)—two movements which the Society hope to see crowned with success. (Cheers.) It is proposed that the acknowledgment of Professor Blackie’s services should take the form of a bust or portrait, with Blackie bursaries, in connection with the Celtic Chair in the University of Edinburgh. (Hear, hear.) There is at present no one receiving a pension from the Civil List for Gaelic literature, and the Society considered that Mrs Mackellar had very high claims. (Applause.) This view had been concurred in by many other societies, who have signed a memorial, promoted by this Society, to the First Lord of the Treasury. Many influential gentlemen had also, as individuals, signed it, including all the members of the Royal Commission to enquire into the condition of the Crofters, except Lord Napier. Money for the Blackie testimonial was now in course of being received by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., hon. treasurer to the fund, and by the Secretary of the Society. Dur-

ing the year the membership of the Society had been considerably thinned by death, but the acquisition of fresh members had more than counterbalanced the loss in this way, the number of new members enrolled during the year being 25. Financially the position of the Society was highly satisfactory. The income during the year, including the balance from last year, was £88 18s. 8d., while the money paid out amounted to £59. 11s. 8d., leaving a balance of £29. 7s. to be carried to next account. (Applause.)

The Chairman next proposed "Success to the Gaelic Society" of Inverness. He said—I am sure you have all been gratified to learn, from the report which the Secretary has just read, that this Society is still flourishing. (Cheers.) I regret exceedingly that the chair is not occupied on this occasion by Lord Dunmore, whose presence would have been so acceptable to us all. He is a nobleman whose heart is in the Highlands, and who lives, as much as his wife's health will allow, among and with his people. In wishing success to this Society, there are various aspects of its usefulness which may be referred to and commended. As Lord Dunmore has said, such a Society is of great advantage in preserving the language, the literature, and the traditions of the Gael. I have remarked more than once on previous occasions that unless we can also preserve the Gaelic people we are not doing much. (Loud cheers.) But if we try to preserve the Gaelic people we must try to preserve them with the language, the traditions, and the habits which made them what they are. (Cheers.) I take it broadly that the objects of this Society are to preserve among us all those elements in the life of the past which were good and beautiful. We are inclined to look for a golden age in the past. I may be wrong in so thinking, but I cannot help thinking that there was a great deal that was more beautiful and joyous in the life of the past than in the life of the present—(Hear, hear)—and there are two aspects of that life on which I will venture to dwell for a few moments. We are told that the Highland people ought not to continue to exist in any great numbers on their native soil, because they cannot maintain themselves there otherwise than in poverty. Now, I was much struck with a remark which I read lately, and which was to this effect, that inasmuch as the earth does not produce very much more than food enough for all the people on it, the great majority of the people must always be poor. In new countries this evil may be corrected for a time, and so long as the population is sparse; but population is always pressing on the limits of the supply of food, and I fear it will always

be the case that the great majority will be poor. One of the great evils of the present day is, I think, that poverty is coming to be looked on as synonymous with misery. Now, this is an evil from which, a few generations ago, our ancestors were in a great measure free. (Hear, hear.) And this, I think, was due to the habits of frugality which circumstances made part of their lives, and to the fact that they were led to value themselves more on other qualities than with reference to what they ate and what drank, and wherewithal they were clothed. (Hear, hear.) A few generations ago there was in one aspect very much more poverty than there is now; that is to say, articles in the shape of food and clothing, which are now considered necessities by the poorest, were not then attainable even by the well-to-do, but we look in vain in the contemporary records of our ancestors for any evidence that poverty was then considered as, in any sense, a degradation either by those who endured it or by those above them. (Cheers.) On the contrary, I think we have abundance of evidence that life was then more free from care than it is now, and that among those who had little choice of food—and sometimes but little enough of it—there was much less care for the morrow than there is now. As an illustration of the frugality of our ancestors, I may quote a passage from the ancient Irish laws prescribing the kind of food which foster-parents were bound to give the children entrusted to them to be fostered. “What are their victuals? Porridge is given to them all; but the flavouring which goes into it is different, *i.e.*, salt butter for the sons of the inferior grades, fresh butter for the sons of chieftains, honey for the sons of kings. The food of them all is alike until the end of a year, or of three years, *viz.*, salt butter, and afterwards fresh butter, *i.e.*, to the sons of chieftains, and honey to the sons of kings. Porridge made of oatmeal and buttermilk or water is given to the sons of feini grades, and a bare sufficiency of it merely, and salt butter for flavouring; porridge made in new milk is given to the sons of the chieftain grades, and fresh butter for flavouring, and a full sufficiency is given to them, and barley meal upon it; porridge made in new milk is given to the sons of kings, and wheaten meal upon it, and honey for flavouring.” Surely what was good enough for the sons of kings in the grandest period of our race, might be good enough for the sons of peasants now. (Hear, hear.) And if this Society can aid in leading us back to the simple life of our ancestors, it will do much to make life happier, and to do away with the brooding feeling of discontent with our lot among the poor, which is one of the great evils of our time. Another aspect of the life of the past

which we have very much lost is its joyousness. (Hear, hear.) We are often told, particularly by the *Scotsman*, that our ancestors were in great misery. No doubt the people who say this believe it, but I think the belief springs from the grossness of their own minds—(Hear, hear)—which teaches them to think that because people had only the simplest food, and sometimes not quite enough of it, and lived in bothies, they must have been miserable. In reading such records of the past as we have, however, the impression left on my mind is that life was then a joyous, free, happy life. Take, for instance, that most delightful of books, Mrs Grant's "Letters from the Mountains." Mrs Grant was not brought up in the Highlands, and when she settled at Laggan, she wrote many accounts of her life and of the life of those about her to her friends in the South, and the distinct impression they leave on the mind is that in those days Laggan was a sort of Arcadia. Rousps lasted for a fortnight, weddings for three or four days, and if the minister and his wife did not join in the dancing, they were present and encouraged it. I was much struck recently with one expression of Mrs Grant in describing her life. She says—"Hay-making is not merely drying grass; it is preparing a scene of joyous employment and innocent amusement for those whose sports recal to us our gayest and happiest days." (Cheers.) That life among the old Celts was one of much enjoyment we may judge from the following passage in the Irish laws giving the occupations of a king:—"There are now seven occupations in the corus-law of a king—Sunday for drinking ale, for he is not a lawful chief who does not distribute ale every Sunday—(Laughter)—Monday for judgments for the adjustments of the people; Tuesday for chess; Wednesday seeing greyhounds coursing; Thursday the pleasures of love; Friday at horse-racing; Saturday in giving judgments." But since Mrs Grant's time we have had two or three generations of excellent and well-meant clergymen, who have lived in the belief, and preached it, and enforced the practice of it, that all sports and amusements, music and dancing, and all those modes by which the exuberance of healthy animal spirits find expression, are sinful. The result is that they have killed joy out of the lives of the people—(Hear, hear.)—and I believe this is one great cause of the discontent with their lot which is now so noticeable a feature among the peasantry. (Cheers.) It has even become a burning question, as we see by the papers, whether is it lawful to play shinty. (Laughter.) It appears to me that if the worthy gentlemen who preach against the game would only join their parishioners in playing it, and would encourage this and

other similar healthy and innocent amusements, as the more robust clergy of the good old times did, the people would be happier and the grosser vices less common than they are. (Cheers.) Let us hope, then, that in all its efforts, and especially in its effort to restore the contentment, the simplicity, and the joyousness of the life of the past, this Society may continue to prosper, and let us drink the toast with full bumpers. (Loud cheers.)

Mr John Macdonald, Exchange, proposed the "Members of Parliament for the Highland Counties and Burghs." He said—The toast I have been asked to propose is always well received by the Gaelic Society. If it can be true anywhere, it is true of us, that Whig and Tory all agree in our meetings. And, I think if this is true of Scotland generally, it is most true of the Highlands. There are many things that we might expect Parliament to help us in—education, for instance. Then there is the fishing industry. Our members might urge the Government to give a grant to aid in the prosecution of this important industry. I think that we might fairly ask them to do something for us in this way. I am afraid that it is, perhaps, the case that the services of Members of Parliament are not appreciated by the people as they should be. I have lately had the privilege of visiting the House of Commons, and it requires that we should see the order of business there before we can form a full estimate of the work of the Members. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Raining's School, proposed the "Language and Literature of the Gael." He said—Patriots of a generation or two ago used to claim for the Gaelic language an antiquity coeval and even superior to the Hebrew; but in the present day—these days of science and accurate thinking—we can claim for the Gaelic, on true scientific grounds, antiquity in Europe greater than any of its sister languages, and rank equal to the best of them. (Applause.) It is well ascertained now that of the so-called Aryan race, the Celts were the first to enter Europe, and of these Celts themselves, the Gaelic branch was the first—the pioneer of all the civilisation of the East. (Hear, hear.) For we must not think that these early Gaels were savages—far from it. They were even a civilised people, having homes and families, houses and domestic animals, knowledge of metals and agriculture. They had, too, a highly organised language—a language that then was superior to Latin in inflectional power, and superior to Greek in flexibility of structure. For the last two thousand years it has not fared so well with our mother tongue. It has been sadly shorn of its inflections in the struggle which the European lan-

guages entered on in the middle ages to get rid of all grammar. Nor have we kept up to the old literary forms of our ancestors. The old Gaels must have possessed a vast and important literature. We see that from the Irish. They preserved much of it from the wreck of time through their monasteries and men of learning and leisure, and valuable MSS. still exist of poems, which, through the ravages of time, have just escaped the epic power and the reputation of Homer. Our language here is, however, more popularised and less learned. We have but scraps of the old literature and the old inflections; we are in consequence more homely and more near the heart both in language and literature, for both are a people's tongue, as opposed to a mere literary instrument. We may console ourselves in this matter by the reflection that the English would have been the same had it not stolen 29,000 Latin words—two-thirds of its vocabulary! Our literature and language are therefore of the people and for the people, and for every individual of it. (Hear, hear.) The extent of our literature in such circumstances is not great, but its depth is great—it is steeped in the feelings of the people; it is composed mostly of songs and elegies and lyrics that gush from a nation's heart, warm and instinct with life. (Applause.) It is, therefore, concrete and personal; laudations of persons living, or some dear one recently dead, are found in the language; these laudations and praises are extended also to natural objects—a hill, a river, or a vale, and their description is entered into with a minuteness and gusto that is quite distinctive of the Gael. No language can express better strong emotion; the passionate outburst of the lover or the pathetic wail of the widowed and distressed. We must not expect in such a literature Matthew Arnold's "Criticism of Life" to enter very much; we do not claim any philosophical or learned height for Gaelic literature. It expresses the feelings, aspirations, and wishes of the people much as Burns' poems do those of the Lowland Scotch, rising at times to heights such as Burns attained in his "Cottar's Saturday Night" or his "Mary in Heaven," equal to him in the love songs, and, I venture to say, superior to him in satiric power. Satire is a special feature of Gaelic literature. The prose literature naturally runs into the groove of conversations, as popular prose compositions must do; but the literature in popular tales is something to boast of. Campbell's collection of Highland tales is the envy of every nation in Europe. They cannot beat us on that point, not even in Germany. (Applause.) I cannot but refer to the recent opening of the Celtic Class in Edinburgh. (Cheers.) We may congratulate ourselves in the

choice made, for, judging from the start Professor Mackinnon made in his excellent address, we may have every confidence in his success. That speech, which in pamphlet form makes thirty-six pages, and which travelled over the whole Celtic ground, ethnologically and philologically, is an admirable specimen of accuracy and learning. I do not believe that one error can be pointed out in it—a new thing almost in Scotland for a man to speak an hour on general Celtic subjects, and make no rash assertions. For, if anything, we are too inclined not to study our language, our literature, and our history with that care which modern science insists on, and without which we are laughed at beyond our own borders. We have done all that can be done in a popular way. We must now submit to scientific treatment, and we shall find our language and literature will stand that too. But we are not here in Inverness quite idle in this matter. (Applause.) No man has been busier or more successful than the gentleman with whose name I have the honour to couple this toast Mr Alexander Mackenzie of the *Celtic Magazine*. (Cheers.) Not to speak of the success and excellence of his histories of several of the Highland clans, and of his collections of traditions, the *Celtic Magazine* is itself a monument of his industry and genius. (Applause.) Now in its 100th number, having thus lived longer than any other previous Gaelic or Scoto-Celtic periodical, or truly Highland paper, it happily augurs the success of his forthcoming paper—"The Scottish Highlander." (Loud cheers.)

Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, in reply, said—I need not tell you that I feel very highly honoured in being asked to respond to this important toast; and especially so, proposed as it has been, by a gentleman like Mr Macbain, whose information in the Celtic literary field is very extensive, and who treads very closely in the matter of Celtic scholarship, on the heels of the foremost men of the day. (Hear, hear.) It is gratifying that we should have, in the Highland capital, a man of that stamp. (Applause.) He has the advantage of many men who dabble in this question, in his having an intimate knowledge of the classical languages—Latin, Greek, Sanscrit, and Old Irish, which, I need hardly say, is of immense value in pursuing Celtic studies. I am not going to inflict a speech upon you, but referring shortly to other matters, I may be allowed to say how pleased I am to see you, sir, occupying that chair; and let me say that I never heard you speaking at a gathering of this kind, but I admired the fine Celtic spirit which always pervaded your speeches. (Applause.) At the same time,

I may be permitted to say that the Society ought to feel pleased that perhaps the only peer of the realm who can speak the Gaelic language correctly and fluently, holds the position of present chief of the Society. I think it is a good thing to have such a man as the Earl of Dunmore as our chief, and I am quite satisfied that he will not make the same use of his Gaelic as he infers others have been making of their knowledge of it recently in the Highlands—(Laughter)—and especially in the Western Isles ; but this is a matter to which I need not here further refer. I will not say that I am, in one sense, *very* sorry that we have not his lordship here to-night, because I think we have quite as good a man in the chair as we could possibly wish to have, and one who has done more in the Celtic field than most people are aware of. (Applause.) I may tell you in that connection that considerable additions have been made to our store of Celtic literature, even within the last twelve months. A volume of Gaelic poetry has been issued, since our last meeting, by Mr Neil Macleod, a native of Glendale, where we had some good men. Neil's uncle left that famous glen some years ago as a common soldier, and has recently retired, with honours, as Major Macleod of the Royal Artillery. (Applause.) I have no hesitation in saying that Neil Macleod's volume is about the most correct specimen of Gaelic printed in modern times—(Hear, hear)—and not only so, but that the volume, notwithstanding the great discussion which is reported to have taken place at a recent meeting of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, contains sentiments, beautifully and poetically expressed, equal to some of the best poets of a bye-gone age. (Applause.) I had also a very handsome volume of 500 pages sent me only last week from the City of Toronto, the compositions of a bard famous in this country so long ago as 1838—Evan Maccoll, the "Bard of Loch-Fyne," who was described by Hugh Miller, in the *Inverness Courier* at the time, as "The Moore of Highland Song." (Cheers.) Another poet, who started under very disadvantageous circumstances, from Argyllshire, some years ago for South Australia has also issued a volume of poems, printed in Australia. It will thus be seen that the field of Celtic literature is expanding ; that the labourers in it are increasing at a very rapid rate. (Hear, hear.) I have not included the excellent volume by Mary Mackellar, our own Society Bard, as it was published in the previous year. We shall soon, if I may be permitted to let you into a dead secret—(Laughter)—have a new addition to Celtic literature in the town of Inverness, my friend who has asked you to drink this toast having a work in the press, which we shall have the honour of presenting to the

public at no distant date. (Loud applause.) Another most important addition to our store of Highland literature, which we are expecting soon, and which members of this Society had a hand in preparing, is the forthcoming volumes of the evidence taken before the Crofter Royal Commission—(Laughter)—and the report of the Commissioners on the present state of the Highlands. (Laughter and cheers.) I well believe, sir, that this will prove to be the most important addition made to the literature of the Highlands for the last century at least. (Hear, hear.) There is a fallacy existing about Celtic literature even in Inverness, which will by-and-by be removed. There are more people taking an interest in that subject in the town than the public are aware of. Large numbers now not only read but study it carefully; and they are willing even to pay a good price for the pleasure of perusing contributions on the subject, many of which emanate, though in general anonymously, from members of the Society that I am now addressing. Kindly reference has been made to my own little venture in the Celtic field, the *Celtic Magazine*. I lay little claim myself to the good which it has admittedly done. Through it I have been able, however, to give many writers, among whom are the leading authorities of the day, an opportunity of expressing their views on Celtic questions. I have been able to present them, as it were, with a focus, and thus we are together able to show the world that there is a Celtic literature and some little ability in our midst. (Applause.) The little craft, you will be glad to hear, is at present in excellent order, and there is not the slightest fear of its usefulness being in any way impaired. (Hear, hear.) For it was never so able to weather the storm as at the present moment. (Laughter and applause.) The *Celtic Magazine* is now longer in existence than any Celtic publication ever published in this country, and I can assure you that there is not the slightest fear of any mishap or rocks ahead at present. (Laughter and applause.) I am very much obliged to you for the kind way in which you have responded to the toast of Celtic Literature, as well as for your reception of the name of the *Celtic Magazine* and the looming "Scottish Highlander," which I hope to succeed in making a worthy labourer in a congenial field not very far removed from that of his elder brother. (Cheers.)

Councillor Alex. Ross proposed the "Agricultural and Commercial Interests of the Highlands," and the toast was acknowledged by Mr Robert Grant of the Royal Tartan Warehouse.

Mr John Whyte, Librarian, proposed "Kindred Societies," and mentioned the great advantages to be derived from being associated

with Societies such as the Field Club, the Literary Institute, and the Mutual Improvement Society. Many old Inverness boys, who had distinguished themselves in after life in their several spheres, had got their early training at similar Societies. The toast was coupled with the name of Mr Findlater, President of the Mutual Improvement Society, who replied.

Mr Duncan Campbell, of the *Chronicle*, proposed "Highland Education."

Mr Wm. Morrison, Dingwall Academy, in reply, said—Having adverted to that clause of the constitution of the Society which set forth as one of its aims the vindication of the rights and character of the Scottish Highlander, he proceeded—I think the latter may safely be left to the testimony of individuals who come in contact with the Gael, and to the verdict of history. They were characterised by that apostle of culture, Mr Matthew Arnold, in his attempt to account for the presence of so much colour and feeling in English literature not to be found in its purely Saxon origin, as invested by a spirit of idealism—a spirit for ever struggling with the matter-of-fact realities of life, and which he termed a spirit of *Titanism*. That might do well as a theory of the natural history of poetry in Britain, but it will scarcely square with the pretty well known fact that Highlanders who have had the advantage and aid of those intellectual implements and tools, which it is the birthright of every free-born subject of this realm to have placed in his hands, have shown that they have played no mean part in the extension and consolidation of the mighty fabric of the British empire over all the habitable globe. (Applause.) As for the vindication of their rights, it is the duty, as well as the interest of such a Society as this to defend such rights when attacked. (Hear, hear.) The greater part of our kinsmen, ignorant of the English language, cannot formulate their grievances so as to reach the understandings and touch the hearts of the rest of their fellow-subjects conversant with that language—(Hear, hear)—and when they are assisted by sympathisers, they are reproached as "being put up to it," so the callous and unfeeling phrase it. Our duty, then, is to see that at least the means of expressing themselves in the English language be put within their reach, and we may be sure they will not require adventitious aid to plead their own cause in clear and forcible terms. (Cheers.) They will then plead, to use Shakespeare's language—

"Trumpet tongued

Against the deep damnation of their taking off."

Hence, the sooner this power is given them, the better will it be

for all who profess to admire a noble but ill-used race. (Cheers.) The cause of school education in the Highlands at present requires all the enlightened aid and sympathy which this and kindred societies can render it. I refer particularly to the cause of education in purely Gaelic-speaking districts. (Hear, hear.) The principle ever contended for by this Society—that of employing Gaelic as the medium of instruction in schools in districts where English is not the tongue known to the people—has recently been held prominently before the public. Mr Mundella—(Cheers)—with the frankness of an Englishman, admitted the force of the arguments used by the deputation of gentlemen interested in this question who waited upon him lately in Edinburgh, and what is of more importance, promised to consider the means to be used to further the object of that deputation. (Applause.) The problem is, doubtless, hedged round with difficulties—not the least of them being the apathy of Gaelic-speaking parents, and what is worse, the opposition of men in power who ought to know better what their duty in this matter should be. After Mr Mundella's admission that he was convinced that knowledge in a foreign tongue can only be acquired through the medium of the one known, we shall hear less of this opposition. So long as Mr Mundella represents the Education Department, so long will effect be given to that conviction. The Minister of Education, backed up by the omnipotent power of the money grant, need fear no opposition to his views. So true is it that force *is* a remedy, *pace* Mr Bright. Pascal, who is believed to have had as keen an insight into human nature as our great financial reformer, uttered no idle words when he said—*La force ce fait l'opinion*. I never could understand the mental attitude of those who oppose the use of the vernacular in purely Gaelic-speaking districts as an instrument of education. (Hear, hear.) They allege such an instrument to be unnecessary, seeing that English is making its way among the people. I admit the fact, but question whether the process might not be more rapid and more lasting were the language of the people made use of as a medium of instruction. I refuse to term the process "Education." It is not so etymologically or psychologically. (Hear, hear.) You may charge the memory with meaningless symbols, but that is scarcely "Education." You can educate a man only by taking out whatever is good in him, but how that can be done without getting at the man through the medium of his understanding is a process known only to the opponents of Gaelic in the schools, and to those Rosicrucians who as Hudibras averred—

“Understood the speech of birds,
As well as they themselves did words.” (Cheers.)

Such possibly have an exaggerated idea of the mental equipment of the young Highlander. They must surely think that Highlanders have access to a royal road to knowledge denied to the rest of mankind. If not, why use an argument which, if applied to the acquisition of French and German by English speaking youths, would be scouted as unworthy of any one outside the bounds of Bedlam. To add anything further would be to throw words away on “a self-convicted absurdity.” I shall waste no more words in defending my opinion fortified as it now is by common-sense and the “sinews of war.” (Applause.) I ever held that the problem of how best to extend education in the remote parts of the Highlands was one that money mainly could solve. I say mainly, for there is an alternative method to which I shall presently refer. To take a concrete case, I shall refer to the Lews as fairly typical of what obtains in other parts of the Gaelic area. There we have a school-rate which for amount is not equalled by that of any other part of the British Dominions, so far as I know. What would be said of a tax of 10s. in the £1, as in the parish of Barvas two years ago and this year of 6s. 8d.? or even of 5s. 6d., as in the case in the parish of Lochs? The answer would perhaps be much like that of the Lancashire gentleman who exclaimed, when I told him of this monstrous tax, levied on a poor peasantry—“Why don't the people kick?” One may well reply—“Why, indeed, if they knew whom to kick.” (Hear, hear.) Unfortunately, they *are* kicking against the pricks, and, of course, to their own hurt. I am informed that the whole School Board system is viewed by them with hostility as a new form of intolerable oppression. The tax is levied for most with the rent by the estate, and this perhaps accounts for the silent patience with which the burden is borne, I should rather say the sullen patience under which they bear up the load. Their silence may be owing, however, to that “nice backwardness of shame” to speak against a cause intrinsically worthy of all support. That dreadful load of taxation should, in the name of honour and justice, be lightened. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The other difficulty is that of securing teachers with a knowledge of Gaelic for remote districts. A knowledge of Gaelic is not made an indispensable condition in the appointment of teachers. Permissive legislation has done that. The best class of Gaelic-speaking teachers naturally go where the best salaries are to be got; the

worst are dear at any price. (Hear.) I must say that the class of teachers secured by such Boards as that of the Lews, to the best of my knowledge, is perhaps one which any district in Britain might be proud of. They have obstacles to surmount before which many men, who plume themselves as their superiors, would quail, and that they successfully meet these obstacles, so far as is possible in the peculiar circumstances of their case, one need only look at the high results tabulated by H.M. Inspectors in their annual reports. How many or how few of these excellent teachers make use of Gaelic in their work I cannot say. Some Boards insist upon the teacher giving Scripture first in Gaelic and next day in English, with the double view, as it is expressed, of "helping the children to learn and understand both their Bibles and English better." Some teachers, I am informed, allege that this plan does not work well, as the children require to begin with Gaelic primers, and need Bibles with Gaelic and English on alternate pages or in alternate columns. I may quote the words of a gentleman in Lews, an enlightened and patriotic School Board member, who wrote me the other day on this question. Referring to the difficulty of procuring Bibles such as I have mentioned he says—"It occurs to me that the difficulty would vanish were Government to concede a grant for Gaelic teaching, and supply means to print suitable bi-lingual extracts of Scripture, polyglot-fashion, with Gaelic and English on opposite and alternate pages." This gentleman goes on to suggest that the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge might be induced to provide this want, seeing they are ready to endow the teaching of Gaelic, where essential, to the amount of £15 or £20 per annum for each school. "This bonus," he continues, "small though it be, we hope to hold out in future as an inducement where vacancies demand candidates professing Gaelic among their classical attainments." (Applause.) I hold that even on present terms, Gaelic-speaking teachers of a more aspiring class than can now be induced to take service under Highland School Boards might be secured if arrangements were made to permit them to attend University classes with a view to graduation, or to pass even to other professions, providing always that trained substitutes were secured for the schools in their absence. My correspondent agrees with me in this view. I am persuaded that were School Boards in purely Gaelic districts to see their way to adopt such a plan, they would have command of the very best class of Gaelic-speaking teachers, even with the moderate salaries given. Such an arrangement would also put heart into many Gaelic-speaking

teachers now engaged under these Boards. The hope of rising in their profession with more rapidity than is now possible would make their existence brighter than it can otherwise be, chained as they are to the oar to the end of the voyage of their life. What the existence of "an open career to talent" has done in other professions can do in this profession with the most beneficial results to the public, as well as to the individual immediately concerned who is pushing his way upwards in life. There are prizes in the teaching profession, but the way to them is not so open as it should be. The loss will ultimately fall upon the public that this path should not be cleared of unnecessary obstacles. We speak of the importance of educating our Highland people, and we declaim upon their hard lot, while few voices are raised to suggest practical means to alleviate their miseries, much less to use effective measures to put into their hands those instruments which an English education alone can give to enable them, not only to hold their own in competition with their more fortunate fellow-subjects, but to give scope to those talents and capacities which when developed, prove that the Scottish Highlander is often more than a match for any man of his height and weight from any nation under the sun. (Cheers.) Now that Latin is no longer the avenue to the storehouses of wealth in European literature, the advocates for the retention of this noble language in schools, are constrained to find some plausible grounds for such retention. The knowledge of Latin, in and by itself, is not necessary towards the acquisition of English as is commonly held. In fact the spirit of the age is rather against a style of English formed upon a training in Latin. The study of Anglo-Saxon and our English classics is recommended by our best scholars as more conducive to that end than the study of the ancient tongues. The advocates for the continued use in the schools of Latin and Greek are forced therefore to maintain that the logical training acquired in analysing the grammatical structure of those learned languages is worth all the pains bestowed upon them. I am not disposed to cavil at this argument. I admit its force, but I do not see why, if that be the chief reason for so using these time-honoured instruments of culture, the claims of Gaelic, as a language of logical texture and philological wealth, should be ignored—(Cheers)—especially in districts where it is endeared to the pupils as the language associated with that which is after all the well-spring of all that is highest and noblest in man—the emotions of his soul. (Applause.) As for the destiny of Gaelic as a spoken language, I may venture to express the hope

of the Moidart bard, Alexander Macdonald (“*Mac Mhaighstir Alastair*”), in his poem in praise of Gaelic—

“Mhair ì fòs,
 ’S cha téid a glòir air chall,
 ’Dh ’aindeoin gò
 A’s mí-run mòr nan Gall.” (Loud cheers.)

Dr F. M. Mackenzie proposed the “Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Inverness;” and Provost Macandrew, replied.

Mr Colin Chisholm proposed the “Non-Resident Members,” numbering, he said, about four hundred, and representing all ranks and conditions of Scotsmen in the Pulpit, in the Army, and in the Navy—in all parts of the world. (Cheers.) The Non-Resident Members were in fact the largest and most important portion of the Society. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Morrison, Dingwall, replied.

Councillor W. G. Stuart proposed the “Clergy of all Denominations.”

Mr Hugh Rose, solicitor, proposed the “Press,” coupled with Mr D. K. Clark, of the *Inverness Courier*, who replied.

Mr Alexander Mactavish proposed the “Chairman,” saying that the Society had just spent one of its happiest and best evenings under his presidency. The toast was drunk with Highland honours.

Provost Macandrew, in reply, said—I am more than obliged to you for the way in which you have drunk my health. I was born a Highlander. I could speak the Gaelic language once, but I have lost it now. (Laughter.) If Providence gives me the life of some of my forbears, I may, however, yet learn to speak it as I did before. (Cheers.)

Bailie Mackay, proposed the “Croupiers,” both of whom replied.

The evening was enlivened by songs and recitations by Councillor Stuart, Captain O’Sullivan, Bailie Mackay, Mr Wm. Mackay, Mr Colin Chisholm, Mr Fraser Campbell, and Mr John Whyte.

30TH JANUARY 1884.

On this date office-bearers for 1884 were elected; and Mr William Shaw, baker, Caledonian Buildings, King Street, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member of the Society.

6TH FEBRUARY 1884.

On this date it was unanimously resolved that a Gaelic class or classes in connection with, and under the auspices of, the Society be started forthwith—the classes to meet in Raining's School each Tuesday and Friday evening. Mr John Whyte thereafter gave a humorous Gaelic reading, and several members sung popular Gaelic songs.

13TH FEBRUARY 1884.

On this date the following were elected members, viz:—Mr William Macbean of the Imperial Hotel, honorary; Mr James Mackintosh, 52 Rose Street, ordinary; and Mr Peter Junor, 1 Exchange Place, Inverness, apprentice. Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., the Superintendent of the Gaelic classes, reported that over forty pupils presented themselves for enrolment the first evening; and altogether the prospects of the class were very encouraging. Mr John Whyte discoursed on the weather lore of the Highlanders—his observations being supplemented by the members present.

20TH FEBRUARY 1884.

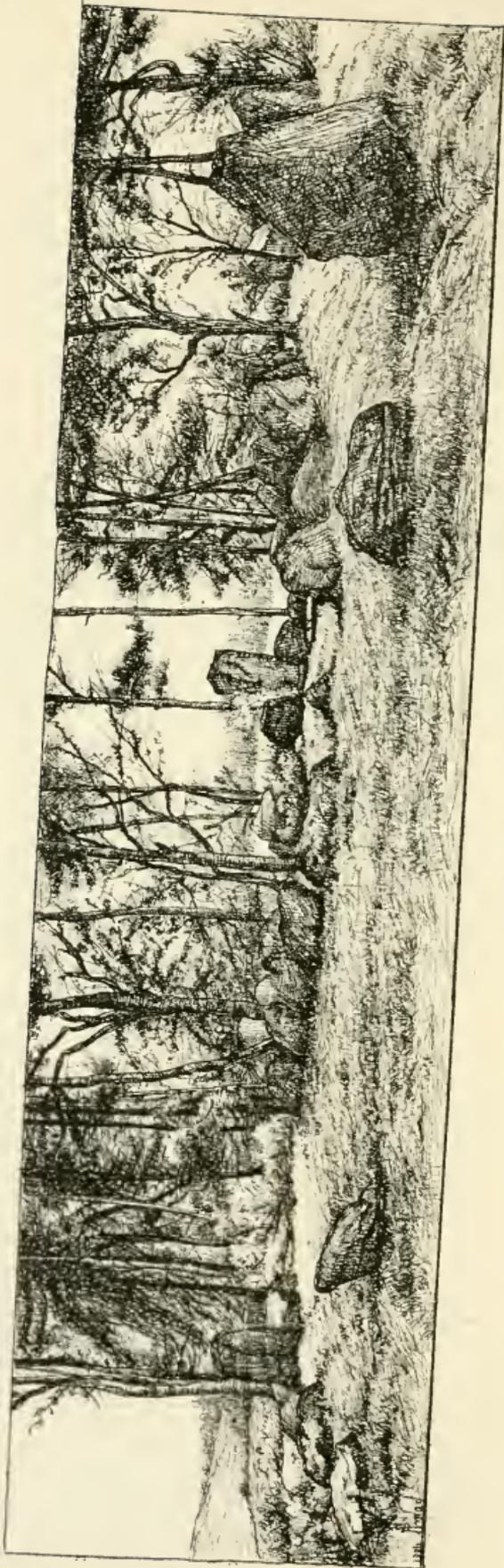
On this date, Mrs Macbean, 2 Neale Place, Inverness; and Mr Huntly Macdonald, Milend, Inverness, were elected ordinary members; and Mr John Mackintosh, 74 Church Street, an apprentice member. Some routine business having been transacted, Mr Colin Chisholm entertained the meeting with old Gaelic songs.

27TH FEBRUARY 1884.

On this date the following were elected members, viz:—Mr John Mackintosh, 6 Drummond Street, ordinary; and Mr W. Macdonald, 1 Exchange Place, and Mr H. R. Mackenzie, Academy Street, Inverness, apprentice members. Mr D. Ramsay thereafter read a paper on Witchcraft.

12TH MARCH 1884.

On this date Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A. Scot., Inverness, read a paper on "Druid Circles." The paper was illustrated by Mr Smart, Inverness, who has kindly enabled us to reproduce lithographs of his etchings of Druid Temple, Inver-



DRUID TEMPLE FROM THE NORTH.

ness, the Clava Circles, north and south, and the Interior of Chamber, northern Cairn. Mr Maclain's paper was as follows :—

THE "DRUID" CIRCLES.

The circles of rude undressed stones found in various parts of the British Isles have been for the last two centuries alike the puzzle and the contention ground of archæologists. At the present time, the theories as to their origin and use are at least as numerous as the individuals who treat of them; and, in such a chaos of opinions, a rational conclusion is difficult of attainment. Much, however, has been done during the last quarter of a century in clearing up the beliefs and customs of primitive man, and more accurate knowledge has been obtained about modern savages: in fact, a new science has been added to the many other "ologies," this one being called Anthropology—the science of man and civilisation. Much has also been done in settling the leading points of European ethnology; for the science of language has been accepted as the basis and main source of study in tracing the affinity of the nations of Europe, and the result is that the leading facts of the ethnology of Europe are known and "fixed." In regard to the British Isles, quite a small revolution has occurred since the publication of Mr Elton's work on the "Origins of English History," where the ethnology of Britain is dealt with in the light of all the modern researches on ancient institutions, history, language, and antiquities—whether human crania or human works of art and use. From all these scientific sources we are enabled to cast a reflective light upon the darkness that shrouds the so-called Druid circles and their builders. The cause of failure in the usual theories is a common one; *a priori* conceptions are formed as to the builders and the purpose of the circles, and the facts are made unmercifully to square with such ideas. And, further, archæologists are unfortunately too apt in their eager pursuit of relics and remains, to forget the living savage examples, and to ignore the labours of students of savage and barbaric beliefs and customs. They in fact ignore the anthropologist; and, what is more, they show too often a very irritating ignorance and unappreciation of the facts established by the science of language, which has so revolutionised our conceptions upon European ethnology.

I intend dealing with the question of the Druid circles from an anthropologist point of view, and my argument will run in two main lines, positive and negative. The positive argument will,

after a general description of the characteristics and geographical distribution of stone circles, consider the history and tradition in regard to them, and then inquire if any such or similar structures are set up or used now-a-days anywhere, and, if so, what their purpose is. The negative side of my argument is the most important; here I will endeavour to prove who did *not* build them, and what they were *not* built for, an argument on the lines of elimination, for which I will lay under contribution what modern research—so far as is known to me—has done in unravelling the early history of Europe and of the races that successively were prominent there.

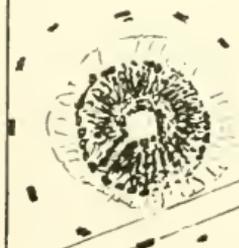
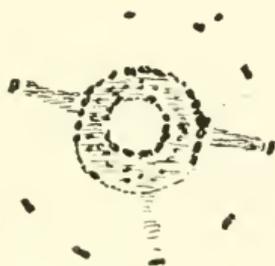
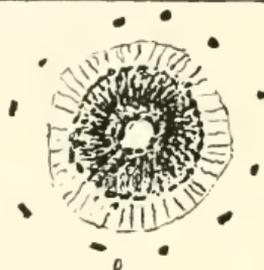
The stone circles consist of undressed stones, more or less pillar-shaped, set on end in the circumference of a circle. That is the only general statement that can be made about them, for they continually differ as to the size, interval, and number of stones in the circle; as to the size or number of circles, concentric or adjacent; and as to the existence of other structural accompaniments, such as outside trenches, cairns or mounds inside, dolmens or menhirs at or near the centre, or avenues of stones leading to them. The size of the stones may vary from two dozen to only one or two feet high; the stones may be closely set together or wide apart—thirty feet apart, as some Inverness-shire circles have them. The diameter may vary from the twelve hundred feet of the great Avebury circle to a few feet, and there may be groups of circles together, or, as in the Inverness-shire circles, the typical examples may consist of three concentric circles, and so on. The structural accompaniments—the dolmens, mounds, and avenues—may appear each alone with them, or together with one or more of the others. And in regard to their geographical distribution, they exist on the continent of Europe, more especially in Scandinavia; they are numerous in Asia—in India, in Tartary, and especially in Arabia; they appear also in North Africa, where fine specimens are found in Algeria and Tripoli; but their most characteristic development is in Britain and Ireland, and in Britain, Scotland possesses the best examples, and again, of the Scotch circles, the Inverness and Inverness-shire ones are undoubtedly the best. The valley of the Nairn is the richest spot in Scotland for such remains.

Let us pass from these general statements to particular facts. The stone circle may exist alone; there are many examples of single stone circles unaccompanied by any other structure or superstructure. Such exist in Africa, India, Arabia, and frequently in the British Isles. These were alone and single

CLAVA CAIRNS

GROUNDPLAN

SCALE $\frac{1}{100}$ inch to foot.



Road

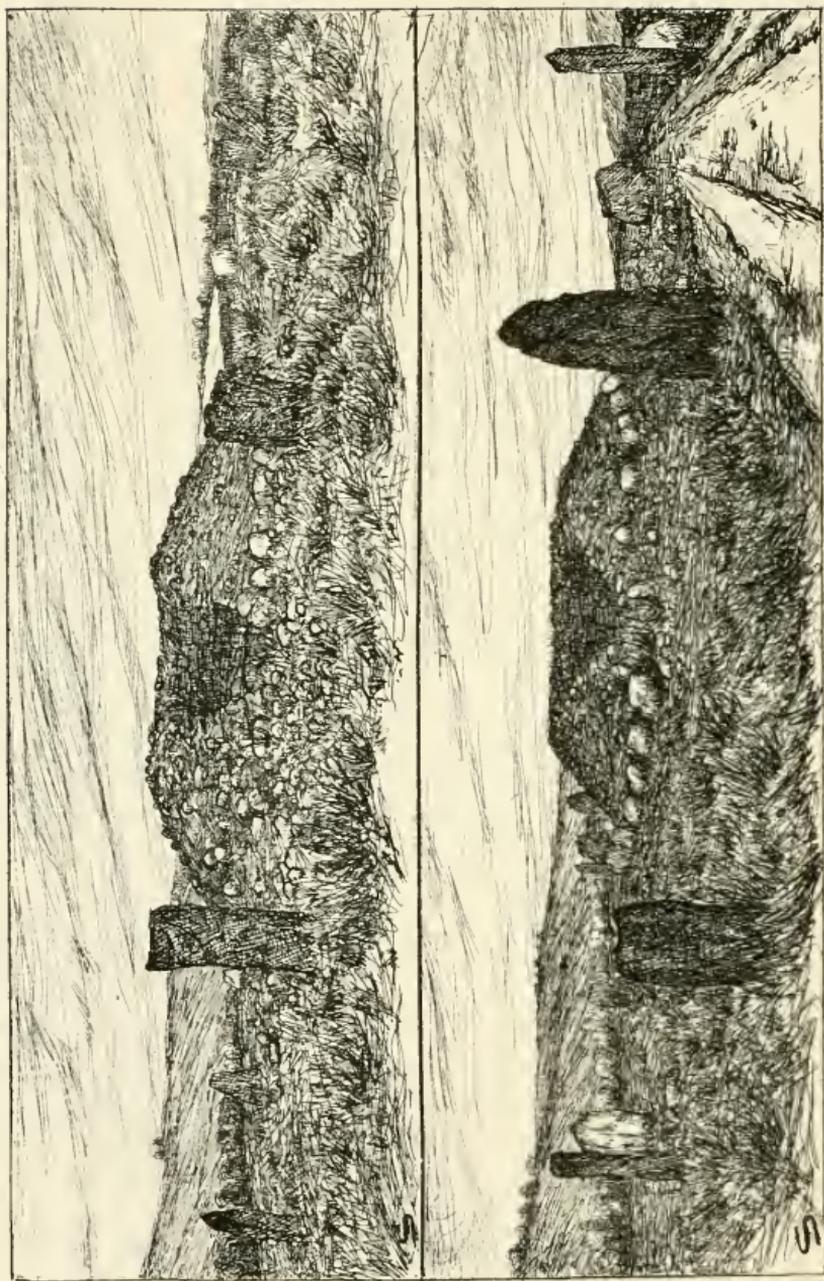
Scale $\frac{1}{30}$ inch to foot.



SECTION THROUGH NORTHERN CAIRN TRANSVERSE TO PASSAGE



SECTION THROUGH MIDDLE CAIRN FROM W.S. BY.



CLAVA CAIRNS—NORTH AND SOUTH.

5

from the first; they did not get so through the denudations caused by time. But the general rule is to find with these circles other structural forms. Mr Fergusson, who has written a most able, though prejudiced, work on "Rude Stone Monuments," considers the mound as architecturally the first step in the development of these monuments, and, for the mere explanation of terms, we may accept his order of exposition. The mound would require a row of stones round its base to keep it together; hence arose the circle of close-fitting stones, which so often accompanies mounds and cairns, and which sometimes also appear alone, though not so often. These mounds may be of earth or stone, and their purpose is, as a rule, for burial, though cairns might have also been raised for the sake of "remembrance," "witness," and boundary marks. The burial mound or barrow may have a cist in it—that is four slabs of stone set in box form, and with another slab super-imposed. These cists were intended to receive the bodies or the urns. The cists when exposed, that is when the earth of the mound is all cleared away, appear as a box of large slabs, with a slab covering it; and this description, with the addition that the stones are large, or megalithic, is true of a perfect "dolmen" or "cromlech." The dolmen consists of at least two supporting stones and one covering stone, but it usually has side stones as well as end stones. The true dolmens are found unattended by any trace of tumulus, which shows that they were erected independent of any mound or cairn. Nevertheless, the best antiquarians are of opinion that they were intended for burial purposes, and not for altars of worship, as the "Druid" theorists have held. Whether they were a development from the stone cists is, perhaps, an open question. Another feature of certain barrows is the internal chamber. This chamber is generally circular, and built by overlapping the stones at a certain height, and thus gradually narrowing the circle until at last the apex of the chamber can be closed with one slab. The chambered cairns at Clava will illustrate the principle of this construction. Here there is a foundation laid of very large stones—some three feet high, and on this a course or two of stones is laid, not perpendicularly as is more usual, but with a backward inclination. At from four to five feet high the stones begin to overlap all round until, at last, at a height probably of eleven or twelve feet, the circle could be closed by a single stone, thus forming a domed chamber of a dozen feet in diameter and height. Leading to this chamber there may be a passage made of two walls of stone, with slabs across. The foundation-stones of the passage are usually large—megalithic, in

fact. Now, two points are to be noticed here, according to the theory of the architectural development of these structures maintained by Mr Fergusson: If the cairn or mound is removed, leaving only its megalithic foundations, there remain an interior circle of closely-placed stones, with an "avenue" leading into it. Hence the avenue or alignment of stones may be regarded as a development of the passage into the chamber of the mound, at least from an architectural point of view. These avenues of stone are common in France, but we have a good specimen of them in Lews, where, at Callernish, we find an avenue of megalithic pillars—stones six or seven feet high on the average, leading to an interior circle of 42 feet diameter. The peculiarity at Callernish is that there branch off from the circle three lines of stones, making, with the avenue, a kind of cruciform groundplan. The great chambered mound at New Grange, in Ireland, is entered by a long passage three feet wide and some six feet high, the sides of which are composed of megalithic pillars covered over with slabs. The chamber has branches running off right and left, and a third in continuation of the passage. The general resemblance of this groundplan to that of Callernish caused Dr Stuart, in his "Sculptured Stones of Scotland," to say: "If the cairns at New Grange were removed, the pillars would form another Callernish." But Callernish was never covered with a mound; it was, indeed, threatened to be covered with peat, accreted through countless centuries. The avenue is too broad—eight feet broad—and the stones too pointed to be covered with cross slabs, while they stand apart from one another at a distance of some six feet, and not close together, as such a theory would require. Besides, where would the mound material be taken to in such a place? Callernish, from these and other considerations, was never even intended to be covered with a mound or cairn. These avenues attain their highest development when unattended with any other structures or superstructures in the way of circles or of mounds, as at Carnac, in France. Another accompaniment of the stone circle may be a single standing stone or "menhir," placed either interior or exterior to it. And, lastly, we may mention the existence of a ditch or trench exterior to a circle or to a mound. Such ditches have passages leading across them—a fact which throws some light on the passages of the Clava middle cairn. Specimens of these are to be seen in Derby and Cumberland. To sum up, we find circles connected with mounds, either inside the mound, round its base, or at a distance outside; we find circles connected with or surrounding dolmens, whether mound-covered or



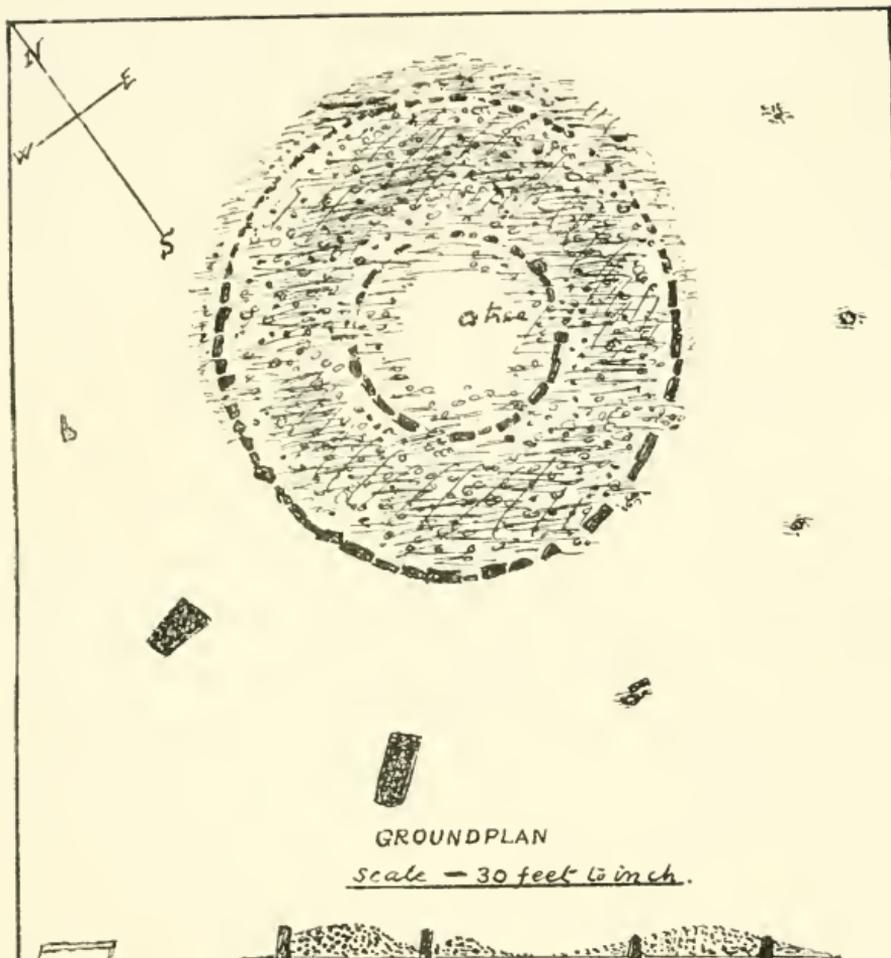
CLAVA—NORTHERN CAIRN—INTERIOR OF CHAMBER.

not—some dolmens, as in India, being, indeed, on the top of the mound ; we find circles with avenues leading into them, and we find them with menhirs and with trenches. And there may be a combination of two or more of these along with circles. Further, it is amply clear that circles, avenues, dolmens, and menhirs were set up independent of any earth mounds or cairns.

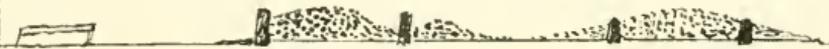
A more particular description of the Inverness-shire stone circles will tend greatly to elucidate the subject, more especially as these circles are so numerous, so well preserved on the whole, and so definite in their character and development. The Inverness and Strathnairn circles have been exhaustively mapped and described by Mr Fraser, C.E., of Inverness, in a paper to the local Field Club, and to him I am in the main indebted for measurements and details. There are altogether twenty-five circles, more or less preserved, within the water-shed of the Nairn, and some twelve or fourteen between that and the River Ness, and extending as far as Loch-Ness. The principal stone circles and remains are at Tordarroch, Gask, Clava, Newton of Petty, Druid Temple, and Does. The general characteristics of these circles are these: (1) They consist of three concentric rings of undressed boulder or flag stones, fixed on end. (2) The outer ring varies in diameter from 60 to 126 feet—averaging 96 feet, and consists of long stones, from nine to twelve in number, set at nearly regular intervals, the tallest being at the south side, and the size gradually diminishing towards the north side of the circle. (3) The middle ring varies from 22 to 88 feet—average being 53 feet—in diameter, and consists of smaller boulders—few flags being used—set on end close together, with a slight slope towards the centre of the circle, and their best and flattest face outward. The largest stones are here again on the south side, and the smallest on the north. (4) A third and central ring, concentric with the other two, from 12 to 32 feet in diameter—averaging 19 feet—consists of stones or flags set on end close together. Of course the accuracy of the concentricity of the circles cannot be depended on; they are often slightly eccentric. They are built on low-lying or flat ground as a rule, and where stones are abundant. An entrance or “avenue” to the inmost ring can be distinguished in four or five cases only, and its direction varies from s. 5° E. to s. 41° W., the average direction being that of the sun at one o’clock. It is only at Clava, and only in two cases there, that chambers are found constructed on the innermost ring, and bounded by the middle ring. But three others present traces of a cairn of stones having existed between the middle and innermost rings, which we may call ring cairns,

but no sign of an entrance passage; while two which have an avenue or passage (Croftroy and Druid Temple) do not present any clear traces of ever having had a cairn—certainly not the Druid Temple circles. As to the process of building them, it would seem as if the outer ring was set up first, and the other two rings thereafter, while any chambered or ring cairn would be built on these as a foundation.

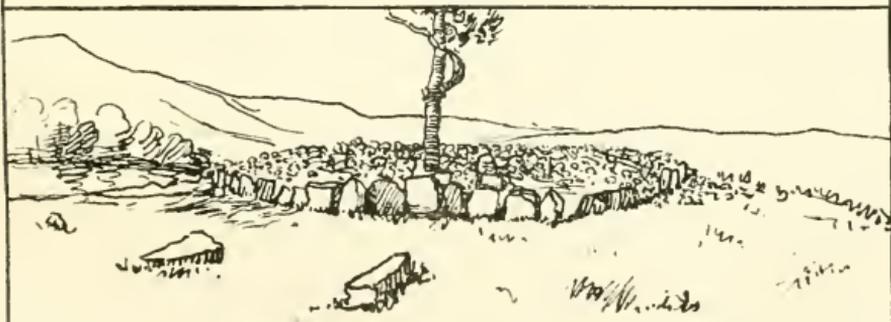
Another interesting series of stone circles exists in Badenoch and Upper Strathspey. The principal circles are at Delfoor, Ballinluig, Aviemore, and Tullochgorm—half-a-dozen altogether. They all partake more or less of the ring cairn type; there is an outer circle from 70 to 101 feet in diameter; a middle one from 40 to 62; and an inner with a diameter varying from about 12 to 25 feet—average, 20 feet. The outer ring is in every case unfortunately incomplete, but it appears to average ten or eleven stones, the largest of which, some nine feet high, are to the south, and the lowest on the north side. The circle at Grainish, two miles north of Aviemore Station, is typical of the rest, and, indeed, typical of all these ring cairns. This circle has been known for a century or more. "Ossian" Macpherson, and his other namesake, Rev. John Macpherson, speak of it as "Druidic," and in this the historian of Moray, Lachlan Shaw, agrees with them. Dr Arthur Mitchell describes it in the tenth volume of the Society of Antiquaries' Transactions, but gives an inaccurate idea of it in his drawing. The outer ring, 101 feet in average diameter, is represented by two fallen stones—9 and 7 feet long respectively, while five others can be detected by their fragments and the holes in the ground where they stood. The stones themselves, being granite, were, of course, appropriated for building purposes at no very remote date. The second circle is, with the exception of a gap or two, complete. The heaviest stones are to the south, and it is the same with the inmost circle. The middle circle has diameters of 62 and 59 feet, while the inner has a uniform diameter of 25 feet. The cairn has fallen to some extent into the internal open space. The depth of the cairn is about four feet, and that also is the height of the highest stones of the second ring. There is no trace of any passage entering to the interior open space through the ring cairn, any more than there is trace of such in the Inverness circles of the same ring cairn kind at Clava, Culdoich, and Gask. It is, moreover, abundantly clear that this cairn was never much other than it is now; there never was a chamber erected on the innermost circle, for, were this so, the stones would undoubtedly have still remained, as the place is a long way from cultivated land, and



GROUNDPLAN
 Scale - 30 feet to inch.



SECTION ALONG DIAMETER PARALELL TO SIDE OF THIS PAGE



VIEW ON PROLONGATION OF SAME DIAMETER ON S.S.W.

CIRCLE AND TRUNCATED CAIRN NEAR CRAINISH, AVIEMORE.

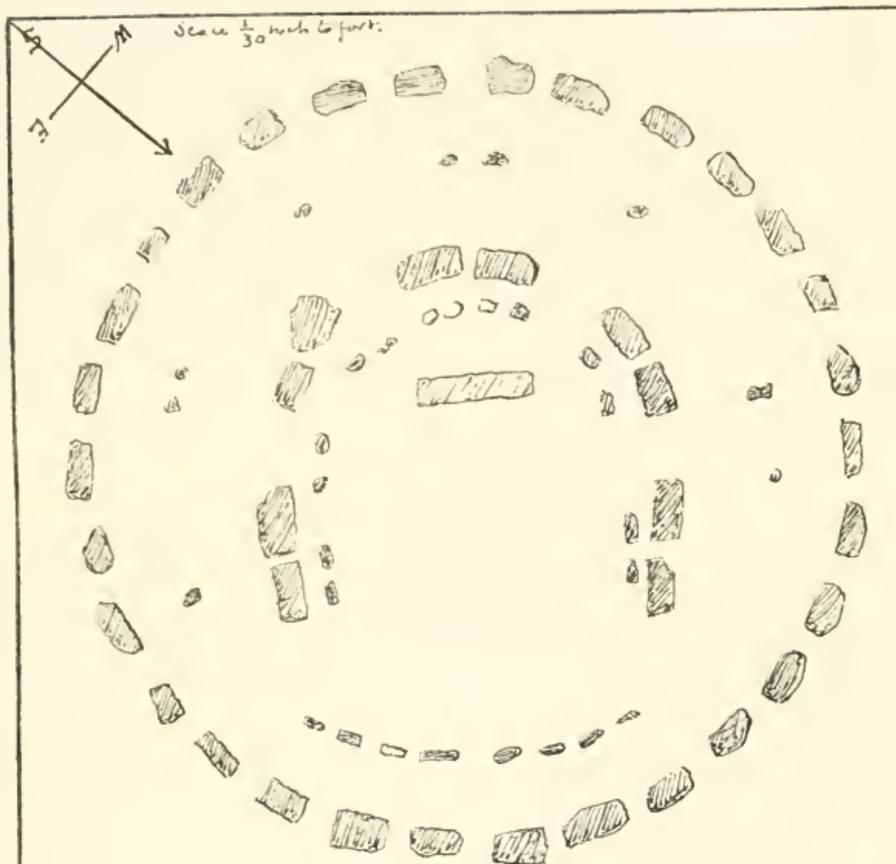
from any habitations. Within thirty yards of it, to the south, there is a low barrow, enclosed by a circle of small stones; it is quite round, and 18 feet in diameter. There are several such around here, not far from the circles, all partaking of the same type. Most of them have been disturbed. The Strathspey Gaelic name for these stone circles and cairns is "Na carrachan," which implies a nominative singular "car," evidently from the same root as *cairn*.

The examination and study of these Inverness-shire circles and rude stone monuments raise the most important questions as to the intention and the plan of construction of stone circles. The three concentric circles seem developed, architecturally speaking, from the chambered cairn, encircled at its base, and with another circle at a distance. The next step would seem to have been the ring cairn. Possibly the reason for the ring cairn may consist in the fact that the builders could not, on their bee-hive system, and with the stones they used, as seen in the chambered cairns at Clava, Gask, Grainisli, and Delfoor, all of which are over 20 feet in diameter. The third step might have been to drop the building of the ring cairn, which would thus leave the three concentric circles, so peculiar in their character, in that they have a middle circle evidently designed for forming an outer ring intended to bound a cairn so as to keep it together. Druid Temple at Leys, Inverness, presents a good example of stone circles evidently not completed by cairn of any kind, and yet having traces of avenue, which so few of them have. It also shows the state of preservation in which the ravages of time and the last century or two of stone-building have left these monuments of a remote antiquity.

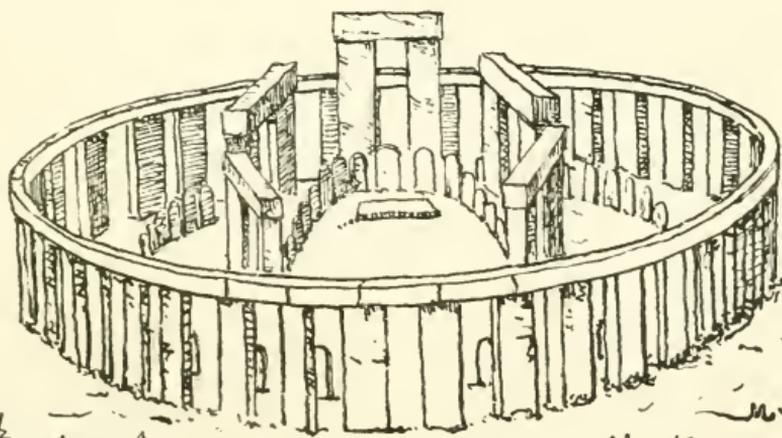
In regard to the purpose of building these structures, the answer which the interrogation of them gives to the inquirer depends mainly on his individual theories. The construction of the central and middle circle, I believe, is developed from the chambered cairn, but it is in regard to the outer circle that the real difficulty exists. What is the purpose of it? The chambered cairns are, by most antiquarians, connected with burial, though other theories, as we shall see, are held. In any case, burial deposits and urns were found in the Clava chambered cairns, a fact which connects them somehow with burial. It does not appear that the other circles have been yet scientifically explored; at any rate burial deposits have not been found except in the

doubtful instances of Druid Temple and Gask. An urn was found in a gravel cutting near the former, and bits of bone have been found in the debris which lies in the interior of the latter.

In Ireland, besides the famous mound of New Grange, with its surrounding circle of monoliths, and the several other mounds on the Boyne, where, according to old Irish history, repose the fairy heroes of Ireland's golden age—the Dagda and his compeers, in whom modern research recognises the old deities of the Gael—besides these there are the “battlefields” of the two Moyturas, the “tower fields” as the name means, which are literally strewn with circles, mounds, and stones. The stone circles here are often alone, and often in connection with the mounds, cairns, and dolmens. It was on these Moytura plains that the fairy heroes overcame their foes of ocean and of land—the Fomorians and the Fir-bolgs; so Irish history says, and the dates of these events are only some nineteen centuries before our era! In England, several good specimens of stone circles still remain in the remote districts, districts such as Cornwall and Cumberland; they are often single circles unattended by any other structure; but there is a tendency toward their existing in groups, some circles intersecting one another even—such groups as at Botallick in Cornwall, Stanton Drew in Somersetshire, and others. The most famous stone monuments in England, or in these Isles, are those of Stonehenge and Avebury. The remains at Avebury, from the immense size of the outer circle (1200 feet) and its external rampart, its remains of two sets of contiguous circles, each set being formed of two concentric rings of stones, and its two remarkable avenues of stone, each of more than a mile in length, the one winding to the south-east, the other to the south-west—these remains have brought Avebury into rivalry with Stonehenge, with which it contests the honour of having been, as some think, vaguely heard of by the Greeks before the Christian era. Stonehenge, however, though much less in extent—its outer circle is only 100 feet in diameter, which is just about the average of the outer circles of Inverness-shire—is much better preserved and much better known. It differs in various ways from the usual type of circles and their accompaniments, though preserving the general features. In the first place the stones are “dressed” so far as to render them more suitable for contact with, or superimposition of, other stones. Stonehenge is therefore not quite a “rude stone monument.” This dressing of the stones was connected with another, though less unique, feature of these circles. This is what is known as the trilithons. These are composed of two upright pillar stones set



THE GROUNDPLAN — EXISTING STONES REPLACED.



ORIGINAL PLAN RESTORED BY WALTIRE AND OTHERS.

STONEHENGE.

somewhat apart, with another stone passing on the top from the one to the other. The trilithon is common in Asiatic monuments but not in European, and Mr Fergusson is of opinion that, architecturally, it is only an improved dolmen, standing on two legs instead of four. An earthen vallum surrounded the outer circle at a distance from it of 100 feet. The outer circle itself was 100 feet in diameter, and consisted originally of thirty square piers, spaced tolerably equally; but only twenty-six of these can now be identified, in whole or part. They were, evidently, all connected by a continuous stone impost or architrave, of which only six are now in position. Passing over the smaller and more doubtful second circle, we come to the five great trilithons, the plan and position of which are now quite settled. Their height is from 16 to 21 feet high. They form a horse-shoe plan, two pairs on each side, and one pair at the middle of the bend. Inside this inner circle or horse-shoe are ten or eleven stones, more or less *in situ*; they are of igneous rock, such as is not to be found nearer than Cornwall or even Ireland. The highest is over 7 feet, but the others are generally smaller. They seem to go in pairs about 3 feet apart, and may have formed the supports of trilithons. Between the outer circle and the great trilithons there are the remains of another circle of stone, some 5 feet high, and if it was complete—which is doubtful, it would consist of over forty stones, of which only some sixteen remain. Within the inner horse-shoe there is a stone in a recumbent position, called the "Altar" stone, but whether its proper place was here or elsewhere we cannot now say. Excavations inside the Stonehenge circles have led to no satisfactory conclusion, because they were instituted too long ago, first in 1620; and, though bones and armour are mentioned, we cannot say whether the bones were human or the armour of iron. Fragments of Roman and British pottery have been found in it; but the best antiquaries are of opinion that the circles belong to the Bronze Age, and to a late period even in it. Bronze Age barrows surround it, belonging, as is shown by the chippings of the igneous stone of the inmost circle, to the same age as the megalithic monument itself. But there are also barrows of older tribes around and near it. "There are indications," says Mr Elton, "that the people of the Bronze Age were the actual constructors of the temple on a site which had previously been selected as a burial-ground for the chieftains of the Neolithic tribes."

The only other stone circles I shall allude to, are those of Palestine and Arabia, and of these I shall speak only of those of

the desert of Sinai, and of the land of Moab. The explorations of the Ordnance Survey in 1869 have made the antiquities of the Sinai region perfectly known to us. Besides the ordinary beehive house of the Scotch type, there are also circles "nearly identical in character with those which in England and Scotland are commonly called Druidical Circles." They consist, as a rule, of a single outer ring of large standing stones, from 3 to 4½ feet high, and placed in contact with one another; in some cases there is an inner concentric ring. The outer ring varies in size from 10 to 50 feet in diameter. In the centre of each circle a cist about 4 feet long by 2½ feet wide and deep is found, with its sides composed of four large stones, and the top covered over with a heavy slab, which is generally level with the surface. The corpse was placed in this cist on its left side with the knees bent up to the chin. Over the cist is placed a small cairn, enclosed by a ring of standing stones of smaller size than those in the outer circles. "None of the cists," says Major Palmer, "opened by the Sinai expedition contained anything in addition to the skeleton, except in one instance, when some marine shells and worked flints were found," though other explorers found a lance and arrow-heads of flint in another. In only one case were these circles found associated with the beehive houses, and opinions differ as to whether the same race built them both, though they are all agreed that these remains are pre-historic—built by a people antecedent to the Jews, and the rest of the Semites, and long anterior to the Exodus. In regard to the Land of Moab, Canon Tristram, says: "In Moab are three classes of primæval monuments: stone-circles, dolmens, and cairns, each in great abundance in three different parts of the country, but never side by side. The cairns exclusively range in the east, on the spurs of the Arabian desert; the stone circles, south of Callirrhoe; and the dolmens, north of that valley. The fact would seem to indicate three neighbouring tribes, co-existent in the pre-historic period, each with distinct funeral or religious customs. Of course the modern Arab attributes all these dolmens to the Jinns."

What, then, is the origin and history of these stone circles? We may apply to history, to etymology, and to tradition in vain. The historians of the ancient world took practically no notice of them. Cæsar may have stood among the pillared stones of Carnac, watching the fight between his fleet and that of the Veneti, but, as these monuments did not interfere with his martial or political designs, he, as is his wont, makes no reference to them. Diodorus Siculus, quoting from older sources, makes a

wild reference to "an island over against Celtica (Gaul), not less in size than Sicily, lying under the Polar Bear, and inhabited by the Hyperboreans, so-called because they lie beyond the blasts of the north wind Wherefore the worship of Apollo takes precedence of all others, and from the daily and continuous singing of his praises, the people are, as it were, his priests. There exists in the island a magnificent grove (temenos) of Apollo, and a remarkable temple of round (dome) shape, adorned with many votive offerings." This very unsatisfactory passage was greedily seized upon by those that favoured the "Druidic" origin of the stone circles, but it may be doubted if the island referred to was Britain at all—for Diodorus knew Britain perfectly well, and would have likely told us so, if this Hyperborean island was the same as Britain. And again, no people is more mythical than these Hyperboreans or dwellers beyond the North wind. The temple, too, was not merely round; it was also dome-shaped, like the Gaulish and British houses. How far does this agree with Stonehenge? It is useless to build or prop any theory on such a passage as this. In the 5th century, and on to the 11th century, we meet with constant edicts of church councils against worship and sacrifice upon stones—even the stones themselves were objects of worship. In 452, the Council of Arles decreed that "if, in any diocese, any infidel lighted torches or worshipped trees, fountains, or stones, he should be guilty of sacrilege." Stones, trees, and fountains form the continual burden of these edicts. This worship of stones and sacrifices upon them we need not connect with stone circles, for there is no detail given as to the character of the worship or the monuments worshipped, or at which worship took place. It is very probable, however, that the stones referred to were those on the graves and around the mounds of the dead. Ancestor worship was strong among Celt and Teuton, and we know from old Norse literature that the family tumulus or howe was not merely a place of worship, but also a place of council. In the Land-nama-bok, we read that at one place "there was a harrow ('high place') made there, and sacrifices began to be performed there, for they believed that they died into these hills." The use of these howes as places of meeting, and in villages as places of festive resort, whereon the May-pole tree might flourish, will also explain why the stone circles were used, at least on two historic occasions, in Scotland as places of solemn meeting. In 1349 the Earl of Ross and the Bishop of Aberdeen met at the standing stones of Rayne, and in 1380, Alexander, "Wolf of Badenoch," summoned to meet him at Rait, near Kingussie, the

Bishop of Moray, who protested against the proceedings, "standing outside the circle." A remarkable reference to stone idols occurs in a very old Irish manuscript as an incident in the life of St Patrick. When the Saint came to Magh Slécht, the plain of adoration, there he found Cenn or Crom Cruaich, the chief idol of Ireland, covered with gold and silver, and twelve other idols covered with brass. Patrick aimed at it with his crozier, which caused it to "bow" to one side, and the mark of the crozier was still to be seen on it when the pious Middle Age scribe was writing, and the earth also swallowed up the twelve idols as far as their head, and there they were as a proof of the miracle some six centuries later. This story may be merely a mythical explanation of a circle of stones existent at Magh Slécht. The building of Stonehenge is doubtless referred to in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who says that Merlin transferred the stones from Ireland and set up the circles in England as a monument over "the consuls and princes whom the wicked Hengist had treacherously slain," as Scotch legend represents the Cummings to have slain the Mackintoshes or Shaws at the feast. Stonehenge attracted attention after the revival of learning set in with the Reformation. King James I. interested himself in its origin and history, and got plans made of it by his architect, Inigo Jones. Jones ascribed it to the Romans, and immediately another set it down as of Danish origin. Aubrey and Stukeley afterwards started the theory that it was a temple of Druidic worship. Toland clenched this with all the scholarship he could command, and not merely claimed Stonehenge and such like structures as Druidic, but all prehistoric cairns, dolmens, as well as circles and single stones were made places of Druidic worship. And from that time till a generation or two ago, the Druidic theory held almost unquestioned sway.

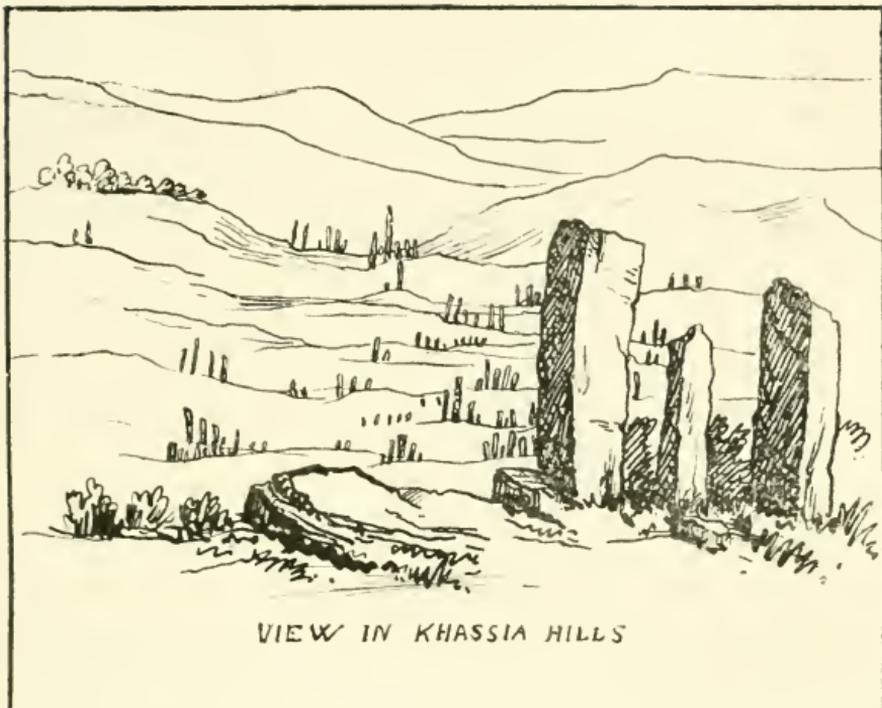
The foregoing account is all that history can say of the rude stone monuments of Europe; Roman and Greek history know them not—we except the Cyclopean tombs of Mycenæ and their mythic history; and even the references in early Christian times are too vague to be of any satisfactory use; and should we grant the stone monuments mentioned to be the rude stone circles, we could not be sure that the Celts and Tentons of the 5th to the 11th centuries were using them for their primitive purpose. In Asiatic history, these monuments fare no better. Old Jewish history refers several times to altars of rude stones and to stone monuments set up for remembrance of events, and for witness or compact; but, when closely examined, these accounts refer to

little more than a second-hand use of the pre-Jewish monuments, or give merely a popular explanation of the cairns and monuments of some long antecedent race.

Popular tradition and the examination or etymology of the names applied to these rude stone monuments yield even worse results than historical investigation. One thing is to be noted ; popular tradition knows nothing of the Druids in connection with these circles. The nearest approach to the Druidic theory is where in one case the popular myth regards the stones as men transformed by the magic of the Druids. In fact, there is no rational tradition in regard to them. *They belong to a period to which the oldest tradition or history of the present race cannot reach.* For the accounts given of them are mythical, and the names given to them are either of the same mythic type, or are mere general terms signifying cairns, stone monuments, or stone heaps. For example, the famous circles of Stanton Drew are said to have been a bridal party turned into stone ; a circle in Cornwall, which is called Dance Maine, or the dance of stones, is said to represent a party of maidens transformed into stone for dancing on the Sabbath day. We may learn from Giraldus that Stonehenge, or the "hanging stones," was known once as the Giants' Dance. In Brittany the avenues of Carnac are regarded as petrified battalions, and detached menhirs are their commanders, who were so transformed for offering violence to St. Cornily. These French groups of stones are variously attributed to the "unknown" gods ; the fairies and the devil get the best share of them, though extinct popular deities, like Gargantua, Rebelais' hero, may be met with. We meet with "Grottoes of the Feys," "Stones of the Feys," "Devil's Chair," "Devil's Quoits," "Staff of Gargantua," and "Gargantua's Quoit." The covered alleys or continuous cromlechs of Drenthe, in Holland, are known as "Giants' Beds"—Hunebeds. In Ireland, the cromlechs or dolmens are known as the "Beds of Diarmat and Granua," or simply "Granua's Beds"—the beds which this pair of lovers made use of in their flight over Ireland when pursued by Fionn. And it is here interesting to note, as so far confirmatory of this worthy myth, that the Arab shepherds of the present day recline on these pre-historic dolmens and watch their sheep on the plains. The tumuli are, of course, fairy mounds ; the Gaelic name is *sithean*, a word derived from *sith*, "fairy," allied to the Norse word *seithr*, "magic charm." Single stones are variously accounted for ; sometimes we meet with names indicative of worship, "Clach aoraidh"—worship stone, and "Clach sleuchda"—genuflection stone. But, as often as not,

the names have merely a reference to stones or stone monuments ; as, for instance, already mentioned in the case of Strathspey. The term *clachan*, as applied to church in Scotch Gaelic, has been adduced as proving that the churches are the descendants of the stone circles where Druid worship was held ; but it has first to be proved that the stone circles are themselves known as the "clachans." The word in Irish signifies hamlet, causeway, or graveyard, but it is also applied in an archæological sense to the stone-built cells ascribed to the old Christian anchorites, and its Scotch Gaelic meaning of church is perhaps thence derived. How little it helps the "Druid" theory is easy to see.

If history and tradition avail us not, let us see whether any such rude stone monuments are set up or used nowadays. If they are built and used by any savage or barbarous tribe now, then it is more than likely that the pre-historic builders of our stone circles used them for similar purposes. Now we do find that stone circles, if not built now, are at least used now, and that rude stone monuments are still being erected in India. With its 250 millions of inhabitants, India is an epitome of the world ; it contains every state of man and every stage of belief—the oldest and the newest, Aryan and non-Aryan. It presents us with nearly every form of religion ; ancestor-worship, demon-worship, polytheism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. It is among the non-Aryan tribes of the highlands of India that we must look for the most ancient forms of worship. In the Dekkan we find rude stone circles set up and still in use. Their use is for purposes of worship ; sacrifices are offered at the stones, and the inner faces of the stones are daubed with patches of red paint to denote blood, whereby they are consecrated to the deities. The victims sacrificed are red cocks, and sometimes goats ; the blood of the sacrifice is consecrated to the deity invoked, but the flesh is used by the votary himself. It would appear that the number of stones in the circle had some reference to the number of families or individuals worshipping there, and each stone appears to be the image or "fetish" of the particular deity worshipped. These deities are, therefore, all local and special, and as the Brahmins are opposed to the cult they ban it by every means in their power. These Dekkan rude stone monuments are not necessarily circular ; the stones may be arranged in lines or even irregularly, so that we cannot deduce much argument from the mere circular form of some of these monuments. We only note their religious purpose. And, again, in the hills of Assam we find rude stone monuments still set up, and probably their use bears more on our present inquiry



VIEW IN KHASSIA HILLS



IN THE DECCAN, NEAR ANDLEE

RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF INDIA

than the circles of Dekkan. Among the Khasias, a barbaric tribe there, the worship of deceased ancestors prevails. They burn their dead and raise to their honour menhirs of stone either singly or in groups, but they do not arrange them in circles. The number of stones must be odd—3, 5, 7, but also 10, if made into two fives. The worship, too, is of a very practical kind. If a Khasian gets into trouble or sickness, he prays to some deceased ancestor or relative, promising to erect a stone in his honour if he helps him—a promise which he faithfully performs, if the departed appears to have helped him. In regard to these Indian rude stone monuments and their bearing on European pre-historic ones, Mr Tylor says: “It appears that the Khasias of north-east India have gone on to modern times setting up such rude pillars as memorials of the dead, so that it may be reasonably guessed that those of Brittany, for instance, had the same purpose. Another kind of rude stone structures well known in Europe are the *cromlechs* (?) or stone circles, formed of upright stones in a ring, such as Stanton Drew, not far from Bristol. There is proof that the stone circles have often to do with burials, for they may surround a burial mound or have a dolmen in the middle. But considering how tombs are apt to be temples where the ghost of the buried chief or prophet is worshipped, it is likely that such stone circles should also serve as temples, as in the case of South India at the present time, where cocks are actually sacrificed to the village deity, who is represented by the large stone in the centre of a cromlech (stone circle).” Such is Mr Tylor’s theory in regard to these structures, and that is the view of them which I shall endeavour to maintain and prove in this paper, while at the same time I shall further endeavour to make clear what races probably did build them and what races certainly did not.

Having now considered the character of the stone circles, their geographical distribution, their history as it presents itself in ancient authors and documents, their popular names and their mythic history in modern times, and having, lastly, discovered that rude stone monuments, and even stone circles are set up, and still used in India, and that their use there is in connection with religious rites, while, in Khasia, they were connected further with burial to a certain extent, let us briefly review the theories of the learned in regard to their purpose and use. And, first, there comes the Druidic theory, started in the 17th century and still held by antiquaries of repute—men like Colonel Forbes-Leslie, who have done really admirable work. The Druids were the priests of the Celts in Gaul and Britain. They formed, if Cæsar

may be trusted, a very powerful caste, matched only by the nobility; they monopolised the power of judges, soothsayers, medicine-men, priests, educationists, and poets. Besides the ordinary polytheism which they shared with Greece and Rome, the Druids believed in the transmigration of souls and theorised on the universe—its size and laws, and on the power and majesty of the gods. Their position in Cæsar's Gaul looks like an anticipation of the Middle Age ecclesiastics. We just know enough of these Druids to wish that we knew much more, but not enough to build much of a superstructure of religion and philosophy upon. Nevertheless, the meagre details that are left us so fired the imagination of some modern writers that a system of "Druidism" was attributed to the Celts, which in religious experience and philosophic breadth could rival any in the modern world, and far surpass any religion of antiquity. The Druids officiated not merely in temples but in groves; this we gather from the classical authors. Groves are retired spots, wood-surrounded, where no stones were necessary at all; but what of the temples? Now the Greek and Roman writers do not describe any Celtic or Druidic temple, as far as I know; the inference from this might be that the Celtic temples were like the Roman temples, or more probably like the Celtic houses—"great houses," as Strabo says, "dome-shaped, constructed of planks and wicker, with a heavy thatched roof." The houses were wooden, except in the Gaulish towns, and so would the temples be in rural districts and in Britain, which was in a more primitive state than Gaul in respect to towns. The Druidic argument may be put in this form—We are not told what kind of temples the Celts and their Druids had; therefore the Druids worshipped in the stone circles. Or the matter may be put in this way—We know but little of the Druids, and we know nothing of the circles; therefore the Druids worshipped in the stone circles. But why should they worship in stone *circles*? Well, the answer is this, as given by the Druidic theorists: It is the solar circle—these circles have a solar reference; the sun was worshipped in them. Others think these avenues and circles are signs of a worship of snakes and dragons, and the whole system of Baal-worship and such like was transplanted from Phenicia and Egypt into Gaul, and more especially into Britain. Besides the fact that the Druidic argument proceeds on vicious logical premises, I will later on prove that Celtic priests could have nothing to do with the building of rude stone circles. And if we look abroad at the circles of India, Algeria, and Arabia, did the Druids also build them? The Sinai circles, we saw, were extremely like the

Scotch circles ; were there Celtic Druids in Sinai to erect them ? The theory that the circles were temples of Druidic worship fails therefore on two grounds : first, there is no evidence for it that can stand the test of scientific or logical investigation ; secondly, there is much positive evidence against it—the state of culture of the Celts and the common connection of the circles with sepulture, for example.

The theory that finds most favour at the present day is that which connects the circles with the burial of the dead. The circles surrounded places of sepulture. We saw that the circles of Sinai were undoubtedly in connection with sepulture, and in regard to the circles in the British Islands, Mr Fergusson says : “ Out of 200 circles which are found in these islands, at least one-half, on being dug out, have yielded sepulchral deposits. One-half are still untouched by the excavator, and the remainder, which have not yielded their secret, are mostly the larger circles.” He thinks it cannot be denied that circles up to 100 feet diameter are sepulchral, and if so, why should not the rest above that limit be so also ? Mr Fergusson’s estimate of the number of circles in British Isles is far short of the truth ; there are over 200 circles in Scotland alone. This greatly weakens his argument on the proportion of sepulchral and non-sepulchral circles. Besides, it cannot be said that circles unaccompanied by any mound, cairns, or dolmens have often yielded sepulchral remains. Yet with all these deductions, there is a good deal of truth in the statement that circles are connected with burial deposits, although the proportion of actually found deposits is by no means one-half nor any ways near it. Now, supposing that we grant that these circles have always or nearly always surrounded burial deposits, there comes the question, still unanswered, what is the object of a circle of stones *set at intervals* round a burial ? Why should the *circular* form have been adopted ? And these questions the burial theory cannot answer without further assumption, and it is in regard to these assumptions that the best theorists differ.

Mr Fergusson’s answer to these questions is, of all the defenders of the “burial” theory, the most satisfactory. His opinion as to the architectural development of the mound enclosing a body, into a mound enclosing a cist, then into a mound enclosing a chamber and having an outer circle of closely-set stones to keep it together, has already been explained. The bare foundations of such a chambered mound would give two circles of stones, closely set together. It is further probable that the megalithic foundation was first laid down ; it appears, indeed, to

have been the custom in Homeric times first to mark out the site of the tomb in somewhat of a circular or oval form and then place stones round the outline ; and, if that were so, may it not have dawned upon the builders, so Mr Fergusson suggests, what a pity it was to hide away such handsome structures under a mound of earth or cairn of stone ? Added to this may be taken the circumstance that some unfinished mounds must have existed, which would still further suggest the idea of leaving the mere foundation of stones bare without any mound superimposed. Mr Fergusson amply proves, in opposition to those theorists who hold that all these structures, especially dolmens, were once covered by mounds which the progress of agriculture and building removed, that such could not have been the case with most of them. An examination of our Inverness-shire circles would show that many of them, such as Druid Temple, were never anything but three concentric circles, and never had a trace of mound or cairn. Callernish is a standing disproof of this theory, that circles and avenues are merely dismantled chambered cairns ; they may have been uncompleted cairns, that is, cairns whose foundations were laid, but they certainly were never covered by stone or earth. Mr Wakeman, the eminent Irish archæologist, points out that not only were dolmens and circles built bare—without superstructure—but that, instead of the progress of time and cultivation denuding them, they have actually in many cases been covered with moss to a depth which, from the well-known rate of growth of peat, makes them at least some four thousand years old. Mr Wakeman also says : “ From the stone cist composed of four flagstones set on edge and covered by a fifth, to the spacious chambers found within gigantic cairns like those of Newgrange and Dowth, through all peculiarities of size and structural complication, we have for foundation simply the cromleac (dolmen) idea ” On Mr Fergusson’s development theory we can account for two concentric circles *of closely set stones* ; the megalithic foundation was made to do duty for the mound ; we can also, by this theory, account for their circular shape, for a mound must be circular, and so must the bee-hive chambers be also ; but, with all this granted, how are we to account for the outer circle, which is built round the tumulus or cairn, and at a distance from it ? Clearly, the theory of architectural development fails here, and Mr Fergusson manfully admits that it does. He suggests, with caution, a possible resemblance in origin between them and the rails of the Indian Buddhists—these rails being composed of rows of tall stone pillars set at intervals around

the Buddhist dagoba. But as he says of these Buddhist rails : "It is difficult to see what these stone pillars or posts were originally intended for," and suggests that it was for the hanging of garlands, he does not help us much to an explanation by this analogy. His other suggestion that these stones, set at intervals, formed part of the outer earthen rampart that surrounded the mounds at first, and afterwards were retained on the disuse of the vallum of earth, does not look so very happy as the rest of his development theory, though it may fit in with the evolution of the inner circles from chambered mounds.

In refutation of any theory that would maintain that between these stones might have been built any earthen or wooden barrier, of which the stones would form the leading supports, we may adduce the fact that in the Inverness-shire circles the stones on the south are very tall, while those on the north side are very small, so small at times as to render such a use altogether impracticable. On all theories in regard to the use of stone circles in connection with burials, Canon Greenwell, in his epoch-making book on "British Barrows," says : "It has been suggested by some that the enclosing circles were merely made to support the mound at its base. It is only necessary to remark, in refutation of this surmise, that the circle is often within the mound, is sometimes a trench, and is, as before mentioned, nearly always incomplete. Others have, and with more reason, supposed them to be marks or *taboo*, a fence to preserve the habitation of the dead from desecration, but the fact that so many are within, and must always have been concealed, by the barrow, appears to me to be inconsistent with this explanation. I think it more probable, if the notion of a fence is to be entertained, that they were intended to prevent the exit of the spirit of those buried within, rather than to guard against disturbance from without. A dread of injury by the spirits of the dead has been very commonly felt by many savage and semi-civilised peoples ; nor, indeed, is such fear unknown in our own times, and even amongst ourselves ; and it may well be that, by means of this symbolic figure, it was thought this danger might be averted, and the dead kept safe within the tomb." And we may add to the testimony of Canon Greenwell, that of Mr Llewellyn Jewitt. In his work on "Grave-mounds," he distinguishes between the smaller circles which surround, or at one time surrounded grave-mounds, and the larger circles, which were probably, he thinks, for totally different purposes from the grave-mounds.

Another theory as to the purpose of these stone structures has attained some prominence lately. It is maintained that these

circles are the foundations of the houses of the ancient inhabitants, and that the chambered cairns, like those of Clava, formed one class of dwelling-houses, while the outer circle may have been a wall of defence. But the houses built on these circles were, according to this theory, as a rule, brochs. Now, there are many remains of these brochs in Scotland, some of them fairly entire. Their construction is somewhat complex. The broch consists of a hollow circular tower, about 60 feet in diameter, and 50 feet high; its wall may be about 15 feet thick; and about 8 feet from the ground the wall is divided by a space of 2 to 3 feet into an outer and inner shell, and this space is divided vertically into a series of galleries by slabs run across all round the tower. Access is obtained by a single outside door into the interior, and thence by stairs up into the galleries. There may be a series of ground chambers in the wall at its base. Miss Maclagan, in her book on "Hill Forts," maintains that Stonehenge is practically the base of a broch; the two outer circles form the foundation of the outer wall, while the two inner circles form the base of the inner wall—the great trilithons were merely doorposts and lintels. The theory is ingenious; the brochs, if stripped to their megalithic foundations, would present an outer and inner ring, while the chambers at the base, if we assume these carried all round, would give two intermediate circles. But where is the stone material gone to in nearly every case? It must be assumed here again, as in the "burial" theory, that the material has been all removed, or that only megalithic foundations were laid, and the work left incomplete. Then there are several practical objections; these megalithic pillars are unsuited for foundation stones as they stand, and there is no trace of the outer circles having ever been anything else than they are now; nor is it easy to see what practical use they could be put to in building or fencing. Burial deposits have been found in the chambered cairns, and within the circles, and this does not accord with their having been dwelling-houses. Miss Maclagan, however, has the usual argument in such cases—*argumentum ad ignorantiam*. The burials "belonged probably to a comparatively recent date, and not to the original purpose of the structure." This has often undoubtedly happened, and we may quote one interesting case in the Sinai Desert—"In a great many cases," says Major Palmer, "the stone houses [of bee-hive form] have been converted into tombs by some later race, who, for this purpose, closed the doorways and removed the roof-stones, laying the corpses at full length on flat stones inside, heads to the west, and

then covering them with earth and finally with stones, until the interior was filled up." And it may be further pointed out that probably the sepulchral chamber is but an imitation of the habitations of the living at the time. The chambered cairns at Clava may well have been copies of the dwellings of that day, but the badness of the masonry of the interior of the chamber forbids us thinking that they could have been used for the tear and wear of every day life as dwelling-houses. "There certainly is a great resemblance," says Canon Greenwell, "between some of these receptacles for the dead, especially in Scandinavia, and the places of abode of the Eskimo and other Arctic residents."

Let us now consider a negative argument: What races in early Europe could not have been the builders? Linguistic science has quite clarified our views as to the main features of European ethnology. We can prove from the languages of Europe the racial connection of the European nations as far as language is concerned, and that means a good deal more, for community of origin as regards language is followed by the same in regard to religion and institutions—political and social. A common language will not, of course, prove that nations are all descended from the same racial stock, for a superior race may impose upon a weaker or less civilised one its own language with consequent religion and customs. Language, therefore, is a test more of culture than of racial descent. Some four thousand years ago, more or less, a race now called the Aryan began in separate bands, to impose upon the previous inhabitants its rule and its language, and the consequence has been that at the present time Europe is possessed by Aryan-speaking peoples, with the exception of unimportant remnants like the Basques and Finns, or late intruders like the Turks. The nations that existed before the Aryan supremacy were doubtless amalgamated, and their influence must be felt in national and tribal differences of physique, in the vocabulary and idiom of the present Aryan languages, and in the religious beliefs and the customs of the present races. May not also the monuments of their hands, built for their habitation, their religion, or their dead, still exist among us? We shall see. The Aryan race had attained a certain high stage of culture. The state was founded on a patriarchal basis, and there were kings, and the family was the unit and starting point of the organisation; monogamy was the rule; agriculture was known; they had towns and roads; metals were used, including the precious ones, and the more useful, such as copper, tin, and bronze, and, in overrunning Europe, they had iron; their religion was

polytheistic—the worship of the higher objects of nature under anthropomorphic form, with a strong admixture of ancestor-worship and other lower forms. Of the Aryan races, the Celts made their appearance in the West first, at the dawn of history occupying Northern Italy, the Upper Danube, Switzerland, France and the Low Countries, most of Spain, and all Britain and Ireland. The state of culture of the Celts we can discover by their Aryan descent to a great extent, but as they became modified through disseverance from the rest, and through mingling with the pre-Celtic peoples, we require to study every scrap of historical reference we get, and also the inscriptions and other monuments that remain to us of their ancient life; while we have also to study their language, their customs, their oldest literary efforts, and their mythic tales, legends, and histories. The study of all these, steadied by a reference to the customs and developments of races nearly akin, like those of Rome and Greece, enables us to read the “weather-worn” history of the Celts, and to know their state of culture. Cæsar and the other classical writers did not perceive their kinship with the Celts; unless when for political reasons the Senate might call the Ædui “brothers and kinsmen,” yet in their descriptions they take some four-fifths of the facts of their life, their habits, and their institutions, for granted as being much the same as existed in Italy and in Rome. Only the oddities, differences, and signs, of “barbarianism” were noted; the points of coincidence were passed over as nothing to be wondered at, though these were generally the most wonderful facts of all. The Celtic race was in Cæsar’s time in about as high a state of civilisation as the Romans were about the time of the Punic war a century and a half previous. They possessed a language of equal, perhaps superior, power to that of Rome; they had political systems of the Grecian type before the supremacy of Athens; and they must have had an enormous oral, and, possibly, written literature. In Gaul they built towns of the Roman type, with stone houses, temples, and such like; but rural Gaul and Britain contented themselves with wooden houses and wooden fortifications—stockaded clearings or strong hill positions. They seem to have done little in stone buildings. They built temples; but they *were* temples and not stone circles, which are not mentioned at all. Their temples could not have been much different in construction from those of the Greeks and Italians, otherwise mention would be made of the fact. The temples were of wood, like the houses, and, like the Northumbrian temple of Coifi, which was built like a house. The Greek writers use two words in their description of

Celtic places of worship: these are *temple* and *grove* (temenos), or consecrated allotment. The Celts buried their dead like the other Aryan nations; they burnt the bodies, like the Greeks of Homeric times, and built the tumulus over the ashes, though it is just as likely that the common people buried by inhumation as in Greece and Rome. The tumuli, also, were erected only over chiefs and great men, as among the pre-historic and contemporary tribes. The Homeric burial existed, according to Roman and Greek writers, in Gaul. Homer represents Achilles as placing the fat of many sheep and oxen, whose carcasses were heaped round the pyre, about the body of Patroclus, from head to foot. He set vessels with honey and oil slanting towards the bier, and then threw horses, pet dogs, and captive Trojans, after slaying them, on the pile, to be burnt along with the body of his friend. Celtic burial tumuli are not easy to identify. Burials of the pre-Roman and pre-Christian period of Celtic occupation are very few indeed, and in archaeological works are continually confused as "Anglo-Saxon," being, indeed, of a similar type. Like their houses and temples, they were of no lasting character. One thing is clear: they had no rude stone circles around them.

The Celts made use of iron ever since they appear in history. It is not likely on *a priori* grounds that they would build *rude* stone circles for worship or even for burial, nor can it be understood from their religious beliefs what use they could make of *circles* of rude stone. The Druids again were merely the Celtic priests—a priesthood of more than ordinary influence and power, but their doctrines contained little else than was believed in then by other Aryan races in Europe or Asia. It is sheer improbability that they could have worshiped in stone circles.

If the Celts did not build these rude stone monuments, then some race previous to them, and in a more barbaric state of culture, must have been the builders. Various facts go to show that there existed previous to the Celts another people or rather other peoples. Professor Rhys has proved from the evidence of language and mythology that there was a previous race; while Mr Elton, founding on a study of customs and on the researches of archaeologists, has still further proved the fact. Following Canon Greenwell and Dr Thurnam, and extending the significance of their conclusions, Mr Elton is able to prove that two races at least existed previous to the Celtic race. There was, first, the small dark-skinned, long-headed race of the Neolithic and later cave age, whom Mr Elton calls Iberians, whose descendants survived in Siluria of Wales, in Ireland, and in Aquitania, and

who spoke a language probably like the Basque. They were the builders of the *oval* barrows. The second race was tall, rough-featured, strong-limbed, round-headed, and fair-haired, and Mr Elton calls them Finnish or Ugrian. They appear to have been in their Bronze Age, whereas the Iberians were in their Stone Age. The Finnish race may have had an alphabet, if we can attribute to them the numerous unreadable inscriptions—rock-carvings and sketchings of the Bronze Age—which appear in Ireland, Scotland, and Scandinavia. They appear to have subdued the previous race. They built the *round* barrows, and we have every reason to believe that they were also the builders of the rude stone *circles*, their crowning effort being the temple (?) of Stonehenge. We have besides their burial customs, glimpses possibly of their social condition. Cæsar and other writers continually and persistently refer to races in Britain who had community of wives, and there can be no question that there was some foundation for the rumour. Nor can we have much doubt that the nation referred to was this Finnish one, for it is quite certain that it was not a Celtic or Aryan nation, among whom monogamy was the strict rule. The Pictish custom of succession through the female also establishes among them low ideas of marriage, quite consonant with community of wives; and from this we must conclude that the Picts were strongly intermixed with, if not altogether, a non-Aryan race. The nakedness and blue paint of historians is another feature which, as knowledge of the races of Britain advanced, the classical writers learned to locate among the inhabitants of Northern Scotland.

The long barrows were built by a race anterior to this Finnish race; the Finnish race built the round barrows, chambered cairns, and rude stone circles. They were probably also the builders of the brochs. The theory that brochs are of Norse origin arises from ethnological confusion; for the Norse were Aryans possessing iron implements, and builders, like the Germans and Celts, of wooden and not of stone buildings. The Picts were Finnish. Mr Joseph Anderson says that stone circles attain their principal development in Pictland proper, and are most abundant in the district between the Moray Firth and the Firth of Tay. "Those of the Scottish circles that have been examined," he says, "have yielded interments of the Bronze Age." This better development of the circles in Pictland goes to prove that the circle builders lasted longer in Pictland than anywhere else, and, in fact, that the builders were the ancestors of the historic Picts, and possibly the historic Picts themselves. Mr Fergusson,

from quite another standpoint, suggests that Clava is the burial place of the royal family of Brude Mac Maelchon, the King whom Columba visited on the banks of the Ness. The suggestion is not at all a bad one.

We shall now draw the threads of our argument together. In our process of elimination we discovered that the Aryan races built no stone circles; the Celts, therefore, and their Druids, had nothing to do with them; they are pre-Celtic as well as pre-historic; the circles are so often connected with burial that we may take it for granted that they all originally had to do with burial; but we found, also, that in modern times, circles and stones were connected with worship, more especially the worship of ancestors. Everything points to their having been places of burial; they surround dolmens and barrows, or even when alone yield at times burial deposits; but their peculiar character, coupled with the fact of modern and ancient worship of and at stones, must make us pause ere we set burial down as their sole purpose. Would savage or barbaric man, out of mere reverence for the dead, raise such monuments to their memory? It remains to consider what kind of worship could be held at places of sepulture, and why stone circles should be used. In the matter of worship, the old theories as to the sun and serpent worship may be dismissed as out of place in connection with burial, for the worship of the sun as the giver of light and heat has never had connection with death: Apollo must not be contaminated with death. The evident reference many of the circles have to the sun's course, as for instance that in this district the heaviest stones are to the south, or that the entrance may have a southerly aspect, only proves that the light and heat of the sun were regarded as necessary for the dead as well. That the existence of solar worship would add to and emphasise the "sunward" tendency—the sun reference of the circles—is freely allowed, but nothing more can be legitimately deduced from such a fact. As for serpent worship, it is plain that the advocates of that theory did not quite grasp the full significance of the serpent cultus and its connection with phallic worship. The only worship appropriate at the grave is that of deceased ancestors. A study of the beliefs and customs of savage and barbaric races makes it abundantly clear that this is about the earliest shape in which religion manifests itself. We must inquire what the anthropologist has to say in regard to people in this state of culture. Reverence for the dead and belief in the existence of the Deity are glibly asserted by theorists as existent among every race, but that is a delusion. Reverence and belief in the sense understood by a

civilised and educated person there are none, for savage belief is eminently practical and unsentimental. To project the highest feelings and opinions of civilised man—and these local, too—into the early state of man, is to overlook the long perspective of time with its evolution of ever higher feelings and beliefs. The lowest phase of belief has been named by Mr Tylor, “animism”: it consists in believing that what is presented to us in our dreams and other hallucinations has a real objective existence. Savage man makes little or no difference between his dreaming and waking state. He sees the “shadows” of the dead in his sleep, and believes in their objective reality. But not merely the dead have shadows or spirits; the living, too, have a spirit duplicate of self. The reflection in water proves this no less than the presentiment of the living man in dreams. Hence it is that the savage dislikes the photographer. Animals and material objects, of course, have souls, on the same grounds, for the dead hero appears in dreams with ghost of hatchet, sword, and spear. “The Zulu will say that at death a man’s shadow departs and becomes an ancestral ghost, and the widow will relate how her husband has come to her in her sleep, and threatened to kill her for not taking care of his children; or the son will describe how his father’s ghost stood before him in a dream, and the souls of the two, the living and the dead, went off together to visit some far-off kraal of their people.” The funeral sacrifice of historic nations, of early Greeks, Romans, and Celts, show how barbaric religion includes the souls of men, animals, and material objects; for what was useful to the dead when alive was burnt or buried along with them—chariots, arms, horses, dogs, and even wives and slaves were sacrificed in one mighty holocaust. The religious creed in which “animism” embodies itself is, of course, the worship of the dead, especially the worship of ancestors. Worship and reverence, here, have a different sense from our ideas of them. The dead are worshipped for protection, and repaid with reverence, not merely in feeling, but also in practical gifts and sacrifices at their tombs. It may quite as often happen that their wrath is deprecated. From the mere family ancestor, the worship may rise to that of great chiefs and kings that are departed, and from that it may rise to a conception of a supreme father—“The old old one” of the Zulus, as they work back from ancestor to ancestor, thus arriving at an idea of a creator, akin to the conception of the “Ancient of Days.” One’s own ancestor may be good to one; other people’s ancestors may be the reverse. Hence these last have to be propitiated; evil spirits are worshipped to avoid their wrath. Thus the ghost

of a British officer was not long ago worshipped in India as a god, and on his altar his demon-worshipping votaries placed what they thought would please and appease him, for it had pleased him in this life, namely, offerings of cheroots and brandy! In fact, all the ills that life is heir to are among some races attributed to evil spirits, while the good is the work of the beneficent spirits; and among such tribes it is through the medicine-man, with his exorcisms, there is the only means of escape. Let it be noted that ancestral ghosts may not merely exist in proper human form, but they often assume animal forms, and what is more, they may even take up their abode in material objects—trees, stones, or anything. Hence arises “fetish” worship—the worship of “stocks and stones.” And it is also easy to see that we may, on the other hand, rise from ancestor worship, through this transmigration idea, to the height of polytheism, with its gods of sun, moon, and sky.

This reverence of the savage for the dead is therefore connected with his regard for himself. His religion, as usually happens in higher phases of culture, is selfish. The dead are therefore cared for and their abodes become places of worship. Various ways are adopted for disposal and worship of the dead. The hut they lived in may be left as a dwelling for them; the body may be buried in a canoe or coffin; a strong tomb may be built over it or its ashes, and this tomb may be a chamber with access to it to enable the votaries to bring offerings. Great labour was bestowed on these burial mounds of earth and stone. Nor have we yet ceased from this display, though we now have different methods and far different feelings in our burial rites. Yet there are survivals of ancient forms. “In the Highlands of Scotland,” says Mr Tylor, “the memory of the old custom [raising of mounds and cairns] is so strong that the mourners, as they may not build the cairn over the grave in the churchyard, will sometimes set up a little one where the funeral procession halts on the way.” Our memorial stones over the graves are but the descendants of the old menhirs; nor are dolmen forms absent in the stone box structures often placed over graves. In the Churchyard of Rothiemurchus, on the grave of Shaw Cor-fhiachlach, the hero of the North Inch at Perth, there used to be a row of small pillared stones set round all the sides of the tombstone. Circles of stone other than such far-off imitations as this we do not use now.

Burial and worship in early society go hand in hand, and we, therefore, conclude that these stone circles were used for both burial and worship, but more especially for worship, since mere

reverential memorials were, at that stage of culture, an impossibility. Nevertheless there yet remains one part of our inquiry to which an answer has not been given. Why should the stones be set up *at intervals*, and *in a circle*? For all that our inquiry has proved is that the dead were *worshipped* at their *graves*; it does not necessarily answer the more particular question of a peculiar form of grave or burial enclosure. The circular form and the pillared stones set at intervals remain, after every elimination, the only difficulty of the enquiry. Mr Fergusson developed the idea of the circle from the circular mound, but he could not account for the stones being set at intervals, and not close together. Canon Greenwell suggested, as we saw, that their use was to "fence" in the ghost of the departed. It is a superstition in the Highlands yet that evil spirits can be kept off by drawing a circle round oneself. Another suggestion made is that the number of stones may have had something to do with the number of worshippers, as is said to be the case in the Dekkan. It was also the custom at the Hallowe'en fires for everyone to place a stone in a ring round the fire as they were leaving, and, if by next morning, anything happened to any of the stones, the person who placed it there was fated to meet death or ill during the year. The Arabs still set up stones of witness, whenever they first catch sight of certain holy places. The stones in the circle may have been "witness" stones, or else stones at which sacrifice was made. Yet the regularity of their number, generally ten or a dozen, forbids much hopeful speculation in these lines. Another theory connects the burial circle with phallic worship; the circle itself would answer to the yoni symbol and the menhirs upon it to the linga. The principles of life and of death would thus be worshipped together, which is not an uncommon circumstance. The cup-markings so often met with on burial monuments lend additional weight to this view.

To sum up. Our negative conclusions are, that neither the Celts nor their Druids built these stone circles, nor were they for sun or fire worship, and they were not the foundation either of dwellings or of dismantled mounds. Our positive results are, that the stone circles were built by pre-historic races—in this country, probably by the Picts; that they are connected with burial, though built independent of mounds and other forms of tomb; that they are also connected with ancestor worship, and that the whole difficulty resolves itself into the question of why they are of circular form and why the stones are set at intervals.

19TH MARCH 1884.

The following were elected members on this date, viz.—Mr Francis Murray, Lentrán; and Mr John Mackenzie, Greig Street, Inverness, ordinary; and Mr Ewen Cameron, 28 High Street, apprentice. Mr Duncan Campbell, Inverness, discoursed at some length on the Book of the Dean of Lismore.

26TH MARCH 1884.

On this date Mr Duncan Ross, Hilton, and Mr John Macleod, Myrtle Bank, Drummond, were elected ordinary members. Thereafter, Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., Inverness, read the following paper on

THE ANCIENT CELTS.

(1) THEIR GENERAL HISTORY.

Three or four centuries before Christ, when the history of Western Europe is slowly emerging from obscurity, we find a people, named the Celts, in possession of the vast extent of territory that stretches from the Adriatic and Upper Danube to the Western Ocean, and embraces the British Isles. The northern boundary of the Celts was the Rhine and Mid-Germany, and they extended on the south as far as Central Spain, and the range of the Apennines in Italy. Contrary to the general tendency of early European nations to move westward, the Celts are then found to be already surging eastward, repelled by the impassable Atlantic; for, as Calgacus said to his Caledonians, there was now no land beyond—nothing save the waves and the rocks. Their history, till the second century before our era, presents little but a series of eastward eruptions—"tumults," the Romans called them, whereby over-populous districts were freed of their surplus population. Now and again they would pour through the passes of the Alps, and in a strong compact body make their way to Tuscany and Mid-Italy, striking terror into every Italian tribe, and into Rome as much as any of the rest. It is, indeed, with a great invasion of the Gauls that authentic Roman history begins, for the Gauls in 390 B.C. took and sacked the town of Rome itself, doubtless destroying all older records of its history. Another great invasion of the Gauls was made into Greece in 280 B.C., in which the temple of Delphi was taken and pillaged; and so compact and well arranged was this body of invaders that they passed

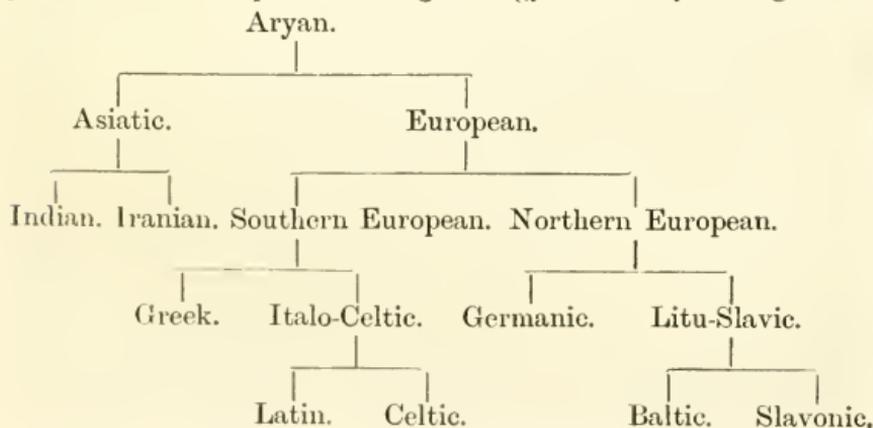
over to Asia Minor, overran it, and after various ups and downs settled finally, about 230 B.C., to the limits of the province of Galatia. These Gauls of Asia Minor are the people whom St Paul addressed in his epistle to the "Galatians." In later times they were called Gallo-Graecians, from their mixture with Greeks, but they appear to have preserved their language till the fourth century of our era, for St Jerome tells us their dialect was like that spoken by the Treviri of northern Gaul. Their customs and peculiarities of temperament, as we gather these from the historians and from St Paul, were thoroughly "Celtic." From the end of the third century before Christ, the history of the Celtic people is everywhere one of loss; the tide of invasion was then successfully turned against them. "They went to the war, but they always fell;" so sings the last of the Feni, the warrior bard who typifies the fate of his race. The Celts were excellent as invaders, though poor colonisers; but against invasion they were most unsuccessful. The centrifugal tendency so apparent in the race was not permitted to find scope in an enemy's country; but in their own country they could not, from mutual jealousy and selfishness, unite for any length of time against the invader. For instance, the Belgae, instead of keeping banded together against Cæsar, and unitedly repelling him, preferred to return each tribe to their own territories, and there await until he attacked some neighbouring tribe, when they intended to come to their assistance. "Seldom is it," says Tacitus, "that two or three states meet together to ward off the common danger. Thus, while they fight singly, all are conquered." After the first Punic war, the Romans made an effort to subdue their troublesome neighbours in the basin of the Po in North Italy. In the course of four years, from 225 to 222 B.C., the whole country was overrun and converted into a Roman province. But it was only after the second Punic war, and on the final conquest of the Boii in 191, that Gallia Cisalpina became a real Roman province. The Celts of Spain, known better as the Celtiberi—Celts and Iberians—were conquered during the second Punic war, but, being a brave and warlike people, they kept up rebellions, and defied Rome, until, with the fall of Numantia in B.C. 134, they were completely subdued. The Gauls of France were not attacked by the Romans until they had assured their power in the East, in Africa, and in Spain. In B.C. 125 the consul Fulvius Flaccus began the reduction of the Salluvii around Massilia, and in a few years they were subdued, and the Allobroges next attacked. The south of Gaul was by the year 118 B.C. made into a province. Matters, however, remained in this state till the

advent of Julius Cæsar in 58 B.C. He was bold enough to attempt the subjugation of Gaul, and in eight years he accomplished his object. All Gaul south of the Rhine was made into a Roman province, and tribute was exacted from the nearest British tribes. In A.D. 43, the conquest of Britain, commenced by Cæsar, was resumed and carried on until by the year 80 all England and Scotland, as far as the Firth of Forth, were reduced into a Roman province. The Celts of Ireland and Northern Scotland were never reduced by the Romans. Under the sway of the Romans the Celtic dialects of Spain and Gaul gradually gave way before the Latin, though not without leaving their marks on the resulting Romance languages that arose on the ruins of the Roman empire. The Gaulish appears never to have died out in Western France, for between the native speakers of it in the 4th and 5th centuries and the immigrants from Britain, it succeeded in maintaining its ground through every chance and change, and is even now in France the speech of a million and a quarter people—the inhabitants of Brittany. How the Romanised Britons were conquered by the English, and driven into the western corners of the land—Cornwall, Wales, and Strathclyde, until now only Wales remains a British-speaking people, containing a million people who can speak or use a Celtic speech; how Ireland was conquered by the Anglo-Celts in the 12th century, and the ancient language has been pushed into the West, so that now only 870 thousand can speak and use the Gaelic; how in Scotland the ancient language of Caledonia has been gradually shrinking until only a quarter of a million in the Highlands speak it, and only 310 thousand all over Scotland can speak or use it; and how thus only three and a-half millions of people in Europe speak the Celtic language, which two thousand years ago covered most of Western Europe,—all this belongs to the history, not of the ancient, but of the modern Celt.

From the consideration of what history has to say of the Celtic nations, let us pass to what science has proved in regard to Celtic origins and culture. It was well on in this century before the relationship of the Celtic race to the rest of the European races was put on a firm scientific basis, and it is only a generation since that English writers accepted the fact of distant cousinship with the Celt. The sciences to which appeal must be made are those that deal with antiquities, culture, and language. It is really the science of language that has enabled the Celt to take his place within the sacred ring of European kinship; the evidence of words, roots, and inflections has been

too patent and convincing for even the grudging Saxon to reject. With the exception of the Turks, Hungarians, Basques, and Finns with Lapps and Esthonians, the European nations are proved *linguistically* to be of the same race. Within that extensive family circle must also be embraced the Hindoos, Afghans, Persians, and Armenians; and the whole race so included has been variously named the Indo-European, Indo-Celtic, Indo-Germanic, and the Aryan race. As the last term is the most convenient, it shall be adopted here. It is by a comparison of the vocabularies and grammatical forms of the languages of these various races that scientists have come to the conclusion that, linguistically at least, these nations are descended from a common Aryan stock. Radical elements expressing such objects and relations as father, mother, brother, sister, wife, daughter, daughter-in-law; cow, dog, horse, cattle, ox; corn, mill; earth, sky, water, star; gold, silver, metal; house, door, household, clan, king; god, man, holiness, goodness, baseness, badness; law, right; war, hunting; wood, tree; various kinds of trees, flowers, birds, and beasts; weaving, wool, clothes; honey, flesh, food, and hundreds more, to which may be added the names of spring and summer, moon, sun, the numerals as far as one hundred. The Aryans were high in the barbaric stage of culture — barbaric as opposed on the one hand to civilised culture, and on the other to the savage stage. They had regular marriage on the monogamic principle; the position of woman was therefore high; grades of kinship were marked; and, indeed, the idea of “family” was altogether highly developed. The state seems to have been of the patriarchal type—an enlarged family in idea; there were kings, nobles, council, and laws. Houses, hamlets, roads or paths, and waggons existed. Sheep, oxen, and all domestic cattle were possessed and named. Agriculture existed, and various kinds of corn, fruits, and trees were known and used. Gold, silver, and copper or bronze were known, but evidently not iron; and implements of war and the chase were made of the metals known—sword, and spear, and plough. Polytheism was the form of religious belief, wherein the powers of nature were worshipped as deities in anthropomorphic form. When or where this nation lived cannot well be known, but the general idea is that it lived over three thousand B.C. in Western Asia. In any case, it split up into many leading branches, variously estimated at seven, eight, and ten. Schleicher and Fick have attempted to show how this process occurred, and to trace the relationship of the various branches among themselves. According to them, the Aryan race first divided into the Asiatic and European groups. The Asiatic sub-

sequently subdivided into the Indian (ancient Sanskrit and modern Indian dialects), and the Iranian or Persian Family (ancient Zeud and Persian, and the modern dialects of Afghanistan, Persia, &c.) The European branch, which developed some features of common culture after their separation from the Asiatic branch, split up into two divisions, South European and North European. The latter branch again produced the great Teutonic and Slavonic branches; while the former diverged into the Greek, Roman, and Celtic races. The place of Celtic in this family scheme was for long doubtful, and a hot dispute arose between the leading philologist as to whether the Celtic was more allied to the Latin than it was to the Germanic branch. Ebel held that the Celtic belonged to the Germanic branch, on the ground that the number of diphthongs was the same in each, and that "a pervading analogy in the Slavonian, Teutonic, and both branches of the Celtic" exists, evidenced by the use of time particles, like *do* and *ro* in Celtic, and the German *ge*, and strengthened also by other minor details. But against this Schleicher was able to produce some formidable analogies between Celtic and Latin, such as (1) the general resemblance in declension; (2) the future in *b* or *f* (*amabo* of Lat. and old Irish *carfa*, *no charub*); and (3) the passive in *r* (*fertur* of Lat., and old Irish *carthir*). The general belief now is that Celtic and Latin are much more allied to each other than either is to Germanic, or any other tongue. But the more advanced philologists are inclined to scout the idea of "genealogy" as unscientific, or at least as too narrow, and a system of grouping merely is adopted. But for popular purposes the genealogical idea is undoubtedly scientific enough, and certainly more easy to understand and remember. The following table presents the latest phase of the genealogy of the Aryan tongues:—



The discussion as to when, how, and where the Aryan races entered Europe first—if, indeed, they are not originally European—is a highly speculative subject. Fick thinks that they entered Europe along the north of the Caspian and Black Seas, and settled down on the Danube. The Graeco-Italo-Celtic branch was settled on the Upper Danube, until a date, says M. D'Arbois De Jubainville, sufficiently near, perhaps, the 15th century before Christ. At this date he sends the Hellenic race down to Epirus, and afterwards to both coasts of the Ægean Sea. The upper Danube was Celtic until it was engulfed in the Empire of Rome. Plutarch appears to refer to the original invasion of Gaul by the Celts, and this M. De Jubainville thinks took place some seven centuries before Christ, a date that seems to be rather too late, considering that Massilia was founded about 600 B.C. The Italic race had a good while before this left the Celts, and taken a southerly direction, the Etruscans settling in their territory about 992 B.C. Passing from this speculation to ground more assured, we know from archæological study that other races existed in Europe previous to the Celts. The contents of Neolithic and Bronze-Age barrows prove the existence of at least two pre-Aryan races, differing much in physique and culture from the type regarded as Aryan. For the European Aryans are regarded as tall, fair-haired, straight-featured, and dolicho-cephalic or long-headed; while the barrows present us with two other types—a small, evidently dark-skinned, long-headed race, and another race—fair, tall, rough-featured, and round-headed. The dark-skinned race, called by the ethnologists Iberian, was in its Stone Age for the most part; while the round-headed race, named Finnish or Ugrian, belonged to the Bronze Age. “It seems to be certain,” says Mr Elton, “that some great proportion of the population of the Western Countries is connected by actual descent with the pre-Celtic occupants of Europe; and it is regarded as highly probable that one branch or layer of these earlier inhabitants should be attributed to that Ugrian stock, which comprises the Quains, Finns, Magyars, Esthonians, Livonians, and several kindred tribes whose territories abut upon the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Volga.” Everything points to Aquitania, the Pyrennees district, and a good part of Spain having been possessed by the older or Iberian race, and their language may now remain in the modern Basque. It is from this Spanish connection that they are named Iberian. Tacitus informs us that the inhabitants of the Severn valley in Wales were evidently of Iberian descent. “The dark complexion

of the Silures," he says, "their usually curly hair, and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore (!) to them, are evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied these parts." Now the importance of clearly grasping the fact that the Celtic races conquered and exterminated, or, more often, absorbed the previous races, cannot be over-estimated. For the abuse of national names like Celtic, in indiscriminately applying them for archaeological or political purposes to races that are clearly very much mixed in blood, is to be deplored for the sake of sound science and of political justice. Aryan, Teutonic, or Celtic can apply primarily only to language and culture; for the Aryans must have absorbed most of the previous population. And this previous population has demonstrably influenced the physique of the Aryan, while traces of its influence can be shown to exist in the customs, language, and characteristics of the now or previously existing Aryan races. Undoubtedly the most Celtic country in Europe is France; George Long estimated its present "Celticity" at 19-20ths of the population—an estimate which is doubtless far too high, considering the absorption of the non-Aryan Aquitanians, and the intrusion of the non-Celtic Romans, Franks, and Normans. Nevertheless, France, in modern times, represents fully the virtues and the weaknesses which ancient and modern writers have recognised as inherent in the Celtic character. "Idealism," Matthew Arnold calls the general characteristic of the Celt, "showing itself," as Professor Geddes says, "in the disposition to make the future or the past more important than the present; to gild the horizon with a golden age in the far past, as do the Utopian Conservatives; or in the remote future, as do the equally Utopian Revolutionists." Roman writers notice their wonderful quickness of apprehension, their great craving for knowledge, and their impressibility. They were generous to a degree, loyal to their own chiefs, prompt in action, but incapable of sustained effort or united action. Cæsar is never tired of speaking of their changeableness and their "celerity," both physical and mental, while Livy speaks of their unrestrained indignation and impetuosity. Added to this, they were a race much given to superstition and religious observance. But many of these qualities are virtues: "In their pure and unsophisticated condition," says Professor Geddes, "they have been in the main distinguished by these four qualities more particularly, Reverence religiously, devoted Faithfulness politically, Politeness or civility socially, and Spirit or, as the French would call it, *Esprit* universally." If we compare the four or five chief Celtic races that remain, we shall find much apparent and much

real diversity hiding some remarkable features of agreement. The religious character of the Celt is strong in Brittany, Wales, and the Highlands; in France, generally, and in Ireland, the emotion exists along with more of a critical and humorous spirit. Wit and genius are more sparkling in Ireland and France, while loyalty to chiefs and exploded causes is characteristic of the Highlands and Ireland. The diversities among these branches of the Celtic races—and they are numerous, so numerous as to make the ordinary political meaning of “Celtic” inapplicable to the Highlands—must arise from mixture of races. The Welsh have a basis of Iberian and Gaelic-Irish, and an intrusion of English among them. The Irish have Iberians in the South, and Finns in the North for basis, generally speaking, while Danes, English, and Scotch have intruded upon them; so that in some of the disaffected parts it is clear that, not Celtic, but Teutonic blood is responsible for the persistency and atrocity of their conduct. In the Highlands, the basis is the non-Aryan Pict, with here and there a dash of the Iberian, while the Celt has been intruded upon by the Norseman and the Englishman.

The oldest mention we have of the Celts is in Herodotus, in the 5th century B.C. “For the River Istros,” says he, “from its source among Celts, and the city Pyrene, flows dividing Europe in the middle. The Celts (Keltai) are outside the Pillars of Hercules, and border on the Kynesii, who dwell furthest west of the inhabitants of Europe.” Their next appearance in a historical work is in Xenophon, who mentions the Celts as mercenaries with Dionysius of Syracuse, in 368, B.C. “The ships brought Keltai and Iberes.” Strabo tells us that Ephorus (in the second half of the 4th century B.C.) exaggerates the size of Celtica, “including in it what we now call Iberia, as far as Gadeira,” and in another place Ephorus represents them as possessing the part of the world lying between the setting of summer and the setting of winter. Pytheas actually visited the West and North, and was in Britain himself in the 4th century B.C., but unfortunately his narrative has been lost, appearing only in fragments, which are often subjected to the adverse criticism of the ancients as fables, though now they are known to be the truth. Aristotle knew about the Celts; he mentions them as being said to fear “neither earthquake nor floods,” as putting but little clothing on their children, and as having so cold a country, “the Celts above Iberia,” that the ass does not thrive there. He also heard of Rome having been taken by the Celts, Plutarch tells us. The Periplus of Scylax, about 335 B.C., represents the Celts as established at the head of the

Adriatic, and we are told by Ptolemy, Alexander's General, as quoted by Strabo, that, while Alexander was operating against the Danubian tribes, "the Celts who dwell on the Adriatic came to Alexander, for the purpose of making a treaty of friendship and mutual hospitality, and that the king received them in a friendly way and asked them, while drinking, what might be the chief object of their dread, supposing that they would say it was he; but that they replied, it was no man, only they felt some alarm lest the heavens should sometime or other fall on them, but that they valued the friendship of such a man as him above everything." Hitherto, the name Celt or Keltos was the only one used, but after the invasion into Greece in 279 B.C., a new name makes its appearance. This name is Galatae. It first appears in two epitaphs on Grecian youths slain in the war with the Celts in 279. Timaeus speaks of the country of "Galatia, named after Galates, son of Cyclops and Galatia," and it seems that he rendered the name Galatae popular, for after this period it is the favourite Greek name. Polybius, a Greek writer of the second century B.C., uses the name Keltos for the ancient Celts, and the name Galatae he rather applies to the Celts in their contact with Rome in the third and second centuries. The favourite Roman name was Galli, which included the inhabitants of Gallia, the Celts of Spain, and those of Galatia. Caesar, however, tells us that Gaul was divided into three parts: the Aquitanians were in the south, the Belgae in the north, and in the middle the Gauls, as the Romans called them, but they called themselves Celtae. Here the term "Gauls" applies only to one branch of the Celtic people, but this limited use of the name was not recognised even by Caesar himself. Diodorus Siculus, Caesar's contemporary, who wrote in Greek, calls the country north of Massilia, from the Alps to the Pyrennees, Celtica (Caesar's "Gauls" and Aquitania), and the people of the country north of this Celtica along the Atlantic and the Hercynian Forest on to Scythia, are called Galatae. "The Romans call all these collectively Gauls." Diodorus gives us a complete version of the myth that Timaeus evidently told in full. Hercules, when on his expedition against Geryon, turned aside into Gaul, founded there Alesia, and married a haughty Gaulish dame, who gave birth to a son named Galates. This Galates surpassed all his countrymen in valour and strength, and obtaining by his warlike exploits a wide fame and sway, he gave his subjects and his country his own name to bear, the one to be known as Galatia, and the others as Galatae. Pausanias, a writer of the second century of our era says, in explanation of the use of the

names Celt and Galatae : "It was late before it became the habit to call them Galatae ; for Celtic was their name of old, both among themselves and other people."

The three names which we have for this ancient people are therefore Keltai or Celtæ, Galatai and Galli. Of these Celti is two centuries older than Galatae in use. The derivation of Celt is not finally decided. Gluck, in his work on the Celtic Names in Cæsar, suggests that the root is seen in Latin *celsus*, "high," to which Lithuanian *keltas*, of like meaning and derivation, may be added. Allied to this root is the English word "hill." This is the best derivation of the word. Professor Rhys suggested in his "Celtic Britain" a connection with Old Norse "hildir," war, Bellona, but he has now withdrawn it on discovering that the old Irish and Gaelic word *cliath* (war) is the proper representative of *hildir*. The names Galatae and Galli are evidently connected, and as Windisch says, no doubt of Celtic origin. The form Galatae is oldest and nearest the true form. It answers to the old Irish word *galdae*, brave; for the form *galdae* points to a primitive form: *galatias*. The root is *gal*, of old Irish, and *goil* of Gaelic, which signifies bravery.

(2) MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT CELTS.

Our sources of information in regard to the manners and customs of the Celts are threefold :—(1), The historians of Greece and Rome have left some accounts of them, short and rather meagre ; (2), Archæology throws some light on Gaulish customs and life; we can, for instance, verify the fact of the tallness of person of the Gauls from their skeletons found in their tombs, and we have remains of their weapons, implements, coins, statues, &c.; and (3), we know their Aryan descent, and can steady our inquiry by the light derived from the customs and life of other Aryan nations, while mediæval and modern Celtic customs and manners will give much material help.

It is purely with the first source that this paper will deal, and the writers will be quoted *in extenso*, as far as possible, for, as some of the authors to be quoted are not easy of access, and some remain in the obscurity of their original, more material good to other inquirers will be done by a full and accurate quotation, than by a garbled and *ex parte* statement. And first in the order of time comes Polybius, who says (Book II., cap. 15, &c.) :—

"In regard to the cheapness and abundance of food [in Gaul], one may most accurately understand it from this :—Travellers through the country in putting up at an inn, do not bargain about

the details of their bill, but ask at how much they put up a man. The innkeepers undertake, for the most part, to do everything that is absolutely necessary for half an *as*, that is, the fourth of an *obol*, and they rarely exceed that. The numbers of the men, the size and beauty of their persons, and further, their daring in war, can be understood clearly from the deeds they accomplished. . . . They dwell in villages that are unwallled, and they have no other furniture. For as they slept on straw and ate flesh, and besides practiced nothing else but warlike matters and agriculture, they led a simple life, no other knowledge or art being known among them at all. The property of the individual lay in cattle and in gold, because these alone can be easily moved anywhere and transferred to any place they like. They spend very much trouble on forming companionships or clubs, because he is the most feared and most powerful among them who appears to have the most individuals to dance attendance on him and act as hangers-on. . . . But on returning home they quarrelled over the booty captured, and consequently lost a great part of it and of their army. That is a common practice with the Gauls, whenever they appropriate anything belonging to others, caused more especially through drinking and eating to excess. . . . The Insubres and the Boii advanced dressed in trousers and *saga* (cloaks), but the *Gæsataë* threw these away . . . and because the Gaulish shield cannot cover a man, the larger and the more unprotected their persons were the less the weapons missed their purpose. . . . Their swords are so fashioned that they deliver one good cutting stroke, but at once become blunt and bent, so that unless the soldier has time to straighten the sword with his foot and the ground, it is incapable of striking another blow. . . . The Romans, coming to close quarters, deprived the Gauls of using their swords for slashing, for which they are adapted, for their swords want points. . . . The Gauls were fiercest in the first onset in courage . . . and are fickle."

The next writer we shall quote is Posidonius, the Stoic, who lived in the first decades of the first century before Christ. He was a great traveller, and had an extensive knowledge of the Western European nations. His works have not come down to us, but fortunately Athenæus, a compiler of the 3rd century of our era, quotes him and others in their own words in a sort of *ana* book, and the following are his extracts from Posidonius in regard to the Celts:—

"The Celti have their food placed before them as they sit on grass, on tables made of wood, raised a very little above the

ground. Their food consists of a few loaves and a good deal of meat served in water, and roasted on the coals or on spits. They eat their food in a cleanly manner enough, but lion-fashion they take up whole joints in their hands and gnaw at them. And if there is any bit hard to tear away, they cut it off with a small knife which they have sheathed in a private depository. Those who live by the rivers and by the Atlantic and Mediterranean eat also fish, and these, too, roasted with salt and vinegar and cummin. This they also throw into their drink. Oil they do not use on account of its scarcity, and, because they are not used to it, it seems nauseous to them. When many of them eat together they sit in a circle, and the bravest man is in the middle, like the coryphæus of a chorus, whether excelling the rest on account of his military skill or birth or riches. Beside him is the entertainer, and then on each side the rest of the guests sit in regular order according to their position. And those that bear their shields—large, oblong ones—stand behind them, and their spear-bearers sit down opposite in a circle, and feast in the same way as their masters. The cup-bearers bring round the drink in vessels like beakers, either of earthenware or silver. And the platters upon which they have their bread placed before them are of the same materials; but some have brazen platters, and others wooden or wicker ones. And the liquor which is drunk is, among the rich, wine, brought from Italy and Massilia. And it is unmixed, but at times a little water is mixed with it. Among the poorer classes, however, the drink is a beer made of wheat prepared with honey, and with the majority the beer alone is the beverage. It is called *korma*. And they all drink it out of the same cup in small draughts of not more than a glassful at a time, but they take frequent draughts. And a slave carries the liquor round, beginning from right to left. That is the way they are waited upon, and they worship their gods turning to their right hand." Another quotation from Posidonius, apparently following closely the one above, says:—"The Celts at times fight single combats at their meals. For being assembled under arms, they spar and wrestle with each other, and at times go so far as wounding. And getting angry from this, they go on even to slaughter, if the bystanders do not check them. In olden times," he says, "a hind-quarter was put before them, the thigh flesh of which the bravest man took; but if any one else laid claim to it, they got up and fought the duel to death. Others, at a public entertainment (*theatron*), accept a sum of silver or gold—some a number of jars of wine, and, after taking pledges for the giving of them and be-

queathing them to their nearest friends, lie down on their backs at full length on their long shields, and some bystander with a sword cuts their throat." Of the bards, Posidonius says:—"The Celts, even when they make war, take about with them companions, whom they call 'parasites.' These celebrate their praises not only before large companies assembled together, but also before private individuals who are willing to listen. Their music and song come from men called bards (*bardoi*), and they are poets who recite praises with song." And it is in this connection, probably, that Posidonius tells of the magnificence of Luernius, the father of Bitysis, King of the Arverni, who was subdued by the Romans in 121 B.C., for he, "aiming at becoming leader of the populace, used to drive in a chariot over the plains, and scatter gold and silver among the myriads of Celts who followed him." He built a place twelve furlongs every way, which he filled with wine-presses and eatables, where for many days anybody might go and revel gratis. "And, once, when he had issued beforehand invitations to a banquet, one of the poets of the 'barbarians,' coming too late, met him on the way, extolled his magnificence in a hymn, and bewailed his own ill fortune for being too late. Luernius, being gratified, asked for a purse of gold and threw it to him as he was running by the side of his chariot; and he picked it up and then went on singing how his very footprints upon the earth over which he drove produced gold and benefits to men."

Cæsar is the next authority on the Celts in the order of time, but as his works are easily accessible to all, only a condensed version of his account of the manners and customs of the Celts will be given. Men of any account in Gaul, he says, belong either to the class of Druids or of nobles, for the general population are regarded as slaves, and are invited to no political meeting. In fact, pressed by debt or by tyranny, they give themselves up as slaves to the nobles, who have over them all the rights of masters over their slaves. The Druids and their views Cæsar describes at fair length as well as the Gaulish Polytheism, but as we have in a former paper considered that subject, we pass to the rest of his description. The second class is the "equites" or nobles. They make arms their profession, for before Cæsar's time they had yearly wars either of offence or defence, and those are reckoned the greatest who have most retainers and dependents. In fact, that is the only species of power they are acquainted with. The Gauls reckon their time by nights and not by days. In other customs and manners, their peculiarity consists in that they don't suffer their children to appear in their presence, except when grown

up, much less that a young lad should sit by his father's side in public. The dowry that a woman brings, the husband must equal by a sum from his own resources, and this total falls to either survivor. They have power of life and death over their wives and children, and widows are tortured for information, if there is a suspicion of foul play on a husband's death, and, on proof of guilt, put to death. Their funerals are magnificent, considering their state of culture, and everything dear to the deceased, formerly even slaves and dependents, are burnt along with them. The best regulated states have a law that anyone who has foreign news of state importance must report the same first to the Government, because experience has shown that rash and unexperienced men are driven or frightened by false rumours to crime and rash political action. The Government conceal or reveal the news, according to their judgment. Politics must not be discussed except by a public assembly. In another place, Cæsar says that the Gauls have the weakness of being fickle in political action, and prone to revolution. They compel travellers to tell everything they have heard or learnt, and merchants are surrounded by a crowd that demands whence they came, and what was doing there. On such facts and reports they adopt measures of the highest political importance, which they soon have cause to regret, because of the uncertainty, and, for the most part, wilful falsity of the information. In another book he speaks of their extreme intellectual cleverness and their great capabilities for imitating and doing anything they saw, and further on he states that "to desert their chief, even in the extremity of fortune, is, in the moral code of the Gauls, accounted as a crime." His description of the Britons may be condensed as follows:—Inland Britain is inhabited by native tribes, but the coast is held by Belgians, who have given the names of the places they came from to their new settlements. The population is countless, the buildings very numerous, and almost exactly like those of Gaul, and cattle is plentiful. They use for money coins of brass or rods of iron, made to a certain weight. Tin is found in the midland districts, and iron on the coast, but not in plenty. Their brass is imported. The hare, the hen, and the goose they won't taste on religious grounds. The inhabitants of Kent are the most civilised; in fact, they differ little from the Gauls. The people inland sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh, and clothe themselves with skins. All the Britons paint themselves with woad, which produces blue colour. This makes them more terrible in aspect. They wear

the hair long, and shave all except the upper lip. Communities of ten to twelve men have their wives in common, and the children belong to the man who originally married the mother. They have chariots, and fight with them in this way. First, they ride along the whole field, and fire their missiles, and by the noise and the impetus of their horses cause confusion, and so break into their opponents' ranks, when they leap down and fight on foot. The charioteers meanwhile withdraw, and place the chariots in such a way that, if the fighters are hard pressed, they may fall back on them easily. Their skill by long practice is such that even in steep and precipitous places they can check the horses at full speed, and also guide and turn them in a moment, and they can run along the tram pole, stand on its end, and run back again with the utmost celerity.

Cæsar's contemporary, Diodorus of Sicily, has left us perhaps the most important account of the Celts that we now possess. Both he and Strabo found largely on Posidonius. Diodorus' mythical account of the origin of the Gaulish people has already been given. "After this explanation as to the names of the Gauls," says he, "it is needful to speak of their country also. Gaul is inhabited by many nations, differing in size, for the largest possess about two hundred thousand men, and the least fifty thousand. . . . From the destructive nature of the climate, neither vine nor olive is produced. Accordingly, the Gauls deprived of these fruits prepare a drink from *barley*, which is called *zythos*. They run water through honeycombs, and use for drink this dilution. Being excessively fond of wine, they swallow it undiluted, when it is imported by merchants, and through their keenness for it, they drink large quantities, which drives them into sleep or a state of insanity. Hence many Italian merchants turn the drunkenness of the Gauls to their own gain; for they bring by the rivers in boats or by the roads in carts wine to them, and receive in return an incredible price. For a jar of wine they get a slave, exchanging the drink for a servant.

"In Gaul no silver at all is got, but plenty of gold, which nature supplies to the inhabitants without the trouble of mining. The mountain streams rushing down break off the soil of their banks, and fill it with gold dust. This soil, those engaged in such work gather, and from it eliminate the gold by breaking up and sifting it with water. In this way a great quantity of gold is collected, which not merely women, but also men use for ornament. Hence they carry armlets and bracelets; they make thick

torques of pure gold for the neck, splendid rings, and, in addition, breastplates of gold. A remarkable and unexpected fact holds among the interior Gauls in regard to places of the worship of the gods. In the temples and consecrated groves through the country, there lies cast about a great quantity of gold dedicated to the gods; and none of the inhabitants will touch it through religious fear, excessively fond though the Celts be of money.

“The Gauls have tall persons; their flesh is sappy and white; their hair is not only yellow, but they strive by art to add to the peculiarity of its natural hue. For they often rub their hair with a chalk wash, and draw it back from the front of the head to the crown and ridge of the head, so that they present the appearance of Satyrs. From cultivation their hair gets so thick as to differ in no respect from a horse’s mane. Some shave their faces (chins); others grow a moderate beard; the better classes shave the cheeks, but grow a moustache so as to cover the mouth. Accordingly in eating, the moustache is mixed up with the food, and in drinking, the drink runs through a sieve as it were. At meals they do not sit upon seats, but upon the ground, making use of the skins of wolves and dogs for rugs. They are waited upon by very young children of both sexes, and of fit age. Near them is a fire-place, full of fire, with kettles and spits, full of large pieces of flesh. They honour their brave men with the best portions of the meat, just as the poet introduces Ajax as honoured by the chiefs, when he had conquered Hector in single fight.—

“And with long chine-slices he honoured Ajax.”

They invite the strangers to the feasts, and when the meal is over, they ask who they are, and what they want. And even at the meal they are wont, after holding a word-battle arising out of what was occurring, to challenge each other and fight in single combat, caring not a jot for the loss of their life. For among them the opinion of Pythagorus prevails, that the souls of men are immortal, and in the course of a fixed number of years they live again, the soul entering another body. Accordingly, at the burial of the dead, some cast letters addressed to their departed relatives upon the funeral pile, under the belief that the dead will read them.

“In journeys and in battles they employ two-horsed chariots, the car of which carries a charioteer and a fighting man. And when meeting cavalry in battle they hurl their javelins at their opponents, and dismounting they resort to a fight with the sword. Some among them so much despise death that they enter danger naked and girt only with a belt. They employ freemen as ser-

vants, taken from the poorer classes, whom they employ as charioteers and attendants. They are wont in battle array to rush from the ranks and challenge the best of their opponents to single combat, shaking their arms and striking terror into their foes. Whenever anyone proceeds to the fight, they sing the brave deeds of his forefathers, and publish his own exploits, while they revile and humiliate his opponent, and with their words deprive him of all courage of soul. The heads of their fallen enemies they cut off and hang to their horses manes; the bloody trophies they hand to their servants and lead in triumph, singing peans and songs of victory. These best parts of the booty they hang up in their houses just as if they were trophies of the hunt. The heads of the noblest enemies they embalm and preserve in chests, and show them with pride to strangers; how that for this head some ancestor or parent or himself had been offered a large sum of money, and had refused it. They say that some of them boast that they did not accept an equal weight of gold for the head, thus displaying a kind of barbaric magnanimity; for it is not noble not to sell the pledges of valour, but to make war upon the dead of one's own race is brutal. They wear astounding clothes; dyed tunics flowered with various colours, and trousers, which they call "breeches." They buckle on striped cloaks (*tartan cl.*), thick ones in winter and light ones in summer, chequered with close, gaudy squares (*πολυανθεσι πλινθοις*). They use as arms shields of a man's height (*θυρεος* = door-shaped), characteristically embellished with divers colours. Some have brazen relief representations on them of animals skilfully worked, not merely for ornament but also for safety. They wear brazen helmets, having huge projections rising out of them, and producing the appearance of great tallness on the part of the wearers. Some helmets have horns shooting out of them, and others have the figures of birds and the faces of animals carved on them in high relief. They have peculiar barbaric trumpets, for with them they blow and produce a grating sound calculated to cause terror to the foe. Some wear coats of iron chain mail, and some are satisfied with the armour of nature, and fight unprotected by mail. In place of a sword they wear long *cullasses* (broadswords, *σπαθη*), hanging with an iron or brass chain on the right thigh. Some begird their tunics with belts ornamented with gold or silver. They carry spear lances which they call *λαγκια*, having the heads a cubic in length of iron and even more, and in breadth not much short of two palm-breadths. For the swords are not less than the javelins (*σαινιου*) of others, and the javelins have longer blades than

our swords. Some of these are forged straight ; some have throughout backward bent barbs not merely to cut, but so as to break the flesh all in pieces, and on the withdrawal of the spear to tear open the wound.

“They are terrible of aspect, and their voices are deep-sounding and very rough, and in intercourse they are curt in speech, enigmatic, and speaking much obscurely and figuratively ; they say much in hyperbolic language for their own aggrandisement and the detraction of others. They are threateners, declaimers, and stagey exaggerators, but sharp in intellect, and not naturally inapt for learning. There are among them poets of song whom they name “bards,” and these, on an instrument similar to the lyre, sing in praise of some and in dispraise of others. They have certain philosophers and theologians, held in excessive honour, whom they name Druids. They also employ soothsayers, and bestow much esteem on them. These, through bird auspices and the sacrifice of victims, foretell the future, and have the entire multitude subservient to them. Especially when they have under consideration any serious business, they have a wonderful and incredible practice, for they offer a man as sacrifice, striking him with a knife at the point above where the diaphragm is, and as he falls, when struck, from his fall and the convulsions of his limbs, and still more from the flow of his blood, they read the future, having belief in this from old and long-continued observance. It is a custom of theirs to do no sacrifice without a philosopher, for it is through them as experienced in the divine nature, as it were people of the same language with the gods, that the thank-offerings, they say, must be made to the gods, and it is through them that they think good things must be asked. Not merely in matters of peace, but also against their enemies, do they especially obey these men, and also the singing poets—not merely do friends obey them, even the enemy will do so. Often when the armies draw near each other in array for battle, with swords drawn and spears in rest, these men advance into the ground between them and stop them just as though taming and charming wild beasts. So among the wildest barbarians passion yields to art and wisdom, and Mars reveres the Muses.

“It is worth while to make clear what is unknown among many. For those that dwell above Marseilles in the interior, and those in the Alps, and further, those who dwell on this side the Pyrennees, they call Celts ; those above this Celtica, who inhabit the northern district along the Atlantic and the Hercynian range—all those from there to Scythia, they call *Gauls* (Galatæ.) The

Romans call all these nations collectively Gauls. The women of the Gauls not merely are equal to the men in height, but they also rival them in courage. The children among them are at first white-haired (*polia*) for the most part, but with advancing years they are transformed to their father's colour of hair. Those that dwell in the north and on the borders of Scythia being the wildest, they say that they eat men, just as also the Britons who inhabit what is called *Irin*. So much was the fame of their warlike valour and ferocity spread that those who infested all Asia (Minor), then called *Cimmerii*, are thought to be those now called from length of time *Cimbri*. Of old they devoted themselves to plundering other people's countries, and despising all others. It was they who took Rome, plundered the temple at Delphi, made tributary a great part of Europe, and no small part of Asia (Minor); on account of their mingling with the Greeks, they were called *Gallo-Grecians*; in short, they overthrew many large Roman armies. In like manner with the wildness characteristic of them, do they also commit impiety in regard to the sacrifice of the gods. For criminals, kept for five years, they impale on poles in honour of the gods, and with the other first fruits devote them to the gods, preparing huge pyres. They look upon these prisoners in no other light than as victims in honour of the gods. Some also kill the live animals taken in war, along with the men, or burn them, or remove them by some other punishment. They have handsome women; yet some unnatural vices exist. They are wont to sleep on skins of wild beasts on the ground."

Diodorus touches on the inhabitants of Britain too; he says:—

"People say that the races that inhabit Britain are 'Aborigines,' and that they preserve the ancient life in their customs. For they employ chariots for war just as the ancient heroes of Greece are said to have employed in the Trojan war. And they have mean houses constructed of reeds or wood, for the most part. The inbringing of the crops they do thus: they cut off the ears of corn, and stow them in cellars; and then the old ears they each day pluck, and thus prepared they use as food. Their manners are simple and far removed from the cunning and wickedness of our present race. They are satisfied with frugal fare, and far removed from the luxury engendered by riches. The island is populous; it possesses a cold climate, lying, of course, as it does under the polar bear. They have many kings and chiefs, and for the most part they are peacefully disposed to each other."

Virgil has left us a picture of the Gauls, as he thought they must have looked at the sacking of Rome; this is how they appeared on Æneas' shield.—

“The Gauls were at hand marching among the brushwood, and had gained the summit sheltered by the darkness and the kindly grace of dusky night. Golden is their hair and golden their raiment; striped cloaks gleam on their shoulders; their milk-white necks are trimmed with gold; each brandishes two Alpine javelins, his body guarded by the long oval of his shield.”

The striped cloak of Virgil is the prototype of the tartan plaid of the Highlander. The “*virgata*” of Virgil was used by Buchanan to express “tartan.” “*Veste gaudent varia ac maxime virgata.*” That is his description of the dress of the Scottish Highlanders.

Livy has much to say historically of the Gauls, but he only incidentally gives us a glimpse of their character and appearance. They first appear in his 5th book, “burning with indignation, a passion which nationally they are unable to restrain.” A generation after the great battle of Allia (390 B.C.), the Gauls were again near Rome; the armies stood facing each other, and a champion of the Gauls came forth, Goliath-like, to challenge the armies of the “eternal city” to do single combat. The Romans were staggered; the Gaul for a while was unanswered and unopposed, and he proceeded to jeers, and “putting out of his tongue” in mockery at them. “His person was extraordinary in size; his dress was parti-coloured (tartan); and he shone in arms glittering with colour and with gold.” In the Punic wars he tells us Hannibal had Spanish and Gaulish auxiliaries. “The Gauls and Spaniards have shields of about the same shape, but their swords are different in size and purpose. The Gauls have swords that are very long, and without points; the Spaniard's swords are more adapted for thrusting than slashing or cutting, handy by their shortness, and possessed of sharp ends. . . . The Gauls were stripped naked above the waist for the fight.” In B.C. 189, the Consul Manlius came face to face with the Gauls of Asia Minor and found it necessary in view of the terror which the Gauls always inspired in the Romans, and the great fame these Gallo-Grecians had in war, to rouse the courage of his men in a speech like this.—

“It does not escape me that of all the nations of Asia the Gauls excel in reputation for war. Midst quite a meek race of men, a nation of high and warlike spirit (*ferox natio*), after ravaging nigh well the whole earth with war, took possession of a settlement. They have tall persons, long and reddish-coloured

hair, huge shields, long swords (*praelongi gladii*). Besides, as they begin the fight, they come on with singing, war-whoops, and dancing, and after the national fashion of Gaul, they strike their shields, and rattle in a terrible way their arms, doing everything of set purpose to inspire terror. These things may frighten Greeks and Phrygians, who are unacquainted with them: but we, Romans, accustomed as we are to Gallic 'tumults,' know them to be mere empty show. True, they did once at the first meeting defeat our fathers at Allia; but ever since then, for the last two hundred years, we have slaughtered, laid them low, and defeated them, gaining more triumphs over them than over the rest of the world. By our long experience we know this fact: If you resist their first onset, which they make in pouring numbers with hot spirit and blind wrath, their limbs are melted away with sweat and fatigue, their arms slip from their hands, their soft bodies and soft courage, once their wrath is cooled, are laid low by the sun, the dust and thirst; you will not even have to point a weapon against them."

Strabo, the geographer, who lived at the beginning of our era, thus describes the Gauls:—

"The entire race, which now goes by the name of Gallic or Galatic is warlike, passionate, and always ready for fighting, but otherwise simple and not malicious. If irritated, they rush in crowds to the conflict, openly and without any circumspection; and thus are easily vanquished by those who employ stratagem. For anyone may exasperate them when, where, and under whatever pretext he pleases; he will always find them ready for danger, with nothing to support them except their violence and daring. Nevertheless they may be easily persuaded to devote themselves to anything useful, and have thus engaged both in science and letters. Their power consists both in the size of their bodies and also in their numbers. Their frankness and simplicity lead them easily to assemble in masses, each one feeling indignant at what appears injustice to his neighbour. At the present time they are all at peace subject to the Romans; but we have described their customs, as we understand they existed in former times, and as they still exist among the Germans. . . . They march in crowds in one collected army, or rather remove with all their families, whenever they are ejected by a more powerful force. . . . All the Gauls are warriors by nature, but they fight better on horseback than on foot, and the flower of the Roman cavalry is drawn from their number. . . . No part of Gaul is unproductive, except where there are swamps or forests, and even these

parts are inhabited, yet rather on account of the populousness than the industry of the people; for the women are prolific and careful nurses, but the men are better warriors than husbandmen. . . . The Gauls wear *saga* (mantles), let their hair grow, and use tight trousers. Instead of tunics they wear a slashed garment with sleeves descending below the hips (*Μέχρι αἰδοίων καὶ γλουτῶν*). The wool is coarse but short (long?); from it they weave the thick *sagi* which they call 'λαίναί' (*laenæ*.) . . . The equipment of the Gauls is in keeping with the size of their bodies; they have a long sword hanging at their right side, a long shield, and lances in proportion, together with a 'materis' somewhat resembling a javelin. Some of them also use bows and slings; they have also a wooden weapon resembling a dart, which is hurled, not out of a thong, but from the hand, and goes a further distance even than an arrow. They make use of it chiefly in shooting birds. To the present day most of them lie on the ground, and take their meals seated on straw. They subsist principally on milk and all kinds of flesh, especially that of swine, which they eat both fresh and salted. Their swine live in the fields, and surpass in height, strength, and swiftness. To persons unaccustomed to approach them, they are almost as dangerous as wolves. The people dwell in great houses arched, constructed of planks and wicker, and covered with a heavy thatched roof. They have sheep and swine in such abundance that they supply *saga* and salted pork in plenty, not only to Rome, but to most parts of Italy. Their governments were for the most part aristocratic; formerly they chose a governor every year, and a military leader was likewise elected by the multitude. At present they are mostly under subjection to the Romans. They have a peculiar custom in their assemblies. If any one makes an uproar or interrupts the speaker, an attendant advances with a drawn sword, and commands him with a menace to be silent; if he persists, the attendant does the same thing two other times, and finally cuts off from his *sagum* so large a piece as to render the remainder useless. The labours of the two sexes are distributed in a manner the reverse of what they are with us, but this is a common thing with numerous other barbarians. Amongst them all, three classes more especially are held in distinguished veneration, the Bards, the Soothsayers, and the Druids. The bards are chaunters and poets. The Soothsayers are sacrificers and physiologists (students of nature.) The Druids, in addition to physiology, practise ethic philosophy. They are deemed to be most upright, and, in consequence, to them are committed both public and private controversies, insomuch that on some

occasions they decide wars, and stop the combatants on the eve of engaging. Matters pertaining to murder are more especially entrusted to their decision, and whenever there is plenty of these, they think there will also be plenty of fertility in the country. These and others say that souls are immortal, and also the world, yet that ultimately fire and water will prevail. To their simplicity and impetuosity are superadded much folly, vain boasting, and love of ornament. They wear gold, having collars of it on their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists; and persons in position are clad in dyed garments, embroidered with gold. This lightness of character makes them intolerable when they conquer, and throws them into consternation when worsted. In addition to their folly, they have a barbarous and absurd custom, common, however, with many nations of the north, of suspending the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks on their return from battle, and, when they have arrived, of nailing them as a spectacle to their gates. Posidonius says he witnessed this in many different places, and was at first shocked, but became familiar with it in time, on account of its frequency. The heads of any illustrious persons they embalm with cedar, exhibit them to strangers, and would not sell them for their weight in gold. However, the Romans put a stop to these customs as well as their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws. They would strike a man, devoted as an offering, on his back with a sword, and divine from his convulsion throes. Without the Druids they never sacrifice. It is said they have other modes of sacrificing their human victims; that they shoot some of them with arrows, and crucify others in their temples; and that they prepare a colossus of hay, with wood thrown over it, into which they put cattle, beasts of all kinds, and men, and then set fire to it."

Of the Britons he says:—"The men are taller than the Celti, with hair less yellow, and slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller by so much as half a foot than the tallest there; but they were bowed-legged, and in other respects not symmetrical in their conformation. Their manners are in part like those of the Celts, though in part more simple and barbarous; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Celts. Forests are their

cities ; for having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle, though not for any long continuance."

The classical authors need scarcely be followed further than to the middle of the first century of our era, for Rome had by this time spread its sway and its culture over Gaul, and much of the special customs, manners, and institutions of the Gauls had disappeared. Even Strabo has to speak of many things he describes as no longer existent. Druidism, for instance, was abolished under Augustus and his next three successors ; by Druidism are meant the superstition which demanded human sacrifice and the medicine-man priestcraft which interfered with Rome's religious and political prejudices. Later writers, therefore, as a rule, only repeat previous information, and help us little to realise the life of the "Ancient Celt." Pliny, indeed, may be excepted, with his many superstitions and queer customs, which he traces over all the Roman world ; but they are too minute and too numerous to be here quoted with any satisfaction or importance to our subject. He tells us how the Gauls wore in one generation the ring on the middle finger, and the next every finger was loaded with jewellery save that one ; how they learned to dye all kinds of colours "with the juice only of certain herbs ;" and how the Gauls knew something of scientific farming in chalking and marling their land—indeed, they appear to have been good enough farmers as far as knowledge is concerned, though Strabo tells us they were better fighters than husbandman. We may, besides Pliny, quote Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the 4th century, who knew the Gauls well, to show the position of women in Gaul :—"Several foreigners together could not wrestle against a single Gaul, if they quarrelled with him, especially if he called for help to his wife, who even exceeds the husband in her strength and in her haggard eyes. She would become especially formidable when swelling her throat, gnashing her teeth, and poisoning her arms, robust and white as snow, ready to act with feet or fists, she struck out with them with the force of a catapult." A Saturday night in the Irish quarter of any of our largest towns would forcibly remind one of this description. But this approximation of the women to the men in size and strength is a good sign of the advanced state of culture the Gauls were in.

We now sum up the leading points of Celtic manners and customs. The Celts were tall in stature, white-skinned, golden-haired, blue-eyed. They let their hair grow, but shaved the face, leaving only a moustache. They wore trousers and blouses de-

scending to the upper part of the thighs, and over this was cast the mantle or sagum, richly embroidered with gold. They were very fond of colours in their dresses, "flaming and fantastic." They wore personal ornaments like neck-torques, bracelets, and rings. They were agriculturists of no mean calibre: but they had a crofter question, as we see from Cæsar and others; for the farming class appear to have been much in debt, and practically in the power of the nobles and usurers (*negotiator*). There is evidence that originally the land belonged to themselves. The advent of the Romans only brought new sources of misery; for veritable "Sutherland" sheep farms were actually held by Roman nobles and knights. We see this from Cicero's speech for Quintius, for example. They knew manufactures, as we see from Pliny—fabricating serges, cloths, and felts, of great repute. Mines were worked in Southern Gaul, and smith-work carried to much perfection; the art of tinning was known, and copper was, for instance, plated with silver leaf to ornament horse's trappings, as Pliny vouches. Their food was flesh generally, and pork especially; their drink was milk, ale, and mead. It is noted by Cicero, Diodorus, and others, that they were inclined to intemperance. In disposition, they were frank, hospitable to strangers, but vain and quarrelsome, fickle in sentiments, and fond of novelties. They were fond of war, hot in attack, but easily discouraged by reverse. They spoke much in figurative language; they used Greek letters. They were religious, or rather superstitious, going to fearful excesses. Their religion was polytheism of the Greek and Roman style, but they were priest-ridden. In family matters, a son could not publicly appear with his father until of the age to bear arms; the wife's dowry was equalled by a sum from the husband, which all fell to the survivor. Their funerals were by cremation, at least, among the nobles, and were extravagant. In war, they had long iron two-edged swords, adapted for cutting, sheathed in iron scabbards, and suspended to the side by chains. They had spears, whose points were long, broad, and serrated to tear the flesh. They made use of light javelins also, with the bow and sling; though these weapons are not characteristic of them. Their helmets were of metal, ornamented with horns or figures in relief of animals. They carried a large oblong shield, a breastplate of iron, and a coat of mail, which last was a Gaulish invention. They were excellent horsemen; but earlier the Celts fought in chariots, as they did in Britain at Cæsar's time. They challenged the foe to single combats, and used to hang the heads of the enemy from their horses' neck, carrying them home in triumph to be nailed up

for trophies. Their political system had originally been kingly power, which gave way, as in Greece, to an oligarchy. The oligarchy was the common form in Gaul, as Strabo says, but tyrants were not unknown. They had severe laws passed against anyone who tried to become tyrant, as we see in Orgetorix's case. The oligarchical republics had senates and consuls—the consul among the Ædui being called Vergobretus. They had political parties and chiefships of individuals and states. Their houses were large, dome-shaped, and made of wood. They had towns and villages; plenty of roads and bridges. The ancient Celts were, therefore, as Posidonius had observed, “just like the people in Homer's time,” an observation quite true in regard to Britain in Cæsar's time, but the Gauls were rather in the state of Greece before the Persian wars. A wonderful light is reflected by a study of ancient Celtic customs on the heroic tales and legends of ancient Ireland; the tales about Cuchullin and Conchobar exactly reproduce on old Irish soil the life of the ancient Celts; we see their banquets with their “champion share” and their fights in the Feast of Bricrend; we see their gorgeous magnificence of person and dress in the Brudin-da-Derga; and we see them in the various aspects of war in the great Tain-bo-Chuailgne.

(3) LANGUAGE OF THE ANCIENT CELTS.

The language of the ancient Celts has fared worse than their history or their culture. Only a few inscriptions remain to us of the Gaulish language of Cæsar's time and later, and these do not give any satisfactory idea of the state of the language. There are hundreds of Celtic names in the classical authors, but their value in showing the grammatical forms of the language is almost nil. Some words of linguistic significance are handed down by the classical writers; such, for instance, is *petorritum*, “a four-wheeled chariot,” where *petor* is the Gaulish form for Gaelic-Irish *cethir* “four.” This shows that the Gaulish of Cæsar's time was already progressing on different lines from the Goidelic or Gaelic branch; the Welsh for “four” is *pedwar*. Some centuries previous to the beginning of our era, the two branches of the Celtic speech separated—the Goidelic and Brythonic, to use Professors Rhys' terminology. The *qu* of Italo-Celtic and ancient Celtic times was stiffened by the one into *k*, and by the other—the Brythonic—labialised into *p*. They both agree in dropping almost everywhere the Aryan *p*; for example, Lat., *plenus* (*full*); Gaelic, *lán*; Welsh, *llawn*. Some linguistic tendencies must have also been developed in the “Ancient Celtic” period, notably the sinking of

vowel-flanked consonants into "aspirated" forms. The old Gaulish and British, with their descendants, the modern Welsh and Breton, and the lately extinct Cornish, all belong to the Gallic or Brythonic branch of Celtic; the old Irish and old Gaelic with their modern descendants of Ireland, Man, and Scotland belong to the Goidelic or Gaelic branch.

We can here only present results, and the following view of the ancient grammar of the Celtic language is arrived at by examining the laws which regulate the terminations of Gaelic, but more especially of old Irish forms. Thus a "small" vowel like *e* or *i* at the termination of a word forces itself back into the preceding syllable rather than be altogether extinguished. Examples exist in English, as *foot*, with plural *feet* for *fôte* originally; but Gaelic carries this system through most consistently. Thus *bard* (a bard) has genitive singular and nominative plural *baird* for original *bardi*. Gaelic in Scotland has allowed the regressive action of long *a* to affect the preceding syllable, as *clach*, Irish *cloch* for original *cloca*. The terminal *s* and other consonants are restored from the analogy of the classical languages, which also lost them since the commencement of our era. The "restoration" follows Windisch, more especially. "Prehistoric" stands for over two thousands years ago, and is parallel to "Ancient" of Ancient Celts.

Declension of Nouns.

(N.B. -The dual is, for convenience' sake, generally left out.)

(1) Stems originally in *a*.

Masculine.

Gaelic.	Old Irish.	Pre-historic.
S.N. fear "a man".....	fer.....	viras
G. fir.....	fir.....	virī
D. fear.....	fiur.....	viru (viro)
A. fear.....	fer n.....	viran
V. 'fhir.....	a fhir.....	vire (virī)
P.N. fir.....	fir.....	virī
G. fear.....	fer n.....	viran
D. fearaibh.....	feraib.....	virabis
A. fir.....	firu.....	virūs (virōs)
V. 'fheara.....	a fhiru.....	virus
Dual N. & A. da fhear.....	dá fher.....	virā

Feminine.

S. N.	cas "foot"	.....coss	.....cossa
G.	coise	.....coisse	.....cossēs
D.	cois	.....coiss	.....cossi
A.	cas	.....coiss n-	.....cossin
V.	a chas	.....a choss	.....cossa
P. N.	casan	.....cossa	.....cossās
G.	cas	.....coss n-	.....cossan
D.	casuibh	.....cossuib	.....cossābis
A.	casan	.....cossa	.....cossās
V.	a chasa	.....a chossa	.....cossas
Dual N. & A.	da chois	.....di choiss	.....cossi
G.	da chois	.....da choss	.....cossās
D.	da chois	.....dib cossuibh	.....cossabin

Neuter.

S. N. & A.	sgeul "story"	.....scél n-	.....scēlan
G.	sgeoil	.....scooil	.....scēli
P. N. & A.	sgeulan	.....scēla	.....scēla

Stems in *ia*.

Masculine.

S. N.	duine "man"	.....duine	.....dunias
G.	duine	.....duini	.....dunii
D.	duine	.....duiniu	.....duniu
A.	duine	.....duine n-	.....dunian
V.	a dhuine	.....a duini	.....dunii
P. N.	daoine	.....doini	.....dunii
&c.		&c.	&c.

Feminine.

S. N.	guidhe	.....gude (guide)	.....gudia
G.	guidhe	.....guide	.....gudiēs
D.	guidhe	.....guidi	.....gudii
P. N.	gnidheachan	.....guidi	.....guidiēs
&c.		&c.	&c.

Neuter.

S. N.	cridhe "heart"	.....crìde n-	.....crìdian
G.	crìdhe	.....crìdi	.....crìdii
D.	crìdhe	.....crìdiu	.....crìdiu
P. N.	crìdheachan	.....crìde	.....crìdia
&c.		&c.	&c.

(2) Stems originally in *i*.

Masculine and feminine.

S. N.	súil (eye).....	súil.....	sulis
G.	súla.....	súla.....	sulaos (ajas)
D.	súil.....	súil.....	suli
A.	súil.....	súil n-.....	sulin
V.	a shúil.....	a shuil.....	suli
P. N.	súilean.....	súli.....	suleis
G.	súil.....	súle n-.....	sulean
D.	súilibh.....	súlib.....	sulibis
A.	súilean.....	súli.....	sulis
V.	a shúilean.....	a shúli.....	sulis

Dual N. & A.	da shúil.....	dí shúil.....	su <i>i</i> (i)
G.	da shúla.....	dá súla.....	sulaos
D.	da shúil.....	dib súlib.....	sulibin

Neuter.

S. N. & A.	muir "sea".....	muir.....	mori
G.	mara.....	mora.....	moraos
P. N. & A.	marannan.....	mora.....	moraja

(3) Stems in *u*.

S. N.	gníomh "deed"gnim (masc.).....	gnimus	
G.	gníomha.....	gníma.....	gnímaos (avos)
P. N.	gníomhan (aran)gnímaí.....	gnímaí.....	gnímaívis
A.	gníomhan.....	gnímu.....	gnímuís

S. N.	dorus "door"dorus (neut.).....	dorastu	
G.	doruis.....	dorais.....	dorastaos
P. A.	dorsan.....	dorsi.....	dorasteva

(4) Consonant Stems.

(a) Family names in *r*.

S. N.	máthair "mother"máthir.....	matēr	
G.	máthar.....	máthar.....	materas
D.	máthair.....	máthir.....	materi
A.	máthair.....	máthir n-.....	materin
V.	a mháthair.....	a máthir.....	mater
P. N.	máthraichean...máthir.....	máthir.....	materis
G.	máthraichean.....	máthre n-.....	materan
D.	máthraichean...máithrib.....	máithrib.....	materabis
A.	máthraichean.....	máithrea.....	materās
V.	a mháthraichean.a máithrea.....	máithrea.....	materas

*Gaelic Society of Inverness.**(b.) Dental Stems.*

S. N.	braighe "neck"...	brage.....	bragents
G.	braghad.....	braget	bragentas
D.	braghad.....	bragait.....	bragenti
A.	braighe.....	bragit n-.....	bragentin
P. N.	braghadan.....	bragit.....	bragentis
G.	braghadan.....	braget n-.....	bragentau
D.	braghadan	braigtib	bragentibus
A.	braghadan	braigtea	bragentas

(c.) Guttural Stems.

S. N.	nathair "viper"...	nathir.....	natrix
G.	nathrach	nathrach.....	natracas
D.	nathair.....	nathraig.....	natraci
A.	nathair.....	nathraig n-.....	natracin
V. a	nathair	nathir	natrix
P. N.	nathraichean....	nathraig	natracis
G.	nathraichean....	nathrach n-	natracan
D.	nathraichean	nathraichib.....	natracabis
A.	nathraichean....	nathraicha	natracas
Dual N. & A.	da nathair	da nathraig.....	natrace
G.	da nathair	da nathrach.....	natracas
D.	da nathair	dib nathraichib.	natracabin

(d.) Stems in n and man.

S. N.	gobha "smith"...	goba.....	gobas
G.	gobhainn.....	gobann.....	gobannas
D.	gobhainn.....	gobainn.....	gobanni
P. N.	goibhnean.....	gobainn.....	gobannis
	&c.	&c.	&c.

S. N.	Alba "Scotland" ..	Alba	Albans (Albā)
G.	Albainn.....	Alban	Albanas
D.	Albainn.....	Albain.....	Albani

S. N.	britheamh	brithem.....	britema
G.	brithemh	britheman.	britemanas
D.	britheamh.....	brithemain.....	britemani
A.	britheamh	brithemain n-....	britemanin
V. a	bhrithemh	brithem.....	britemin
P. N.	britheamhnan....	brithemain.....	britemanis
	&c.	&c.	&c.

Neuters in *man*.

S. N. & A.	ainm "name".....ainm n-.....	anmen
	G. ainme.....	anme (a).....anmanas
	D. ainm.....	anmáim.....anmanmi (?)
P. N. & A.	ainmeannan.....	anmann.....anmana
	&c.	&c. &c.

(e.) Neuter Stems in *as*.

S. N.	tigh "house".....	teg (tech.).....	tegas
	G. tighe.....	tige.....	tegeas (tegesas)
	D. tigh.....	tig.....	tigi (tegesi)
P. N.	tighean.....	tige.....	tegea (tegesa)
	&c.	&c.	&c.

Declension of the Article.

S. N., M.	an, am, an t-.....	in, in t-.....	santas
	F. an, a', an t-.....	in, ind, in t-.....	santa
	N.	a n-.....	san
S. G., M. & N.	an, a', an t-.....	in, ind, in t-.....	santi
	F. na, na h-.....	inna, na.....	santās
S. D., M. & N.	an, a' an t-.....	don, dond, don t-.....	santu
	F. as <i>mas</i>	as <i>mas</i>	santi
S. A., M.	as <i>nom</i>	in n-.....	santan
	F. as <i>nom</i>	in n-.....	santín
	N.	a n-.....	san
P. N., M.	na, na h-.....	in ind, in t-.....	santi
	F. na, na h-.....	inna, na.....	santās
	N.	inna, na.....	santa
	P. G. nan, nam.....	inna, na n-.....	santan
	P. D. na, na h-.....	donaib.....	santabis
	P. A. as <i>nom</i>	inna.	{ santōs, M. santās, F. santa, N.
Dual N., M.	an da (<i>the two</i>)...in da.....	.....	santa dvā
	F. an da.....	in dí.....	santi dvī (dvei)
	N.	in da.....	santa dvā
	G.(all genders)anda.in dà .....	.....	santās dvās
	D. an da	in dib n-.....	santabin dvebin

Numerals.

N. M.	tri "three".....	trí.....	trīs (treis)
	F. tri.....	teoir.....	tesoris
	N. ...	trí.....	trī

G. M. and N.	tri.....	trìn	trijan
	F. tri.....	teora n-.....	tesoran
D. M. and N.	tri	trib.....	tribis
	F. tri	teoraib.....	tesorabis
N. M.	ceithir “four”	cethir	cetaris (as)
	F. ceithir.....	cetheoir	cetesoris (as)
N.	.....	cethir	cetaria
	coig “five”	cóic.....	cōici (quence)
	sia “six”	sé	sex
	seachd “seven”	secht n-	sectan
	ochd “eight”.....	ocht n-, oct	octan (octa ?)
	naoi “nine”.....	nóí n-.....	novin
	deich “ten”	deich n-.....	decin
	fichead “twenty”.....	fiche, <i>pl.</i> fichit	vicents, <i>plural</i> vicentis
	ciad, ceud “hun- dred”	cét (cét n-).....	canton

Conjugation of Verb.

Active Voice.

Indicative—Present.

- S. 1. beiridh mi “I will
bear”.....berimm.....berim-mi
2. beiridh tu
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3. | beiridh }
 beireas } | e... . | berid }
 rel. beres } | bereti }
 rel. beret-ja (?) } |
| | | | | |
- P. 1. beiridh sinn.....berimme.....berim-nis
2. beiridh sibh.....berthe.....beritís
3. { beiridh } iad... { berit }
 { beireas } { rel. berte } ...beranti

After Particles.

- S. 1. (cha) bheir mi ...do-biur.....beru (o)
2. bheir thu
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|---------------|-------|
| 2. | bheir thu | do-bir | beris |
| 3. | bheir e | do-beir | berit |
- P. 1. bheir sinn.do-beram
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|----------------|--------|
| 2. | bheir sibh..... | do-berid | bereti |
| 3. | bheir iad | do-berat | berant |

Indicative—Present Secondary.

- S. 1. bheirinn “I would
bear”.....no berinn.....berimīn
2. bheireadh tu.....no bertha.....beretaso
3. bheireadh e.....no bered.....bereta (o)

Indicative—Present Secondary.—Continued.

- P. 1. bheireamaid.....no bermmis.....berim-mi-ss (nt)
 2. bheireadh sibh...no berthe.....beritís (?)
 3. bheireadh iad...no bertis.....beri-ti-ss (?)

Indicative—Past.

- S. 1. chan mi “I said”.cechan.....cecana
 2. chan thu.....cechan.....cecanas
 3. chan e.....cechuin.....cecané
 P. 1. chan sinn.....cechnammar
 2. chan sibh.....cechnaid.....cecnate
 3. chan iad.....cechnatar.....

Imperative.

- S. 1. beiream (*really*
1st pres.).....
 2. beirbeir }beri (e) }
 berthe }berited }
 3. beireadh e.....beradberatu
 P. 1. beireamaid.....beram
 2. beiribh.....berid.....bereti (e)
 3. beireadh iad.....berat.....berantu

Infinitive.

- N. & A. beirsinn.....bersiu (old Gael.)bersiu
 G. beirsinn.....bersenbersinas
 D. beirsinnbersin.....bersini
 A. beirsinnbersin n-.....bersinin

Passive Voice.

Indicative—Present.

- S. 1. beirear mi “I shall
 be born”.....nom berar-sa.....
 2. beirear thunot berar-su.....
 3. beirear e.....berir.....bertur
 P. 1. beirear sinn.....non berar-ní.....
 2. beirear sibhnob berar-si.....
 3. beirear iad.....bertirberantur

Indicative—Secondary Present.

- S. 3. bheirteadh(*subj*)no berthe.....
 P. 3. bheirteadh iad...no bertis.....

Gaelic Society of Inverness.

Indicative—Past.

S. 3. chanadhro chét.....cantas (*part. pass.*)P. 3. chanadhro chétacantās (*p. p. fem.*)

Participle.

cainte "said"cete.....cantas, a, an

Prepositions.

mu "about"imb.....ambi

ath-, aith-, "again"aith.....ati

a, as, "out"a, ass.....ax

o, bho, "from"o, ua.....ava

eadar, "between"eter.....enter

gu, "to"coco, cot

gu, 'with' (with adjectives).co, co n-.....con

air, "on"ar }(p)ara
for }u(p)ari

an, "in"i, i n-.....in

THE SOCIETY'S GAELIC CLASSES.

On Friday evening, 25th April, the Gaelic classes held by the Society in Raining's School were brought to a close by a Gaelic concert. The success of these classes was beyond the most sanguine hopes of the Society; altogether some 140 pupils presented themselves, and, though the season was late for evening classes, yet the attendance kept up to a high level throughout. The average attendance would be about seventy. The difficulty in conducting the classes was not want of enthusiasm either on the part of the pupils or of the public, but the scarcity of teachers. The members of the Society who could teach were often engaged on the very nights necessary, and much inconvenience was caused to the pupils and those teachers that appeared by unavoidable absences of this kind. It is expected that another session will see the classes again in operation, and that, from the experience gathered during this year, the difficulty of the teaching staff will be overcome. It is a sign of the interest in Gaelic, and the vitality of patriotic feeling in the city Gael, that it was not the public who were most backward in this matter, but the members of the Society themselves. As a crowning example of the interest taken in the classes, the Gaelic concert on the 25th April was only too well patronised, for the large room in Raining's School was crowded to overflowing, and very many had to go away unad-

mitted. Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage, an honorary chieftain of the Society, presided, and there were among those present—Mr Campbell, editor of the *Northern Chronicle*; Councillors Stuart and Macbean; Mr W. Mackenzie, Clarence Villa, Drummond, secretary to the Society; Rev. Mr Bisset, Stratherrick; Mr Whyte, librarian; Mr Alex. Macbain, headmaster of Raining's School. An equal number of ladies as of gentlemen graced the proceedings with their presence. The Chairman, in introducing the proceedings, spoke of the great success that had marked the classes, and the numbers that had attended. The ability to speak Gaelic would be a boon to them as long as they lived. They had to thank the teachers for their interest in the pupils and the energy and success of their teaching. They were especially indebted to Mr Macbain for the use of the school. Thereafter an interesting and varied programme was gone through. Mr Carter, a pupil of the class, whose Gaelic was all learnt since he joined it, led off with Maclachlan's Gaelic song, "Gur Gile Mo Leannan," and his efforts were rewarded with hearty applause. Miss Lizzie Macbean followed with the beautiful song "Fear a' Bhàta," which she sung equally as beautifully. Miss Macbean has assured her position in the North as a singer of the first rank in English singing; she may confidently do the same in Gaelic singing. Mr Paul Fraser sang "Gruagach Dhonn a bhroillich bhàin," with his usual tact and spirit, and received well-merited applause. Mr D. Campbell, of the *Chronicle*, then varied the proceedings with a speech, in which he said that the meeting that night was a proof that the Gaelic language was not dead in Inverness. They could not praise Mr Macbain too highly for his teaching, and for gathering the class together, and keeping it so. They had to thank Mr Whyte, and Mr Ramsay, and the other teachers for their attendance and attention. Thereafter, Miss Hutcheson gave a beautiful rendering of that exquisite love song, "Mo Rùn Geal Dileas," for which she received the warm applause of the meeting. The next item on the programme was a Gaelic dialogue enacted by Mr Whyte, Master Donald Macaulay and Miss Kate Maclellan. It was one of Dr Norman Macleod's "Comhradh's," wherein the Brocair (Mr Whyte) argues on marriage and housekeeping with Finlay the Piper (Mr Macaulay) and Mary the Piper's wife (Miss Maclellan.) The novelty and excellence of the performance were both highly appreciated. Miss Paterson next gave a song, and Mr Farquhar Macrae (an old pupil of the school, now at Edinburgh University); both received the hearty applause of the meeting. Mr Macrae's song was "Thug Mi Gaol do'n Fhear Bhan."

The Rev. Mr Bisset then gave an address, partly Gaelic, partly English. He expressed his gratification and wonder at such a meeting. Miss Macbean, for the second time, delighted the audience with a Gaelic song—" 'S toigh leam a' Ghaidhealtachd." Councillor Macbean, who was dressed in the Highland dress, entertained the audience with a Gaelic speech, enlivened by many jokes and funny reminiscences. Mr Paul Fraser thereafter gave another song in Gaelic—his favourite air, " Mnathan a' ghliune." Councillor Stuart spoke in English and Gaelic, giving in the latter specimens of the power of that language in " sound-painting," and also reciting " Turus Eachuinn," much to the delight of his hearers. Mr Whyte sang a popular Gaelic catch, in which the audience joined, and the proceedings were brought to a close by the Chairman also doing the same. Mr M'Walter, of Marr & Co., accompanied the singers on the piano, and at intervals during the evening, Mr Paul Mackillop, and Mr Kenneth Macdonald, discoursed selections of music on the great Highland bagpipe. A most pleasant evening, of a thoroughly Gaelic type, was thus gone through—an evening that it is hoped may be the precursor of such annually in the future.

3RD JULY 1884.

A business meeting was held on this date, when arrangements were made for the Annual Assembly. It was stated that the Music Hall had been engaged for the meeting, and that the Chief of the Society, Lochiel, M.P., was to preside. The following new members were elected, viz.:—Mr William Davidson, farmer, Ruthven (ordinary); and Mr Eldon M. Carter (apprentice.)

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

The Thirteenth Annual Assembly of the Society was held in the Music Hall, Inverness, on the evening of Thursday, July 10, 1884. The following is the programme which was arranged:—

PART I.

Address—The Chief.

Oran Gailig—" Mo run gach là "—Mr Hugh Fraser.

Scotch Song—" The Cameron Men "—Miss Watt.

Oran Gailig—" Mnathan a' Ghlinne " (by request)—Mr Paul Fraser.

Oran Gailig—"Mo run geal dileas"—Miss Hutcheson.
Scotch Song—"My Nannie's awa'"—Mr C. C. Macdonald.
Dance—"Highland Fling"—Oganaich Ghaidhealach.

Interval of Five Minutes—Bagpipe Music.

PART II.

Gaelic Address—Mr Colin Chisholm.
Song—"The Old Brigade"—Mr Paul Fraser.
Oran Gailig—"Thug mi gaol do'n fhear bhan"—Miss Hutcheson.
Dance—"Gillie-Calum"—Oganach Gaidhealach.
Scotch Song—"Tam Glen"—Miss Watt.
Oran Gailig—"Theid i lean"—Mr Paul Fraser.
Dance—"Reel o' Tulloch"—Oganaich Ghaidhealach.
Oran Gailig—"Na'm bithinn na m' Bhard"—Mr Hugh Fraser.
Votes of thanks to the Chief and performers—Skaebost.

While the audience was assembling, excellent bagpipe music was supplied by a large band of pipers, composed of Pipe-Major Macleannan, of the 2nd Battalion Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders; Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders; Pipe-Major D. H. Ferguson, Inverness Highland Rifle Volunteers, and pipers from each of these three regiments. The platform was nicely decorated, two magnificent Scottish thistles (presented by Mr A. Ross, Riverfield), being placed on either side of the entrance.

Among those who occupied positions on the platform were—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, of Gairloch, Bart. (who presided); Capt. A. M. Chisholm, Glassburn; Mr Reginald Macleod, Dunvegan Castle; Rev. Gavin Lang, West Parish Church, Inverness; Rev. A. C. Macdonald, Queen Street Free Church, do.; Mrs Mary Mackellar, Bard to the Society; Bailie Macbean, Dean of Guild Mackenzie, Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk; Mr Chisholm, Kingston, Canada; Captain Burgess, Gairloch; Mr H. G. Cameron Corbet, London; Mr C. Chisholm, Namur Cottage, Inverness; Mr James Barron, Ness Bank, do.; Mr A. C. Mackenzie, Maryburgh; Mr A. Macbain, rector, Raining's School; Mr Donald Davidson of Drummond Park; Mr Hugh Rose, do.; Mr William Mackenzie, Secretary to the Society; Mr A. Ross, Riverfield; Mr F. Macdonald, Druidag; Mr R. Maclean, Ardross, &c.

Mr William Mackenzie, the secretary of the Society, then addressing the meeting, said that on the preceding day he had a letter from Lochiel, stating that he was suffering from gout, and

that possibly he could not come North ; but that he would make a special effort to come. On Wednesday night he had a telegram, intimating that Lochiel was worse, and that afternoon he had received the following letter :—

“ Montagu House, Whitehall, July 9, 1884.

“ Dear Sir,—The hope which I expressed in my letter yesterday has, I regret to say, not been realised, and this morning my foot is so painful that I can hardly put it to the ground, much less ought I attempt to travel. You cannot on my behalf express too forcibly the extreme disappointment which my enforced absence from the anniversary meeting of the Gaelic Society causes me, while, if it be not presumptuous to say so, the belief that this disappointment will be shared by others, sensibly aggravates my own regret. It is certainly most unfortunate that of all weeks in the year I should be a prisoner during the present one, when business engagements, as well as the duty which I owe to the Gaelic Society, demanded my presence in Inverness. Trusting that my enforced absence may interfere as little as possible with the success of your meeting, I am yours, very faithfully,

“ DONALD CAMERON.”

Mr Mackenzie then, continuing, said that the Council, on learning of Lochiel's illness, had resolved to ask either Lord Dunmore (who was unable to be present last year when he himself was Chief) or Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, to preside on this occasion. (Applause.) Lord Dunmore being in town, a deputation from the Council of the Society was sent to wait upon him, but he too was suffering from gout. (Laughter.) They then communicated by telegraph with Sir Kenneth Mackenzie—(Applause)—one of the earliest and best friends of the Society, and he had put the Society under another debt of gratitude to him by agreeing to preside on this occasion, and in response to the Council's invitation Sir Kenneth now occupied the chair. (Loud applause.) The Council hoped that Lord Dunmore would be present, but owing to his attack of gout his Lordship was unable to comply with their wishes ; and another gentleman, Mr Macdonald of Skaebost, whose name was on the programme, telegraphed that afternoon from Edinburgh, as follows :—

“ Sorry I cannot be with you to-night, as I am laid up with gout. (Loud laughter.) I wish you a most pleasant evening, which I am sure you will have with such a chief as Lochiel.” (Applause.)

Mr Mackenzie then intimated letters of apology from Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P.; Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, C.B.; Mr A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail; Professor Mackinnon; Rev. Mr Morison, Kintail; Rev. A. D. Mackenzie, Kilmorack; Sheriff Nicolson; Rev. Mr Maclachlan, Glasgow; Mr Forbes of Culloden; Mr Mackintosh of Holme; Mr John Mackay, Hereford; Captain D. P. Macdonald, Fort-William; Mr Clunas, Nairn; and Captain O'Sullivan, Inverness.

Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, who, as already stated, occupied the chair, then addressed the meeting. He said—Ladies and Gentlemen,—You will see from the programme that the first item is an address by the Chief. Unfortunately, as you have heard, the Chief is not able to be present, and I am not able to give you an address. (Laughter and applause.) But there is one thing that you will notice, and that is that the leading members of this Association belong to a highly respectable class, for they are all afflicted with a highly respectable complaint. (Laughter.) That complaint, however, though very respectable, is, I am afraid, a very painful one, and one that is excessively exasperating under all circumstances, and particularly so when it prevents people from fulfilling engagements of a social nature, such as that of this evening is. And as Lochiel cannot be here to-night, I am sure you will sympathise with him in his unfortunate position, and will give expression to that feeling at the close of the programme. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have been summoned here to-night by telegraph, but I must confess I have nothing particular to say. Politics are properly forbidden. It does seem rather hard on one who regularly reads the papers, and sees nothing in them but politics, to find that he is not permitted to touch upon what he sees and hears daily. (Laughter.) But this is mainly a literary society, though I am afraid the literary duties are to a large extent deputed to the Secretary, Mr William Mackenzie. We are very fortunate in having so energetic and able a secretary as he has proved himself to be, for you are doubtless aware that a great part of the papers in our Transactions come from his pen. I remember when I had the honour of presiding at the annual dinner here a year and a-half ago, that I made certain suggestions to the members of this Association as to subjects which they might take up, or on which they might read papers, for our Transactions. I confess that I felt too modest to do anything myself, but I was anxious that others should do something, and I suggested that somebody might write an account of how our Highland regi-

ments were raised. Since that time Mr Mackenzie has contributed a valuable paper to our last volume of Transactions; and very interesting evidence came out before the Crofter Commission as to how our Highland regiments were raised, and the Commissioners were also told that Highland proprietors were then more tyrannical than those of the present day, even objectionable as proprietors to-day are supposed to be. (Laughter.) Another subject has lately occurred to me. I think it would be very interesting if any member of this Association, and there are a great many here present to-night from all parts of the country, would take up and publish a treatise upon Highland surnames. There are a number of curious English names in the West which do not correspond with the Gaelic names. For instance, there is the name of Livingstone, which is translated as *Mac-an-léigh*. I cannot myself understand what the connection between these two names is. Then there are a great many names which are translations, but whether they are ancient or modern seems undecided. We have the surnames of Brown, Smith, and Grey. I am told Brown is in some parts of the country called *Mac'ille-dhuinn*, and Grey *Mac'ille-ghlais*. This is an interesting subject, and I think it would be very desirable that some facts regarding it should be put on record. (Applause.) The efforts of this Association have always been directed to get Gaelic introduced into our Highland schools, and those of you who have taken an interest in the report of the Crofter Commission will have seen that the Commissioners have recommended legislation pretty much on the lines suggested by this Society. (Applause.) Whether anything will come of it, I cannot say. But I think there is one way in which the Society might still do a great deal of good with reference to the question of Gaelic in schools. There is, undoubtedly, great difficulty in getting Gaelic-speaking teachers for our Highland schools. Gaelic-speaking teachers are ambitious like other teachers. The best men go where the best salaries are to be got, and the best salaries are not always to be found on the West Coast. At all events it would require an unusual amount of public spirit in the ratepayers, if those on the West Coast were to give salaries which would enable them to secure the services of the best men. At the same time, it is eminently desirable that the best Gaelic-speaking teachers should hold positions in Gaelic-speaking districts; and I think that this Society should bring its influence to bear on Highland School Boards, and on the Education Department, with the view of securing this. (Applause.) It is surely ridiculous to suppose that a man who cannot understand

the children, and whom the children cannot understand, could be able to impart anything like a real education to these children. I do not mean to say that there are not high-class men who manage to get on wonderfully well without a knowledge of Gaelic ; but there are teachers who discover that the children are stupid, because they do not understand the children, and the children do not understand them. It seems to me that in these circumstances, it is not at all remarkable that the teacher should find the children stupid. (Applause.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am not here prepared with an address, and I feel somewhat in the position of that unfortunate minister who did not know much Gaelic, and of whom our friend, the Rev. Mr Mackenzie, of Kilmorack, told us a story at the meeting when this Society was inaugurated. This unfortunate clergyman had great difficulty in getting up his sermon, and when it was got up it was not very edifying to the people. (Laughter) His Gaelic was limited, and after preaching a quarter-of-an-hour, he wound up by saying, "Tha mi cinnteach gu bheil sibhse sgith dhiomsa, agus tha mise seachd sgith dhibhse." "I am sure you are tired of me, and I am heartily tired of you." (Laughter and applause.) As this meeting is one partly for amusement, and as there is an entertainment before you, I will say no more, but I hope that any weariness you may have felt during the last few minutes will speedily pass away. (Loud applause.)

The singing and dancing were then proceeded with. To those in the habit of attending the Assembly the performers were nearly all well and favourably known. Miss Watt, Miss Hutchison, Mr Hugh Fraser, Mr Paul Fraser, and Mr C. C. Macdonald, sustained the vocal part of the programme ; and Captain Chisholm, Glassburn ; Pipe-Major Alexander MacIennan, and Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, supplied the bagpipe music. "The Cameron Men" and "Tam Glen" were Miss Watt's selections, and she received an enthusiastic recall on both appearances. In response, she favoured the audience in the one case with "The Standard on the Braes o' Mar," and on the next occasion repeated a verse of her theme. Miss Watt sang in splendid voice, and the cordial appreciation evoked was both flattering and deserved. Miss Hutcheson gave "Mo run geal dileas," very sweetly, and received a warm and hearty encore. She was equally successful in another ditty of the affections, "Thug mi gaol do'n Fhear Bhan," her efforts meeting with a well-merited encore. Mr Hugh Fraser, who was in characteristic form, introduced himself with "Mo run gach la'," a prize song by the late Rev. D. Fraser, Fearn, and being recalled

gave the "Gairloch Clan." His other performance, "Na 'm bithinn na m' Bhard," created much amusement owing to the demonstrative rendering it received. Mr Paul Fraser was equally happy in "The Old Brigade," as in "Mnathan a' Ghlinne" and "Theid i lean," and all three performances were warmly appreciated. Miss J. B. Mackenzie played the pianoforte accompaniments with great acceptance. A most popular feature of the proceedings was the dancing of the Highland Fling, Gillie Callum, and the Reel of Tulloch, all of which were excellently done, and loudly applauded. The interval between the parts was very agreeably filled up by Captain Chisholm, who played a selection of well-known airs on the pipes, his playing evoking loud cheers.

Mr Colin Chisholm opened the second part of the programme by a Gaelic address. He said—A Phrìomh a' Chomuinn so, a Bhaintighearnan, agus a Dhaoin'-uaisle, is duilich leam innseadh dhuibh nach 'eil e air chomas do'n phears-eaglais a bha dol a thoirt oraid Ghaidhlig dhuinn a bhi an so an nochd. Na 'm biodh e air tighinn bu chinnteach duinn toileachdainn agus soillearachdainn fhaighinn. An coimeas do 'n duine urramach sin cha'n 'eil mise ach mar dhamh an ceo, no mar fhear 'na aonar ann am bàta air bharr na tonn agus e gun stiuir, gun seol, gun ramh, gun taoman. A bharrachd air so cha d'fhuair mi ach fios piobaire; agus air an aobhar sin na gabhaibh iongantais ged nach 'eil mo chruit air dheagh ghleusadh, oir cha robh duil agam ri mo bheul fhosgladh aig a' choinnimeh so. Coma co dhuibh, eadar dheoin a's ain-deoin dh'aontaich mi. Ach, aon ni, cha chum mi fada sibh. Ma bheir sibh eisdeachd fad naoi no deich a mhion-aidean domh, innsidh mi mo bheachd dhuibh air na comhairlean baigheil, prìseil a thug Ard-theachdlairean na Ban-rìgh dhuinn mu sgoilean Gaidhealtachd agus Eileanan na h-Alba. Anns a' chiad dol sìos, tha na daoine glìce, cogaiseach so a' sealltainn air an trom dhlighe a tha ri phaidheadh ann an cuid de na sgoilean Gaidhealach mar eallach a tha tuilleadh is trom ri ghiulan. Ann an cuid de 'n Eilean Leoghasach tha cain agus cìs nan sgoilean a' tighinn gu sia tasdain agus ochd sgillinn's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Anns na h-Earradh tha a' chain da thasdan agus ochd sgillinn, agus ann an Uidhist-a-chinne-tuath trì tasdain 's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Agus cha 'n ann 's na h-eileanan uile tha an t-olc; tha da sgìre dheug eadar tìr-mor Siorrachd Inbhirnis, Siorrachd Rois, agus Eilean Shealtainn anns am beil dlighe nan sgoilean a' dol thairis air da thasdan 's a' phunnd Shasunnach. Tha a leithid so de dh-ana-caitheamh nàr—tha e buileach nàr, an uair a chuimhnicheas sinn gur ann aig daoine nach 'eil ro chomasach tha a' chuid mhòr dheth ri phaidh-

eadh. Tha Ard-theachdairean na Ban-rìgh (ma tha Gaidhlig air *Commissioners* cha chuala mise i) tha iad a' faicinn mar an ceudna nach 'eil aig cloinn luchd-labhairt na Gaidhlig ach fìor dhroch ceartas anns na sgoilean air son am bheil iad a' paidheadh cho daor. Air an aobhar sin tha iad a' toirt am barail gu saor, soilleir dhuinn air gach seol agus gach doigh a bu choir a leantainn a so suas gu lan cheartas a bhuileachadh air sgoilearan na Gaidhlig. Am measg nam fìcheadan de dhoighean caomhail anns am bheil iad a' soillearachdainn an durachd do'n sgoilear Ghaidhlig tha iad gun agadh, gun fhiaradh, a' comhairleachadh gu'm biodh e air a chur air an aon ruith ri sgoilear na Greugais agus na Laidinn. Tha a nis os cionn ceud bliadhna bhò'n thug sgoilear ainmeal aig nach robh mor bhaigh ris a' Ghaidhealtachd a bharail mu'n amaideachd a bha ann a bhi a' sparradh na Beurla nach robh iad a' tuigsinn, a dheoin no dh-ain-deoin, air an oigrìdh Ghaidhealaich. Mar tha fios agaibh tha cuid de na sgoilearan so a' cosnadh suim mhaith airgid 's a' bhliadhna air son chanainean coigreach mar tha Fraingis agus Greugais; agus c'arson nach biodh a' cheart chothrom air a thoirt do'n Ghaidhlig? Agus so gu seachd sonraichte an uair a chi sinn gu'n do dh-fhaisg na h-Eirionnaich an t-sochair so as a' Pharlamaid air an son fhein. Agus tha fhios againn gu bheil a' Ghaidhlig airidh air. Nach d'thuirt fear de ard luchd-teagaisg Abar-eadhan o chionn ghoirid gu'n robh a' Ghaidhlig na cainnt sgrìobhte deich linntean m' an deachaidh facal Beurla a chur riamh air paipear. Is e coire sluagh na duthcha a bhios ann, ma ta, mur cruadhaich iad air a' Pharlamaid gu lan cheartas fhaiginn dha'n sliochd. A dh'aon fhacal ged bhiodh muinntir na Gaidhealtachd a' taghadh riaghailtean gu sgoilearan math a dheanamh dhe'n cuid cloinne cha b'urrainn daibh roghainn na b'fhearr a dheanamh na bhi lan leagte ri deagh chomhairlean Ard-theachdairean na Banrìgh. Mar is luaithe a chuirear an gnìomh iad is ann is cliùitiche a bhitheas e do'n Ghaidhealtachd agus is buannachdaile dha 'n Rìoghachd gu leir. Mr Chisholm concluded amid loud cheering.

Mr Reginald Macleod, who took the place assigned in the programme to Mr Macdonald of Skaebost, said—I am very sorry to have to appear in the place of your old and most esteemed member, Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost. I am afraid we received the news of his illness with more merriment than was right or becoming, but since the malady is more unpleasant than dangerous, we were affected with something like amusement on hearing that Lochiel, Lord Dunmore, and Mr Macdonald of Skaebost were all ill with gout. I am sure we are all equally sorry that they

are unable to be present to-night, and we earnestly wish for their speedy recovery from their temporary illness. I myself am not sorry that Mr Macdonald is absent, because it enables me to move a vote of thanks to Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, who has occupied the chair with so much satisfaction. (Applause.) I suppose Sir Kenneth Mackenzie and I will have the honour of addressing a good many audiences within the next twelve months, and I hope that we shall have a great many votes of thanks, but I am equally certain we shall not have the opportunity of giving a vote of thanks to one another. Therefore, I take this opportunity, as the only one that is likely to occur, and I hope we shall often meet in future, and always be friends in whatever kind of meeting we may happen to find ourselves. (Applause.) I believe such a meeting as this cannot possibly fail to have a very effective and favourable result upon the objects of this Society. It has been a large and enthusiastic meeting, and every Highlander must desire that this grand old language which I must unhappily confess not having been taught so thoroughly to understand as I should like—that this language should live, and live with an increased interest among our people. I believe if we take care simply that nothing is done in our schools or otherwise to make the use of our Gaelic language awkward or inconvenient, it will never die, because it is the language of home, the language of the affections, and the language of childhood, and therefore it must remain with us. I hope all in the Highlands who use English will put it on as they put on their greatcoats—(Laughter)—that when they go to the markets to do business, or go to the South, they may then talk English. I am very anxious that the Gaelic language should remain with all our Highland people—the language which will be their daily possession and their daily interest, and in which they exchange their daily thoughts. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If a people loses its language, it loses one of the greatest and most important bonds of union, and I am sure that in the case of a great people like this Gaelic race, if they lose their language, we shall lose from the world one of the most interesting and one of the most expressive languages which has existed in this island. (Applause.) I trust, however, that that will never be—that each and all of us will do our utmost to encourage the teaching of the language both in our elementary schools and otherwise, so that there will always be a people competent to teach our youth. (Applause.) He concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Sir Kenneth and the performers, which was very heartily responded to.

Sir Kenneth, on rising to reply, was received with loud

cheers. He said—On the part of the performers and myself I beg to return you my best thanks for the kind reception you have given us. In the early part of the evening there were one or two things which I ought to have referred to. With reference to the appeal made by Mr Colin Chisholm as to a grant of 10s. being paid in Ireland to those children who are properly taught the native language, I may say that attention was directed to this subject in the report of the Crofter Commission. I am told that Mr Fraser-Mackintosh has given notice that he will next Monday night ask Mr Mundella in the House of Commons whether the privilege granted in Ireland will be granted to the Highlands of Scotland. (Applause.) I ought also to have referred to Gaelic literature, which is every year spreading—for we are constantly receiving fresh publications in Gaelic. The other day I received a volume of Gaelic poems by Mr John Mackay of Ledaig, which I regret to say I have not yet been able to go over, but the very publication of which is in itself a subject of interest. It is quite unpardonable that I should have omitted to mention that the Bard of this Society, Mrs Mary Mackellar, has been chosen by her Majesty to translate into Gaelic the last volume of her journal in the Highlands. (Applause.) Some say that the Highlanders are not generally great readers of books; but I am sure this volume will be read with the greatest interest and avidity. If there is one thing more remarkable than another that came under my notice as a member of the Crofter Commission, it was the simple faith that the West Highlanders seemed to put in the Queen. They seemed to think of the Queen both as a noble lady of great private worth and as a lady who had great sympathy for her Highland subjects. If she had got the land, they believe all their wrongs would be redressed. They have the most implicit confidence in her, and I have no doubt that they will take the greatest possible interest in this book when it is published in their own language. (Applause.) In conclusion, Sir Kenneth asked the audience to testify their appreciation of Lochiel's desire to attend the gathering. (Applause.)

The large and appreciative audience which had throughout filled the hall then dispersed, and the proceedings, which had been of a most successful character, terminated.

The following song in honour of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, composed for the occasion by Mrs Mary Mackellar, the Bard of the Society, will be read and sung with interest:—

O R A N

DO 'N RIDIRE COINNEACH MAC-COINNICH,
T R I A T H G H E A R R L O C H .

Chorus.—So deoch slàint' a' Ghàidheil ghasda,
Do 'm bu dualach a bhi gaisgeil,
Ard cheann-feadhna de Shìol Eachuinn,
Leis 'm bu chleachdadh a bhi mòr.

Mìle fàilte air an uasal
Do 'm math a thig feile cuaiche,
Sporan a bhios tric ga fhuasgladh
Leis an laimh nach cruaidh mu 'n òr.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Gàidheal uasal de Shìol Choinnich,
Fìne d' am bu dual bhi loinneil,
Chuidicheadh an Rìgh 's gach oidhirp,
'S cha bhiodh coir' aca le 'n deoin.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Nàile 's e mo run an t-àrmunn,
Sliochd nam sonn d' an dual bhi 'n Geàrrloch,
Sealgairean nam fuar-bheann àrda,
Rachadh dàn air damh na cròic',
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Gàidheal fearail, flathail, tréubhach,
A shiubhladh an fhrith gu h-eutrom ;
'S binne na na h-eoin 's a' Cheitein
Uirghioll speiseil do bheoil.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Cairid islean, cairid uaislean,
Cairid dileas thu do'n tuath-cheath'rn ;
Ris an diobrach cha bhiodh gruaim ort,
'S tha thu suairce anns gach doigh.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

Tha thu carthannach a's caoimhneil,
Tha do shuilean mar na daoimein ;
Do ghuth ciuin mar bhinn-ghuth maighdinn,
Bheireadh aoibhneas le a ceòl.
So deoch-slaint', etc.

'Bhaintighearn' aillidh tha ri d' ghualainn,
 Lìomh an t-sìoda air a cuaille,
 Bìan mar eiteag gheal nan cuaintean,
 'S a da ghruaidh air dhath an ròis.
 So deoch-slainn', etc.

Dorsan ibhri 'n cuirtean sirist,
 Bho'n tigeadh am manran milis ;
 'S aoibhneach mi gur leat na bilean
 Bho 'm faigh thu gun sireadh pòg.
 So deoch-slainn', etc.

Slat an coill i 's cha b' i chrìonach,
 'S i 's gach doigh d' a fine dileas,
 Sliochd nan Caimbeulach neo-chiosnaicht'
 A bha 'n " Ile ghlas an fheoir."
 So deoch-slainn', etc.

Saoghal fada 'm beatha shuaimhnich,
 Guidhidh mi do 'n armunn uasal,
 'S gu 'm bu fada beo ri 'ghualainn
 Baintighearna a' chuaillein òir !
 So deoch-slainn', etc.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL DINNER.

The thirteenth annual dinner of the Society was held in the Station Hotel on Tuesday, 13th January 1885. D. Cameron of Lochiel, M.P., Chief of the Society, presided ; and the attendance was larger than at any former dinner of the Society. The Chief was supported on the right by Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart., and on the left by Mr Reginald Macleod, Dunvegan Castle—the other gentlemen at the head of the table being Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost ; Provost Macandrew, the Rev. Dr Joass, Golspie ; Bailie Alexander Ross ; and the Rev. A. C. Macdonald. The croupiers were Mr Allan R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail, and Mr Munro-Ferguson of Novar, M.P. Among the others present were—

Captain Munro of Foulis ; Captain Beaumont, R.N. ; Mr E. H. Macmillan, Caledonian Bank ; Professor Heddle, St Andrews ; Dr Aitken, Inverness ; Mr Horne, of H.M. Geological Survey ; Dr Macnee, Inverness ; Dr Chapman, Inverness ; Dr F. M. Mackenzie, Inverness ; Mr James Barron, Ness Bank ; Mr John

Cran, Kirkton; Mr Grant, of Macdougall & Coy.; Treasurer Jonathan Ross; Mr Cumming, Allanfearn; Mr William Mackay, solicitor; Bailie Mackay, Inverness; Mr A. Machardy, chief-constable; Mr F. Macgillivray, solicitor; Mr Macfarlane, Caledonian Hotel; Mr R. Maclean, factor for Ardress; Mr T. G. Henderson, Highland Club Buildings; Mr J. Mackenzie, Greig Street; Mr Alex. Fraser, Balloch; Mr H. F. Macdonald, Milend; Mr D. Mackintosh, Bank of Scotland; Mr Charles Macdonald, Knocknageal; Mr J. Macbean, jeweller; Mr Alex. Maclellan, painter; Mr Macritchie, chemist; Mr Melven, bookseller; Mr David Munro, Inverness; Mr W. Morrison, Dingwall; Mr Ellison, of Morel Brothers; Mr Begg, coal merchant; Mr J. Mackay, solicitor; Mr F. Macdonald, Druidaig, Kintail; Mr D. Campbell, Ballifeary; Mr W. G. Stuart, draper; Mr W. Durie, H.M. Customs; Mr John Macdonald, Superintendent of Police; Bailie Wm. Macbean; Mr James Fraser, Mauld; Mr John Fraser, do.; Mr William Mackenzie, Secretary of the Society; Mr Macleod, Manse Place; Mr William Cooper, Huntly Street; Mr Roderick Fraser, contractor, Argyle Street; Mr John Davidson, Inglis Street; Mr William Gunn, draper; Mr George J. Campbell, solicitor; Mr John Macdonald, Exchange; Mr P. H. Smart, drawing-master; Mr Duncan Mactavish, High Street; Mr Roberts, C.E., Kingussie; Mr H. R. Mackenzie, Park House; Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage; Mr Andrew Macritchie, solicitor; Mr A. R. Macraill, writer; Mr A. Macbain, Raining School; Rev. Mr Sutherland, Strathbran; Mr A. Mackenzie, Silverwells; Rev. Mr Fraser, Erchless; Mr Frank Grant, solicitor; Mr J. B. Innes, Church Street; Mr John Forsyth, wine-merchant; Mr Bethune, Seafield; Mr Duncan Macdonald, Union Street; Mr James Macbean; Mr Alex. Mackenzie, Park House; Mr J. Simpson, Highland Railway; Mr Fraser Campbell, draper; Mr Alexander Fraser, jun., Commercial Bank; Mr H. M. Munro, insurance agent; Mr A. Maclellan, factor for Lady Gordon Cathcart; Mr John Whyte, librarian; Mr W. Cameron, the Castle; Mr Fraser, Ballifeary; Mr A. Mactavish, of Messrs Mactavish & Mackintosh, ironmongers; Mr D. Macrae, teacher, Aness; Mr D. Fraser, solicitor; Mr A. Macgregor, do.; Mr Gillanders, grocer; Mr Macpherson, manager, Victoria Hotel; Mr D. Macpherson, coal-merchant; Mr George Hamilton, of Hamilton & Co.; Mr Cumming, jun., Allanfearn; Mr L. Munro, Dingwall; Mr Wm. Bain, Edinburgh; Mr D. K. Clark, Inverness; Mr D. Nairne, do.; Mr A. Ross, do.; Mr W. M. Mackenzie, Elgin; Mr Duncan, Edinburgh, Mr Grant, Glasgow, &c.

The following was the programme :—

“ A’ chuirn sgaoilte ; chualas an ceòl,
Ard shòlas an talla nan Triath.”—OISEAN.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL DINNER,
IN THE STATION HOTEL, INVERNESS, ON TUESDAY,
JANUARY 13, 1885.

Chairman—LOCHIEL, M.P., CHIEF OF THE SOCIETY.

“ Bidh Lochiall mar bu chòir da
'Cur an ordugh nan Gaidheal.”

—*Mac Mhaighstir Alastair.*

Croupiers—ALLAN R. MACKENZIE, Esq., yr. of Kintail.
R. C. MUNRO-FERGUSON, Esq., M.P.

“ Tha'n Comunn rìoghail Gailig an traths' a' cumail suas
Cuimhn' air seol nan armunn a b'abhaist 'bhi ga luaidh ;
A' chainnt a dh'ionnsuich iad-san dhuibh, 's i ghnathaich sibh
gu buan,

Gheibh sibh stoc na cànainn, 's cha'n fhàillnich i uainn.”

—*Donnachadh Ban.*

“ O faigh a nall an t-searag,
E thugar dhuinn an drama.”
* * * * *

Bho'n a thuit dhuinn bhi 'n tigh-òsda,
Bitheamaid cridheil, togar ceol leinn.”—*Seann Oran.*

TOASTS. PROPOSED BY RESPONDED TO BY

1. The Queen.....THE CHIEF.....

“ Thug Dia dhut mar ghibht,
Bhi gu moralach glic—
Chriosd, deònaich dha sliochd bhi àdh-mhor.”

—*Mairi Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh.*

2. Prince and Prin- }
cess of Wales, and } THE CHIEF.....
other Members of }
the Royal Family }

“ Slaint' na Teaghlaich Rìoghail inbhich,
Olamaid gu suundach geanail.”—*Mac Mhaighstir Alastair*

3. Army, Navy, and }
Auxiliary Forces. } THE CHIEF.....

“ Lìonaibh suas gach cuach gu 'barr,
Bitheadh i lan de'n deoch is fearr—
Sguabaibh as i fuar no blath,
Air deadh shlainte arm an aigh.”

Gaelic Society of Inverness.

ANNUAL REPORT BY THE SECRETARY.

“ Fhad 's a bhios grian anns na speuraibh,
 No gealach ag eirigh 's an oidhche,
 No gaoth a' seideadh 's na h-airdibh,
 Bidh cliu nan Gaidheal air chumhne.”

—*Am Bard Mac Gillean.*

4. Success to the
 Gaelic Society of } THE CHIEF..... ———
 Inverness..... }

“ Ciad failte air Comunn nan Gaidheal deas, foinnidh,
 Ni duthchas an athraichean 'chumail a suas,
 Seann duthchas nan Gaidheal, an cliu a's an canainn—
 A' chainnt sin a thainig bho Adhamh a nuas—
 Mar sud a's an t-eideadh air sraid no air sleibhte
 Tha uallach, deas, eutrom, grinn, greadhnach an snuagh ;
 Sar chomunn mo chridhe ! cha'n iognadh ged bhithinn,
 An so mar as dligeach a' guidhe leo buaidh.”—

Eobhan Mac-Colla.

5. Members of Parlia- }
 ment for Highland } MR JAMES FRASER..... }
 Counties & Burghs } { LOCHIEL, M.P.
 } { NOVAR, M.P.

“ C'ait am beil 'san rioghachd,
 An fìor-ghnìomh thug barrachd oirbh ?
 Na'm broснаichte chum stri sibh,
 A mhilidhean barraideach—
 Na fìurain sgairteil phriseil
 De'n fhìor-chruaidh nach fannaicheadh.
 Da 'm b' abhaist a bhi dileas,
 'S nach diobradh na ghealladh iad.”

—*Mac Mhaighstir Alastair*

6. Language & Litera- }
 ture of the Gael. } MR D. CAMPBELL..... }
 } { REV. A. C. SUTHERLAND.
 } { MR A. MACKENZIE.

“ 'Si labhair Padruig 'n Innisfail nan Rìgh
 'S am faidh naomh sin, Calum caomh, 'an I.”
 * * * * *

“ Tuigseach, saibhir do theagasg
 Soilleir, tarbhach, seimh do ghlòir ;
 Lionmhor, brìghmhor do shean-fhocail,
 Sgiamhach, taitneach, ciallach, mor.”

7. Highland Educa- }
 tion..... } SIR K. S. MACKENZIE... }
 } { MR A. MACBAIN, M.A.
 } { MR W. MORRISON, M.A.
 } { V.P.E.I.S.

“ Theid aineolas nis as an tìr,
 'S gach cleachdadh neo-dhireach crom,
 A's mealaiddh sinn sonas a's sith
 Gun fharmad no strìth 'nar foun ;
 Theid sgoilean 'chur suas anns gach cearn,
 Bidh leabhraichean Gailig pailt ;
 Bidh eòlas as diadhachd a' fas—
 Thig gach duine gu stà 's gu rath.”

—*Seumas Mac-Griogair, D.D.*

8. The Agricultural and Commercial Interests of the Highlands..... } KINTAIL.....PROVOST MACANDREW.

“ Gu'm b'i 'Ghaidhealtachd an tir bhaigheil,
 'S an tir phairteach, bhiadhar;
 Tir a' phailteis, tir gun ghainne,
 Tir is glaine fialachd;
 An tir bhainneach, uachdrach, mhealach,
 Chaomhach, channach, thiorail;
 Tir an arain, tir an tachdair,
 Sithne, 's pailteas iasgaich.”—*Uilleam Ros.*

9. Kindred Societies.....DR F. M. MACKENZIE...BAILIE ALEX. ROSS.

“ Bidh caoimhneas, comunn, iochd, a's gradh
 Anns gach ait am measg an t-shuaigh
 Eadar far an eirich grian
 'S far an laidh i 'n iar 'sa' chuan.”

10. The Non-Resident Members } MR COLIN CHISHOLM..... } SKAEBOST.
 } MR REG. MACLEOD.

“ 'Bhi ga'n cuimhneachadh 's ga 'n iondrainn.”—*Oran Gailig.*

11. Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council } MR J. BARRON.....BAILIE MACBEAN.

“ Na abraibh ach beag, ach abraibh gu math e.”—*Sean-Fhocal.*

12. The Clergy of all Denominations... } MR WM. MACKAY.....REV. A. C. MACDONALD.

“ Ged nach deanainn fìdhleireachd
 Gu'n deanainn sgrìobhadh 's leughadh,
 'Sa Naille dheanainn searmoin dhuit
 Nach talaicheadh aon fo'n ghrein oirr'.”

13. The Press.....COUNCILLOR STUART..... —

“ Buaidh leis na seoid.”

14. The Chief.....MR E. H. MACMILLAN.....THE CHIEF.

“ O Dhomhnuill nan Dòmhnall ga'm bu chòireach deadh bheus,
 Sliochd nan cuiridhean gasda, sliochd nan lasgairean treun,
 A bha uasal na'n cleachdadh, 's ioma eachdraidh rinn sgeul,
 Agus bard a rinn duan mu an uaisle 's an euchd.”—*Mairi Nic-Ealair.*

15. The Croupiers.....MR G. J. CAMPBELL.....THE CROUPIERS.

“ Dithis a tha òg iad,
 Dithis a tha boidheach,
 Dithis tha gun òirleach
 A chorr air a cheile.”—*Rob Donn.*

“ Da churaidh 'chaidh sìos air chomhladh
 'Measg mhiltean an combstri nan slògh.”—*Fingal Duan III.*

“DEOCH-AN-DORUIS.”

Deoch-an-doruis, deoch-an-t-sonais,
 Deoch-an-deagh-thuruis !
 Nithibh sona gu'n robh againn',
 Nithibh dona cha bu dual duinn.
 Air ghaol sith 's air eagal conais,
 Thugar deoch-an-doruis dhuinn !

After dinner, the Secretary (Mr William Mackenzie), stated that apologies for unavoidable absence had been received from Mr Baillie of Dochfour ; Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. ; Mr J. P. Grant, yr. of Rothiemurchus ; Rev. A. Bisset, Stratherrick ; Professor D. Mackinnon, Edinburgh ; Mr A. Mackintosh Shaw, London ; Mr Hew Morrison, Brechin ; Colonel Macpherson of Glentruim ; ex-Bailie Macdonald, Aberdeen ; Mr Angus Mackintosh of Holm ; Mr Alexander Macpherson, Kingussie ; Mr D. Menzies, Blairich ; Bailie Stewart, Dingwall ; Mr P. Burgess, Drumnadrochit ; Rev. J. Macpherson, Lairg ; Mr D. Macrae, Ardintoul ; Mr D. Cameron, late of Clunes, Nairn ; Dr Stratton, Devonport ; Mr Charles Innes, Inverness ; Mr A. Burgess, Gairloch ; Mr Simon Chisholm, do. ; Rev. R. Morison, Kintail ; Mr Duncan Maclachlan, publisher, Edinburgh ; Mr D. R. Ross, Glen-Urquhart ; Mr Osgood H. Mackenzie ; Mr John Mackay of Ben Reay ; Mr Charles Fergusson, Cally, Kirkcudbright ; Sir George Macpherson-Grant, M.P. ; Mr D. Davidson of Drummond Park ; Mr D. Forbes of Culloden ; Mr A. Ross, Alness ; Major Colin Mackenzie, London ; Captain A. M. Chisholm, Glassburn ; Mr Clunas, 4 Morningside Park, Edinburgh ; Mr Alex. Macdonald, Highland Railway, Inverness ; Mr Thomas Cook, 108 Patrick Street, Cork, &c.

Mr C. Ferguson, who is the author of the paper on the Gaelic names of plants published in vol. vii. of the Transactions, in apologising for his absence, wrote :—“As an example of the good a word of encouragement and advice from those at headquarters does us, wandering-Jew members of the Society, I may mention that the idea of making up this list of Gaelic names of birds was first suggested to me when I was in the wilds of Ireland, by reading in volume viii. of our transactions, page 53, that the Rev. Mr Mackenzie, in his speech to you at your seventh annual dinner, did me the great honour of coupling my name with that of Nether-Lochaber, urging him to go on with his proverbs and poetry, and me to go on with natural history, taking up the animal and vegetable life. I began there and then to write down all the Gaelic names I knew ; I have been hunting for them in every likely corner ever since. I have now got the Gaelic names for 240 different

birds, and over 500 names in all, which I hope to see published in our next volume."

Major Colin Mackenzie of the Seaforth Highlanders, 39 Pall Mall, London, telegraphed—

"Trust gathering will be successful. While deploring my unavoidable absence, shall drink to-night success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness."

The Chief then rose to propose the first toast. He was received with loud cheers. In proposing the health of the Queen, he said they could not but often recognise the ardent love and affection with which her Majesty was regarded by all classes of her subjects, and by none more so than by the members of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. (Applause.) That love and affection was, he ventured to say, reciprocated by her Majesty, as was manifested by the many public acts, and especially by those writings of her Majesty, in which she had described with touching simplicity that part of her life which she passes in the Highlands. (Applause.) Nor could he pass from this subject altogether without referring to an incident not strange to her Majesty's subjects, although it might appear strange to dwellers in foreign countries. Last autumn, as they all knew, there was a considerable agitation on foot on the part of the democracy of this country; and they knew that meetings were held at which the democracy was very largely represented; but at none of these meetings, when men's passions were more excited than usual, was one word levelled against the Crown, still less against the Queen. (Applause.) For this evening, at any rate, he supposed they were all Jacobite—(Hear, and laughter)—and he ventured to think that the Queen herself was perhaps the greatest Jacobite among her subjects. It struck him the other day as a rather singular circumstance that, whereas there is now in Europe, he believed, only one royal pretender to a throne, that pretender should happen to be called the Duke of Cumberland. That was a singular coincidence, and it was excessively interesting to all those of them who studied those times and Jacobite relics. He would not add more, but ask them to drink to her Majesty the Queen. (Cheers.)

The Chief, in proposing the Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family, said there were two incidents which gave him an opportunity of getting beyond the conventional remarks common to such occasions. Within a few days the eldest son of the Prince of Wales would attain his majority, and it was an occasion which was deeply interesting to all classes of her Majesty's subjects, for he was the heir to the British Crown,

which he would reach in due course of time; and they must all hope that his career would be moulded in such a manner as would render him worthy both of the care of his parents and the excellent example set him by the Queen and the late Prince Consort. (Applause.) The only drawback to the interesting event of the majority of the Prince, so far as he was concerned, was, that the time appeared to be really very short since he was born—(Laughter)—but as a Prince came of age at eighteen and not twenty-one, he had the consolation that things were not quite so bad as he thought. (Laughter.) The other event to which he referred was the betrothal of the Princess Beatrice, and those who had the opportunities he (the Chairman) had of knowing the tender affection that existed between the Princess and her royal mother, could realise the effort it must have cost the Queen in consenting to lose the society of her last-born child. (Applause.) He was sure they would all cordially join in wishing all happiness to the Princess Beatrice and the other members of the Royal Family. (Cheers.)

The Chief, in proposing the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces, took occasion to refer to the death of Cluny Macpherson, who, in his time, was connected with the army, and was for a long period Colonel of the Inverness-shire Rifle Volunteers. He leaves behind him, said Lochiel, a memory not only connected with the Volunteers of which he was so distinguished an ornament, and the raising and organisation of which he did so much to promote, but he will long live in the recollection of all classes of Highlanders, and the nearer the people reside to the old ancestral home of Cluny, the deeper will be their grief at his departure. Cluny was a soldier in every sense of the word. He served gallantly in the 42nd, and then took his full share in the duties belonging to him as commanding the Inverness Rifle Volunteers. He knew, and many of those present would know, the great gratification Cluny experienced in taking his place at the head of his distinguished and well-equipped regiment when the Volunteer Review took place in Edinburgh before his sovereign. There was nothing within the last few years of his life which gave Cluny greater satisfaction, and to which he was more pleased to refer, than the part he took in the proceedings of that memorable day. His sons he had brought up to the profession of arms. One of them was Colonel of the 42nd, a gallant soldier who had seen many campaigns, and had always served with distinction, and his brother was an equally distinguished Highland soldier. He would not say more, but ask them to drink to the toast. (Loud cheers.)

Mr R. C. Munro-Ferguson of Novar, M.P., who replied for the Army, said he felt he was but a degenerate representative of his family, so far as military distinction was concerned, for his greatgrandfather was colonel of the gallant "Forty-twa," and his grandfather and father were both colonels, while he (Novar) had merely been a degenerate guardsman—he acknowledged it with a blush. (Laughter.) He hoped the 42nd would be the first regiment to reach Khartoum in the expedition now in progress up the Nile, and at present, from all accounts, it bade fair to win. (Applause.)

Captain Beaumont replied for the Navy, Captain Munro of Fowlis for the Militia, and Colonel Macandrew for the Volunteers. The latter made a brief reference to the late Cluny. There was not a volunteer in the county of Inverness, he ventured to say, who did not sincerely and deeply regret that the gallant old Chief was gone; and not one in the regiment but stepped more briskly at the Royal Review, because so gallant an old man was at the head of the regiment. (Applause.)

Mr William Mackenzie, the secretary, then read his annual report, in the course of which it was pointed out that the publication of the Society's Transactions made it unnecessary to go into the doings of the Society during the year at any great length. During the spring of 1884 the ordinary meetings of the Society were well attended, while the annual assembly in July, notwithstanding the attack of gout which had so effectually disarranged the programme, was of a highly successful character. During the year twenty-two new members had joined the Society. An abstract of the Treasurer's intronmissions to date showed that the income (including £28. 9s. 5d. from last year) amounted to £123. 2s. 2d., while he paid accounts amounting to £42. 15s., leaving a balance of £80. 7s. 2d. now in bank.

The Chief, on rising to propose the toast of the evening, was received with loud and prolonged cheers. He said—I must ask you to fill your glasses now for a bumper. The toast I have to propose is that of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. (Applause.) Gentlemen, before proceeding to make a few observations on the subject which I know you all here have at heart, I must again refer to the great loss which this Society has sustained in the death of Cluny Macpherson. I am informed by the Secretary that Cluny was the first landed proprietor in the Highlands who joined this Society. (Applause.) There is no element of social life in this country with which Cluny was not connected, and in which he did not take a warm interest, when he thought that he

could thereby contribute to the welfare of the Highlands. I cannot conceive any meeting taking place within the next few weeks—whether it be a meeting like this, or even a political meeting; whether it be a farmers' meeting, or a meeting connected with the railway or any other branch of industry in the North—at which the death of Cluny will not be referred to with the deepest sorrow. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I will not dwell at the present time upon the objects of this Society, because you know what these objects are, and you have just heard the report read by our Secretary. The objects are very good. They are to diffuse a love of Gaelic literature and a love of Gaelic-speaking people, and to encourage a sentiment in the past, and also to encourage hopes for the future. Our work has been a good one, and I have little doubt that, with God's blessing, it may continue to do more good work; but in order to do that good work it is absolutely necessary that we should increase our membership, and that we should endeavour to induce all those who are not with us now, and there are many of them, to join the Society, and to help in furthering the objects which we have at heart. Now, this Society has one peculiarity. It is eminently intended to do good to Highlanders and to everything connected with the Highlands, but it is never attempted, and maybe it has met with some temptation, to take part in either political or religious controversy. (Applause.) If I on the present occasion depart to a certain extent from that practice, I feel, first of all, that the subject is only semi-political, and because that, in the critical state and times of the Highlands, not only is it unnecessary that I should offer an apology for so doing, but I rather think that, if I abstained from alluding to the question of the crofters in the Highlands, you would be inclined to expect an apology from me for such an omission. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, the history of the agitation in the North is short. It began not a very long time ago; it was accentuated by the quasi famine owing to the bad harvest in the autumn of 1882. It was brought into prominence by debates in the House of Commons, and it finally received more notice than before by the appointment of the Royal Commission. Well, the Royal Commission has completed its inquiries, and whatever we may think of its work, everyone admits that they looked into the question pretty thoroughly. But after the report of that Commission was issued, then, I think, we may say that the controversy only really began, because a remedy had to be found. Now, gentlemen, what I wish to take for my text to-night is simply this, that the question is now ripe for settlement. (Applause.) I think that there is not one

in this room who will deny that proposition. (Applause.) But I am afraid that there are some people who would be prepared to deny that it is ripe for settlement, and I must tell you why. I have noticed, and I read everything in the papers connected with this subject, that at many meetings which have been held by what are called, and what, I believe, really are, the leaders of the crofters, the speeches there delivered have undoubtedly been of a more violent character than was the case before the appointment of the Royal Commission. You would have thought, from reading some of these speeches, that there had been no agitation in the Highlands at all, that there had been no Royal Commission appointed, that no debates had taken place in Parliament, that apathy reigned throughout the Highlands, and that the people wanted rousing up from that apathy. Now, I cannot hide from myself, and it is my distinct opinion, that the very violence of these speeches—I will not say that, if they had been delivered at an earlier period, they would have been too violent—has the effect not of accelerating but of retarding legislation; and I consider legislation is the one thing we want, and it is one thing that ought to come soon. (Hear, hear.) I venture to propose, and with your indulgence, to show how this is the case, because for any satisfactory solution of the crofter question there must, in my opinion, be three parties. You must have, as I have just mentioned, the Government and Parliament as one party; you must have the co-operation of the proprietors on the other part, for without that the great demand of the crofters, namely, that of extending their holdings, would, I fear, be very difficult to attain; and thirdly, you must have the sanction and approbation of the crofters themselves either expressed by themselves or through their recognised leaders. Now, the Government have not told us what they intend to do, but they are ready. The Home Secretary has already said that the Government are willing to legislate. The proprietors, on the other hand, have, as you may have seen by the papers, determined, at all events, that they will make an attempt—it may be successful, and I hope and trust it may succeed, though it may fail; at anyrate, they will make an honest attempt to meet the just complaints of their crofter tenants, to strengthen the hands of the Government, and, if possible, to bring about some satisfactory solution of this matter. (Loud cheers.) Have the leaders of the crofters shown any disposition as yet to meet the question? Have they shown that in their opinion the question is ripe for solution, and have they made any suggestions or any offer as to the mode in which it may be settled? I know, and we can hardly take up

a newspaper without reading over and over again what they say the crofters want, but I have never seen any indication as to how that want can be met. On the contrary, many of those leaders seem to be at issue amongst themselves, and in some cases I think they recommend courses which, in my humble judgment, are fatal to the crofters themselves. I propose, with your indulgence, to refer to three points, to which I would direct your special attention, in order to explain what I mean by the fatal course which, I think, some of the people have chosen to follow. There was a meeting of the Highland Land Law Reform Association in London a short time ago, and in reading the report of the speeches delivered at the meeting, I find that Mr Duncan Cameron (I believe he is a candidate for this county) made use of the following expression :—"Some landlords were willing to give land on condition that the Government would grant loans to the crofters to buy cattle. That was a matter for the taxpayer to consider, and it seemed a very impudent proposal on the part of the men who had impoverished the crofters." Gentlemen that comes from Mr Duncan Cameron. I do not wish to say anything against Mr Duncan Cameron, on this occasion less than another, because at a meeting of this kind one does not wish to say anything against one's own kinsman—(Laughter)—but I think Mr Duncan Cameron is a gentleman who requires some experience and a little more knowledge of the crofters, and I think that when he has completed his canvass in Skye and the Islands he will find that the opposition to a proposal that the crofter should receive State aid, which was recommended by Lord Napier and by the whole of the Royal Commissioners, would find but scant favour at the hands of his may-be future constituents. But it is not so much what Mr Cameron said himself which I wish to point to, as to the reception which that gentleman met with at the meeting where he spoke, and the gentlemen who composed that meeting. Now, with regard to Mr Cameron's words, they met with applause. And how was the meeting composed, and what did the sentence mean? The meeting, I find, comprised all the recognised leaders who belong to the Land Law Reform Association—Dr Cameron, Mr Macfarlane, Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, and Mr Macpherson of Glendale. (Laughter.) Not only was that sentence received with applause, but not one word of protest was made against it by any of the subsequent speakers. Now, what did that mean? It meant that the crofters were to be left to their own resources in stocking additional land, for fear that the landlords might be the gainer. It meant, if it meant anything, that no relief was to be given to the education

rates which press so hardly upon the crofters, because thereby the landlords' pockets might be relieved; and if no loans are to be made by the State, how can Mr Cameron, and how can these members of the Land Law Reform Association, approve of the far greater and far more difficult matter, namely, the spending of unproductive money by the State in creating harbours and piers to develop the fisheries? These are subjects which we find it very hard to fight for. In urging that these matters should receive consideration, we have to combat the arguments of political economists—and their arguments are very difficult to answer—but it seems to me that it is rather hard that we should have to fight against weapons which are forged in the armoury of our so-called friends. (Applause.) And you must remember that this association to which I refer is the one of all others to which the crofters are invited to contribute their shillings and to become members of. If these propositions are to be accepted as representing the true wishes and true feelings of the crofters, then I say there is very little hope, indeed, that they will be raised from the position of poverty which they are in now, or that they will in any way be raised to a condition which we all here would wish to see them occupy. (Applause.) There is another point upon which a mistake has been made, and it is with regard to a bill proposed to be introduced by Dr Cameron, called a Suspensory Bill. At first, I found it difficult to understand why such a bill should be introduced into Parliament, embodying an intention to suspend evictions except for non-payment of rent. So far as I can judge, and I think I have read every newspaper bearing upon the question, there were no evictions pending at all, from one end of the Highlands to the other, except those summonses which were for non-payment of rent, and which are excepted by the bill to which I refer. (Applause.) But Mr Macfarlane the other day let the cat out of the bag, for he made a speech at Greenock, I think, or Paisley, in the course of which he said that the real object of this bill was to put off the time when remedial legislation for the crofters should be introduced. I also saw a corroboration of this statement of Mr Macfarlane's. I happened to notice a letter from the London correspondent of the *Glasgow Daily Mail*, in which he inaccurately describes a meeting of what he called Tory lairds—but at which my friend Novar was present—(Laughter)—and if he does not object to being reproached as a Tory laird, then I am sure I don't feel insulted—as being intended to hurry, nay, hustle on, I may say, remedial legislation, in case by postponing it we, the Tory lairds, might get

something worse than we may get at this time. That, I need scarcely say, was an absolutely incorrect description of what took place. In the first place, the meeting to which he referred was not summoned by Mr Balfour. It was summoned by myself. We only happened to hold a preliminary meeting in Mr Balfour's house, because I do not happen to have the good fortune to possess a house of my own in London. But the principal meeting took place in the Home Office ; and I venture to say, in the presence of my friend Novar, that not one word was spoken by Whig or Tory, except with the sole endeavour to get our brother proprietors to co-operate with us in doing something that might satisfy our crofter tenants. (Applause.) We never entertained the faintest intention, nor uttered a single word indicative of any wish for premature legislation grounded on any such fear as that referred to in the letter from this correspondent. I myself think there are strong objections against postponing legislation, but these reasons are not those suggested by Mr Macfarlane, or the person to whom I have referred. Is there any person in this room who thinks it is a good thing to postpone legislation when we are all ripe for it—that it is a good thing to leave the Highlands in the state of agitation in which we find it—that it is a good thing to keep up the bitter spirit which unfortunately exists in many parts of the country—that it is wise to have marines and gunboats sent to the west, and to have the place filled with newspaper correspondents, with their sensational accounts of interviews with all sorts of people, and to keep alive a spirit which must, if it is allowed to go on, get more and more bitter, and render more and more difficult the task which is before us? Is it wise to leave all these poor people in such a state that they cannot fail to get worse and worse—to discourage them from their ordinary occupations, and encourage them in wandering about blowing horns—(Laughter)—and showing all the signs of agitation, and doing that which four or five years ago people would never have thought of doing? I ask if it would be a wise policy to do that, or to make an attempt to bring about a settlement as speedily as we can? (Applause.) But, besides these points to which I have alluded, there is yet one strong objection remaining. Do you think, gentlemen, that the Government are very anxious to go in these days to the British taxpayer, and ask him to lend or give money to build harbours, or for the stocking of land? Do you think that they will not be only too glad to catch at any straw that they may see to avoid this proposal; and if the Government see that the recognised leaders of the crofters are holding out the right hand

of fellowship to the stern political economist, will not the Government perhaps desert us? For instance, though we are not stern political economists, we wish to do what we think right, and we think that the people in the Highlands, who have to pay excessive school-rates under the Education Act of 1872, are entitled to some relief at the hands of the State because that Act was forced upon them by the State. We also think that crofters who at present occupy land which will not support them might fairly be assisted in stocking additional land if the want of necessary means should be found to be the only obstacle to their obtaining such land. We hold that assistance in the shape of loans, with such security as the Government might require, in no way violates the true principles of political economy, but as enabling a deserving class of the community to earn a livelihood, is a matter of public justice and public advantage. But what are we, who are fighting for this, to think, when the Government, political economists, and I would say Radicals, too, join hands, and endeavour to stave off and defeat us on this question? Do you suppose that a difficult and delicate subject such as that with which the Government have undertaken to deal with is not one which they would willingly shirk if they saw an opportunity? and if it is to be avoided by a Suspensory Bill, is it very certain that the Suspensory Bill will not be cordially taken up by the Government, that the measures which we all want to see passed may be deferred to a more convenient season? Is it, moreover, certain that such a bill will be passed in the year 1885? Are there no rocks ahead? Are there no shoals or quicksands upon which this bill, whatever it may be, may yet be wrecked? Is a dissolution out of all probability? May there not be a change of Government? Are there not foreign complications? Are there not many things which may happen between now and next January? And is it quite so certain that if we do not take advantage of the present opportunity, of the present strong feeling of the country, to legislate upon the question, the year 1886 may see us as far off from our end as ever. Gentlemen, the third point upon which I think a mistake is made is one which I am happy to say has not been made by the bulk of the leaders of the crofters. I allude to the recommendation to pay no rent. I am glad to say even my friend, Mr Mackenzie over there, of the *Celtic Magazine*, who certainly is an enthusiastic crofter man—I am glad to see that even he took the opportunity lately of denouncing this most fatal policy. (Applause.) Now, I am not standing here, gentlemen, in any way to lecture the crofters. I am not saying that their policy of no rent is a dishonest policy. Others may

tell you that, but I have no wish and no right to say so; but what I do say is that it is a fatal policy for the crofters themselves. I say, and I suppose everyone here will admit, that the crofter who is able to pay his rent, who has his money in his pocket, but who refuses to pay his rent, is not very likely to go to the bank, and to place his money in the bank, so as to be ready for the time when legislation may have taken place. No question, he is certain to spend that money. I do not say that he will spend it improperly. Very far from it. He will in all likelihood spend it on necessities for the family and household expenses. But the money will be gone; and when the next year comes round he will find himself in the position of having two years rent to pay and only one rent to pay it with. If he imagines that he will be relieved from that millstone of debt which is thus accumulating and hanging round his neck by any Act, as was passed in the case of Ireland, I fear he will be deceived. The Irish Arrears Act was passed for a population steeped in poverty, with arrears of rent of slow growth, year by year, and not caused by any sudden impulse, but yet the poor people of the west of Ireland were not sensibly relieved by the Arrears Act. In the case of the crofter, Parliament will consider long, and will consider carefully, whence arises this non-payment of rent, and if they find that in some districts, of Skye, for instance, equally poor, equally in difficulties, rents were paid up to the last shilling, while other districts, similarly situated, have ceased to pay, I fear that the crofter who depends upon an Arrears Act will find that he is depending upon a broken reed. Now, these, gentlemen, are the three points upon which I think the leaders of the crofters are making grave and serious mistakes. I earnestly hope that, before long, the crofters themselves will have discovered, through other influences, what is best for them to do. (Applause.) I have done what lies in my power, and I will still endeavour to do what I can, and use any influence I may possess, where it can be best exercised. (Applause.) But you, gentlemen, members of this Gaelic Society of Inverness, have, so far as the crofters are concerned, far greater influence with them than I can pretend to have. Many of you are known, some of you are well known, as warm well-wishers of the crofters; you have shown both by your acts and by your words how deeply you sympathise with their misfortunes, and how anxious and ready you are to relieve them, and to do what you can to improve their condition. Is it too much to ask the members of this Gaelic Society of Inverness that they will endeavour to the best of their ability to explain to

these people how they can best find a solution for their difficulties, and especially how they can learn to distinguish between their true friends and their false friends? I should like to look upon this Gaelic Society, not so much in the light of an association, as in the light of a brotherhood. (Applause.) Why should we not be a sort of freemasonry of Highlanders, in which each member has pledged himself to do his best to aid his brother in difficulties? (Applause.) In pledging this toast, I would ask one and all, as you raise your glasses to your lips, to come to the resolution, each within the sphere of his influence, and within the compass of his ability, to exert himself to the utmost to rescue his brethren from the influences of evil counsellors—(Applause)—and also to assist in removing the grievances under which they have so long suffered. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I ask you to drink Prosperity to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. (Cheers.)

Mr James Fraser, Mauld, proposed the Members of Parliament for the Highland Counties and Burghs, pointing out the many ways in which these gentlemen could aid in promoting the objects of the Society.

Mr Munro-Ferguson, M.P., who replied, was received with loud cheers. In course of his observations he said—My reply to the toast which you have just received requires no very lengthy consideration, because whatever the pride of place of representatives of the Northern constituencies the time is not far distant when they will be at the end of their tethers, and must open negotiations for a fresh lease. (Laughter.) Probably the toast of "the Candidates" would be found a good deal more interesting and worth talking about. (Laughter.) For one thing, because it would in these times apparently embrace no inconsiderable proportion of the population of the country. (Laughter.) With regard to the Highland representatives generally they must be looked upon as deserving credit, at all events, for being a very contented body of men—because, at a time when nearly everyone else is talking about security of tenure or compensation for disturbance, they alone are prepared to meekly endure the most summary eviction without even so much as receiving notice to quit. (Laughter.) Novar then referred to the change that would be brought about by the transition from the old to the new franchise in the counties, saying that Parliamentary elections would be very different affairs in the future to those of the past. I congratulate you, Lochiel, he said, on having the prospect of a quiet and a peaceful life before you. While we shall miss you much from the scene of strife, you will find renewed interest in the conflict through the

contemplation of the struggles of a young clansman. For we see in the papers, and in the words of your old family song that a Cameron is about "to follow his Chief to the field"—(Laughter)—who, if that song be true, will keep it up to the end, because "a Cameron never can yield." (Laughter.) I shall not recur this evening to the question upon which Lochiel has so ably dwelt, but I may say one word in support of his remarks as to the wishes of certain Highland proprietors to benefit by legislation or otherwise the condition of the crofters. (Applause.) For the last 24 hours* I have in fact spoken about nothing else, and to show how closely the various proprietors interested have attended to business, I may mention that I have not once heard the subject of emigration brought up in their discussions. (Cheers.) In conclusion, Novar said—Whatever views the Highland representatives in Parliament might individually entertain on this crofter question, they will, I believe, leave no stone unturned to promote here, and in all other matters, the welfare of their Highland constituencies. (Cheers.)

Mr D. Campbell, editor of the *Chronicle*, proposed "The Language and Literature of the Gael," coupled with the name of Rev. A. C. Sutherland, one of their best students of Gaelic subjects, whose merits, he was glad to say for Mr Sutherland's sake, and he regretted to say for themselves, were recognised by a distant colony, to which, perhaps, he might migrate; and with the name of Mr A. Mackenzie, who bulked too largely upon them all to need to be introduced to mankind. (Laughter.) He was sure the toast would be drunk with due enthusiasm, but the age in which they lived was full of shams, and he was not sure the Gaelic Society of Inverness and the kindred societies were not partly shams too. At anyrate, the toast was the principle plank in their platform. What, then, did they do for promoting Gaelic, the "language and the literature of the Gael?" Something more, no doubt, than the kindred societies in the south, which bottled up their enthusiasm for a periodical champagne or soda water demonstration, but much less than they could. He could certify from his own experience, and from the prompt manner in which a slip in Gaelic on his part was corrected by some seven critics last week, as widely apart as Sutherland and Callander, that Gaelic literature was read with more avidity than twenty years ago, when he believed railways, steamers, and tourists would soon

* Alluding to a preliminary conference of Highland landlords at Beaufort Castle.

squash it. He felt sure now that their language was not a dead body ready for philological dissection, but the living medium of living thoughts. What had that and kindred societies done for Gaelic literature? Very little. The cost of a few dinners and demonstrations would have given the Gaelic-speaking people their own elevating and grand ballads, which were holier than the pernicious teaching, subversive of morals and society, which were being taught to them now in another language by outsiders. In Inverness large numbers, both young and old, spoke Gaelic, and clung to it with affection, but it was only taught in Raining's School. Was that right? He hoped that and the kindred societies would take this question into consideration. (Applause.)

Rev. A. C. Sutherland, in the course of his reply, said there were some things in the Chairman's speech which, in his (the speaker's) opinion, required modification, but, on the whole, he was pleased with its tone. There were two things he wished for Highland proprietors, and these were more Gaelic and more money. (Laughter and applause.) It was remarkable the changes time brought about. Fifteen or twenty years ago, they would have been laughed at had they talked so much about Gaelic and crofters as they had done that evening. When Burns had the honour of dining with Lord Glencairn, his gratification found vent in the words, "Up higher still, my bonnet," but now-a-days if every crofter did not dine with a lord, they met these distinguished beings often enough, and yet did not seem to be either very elated or very contented. (Laughter.)

Mr Alex. Mackenzie, whose name was also coupled with the toast, made a reply, in the course of which he said—While I differ in many respects from the remarks made by Lochiel this evening, the speech just delivered by him is perhaps the most important yet delivered in connection with the Land Question in the Highlands at any of our meetings—(Hear, hear)—and when looked at in connection with the meeting of proprietors called for tomorrow to consider the relationship of landlord and tenant in the Highlands, I rather think it will prove a turning-point in the history of the Highlands. (Cheers.) The other day a gentleman, who had been on intimate terms with O'Connell, told me that whenever that great orator found the newspapers omitting to abuse him the next morning after the delivery of a speech on the condition of his country, he always felt that he had done something wrong, and failed seriously in his duty. (Loud laughter.) I must confess that I felt somewhat similarly when I found Lochiel referring to myself in such complimentary terms as he did

on this occasion. (Renewed laughter.) But having mentioned my name as he did, and in such a connection, I am obliged to refer briefly to his remarks. (Cheers.) I am not, however, going to talk politics, for it is only big guns — (Laughter) — who are allowed to do that here, and I am not a big gun. (“Oh, oh,” and renewed laughter.) I am not surprised that Lochiel should make the reference he did to my opinion on the recently developed No-Rent policy in the Western Isles. That declaration is only one specimen of the good sense that I usually talk on this subject— (Laughter)—although I do not always get reported when I speak words of wisdom, as he does. (Laughter.) I will, however, by-and-bye—(Renewed laughter)—but now that he has referred to it, you will perhaps allow me to emphasise what I stated on that occasion, and say that the declaration of a No-Rent movement is in my opinion a great blunder on the part of the people. (Applause.) And I confess that Lochiel has made a good hit, from his point of view, in his reference to that subject, and in relation to the Suspensory Bill to be introduced next session in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) Those who refuse to pay rent are only placing themselves in a position to call for eviction, and in the opinion of many, to some extent justifying it, even if the bill passed into law; and it appears to me that those who encourage them by appearing to sympathise with that movement, by hesitating to condemn it, are encouraging the crofters to place themselves in a false and dangerous position. (Hear, hear.) No doubt many of them are quite unable at present to pay their rents, but they should say so, and when they cannot pay the whole, they should offer landlords a part while they also gave a share to the merchant who has been keeping themselves and their families alive, and, if the landlord refuses to take what he can get in these circumstances, let him just go without. (Laughter and cheers.) The speech of Mr Duncan Cameron, Oban, so severely criticised by Lochiel, may have contained bad advice, but it was only the speech of a young man of limited knowledge and experience. (Hear, hear.) If he had my experience of the people—born and brought up as I was on a small croft—he would never have made such a foolish and shortsighted speech. (Hear, hear.) The people must get advances from Government on such security as they shall under new laws be able to offer. (Cheers.) Permit me also to say that I am decidedly against the plausible theory of Nationalisation of the Land so far as it would affect the Highlanders. (Hear, hear.) For the crofters, it would be simply jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Bad as many of the present landlords are, Government would be

infinitely worse ; for those who have any dealings with Government officials in connection with the payment of taxes find that they are the most hard-hearted and exacting class one can have any dealings with ; and were the Highlanders to prefer the Government to their present proprietors, subject to a reformed system of land tenure, they would prove themselves the greatest fools in the world. (Hear, hear.) I would strongly urge upon them rather to insist upon getting security of tenure and full rights to their own improvements on the land, and then it will be time enough to consider the question of land nationalisation, which is no doubt, a very attractive theory to those who have now no connection with land, but one which would prove suicidal to the Highland crofters—(Cheers)—in whom we are more especially interested. I was not a little amused by Novar's reference to the probable eviction of some of our Northern Members of Parliament on an early date. (Laughter.) I think I may say for him that when any attempt is made to remove him from his position, that he will make a very good fight to keep it—(Cheers)—but if any one suggested that the crofters should act in a similar manner against their evictors, I rather fear that neither Novar nor his friends would support them in their efforts. (Laughter.) It was complained by Lochiel that the leaders of the crofter agitation had never yet indicated the remedies they required from the Government or the proprietors. When we commenced this agitation a few years ago, not a single proprietor in the Highlands or elsewhere, and scarcely a newspaper in the country, would admit that any grievances existed which required remedies—(Hear, hear)—but Lochiel has to-night admitted the existence of these grievances to the full, not only for himself, but for all the Highland proprietors with whom he has been in such close communication for the last few days on the subject. In these circumstances, it appears to me that the proprietors who are now confessedly responsible—(Hear, hear)—for what they themselves admit to be grievous wrongs, should make the first advance by declaring what amends they propose to make for the past—(Cheers)—and I do trust that Lochiel will be able to imbue his brother proprietors, at the important meeting which takes place to-morrow, with his own spirit and opinions. (Applause.) The proprietors of the North have not yet made one single step in that direction—(Hear, hear)—and until they do, the crofters or their representatives cannot fairly be expected to state their demands more distinctly than they have already done—(Hear, hear)—but so soon as we hear what he and his landlord friends propose to do, depend upon it we shall

not be behind—(Cheers)—at least I speak for myself, though I am not a leader—(Oh, and laughter)—in declaring whether we think the people should be satisfied with what is offered to them or not. And if we think they ought not, we shall not fail to state, in unmistakable terms, what we consider necessary in their interests. (Cheers.) It is a sign of the times that we should now be asked; for a year or two ago we were not only not listened to, but laughed at. (Hear, hear.) Now, a few words on what I had alone intended to be the subject of my remarks this evening. Mr Campbell expressed himself to the effect that little was being done in the Celtic field. When I first proposed, at a meeting of the Inverness Literary Institute in November 1870, that a Gaelic Society should be formed in the Capital of the Highlands, no one could anticipate that considerably over one hundred volumes, many of them extensive and valuable, should be published by the members of such a Gaelic Society and their friends throughout the country on Celtic Literature and Highland history in fourteen years. (Applause.) You will probably be surprised to hear that a sum of over £6000 passed through my own hands within the last few years in connection with this subject in a small town like Inverness, and that no less than £2400 was paid by me for printing alone in the same short period, while I have received the sum of £2500 as the result of works actually written by myself. (Loud applause.) Mr Campbell himself is doing good work in connection with this subject in the columns of the *Chronicle*—(Hear, hear)—in which we have two or three columns of excellent Celtic matter every week; and, diametrically opposed as I am to the political principles of that paper, Mr Campbell compels me to read it by the excellence of his own contributions to it in connection with Celtic literature. (Cheers.) I have therefore no sympathy with him and others when they say that no real work is being done in this field. (Hear hear.) I now beg to thank you for the manner in which you have received these rambling remarks—remarks which I had not the slightest intention of making when I entered the room—and for connecting my name with his toast. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Campbell said—I wish to give a short explanation in regard to Mr Mackenzie's speech. I never alluded to historical and so-called Celtic literature, but to Gaelic literature and the Gaelic language. I submit, of course, to my friend's correction, as it is based on a false assumption. (Loud applause.)

Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, on rising to propose the toast of Highland Education, was received with loud cheers. He said—The toast which has been committed to me is one which has always

been honored at this annual dinner with a very hearty reception, and I have listened to many excellent speeches upon it from gentlemen very competent to deal with it, which, if not always conceived in the light view of after dinner oratory, were of a really useful character, leading to practical action on the part of this Society, which in some cases has left a mark behind it. To-night, if I might venture to trespass at equal length on your attention, I have more than the usual excuse for doing so, because since you met here last year two official reports on Highland Education have been issued. Of the first of these,* for which your Chairman and I must take a share of responsibility—(Applause.)—I need only say that whatever its merits or defects, it has served its purpose in directing the attention of the Scotch Education Department to the circumstances under which education in the Highlands has to be conducted, and in eliciting within the last few weeks the report by Dr Craik, one of the Department's most trusted officers. (Applause) I have no doubt that that report has been carefully read by all of you who are interested in the education question, and I think it will be admitted by most who have done so that while there are passages here and there to which we might take exception (such as that, for instance, where "the varieties of dialect" in Gaelic are catalogued among the difficulties in the way of teaching it) it is, in the main, a fair and able, and in its conclusions, a very satisfactory report. As regards the use of Gaelic in Schools, it recommends just what this Society has always contended for, viz., that in Gaelic-speaking districts the teacher should have the power of interpreting to his pupil the lessons they learn in English, and that Gaelic literary knowledge should be paid for as a specific subject. (Applause.) Dr Craik further makes a proposal for increasing the supply of Gaelic-speaking teachers; but, with the weakness of a man of office for a system, he declines to recommend provisions for attracting these teachers to Highland schools, because such attraction would have to consist in personal payments, and not in that payment for results to which the Education Department has pinned its faith. I myself share that faith, but every rule has its exception. There is no use in spending money in educating Gaelic teachers if they are to be employed in England. (Applause.) I think that all the schools where the School Boards and H.M. Inspectors consider a knowledge of Gaelic desirable in the teacher, should be scheduled,

* Alluding to the Report of the Crofter Commission, which, among other matters, dealt with Highland Education.

and a Gaelic-speaking teacher employed in one of them should be entitled to a personal payment of £10 or £12 a year. (Applause.) In reference to the use of Gaelic in schools, this seems to me to be almost the only point left for this Society to press, unless it be that only Gaelic-speaking Inspectors should have to do with the scheduled schools. The question of secondary education is of immense importance for the Highlands, and it is dealt with very sensibly by Dr Craik. He points out how, in the present state of communications, it is almost as easy, if a child in the Islands has to be boarded away from home, to send it to Inverness or Glasgow, as to Stornoway or Portree, and instead, therefore, of proposing to establish a few secondary schools at wide intervals, he suggests the grading of schools under each School Board. A higher salary being given to the principal teacher at a central school, with some more assistance for elementary work, there would be in each parish an accomplished teacher with time at his disposal to teach the higher branches. I may mention that in the parish of Ferrintosh we have to some extent adopted this system, and its merits do not seem to be appreciated by the people. At all events, one of our local branches of the H.L.L.R. Association has set its face against it, and hopes to make a change in our School Board at next election, in order to secure an altered policy, and to have the teachers placed on an equal footing. If any gentlemen here have influence with this London Association, I wish they would consider whether, in the matter of teaching, the desire for equality is not likely to hinder the progress of education in the Highlands. (Applause.) For my own part, I am strongly in favour of Dr Craik's plan for facilitating secondary education—a plan which, after all, is but a development of our old Scottish Parochial system. One of the points on which the Royal Commission dwelt most strongly was the burden imposed by the education rate, especially in the islands. That burden was so extraordinary that extraordinary measures seemed required to meet it. The information we received, however, does not seem always to have been understood correctly by us, and Dr Craik makes out that the high education rate in the Lews is due very much to the non-attendance of the children at school, and to their failure to earn the grant which might be gained under the existing Code. With a reasonably good attendance, he holds that the average education rate of the Lews might be reduced from 2s. 2½d to 9d. in the £1. Now, I confess, I should have doubted the accuracy of this computation were it not that in the evidence taken before the Royal Commissioners at Barvas (where the

school rate was at one time as high as 6s. 8d., and at the time in question was 3s. 8d. in the £1), the Rev. Mr Strachan stated that he had made minute calculations in connection with this point, and had found that there (in the most heavily burdened parish in Scotland) a good attendance would secure a grant which, supplemented by that under Lochiel's 7s. 6d. clause, would leave the rate at about 1s. in the £—a heavy, but not an intolerable burden. Whether these calculations are absolutely correct or not, they bring before us, in an emphatic way, the irregularity of school attendance in the West. It is the bane of the teachers there, and the greatest hindrance to the progress of education. It must, indeed, be admitted that there are excuses, more valid than can be offered elsewhere, for irregularity of attendance in the Lews and the other islands, and the coasts of the north-west of Scotland. The weather is often rough and boisterous, and the schools are frequently not connected by roads with the surrounding townships. But these are not new difficulties. The schools are more numerous and more accessible than they were when I was young, and the children are certainly better clad, and, I believe, better fed, and therefore fully as well able to resist the weather; and in the days I speak of, greater difficulties than beset school attendance now were overcome by those who had ambition and energy, and whose parents saw the value of education. Unfortunately, it is just where education is most required that it is least valued, and there it is most difficult to inspire parents with any hearty desire for the education of their children. If not actually opposed to it, they are careless about it, and indifferent to it; and while this state of feeling prevails among them, little faith need be placed in the power of any compulsory system to improve school attendance in the Lews, or anywhere else. (Applause.) This feeling of indifference has to be met and combated and overcome; and here there is a grand field for the efforts of all who have the opportunity of exerting themselves in it. The objects with which this Society was founded included "The furtherance of the interests of the Gaelic people." I know of no way in which this can be more effectually done than by seeing that the children get good schooling. (Applause.) I trust that they are in a fair way of getting this, but in pledging the cause of Highland education, as we are about to do, we must regard the pledge as no mere idle one, but as entailing action, when required, on us all. (Applause.) It is in that spirit that I offer you the toast, and beg of you to join heartily in drinking Success to Highland Education. (Cheers.)

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Rector of Raining's School, in responding, cordially concurred with Sir Kenneth's praises of Dr Craik's report. The pupil-teacher system would wed the Highland people to the Education Act, for it would open a source of employment for their sons and daughters. The idea of giving a personal grant to Gaelic-speaking teachers was an excellent one. He thought the building debt should be cancelled, and the Lochiel clause raised to 12s. 6d., while the benefits of the change must not be restricted to the insular parts of the Highlands. (Applause.)

Mr William Morrison, M.A., Rector of Dingwall Academy, whose name was also coupled with the toast, said—It is a distinct gain to the cause of Highland education to have the powerful and enlightened support of such a man as Sir Kenneth Mackenzie enlisted in that cause. (Applause). It is more than half the battle to have that support. His words, both on account of their intrinsic worth, and of that extrinsic value which his high social position gives them, cannot fail of carrying conviction to those among our educational authorities who, in these matters, are "slow of heart to believe." (Applause). Possibly, had similar words been uttered here to-night by any other than Sir Kenneth, they would have been discounted as so much idle sentimentality uttered in the interests of what unsympathetic critics might be pleased to term a society of Gaelic *dilettanti*. Dr Craik, for whom I conceived a high opinion, is not quite sure of the introduction of Gaelic as an essential vehicle of instruction in schools in purely Gaelic districts. He found that "sentiment," he says, repudiated by almost all he came in contact with in his tour lately from the Butt of Lewis to Tobermory. That might have been so, but is there not a danger of falling into sentiment in avoiding sentiment? (Applause.) Sentiment, after all, if well based, counts for much as things go in human nature. I give my fellow countrymen in the West due credit for that mental characteristic inherited from a Celto-Scandinavian ancestry—bald common-sense—but I must also not overlook another characteristic inherited from the same source, and which distinguishes this mixed race from the matter-of-fact Saxon—that dash of poetry in their nature which has proved itself of so much use to our Saxon fellow-countrymen on many a hard-fought and bloody field. (Applause.) Sentiment, after all, is a more potent agency in shaping the destiny of nations than your modern Philistine is willing to admit. (Applause.) The modern Highlander, doubtless, is ignorant of English culture, but not necessarily of all culture. The literature open to him he knows well, and from it he derives an amount of

moral culture that places him as a man in favourable comparison with the Saxon. The Education Act, if better adapted to the peculiar conditions of the Highlands and Islands, is undoubtedly calculated to cut the Gordian knot of the crofter difficulty. Apart from the alleviation of the intolerable burden of taxation now imposed on shoulders ill-fitted to bear it, I look on the Gaelic scholastic difficulty as one of men and not so much of money. All this comes of a short-sighted policy emanating from a remote and central source where those who sit in authority in educational matters see, but in distant and dim perspective, the conditions and environment of the Gaelic-speaking people of the North. The best class of teachers will not, at present, as Dr Craik pointed out in his report, go to these remote districts. I mean no disparagement to the many excellent men employed in these schools. I merely state the fact that good men will not be induced to go if they can possibly avoid doing so, and those who do go take the earliest opportunity of leaving for the best posts they can secure on the mainland. (Applause.) If good men were induced to go and remain for some time in these secluded parts a very marked change for the better would soon be observed. But it is said good results are produced. I do not deny the statement, but the results must necessarily be relatively good, not absolutely so. The next census will probably make sad and startling disclosures as to the small amount of educational progress made since the passing of the Education Act. It will be found that this progress is by no commensurate with the large sums of public money expended upon it by the Treasury. The studied neglect by many School Boards and Inspectors in the Highlands, shown in contemning the use of the vernacular in imparting an English education, is, in the highest degree, insensate, and is certain to recoil upon the heads of those who are now responsible for that neglect. Her Majesty's Inspectors must, in gauging the intelligence of children, to whom English is very much of a foreign tongue, adopt a standard of reference which they would not use where the children are able to express themselves more or less readily in English. I admit that there is some force in the contention that children acquire a language as readily under the instruction of a teacher whom they are compelled to answer in that language as if they had their option in expressing themselves in one better known to them. Highland parents have an instinctive knowledge of that law under which Coleridge said the child acquired his mother tongue—the law, namely, of necessity. The effort made by the child to express himself is largely an un-

conscious one. The intellectual faculties are, however, trained by conscious effort. The ignorance or apathy of Highland parents in discouraging the use of Gaelic in schools is but a wretched excuse on the part of those whose function it is to direct and control our educational machinery, and is but a sign of their own inherent antagonism to what is of course to them, as officials or trustees, an element of special administrative difficulty. This difficulty is not, however, to be overcome by a supercilious contempt on the part of the Department or of School Boards, but by rationally recognising and meeting it. One of H.M. Inspectors, Mr Smith, two years ago complained that pupils who had passed from the third and fourth standards in school to the factory in a few years lost the very art of reading an English book. That is a sufficiently melancholy revelation. If that be so in Lanarkshire, what must it be in Lewis? Few will deny that, *cæteris paribus*, a teacher with a knowledge of the vernacular is to be preferred in a Gaelic district to one that does not possess that knowledge. (Applause.) I see no reason why Gaelic literature, such as it is, should not be made an instrument of culture—of logical training, as English or Latin is—and if conjoined with the usual grammatical training in these, I am sure it would add immensely to the educational value of all these. (Applause.) The transition from the known to the unknown would be as pleasant as it would be profitable to the pupil. When once the eyes of our people are opened to the fact that there are regions beyond their limited horizon inviting an energetic race, they will not be slow to act on their acquired knowledge. It is safe to prophesy that an exodus from their present miserable homes will ensue on so large a scale that it will be a matter of sore regret that remedial measures were not earlier taken to conserve a population containing so many elements of strength to the State. They have all the virtues bred of adversity, with but few of its vices, and hence such a people can be but ill spared in days of national decadence, not to speak of a day of national calamity. Altogether, I anticipate from the prominence the subject of Highland education has received at this crisis in our history in the North, that our legislators will give effect to the recommendations of men who have made that subject one of careful and intelligent study, and so will hasten the operation of an agency which, of all human means, is most calculated to promote the best interests of a noble people. (Cheers.)

Mr A. R. Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail, in proposing the Agricultural and Commercial Interests of the Highlands, said—The toast

which has been placed in my hands is one of universal interest. I am certain there is no one in this room whose welfare is not affected by it in some way or other, and in these times none will fail to drink with sincerity and enthusiasm, Success and Prosperity to the Commercial and Agricultural Interests of the Highlands. (Applause.) I am afraid, gentlemen, that those interests to which I am now directing your attention are much in need of being toasted at every public meeting, and, if earnest and anxious wishes for their success are of any avail, there would be no fear of their prosperity. (Applause.) Commerce and agriculture are so bound up with one another that it is only right that they should be coupled together in one toast. The success of one means the prosperity of the other; the failure of either means the downfall of both. That agriculture is now a science, and a science which is thoroughly understood in every detail in the Highlands, is admitted everywhere, but I am afraid that with all the knowledge and trouble which has been expended upon it, it has not, during the past few years, been very remunerative to those who have done so much for it. Farmers have not only to contend with the low prices of produce, which were at first the result of excessive foreign competition, but also now, trade being so bad, many thousands of people are not able to live in the same way as they formerly did, so the demand for meat is lowered, as the returns of the Christmas markets and the sales of cattle and sheep, more particularly the latter, show. Now, gentlemen, we have heard some talk lately about the reduction of rents. One writer on this subject in the *North British Agriculturist* of last week, went on to say that, while bad tenants were an exception, bad lairds were the rule—(Laughter and “Question?”)—but whatever this gentleman’s opinion may be, I venture to say that this is not the opinion of the Farmers’ Societies in the north—(Hear, hear)—and though, no doubt, some tenants would be pleased if their proprietors could see their way of assisting them still further, I am, in proposing this toast, talking to-night on a broader issue. So, supposing all rents were lowered, what good, if you look at it in a national point of view, is a general reduction to do the country as a whole? It must be remembered that I am not only talking of owners of land, but also owners of houses connected with trade and commerce throughout the country, and if these owners find that their income is considerably lowered, they must necessarily reduce their expenses, and this would entail many labourers, artisans, and others, being thrown out of employment. Low as the price of meat is to the producer, though there is not much differ-

ence as yet to the consumer, still, of what use is food, however cheap it may be, to a penniless workman? I do not wish or intend to encroach upon dangerous ground, but I, for one, am convinced from my experience of farmers, that it is the smaller occupiers of land who can, and who do, pay their rents easier than their larger neighbours, and I am certain that it would be a great advantage to the country, if there were more of these small farms—(cheers)—and though I would not advocate going back to Protection, still, I think that some sort of fair trade is necessary, so as to secure a return of commercial and agricultural activity, the well-being of which depends upon one another, and in which is involved the happiness and peace of the whole country. (Applause.) There is something, however, pleasant in the thought that matters cannot be worse than they now are, and whenever they have arrived at that stage, as the world cannot remain stationary, we must begin to ascend the ladder of prosperity again; and signs of improvement are already distinctly visible, both in a better and increasing price for grain, the works going on throughout the country, and, though we cannot say much about wool, still, sheepfarmers are to be congratulated on the open weather we have had, and the exceptionally low death-rate amongst hill stock. So I hope it will be many a long year before we have to devote ourselves to the making of jam, or rearing of flowers. (Laughter and applause.) I am asked to couple this toast with a gentleman who well maintains the dignity of the high and honourable position he holds as Provost of the Capital of the Highlands, and who, we know, is deeply interested in the Prosperity of Commerce and Agriculture in the North. (Applause.)

Provost Macandrew, in reply, referred briefly to the recent proceedings in Skye, and expressed the hope that everyone who had any influence with the crofters would endeavour to persuade them that nothing would be done for them, and that they would lose the sympathy of every right-minded person, so long as they acted in open defiance of the law. They were all accustomed to be proud of the Highlanders. When they defied the law for the sake of an idea of the restoration of a Prince, and came out like men to fight against great odds, their conduct and loyalty evoked admiration; but when the descendants of these chivalrous people turned out in hundreds to beat a poor, defenceless sheriff-officer, who could offer no resistance, he actually felt ashamed of his fellow-countrymen. He was also ashamed to find that at some meetings held in Edinburgh and London, these things were made light of, and hoped the voice of the Gaelic Society would go forth strongly reprobating such actions. (Applause.)

Dr F. M. Mackenzie, in proposing the toast of Kindred Societies, said it would be interesting to know how it was that such a small community as the Highlanders of Scotland, living in such a rugged country, had produced so many societies all over the world. (Applause.) He thought there were at least two things which conduced to that state of matters—very strong love of country and the patriotism of Highlanders, as well as their very strong love of migrating throughout the world.

Bailie Alex. Ross, as representing the Field Club, responded.

Mr Colin Chisholm proposed the Non-Resident Members, speaking partly in Gaelic and partly in English. He expatiated on their attachment to the old country, and called them the backbone of the Gaelic Society. In a few pointed sentences he took occasion to deplore that the greater part of the Highland proprietors were unable to speak to their tenants in the language best calculated to touch their hearts. (Hear, hear.) If they were only able to speak Gaelic, in his opinion there would be no grievances to complain of between proprietors and crofters. (Cheers.) Strange as this might appear, during the inquiry by the Royal Commission there were few complaints brought against landlords who were able to speak to their people in their own language. (Cheers.) He was happy to hear from Lochiel that a move was about to take place among the proprietors with the view of bettering the condition of their crofters and cottars. This ought to have been done long ago. (Hear, hear.) We all knew that the proprietors, their fathers, and predecessors were altogether instrumental, though often out of sight behind their factors or law agents, in depopulating the Highlands, and turning the country into the barren, cheerless, and inhospitable deserts that they now were. (Applause.) But now that the Chief of the Clan Cameron announced the welcome tidings of landlord willingness to rescue theircrofting dependents from further misery, he hoped sincerely humane treatment for the future would cancel all recollections of former mismanagement. With this toast he begged to couple the respected names of Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost, and Mr Reginald Macleod, junior of Macleod.

Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost, in replying, said—We have now arrived at rather a late hour, or rather an early one I should say, for I see the clock shows us that the proceedings we commenced with yesterday's dinner we have carried into this morning, and as I see Mr Reginald Macleod's name down as well as my own to respond to this toast, I shall be as brief as possible, especially as I see there are several other toasts on the list. I

thank you, Mr Chisholm, on the part of the non-resident members, for the spirited manner in which this toast has been proposed, and you, gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which it has been responded to; and I am sure the non-resident members regret their absence on an occasion like this when so many interesting and instructive speeches have been delivered, and had they been present I am sure they would have enjoyed the evening as much as I have done, but though absent they will be glad to hear we have been treating on questions so dear to many of them. (Applause.) For the benefit of those who do not understand Gaelic, I may explain that Mr Colin Chisholm has been rather hard on proprietors in some of the remarks he made, but I agree with him, if there was more communication by means of a Gaelic medium between proprietors and crofters, that we should have heard nothing of the present disturbances. Mr Alexander Mackenzie has taunted the proprietors with doing nothing, and challenged them to say what they intend doing. In reply to this challenge, it is not for me to say what proprietors may deem proper to do, for, personally, I have very little interest at stake, but from conversations I have had lately with very influential proprietors and others, if I was going to prophesy I should venture to say that peace will be restored to the Highlands to-day, and that the Land Law reformers may turn their attention to some other occupation. (Applause.) Before sitting down, there is one other remark I would like to make, in reply to what Provost Macandrew said regarding the action of those Skye crofters who deforced the Sheriff's officers. Now, though not for a moment upholding the conduct of those crofters who took the law into their own hands, I don't think, at the same time, they should be blamed so very unsparingly, for it was a most injudicious step sending Sheriff's officers at such a time among an excited people, for the very sight of a Sheriff's officer seemed to recall to their recollection the stories of hardships related to them regarding former evictions. (Applause.) In conclusion, he thanked the meeting for so cordially drinking the health of the non-resident members.

Mr Reginald Macleod, whose name was also coupled with the toast, said it had been stated that they ought not to go a-begging to the Home Secretary or Parliament for money for crofters in the Highlands. Mr Macleod detested as much as anyone the system of begging on behalf of the crofters, but he thought that when they went to Parliament and said to them that the landlords of the Highlands were ready to do all that they possibly could for their people in the way of giving more land, provided Government would do as they had done in other places—grant money for the

making of breakwaters or harbours, and thus enable them to make use of these, he thought this was not begging, but making a legitimate appeal for assistance for people who were in a peculiar state of distress and difficulty. (Applause.)

Mr Barron, Ness Bank, gave the toast of the Provost and Magistrates, and the toast was responded to by Bailie Macbean.

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, proposed the Clergy of all Denominations. He said—Since the formation of this Society fourteen years ago, this toast has been regularly remembered at our annual gatherings, and, although it has more than once been suggested that it should be discontinued, I am myself of opinion that such a course would be a mistake. (Applause.) I have heard it said that if we toast the clergy, there is no reason why we should not do the same honour to the medical and legal professions, and then there would be no end to the thing—(Laughter and applause)—but I would remind those who thus speak that for ages the clergy have possessed a power in the Highlands to which no other profession can lay claim—(Applause)—and that, on the whole, from the days of Columba until now, that power has been exercised for good—(Applause)—and apart from this general claim to our attention, it would be unpardonable were we, members of the Gaelic Society, to ignore that profession which nourished such workers in the Celtic field as the Dean of Lismore, the Rev. Robert Kirke, the Rev. A. Pope, the Stewarts, Dr Irvine, Dr John Smith, Dr Macpherson of Sleat, and Dr Norman Macleod the elder—(Applause)—not to mention the eminent Celtic scholars who at the present moment flourish within the sacred pale. (Applause.) And, gentlemen, if the Highland clergy of the past did do good, it was too often in spite of the greatest discouragements; and when we consider the difficulties they had to contend with, and the discomforts they had to endure, we cannot but marvel at the great work done by them among the people, and the zeal and success with which many of them kept themselves abreast of their times in literature and general culture. (Applause.) For instance, in 1649, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae of Kiutail—a powerful preacher, whom Bishop Maxwell pronounced “a man of great gifts, but unfortunately lost in the Highlands”—had neither manse nor glebe; his church was a mere hovel, with holes through the thatched roof, and without glass in the windows; and it was adorned with neither pulpit nor desks, with neither stool of repentance, nor sackcloth to cover the penitent. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the worthy pastor earnestly served the parish for forty-four years; and he not only

passed rich on £8. 6s. 8d. a year—(Laughter)—and a free farm, worth £25 a year, but he was able to give a good education to a large family, two of whom adopted his own profession. (Applause.) The churches in which these clergy of the past preached must have been horrible places—(Laughter)—for not only were preachers and people exposed to every blast that blew, but they also encountered the greater dangers which arose from a total neglect of sanitary laws. In 1684, for example, the minister of Boleskine complained “that all persons of all ranks indifferently buried their dead within his church, not only his own parishioners, but some others of the neighbouring parishes, so that several coffins were hardly under ground ;” and as late as 1758 the Rev. Aulay Macaulay, great-grandfather of Lord Macaulay, was at his own request buried within his church in Harris, and so near the surface was the body placed that, twenty years later, the sexton’s besom came in contact with the head and sent it spinning over the earthen floor. (Laughter.) But I must not detain you with further descriptions of “the good old times.” Undoubtedly, the new are better for priest and people, and our great desire is that they may still continue to improve. (Applause.) I have much pleasure in coupling the toast with the name of the Rev. A. C. Macdonald. (Applause.)

Rev. A. C. Macdonald, in the course of his reply, said—In responding to this toast I must admit that I am not free from difficulty as to what I shall say. It has become somewhat fashionable now-a-days to decry the pulpit. We are told the Church is fast sinking in the estimation of the common-sense thinking men of the world, and possibly some of the complaints against her are not altogether without reason, though I believe the defects have been greatly exaggerated, and that much of the clamour is without foundation. Many in the Church are keenly alive to the wants of the age, which they spare no pains to meet. Time was—twice, at least, in the history of the Christian era—when the pulpit had risen to the ascendancy in the social state. Preachers were then the mental sovereigns of the people, and men everywhere looked to them for guidance, and bowed to their decision. The pulpit is still a great power—(Applause)—either for good or for evil. There are elements of power within the reach of the ministry which, if properly employed, would make the pulpit once more the moral master of the world. (Applause.) Let it take every event that influences the public mind, and every question that agitates the common heart, whether social, political, or religious, and try it by the broad light of that Book whose principles

are ever in favour of recognising the rights of all, and of inculcating special sympathy with the poor and the distressed—I say, let it do this, and the pulpit shall once more take the lead. (Applause.) And, Mr Chairman, considering the present unsettled, transition state of our country, there never was a time, in my opinion, when it was more desirable and necessary that both the press and the pulpit should exercise a healthful influence upon the public mind than now. (Applause.) Both these engines are mighty to form and guide public opinion, and hence the tremendous responsibility if this power is not judiciously wielded. It is too well known that some press organs do not exercise a very beneficial influence upon the public, but the time at my disposal does not permit me to say what I might upon this subject. I cannot sit down, however, without expressing my regret at the attitude taken up by ministers of different denominations in this country—an attitude, I think, far from Christian, if not altogether inconsistent with their vocation as professed servants of the Prince of Peace. It is lamentable to see gentlemen, whether lay or cleric, stooping to the position of wild agitators in the present disturbed state of the country—(Applause)—when the great difficulty the nation experiences is to suppress agitation, which is already bordering on rebellion, and to keep it within proper limits. I fully admit the value and necessity of agitation for reform, constitutionally conducted, but I think it is a most cruel thing on the part of ministers, connected with powerful Christian Churches, to urge and encourage these people to an agitation which, in the absence of proper guidance, is sure to resolve itself into lawlessness and disorder. And this cruelty is enhanced by the fact that, when these people, worked into a demoralising condition, carry their agitation beyond legitimate bounds, they are abandoned by those who incited them to that extreme, and left to battle with, and get out of their difficulties the best way they can. (Applause.) All they do is to turn round and abuse in a most ungracious manner the Home Secretary and the Lord-Advocate for adopting the only course open to them for maintaining law and order, and for adopting it in a way the least calculated to do injury to life and property. (Applause.) Judging from Lochiel's most liberal and practical speech this evening—(Applause)—a speech which confirms me more than ever in the opinion which I always had, that liberal views, and progressive legislation even, are not confined to either of the great parties in the State—(Cheers)—from that speech we hope that such reform as will place the people in a more comfortable position is at hand. (Applause.) And this is much

required, especially in the Western Isles; and I do not believe the people will be so difficult to satisfy as some would lead us to think. They are very nice people, shrewd, intelligent, and of strictly sober habits; and I must add to their honour, that during my intercourse with them, in their most excited state, I did not hear an oath or an unbecoming expression from the lips of any of them. (Applause.) I feel the deepest interest in, and sympathy for, these people, and my only fear is that they shall alienate themselves from the sympathy of all right-minded men. This must be the result if they take up an untenable position, and continue to accept the guidance of outside agitators of the wildest revolutionary and socialistic type, whose object is to destroy all existing institutions, both civil and sacred, and constitute themselves leaders and rulers—men who have no real sympathy with the people, and would not lift their little finger to help or relieve them. (Applause.)

Councillor Stuart proposed the Press, which was responded to by Mr A. Ross, of the *Northern Chronicle*.

Mr E. H. Macmillan, in proposing the health of the Chairman, said—I call upon you to fill a bumper to the toast which has been entrusted to me, and which I know will be received with all the enthusiasm of which a Highland gathering is capable. It is to the health of the illustrious Chief who occupies the chair to-night—(Applause)—the inheritor of an historic name. Lochiel, as we all know, worthily follows the traditions of his house. (Applause.) In the scroll of fame few names are more frequently and more honourably inscribed than that of Cameron, and although Lochiel has not been called on to lead his clansmen amid the turmoil of battle, he has the satisfaction of knowing that peace has its victories as well as war—(Applause)—and that he enjoys the reputation of being a kind and considerate landlord to a tenantry, not by occupancy merely, but by the bonds of Chiefship—(Hear, hear, and applause)—and that to an extent of which few Highland estates can boast. (Applause.) During the sittings of the Royal Commission, we were called upon to admire not merely the calm judicial temper with which Lochiel discharged the onerous duties which devolved upon him, but also the recommendations made by him in the Commissioners' Report, recommendations which evidenced at once a heart full of sympathy for those in distress, and a head full of clear and practical wisdom to devise a remedy. (Applause.) If anything was wanting to enhance our admiration of Lochiel's attitude in this most difficult crisis, it has been supplied by the speech to which we have been privileged to

listen this evening. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I ask you to drink with Highland honours long life and happiness to Lochiel. (Cheers, and Highland honours.)

Lochiel, on rising to respond, was received with loud and continued applause. He said he must ask them not to measure his appreciation of the honour done him by the length of his reply, as he had already for a considerable length trespassed—"No, no"—upon their patience. Besides, the evening was getting late, and as one or two toasts were to follow, he must be brief. He had to thank them all most sincerely for the manner in which they had received the toast so kindly proposed by Mr Macmillan, and also for many acts of kindness which he had received from the Gaelic Society—far more, he felt, than he deserved. He wished to express his deep regret that he was unable to talk "the language," but at a former meeting of the Gaelic Society he explained that the fault was not his, as a person's own education was not always in his own hands. He also had to thank them for the indulgence they had shown him on the occasion of the annual meeting in July of last year, when he was unable to preside. He was, as they were aware, suffering from an attack of gout. (Laughter.) He need not say that, when he read that the vice-chief also made the same excuse for his absence, and that the third gentleman who was also asked excused himself on the same plea, he was considerably amused. (Laughter and applause.) For his own part, he attributed his gout to the House of Commons. (Laughter.) He would venture to call the attention of his friend Novar to that fact. (Laughter.) To go about the country canvassing certainly required a vigorous frame, but it was nothing compared with the hardships of Parliament. (Applause.) Before sitting down, he must ask them to drink to the health of the Secretary, Mr William Mackenzie. (Cheers.) He had a deal of work to do connected with the Society, and he knew of no one who took a greater interest in everything connected with Gaelic literature than did Mr Mackenzie, and he asked the company to drink to his very good health. (Applause.)

Mr Mackenzie briefly replied, stating that no reward would give him greater satisfaction than the magnificent gathering they had that evening. (Applause.)

Mr G. J. Campbell, solicitor, proposed the health of the Croupiers, and the toast was responded to by both Kintail and Novar, M.P.

This brought the proceedings to a happy termination, the meeting having lasted six hours and a half. During the evening

several gentlemen present enlivened the proceedings by songs, recitations, &c. Pipe-Major Mackenzie, of the 3rd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, also added much to the evening's enjoyment by selections on the bagpipe at intervals.

CONFERENCE OF LANDLORDS AT INVERNESS.

In course of the speeches at the dinner, numerous references were made to the conference of landlords to be held in Inverness on the following day (14th January). This conference had no connection with the Society, but in order to make the references alluded to intelligible to readers who may peruse this volume in after years, it is desirable to record here a brief statement of facts in regard to it.

In November 1884, a debate on the crofter question took place in the House of Commons; and, in course of it, the Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), as representing the Government, appealed to Highland proprietors to endeavour to settle amicably with their crofters. Following on this appeal a preliminary conference was held at Stafford House, and thereafter the following circular was issued:—

“Achnacarry, 31st December 1884.

“In view of the disturbed condition of some parts of the Highlands, and of the speech made recently in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary, as representing the Government, it has been suggested that it would be very desirable for the owners of land in those districts which were visited by the Royal Commission, lately appointed to enquire into the condition of the crofters and cottars, or in any place in the Highlands where small tenants are numerous, to meet together with the object of taking into consideration the invitation made to them by the Home Secretary to endeavour to accede to the reasonable wishes of their tenantry, so far as it lies in their power to do so.

“As landowners, as well as representatives in Parliament of Highland Counties, we take the liberty of inviting you to attend a meeting at the Caledonian Hotel, Inverness, at two o'clock, on Wednesday, the 14th of January, at which it is hoped his Grace the Duke of Sutherland will kindly preside.

“The meeting will, of course, be private, and no reporters will be present.

“An authorised report of any resolutions that may be come

to can, if thought desirable, be subsequently sent to the newspapers.

“ We are,
“ Your obedient servants,

“ DONALD CAMERON of Lochiel.

“ R. MUNRO-FERGUSON.”

For several days prior to the 14th January, preliminary meetings were held at Beaufort Castle, the residence of Lord Lovat. Among those who responded to the invitation, and met in the Caledonian Hotel on the 14th January, were:—The Marquis of Stafford, representing the Duke of Sutherland; Lord Lovat, Beaufort Castle; Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart.; Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Ballindalloch, Bart., M.P.; Sir Tolle-mache Sinclair, Bart.; Sir Robert Sinclair of Murkle, Caithness; Mr Cameron of Lochiel, M.P.; Mr Munro-Ferguson of Novar and Raith, M.P.; Mr Baillie of Dochfour; The Mackintosh of Mackintosh; Mr Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost; Mr Kenneth Matheson, Ardross Castle, representing Sir Alexander Matheson of Lochalsh, Bart.; Mr Alex. Macdonald, Portree, factor for Lord Macdonald, &c.; Major Fraser of Kilmuir, Skye; Mr Forbes of Culloden; Mr E. H. Wood of Raasay; Mr Fraser-Tytler of Aldourie; Mr Davidson of Tulloch; Captain Fraser of Balnain; Mr Macleod of Cadboll; Mr Davidson of Cantray; Mr Darroch of Torridon; Mr Peterkin of Grange; Mr Henderson of Stemster, Caithness; Mr Biscoe of Kingillie; Mr D. M. Ross of Cromarty, as Commissioner for Lord Macdonald of the Isles; Major Mackenzie of Flowerburn; Mr Mackenzie of Allangrange; Mr Douglas Fletcher, representing Mr Fletcher of Rosehaugh; Mr Stewart of Ensay, late of Duntulm; Captain Munro of Foulis; Mr Reginald Macleod, Dunvegan Castle, representing Macleod of Macleod; Mr Mackenzie, yr. of Kintail, representing Mr Mackenzie of Kintail and Glenmuick; Mr W. Mackay, Stornoway, representing Lady Matheson of the Lews; Mr Gunn, Strathpeffer, representing the Duchess of Sutherland; Mr Smith, representing the Countess of Seafield; Mr Brown, representing the Earl of Moray; Captain Warrant, Ryefield, for the Ferrintosh estate; Mr Burgess, for Glenmoriston; Major Grant, for the Countess of Seafield's Glen-Urquhart estates; Mr James Anderson, Inverness, for Redcastle; Mr Malcolm, Invergarry, representing Mrs Ellice of Invergarry; Mr Grant for Dochfour and Glenelg; Mr Peacock-Edwards, agent for Lady Gordon Cathcart; Mr Maclellan, factor for Lady Gordon Cathcart; Mr Peter, factor for Lord Lovat; Mr Smith,

factor for Strathconan ; Mr C. R. Manners, C.E., representing Lord Wimborne ; Mr Maclean, factor for Sir Alexander Matheson of Ardross ; Mr A. D. M. Black, W.S., Edinburgh, agent for the Duchess of Sutherland ; Mr David Ross, Dingwall, factor for Tarbat ; Mr Donald Davidson, Inverness, agent for Cluny Macpherson of Cluny ; Mr Robert Davidson, for Mr Mackintosh of Balnespick ; Provost Fraser, for Culloden ; Mr Hugh Fraser, for Cantray ; Mr Forsyth, for Lady Ross of Balnagown ; Mr A. W. Nicholson of Arisaig ; Mr T. A. Mackenzie of Ord ; Mr John Robertson, Grishornish ; Mr Adam Sharp of Clyth ; Mr Dalegleish, for Ardnamurchan ; Mr Wright, commissioner for Lord Middleton ; Mr Nicolson, Caithness, for Sir Robert Anstruther ; Mr James Mackenzie, for Mr Gillanders of Highfield ; Mr Stuart, for Mr Liot Bankes of Letterewe, &c.

The Marquis of Stafford was appointed Chairman, and Mr George Malcolm, factor, Invergarry, clerk to the meeting. The following resolutions were unanimously passed, viz. :—

1. "That this meeting, composed of proprietors in the Counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll, having in view certain complaints as to the insufficiency of holdings on the part of crofters, which were recently laid before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the crofters and cottars of the Highlands and Islands, and the recent appeal made to Highland proprietors by the Home Secretary in his place in the House of Commons, resolves severally to offer to crofters an undertaking to increase the size of their holdings as suitable opportunities offer, and where the crofters are in a position profitably to occupy and stock the same."

2. "That this meeting further resolves to offer the crofters— (1.) To such as are not in arrears of rent, leases of 19 to 30 years, as may be arranged ; (2) Revised rents, and (3) Compensation for permanent improvements, regulated by a scale adapted to the nature and value of such improvements, and the duration of leases."

3. "That while this meeting of landowners has by the foregoing resolutions recognised the propriety of complying as far as possible with the reasonable wishes of their crofters, it would respectfully remind her Majesty's Government of certain other recommendations of the Royal Commission, which can only be dealt with by them, especially those which relate to the development of the fishing industry, to the excessive burdens thrown upon ratepayers under the Education Act of 1872 ; and to the granting of assistance to those who may be anxious to emigrate. It desires

therefore to express an earnest hope that these recommendations of the Royal Commission may receive the attention of her Majesty's Government."

4. "That the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Prime Minister and Home Secretary."

21ST JANUARY 1885.

On this date office-bearers for 1885 were nominated, and some routine business was transacted.

28TH JANUARY 1885.

On this date office-bearers for 1885 were elected. The following new members were elected, viz.:—R. C. Munro-Ferguson, M.P., life member; Major Rose of Kilravock, honorary member; and John Mortimer, 344 Great Western Road, Aberdeen, and Angus Maclellan, factor, Askernish, South Uist, ordinary members.

4TH FEBRUARY 1885.

On this date the following were elected members, viz.:—J. Douglas Fletcher, yr. of Roschaugh, life member; and John Macpherson, manager, Victoria Hotel, Inverness, and William Munro, Castle Street, Inverness, ordinary members.

Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., F.S.A., Scot, head-master of Raining's School, Inverness, then read a paper on "The Book of Deer." The paper was illustrated with enlarged drawings from the original work by Mr P. H. Smart, Inverness. Mr Macbain's paper was as follows:—

THE BOOK OF DEER.

The Book of Deer was discovered in 1860 by Mr Bradshaw, the librarian of the Cambridge University. It had lain unnoticed in the library of that University since its purchase in 1715, among the rest of the books of John Moore, Bishop of Ely. Its history, previous to Dr Moore's possession of it, is unknown; but that it was once—in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—in the Columban Monastery of Deer, in Aberdeenshire, is a fact testified by the book itself in a manner that can admit of no doubt.

The book consists of 86 parchment leaves, which are six

inches long and four and a-half broad. Its contents are the Gospel of St John complete, preceded by portions of the other three evangelists, viz., the first seven chapters of Matthew, the first five of Mark, and the first three of Luke. These are all in the Latin text of St Jerome. Besides these, there is between the fragments of Mark and Luke part of an office for visitation of the sick, in a later hand, and containing one line of Old Irish rubric; and the manuscript ends, in the same handwriting as the gospels, with the Apostles' Creed and an Old Irish colophon, which asks a blessing on the soul of the "truaghan" (wretch), who wrote the book, from every reader of it. These were the full contents of the original manuscript, and experts in the handwriting of Irish manuscripts ascribe its composition to the ninth century of our era. The book, of course, is written in what is called the Irish character, which is merely a modification, like all other so-called national alphabets of Western Europe, of the Roman writing; Irish writing is descended from the Gallo-Roman cursive handwriting of the fifth century, introduced with Christianity. The writing of the MS. is good throughout, and there are illuminated figures of the four evangelists, separately, and in groups, while the initial letter of each gospel is enlarged, illuminated, and ornamented.

But what makes the book of importance to the Gael of Scotland formed no part of its original contents. It is the Gaelic entries of grants of land made to the Monastery of Deer in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that make the book of supreme value to us; for we shall find reason to believe that the Gaelic of the grants represents fully the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlands at the time. These Gaelic entries occur on the blank pages and margins of the earlier part of the book; they commence on the first side of leaf three, immediately after the prologue (first 17 verses) to St Matthew ends. Here the legend of the founding of Deer with the first record of grant is told and continued on the other side of the same leaf, which was all blank originally. The second of the records of grants commences on the same page, and is continued on the first side of leaf four, which was also originally blank. In a different ink and handwriting, the third of the entries of grants is commenced at the middle of that page, and a short fourth entry concludes the page. On the other side of leaf four there was originally a representation of St Matthew, set in a rectangular frame of interlaced Z pattern, and round the margins of this picture, in brilliant black ink and different handwriting apparently from either of the previous entries, we find entry number five; and the sixth entry surrounds the margin of

the first page of leaf five, in the same faded ink as entries three and four, but in a different handwriting. The next entry, passing over blank pages on leaves 15 and 16, is the record of a charter in Latin by King David (1124-1153), at leaf 40, which implies that the rest of the entries had already been made, for it declares the Clerics of Deer free from all lay interference and undue exaction, "as it is written in their book."

These entries are important, not merely linguistically, but also historically. They throw an important side-light on the political, social, and ecclesiastical machinery of the time, as well as being the only specimen of Old Scotch Gaelic extant; for the next Scotch Gaelic work, uninspired from Irish sources to any very large extent, is the Dean of Lismore's book (1512), fully four hundred years later. The historical interest of the entries consists, firstly, in their form; they are mere records of grants of land, and even the formal charter of King David is here given only in copied form. The first two entries make no mention of witnesses; it is only with the third entry that Nectan, first Bishop of Aberdeen, and others, appear as witnesses recorded of the gift made. Hence we find in the Book of Deer a pre-charter and pre-feudal period; verbal grants before witnesses, with possibly some conveyance of a sign, such as a branch, from the giver to the receiver, were all that was necessary until the feudalising tendencies of the sons of the Saxon Queen Margaret abolished these primitive customs. Secondly, these entries throw light on the state of the Church and its history. The Monastery of Deer was a Columban one; it was founded in a far-away corner of Pictland; and the Picts and their kings had in the eighth century shown no particular favour to the Columban monasteries, when King Nectan and his successors had fully conformed with Rome. The history of these monasteries, even in Ireland, was a chequered one. Columba's system of Church government was altogether monastic; each tribe or *tuath* had a monastery, for there were no parishes, but only this large tribal district with one monastery, from which, as centre, the monks ministered to the remotest parts. The abbot of the monastery usually belonged to a leading family of the *tuath*, and in that family the office was hereditary; or the office might be hereditary in the family of the founder, as was the case with Iona, which was hereditary in the family from which Columba sprung. In course of time this system gave rise to great abuses; the monastery grew rich in lands, and the energies of the abbot, or some other leading officer, were directed to temporal rather than

spiritual management. In fact, latterly, he became a mere layman, holding the abbacy in his family by direct descent, and, delegating his clerical duties to a monk, he himself took to rearing a family in which the monastic lands were hereditary. Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld, for example, was a king's son-in-law, and also a king's father—father of the unfortunate King Duncan. The abuses of these lay abbacies were never properly remedied, but they were checked by Queen Margaret and her sons through the creation of the bishoprics, and the gradual supersession of the monastic by the parochial system. It is quite a common thing, consequently, to read of the refounding of an ancient abbacy, whereby lands are given afresh to the monastery which had lost them by their passing into secular hands. The Monastery of Deer would appear to have undergone this transformation; it was probably founded in the seventh century; it would run its first course of usefulness, and then come into secular hands, drifting finally into poverty and neglect; and then, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we have it refounded and reinstated in its lands. The remembrance of its period of distress comes out clearly in these entries: "Who-soever shall go against it, let him not be many-yearred or victorious," says Columba, according to the legend; and in another one, "His blessing on every one who shall fulfil this after him, and his curse on every one who shall go against it."

Again, we get a glimpse of the political and social systems of the time. The Ardri, or Chief King, rules the leading—seven originally—provinces of Scotia; under him immediately and over these provinces are the Mormaers, that is, the Earls of later times; and under the jurisdiction of the Mormaers are the tribal or district chieftains, called the Tosechs (chiefs), known among the Saxons as Thanes. All these three grades of power had their "exactions" out of the land, besides having their own manor land; they had rights of personal service, civil and military, of entertainment when travelling, and of exacting rent in kind or in money. These are the "lay exactions" referred to in the entries in the Book of Deer. The somewhat bewildering succession of names in the entries is also of interest; sons do not often succeed fathers, and brothers are preferred to children. This points to surviving Pictish influence in the succession, where succession was in the female line. The mentioning of the daughter along with her husband as granting lands conjointly, shows the husband's right rested on the female alliance.

The most important point in connection with the Book of Deer is this: Are the entries couched in the vernacular Gaelic

of Scotland at the time? We have been often disappointed with our numerous MSS. turning out after all to be merely Irish Gaelic, and we have our oldest printed books and other documents couched in the same Irish tongue and style, such as Bishop Carswell's "Prayer Book," and other works for Church services; so much has this been the case that the burden of proof must rest with suspicious weight on the person who asserts that Old Scotch Gaelic exists in any document at all. The Book of the Dean of Lismore is allowed on all hands to be Scotch Gaelic; it was produced at a period favourable to the rise of independent literature and style of writing; the sixteenth century was remarkable all over Europe, but in Scotland it saw the decay for a time of the Irish influence over our literature, a decay brought about by the fall of the Gaelic "Kingdom of the Isles," which had strongly knit together Ireland and the Highlands for over three hundred years. Before the sixteenth century we look in vain for a trace of literature or record in Scotch Gaelic, save in this Book of Deer, and we shall find that the circumstances which produced that book were also such as favoured, nay, necessitated, native Scotch Gaelic. Deer, in the first place, was about the remotest of Gaelic monasteries from Ireland; the country was that of the Picts, who had asserted a sort of independence in Church matters, and developed antagonism to the Irish "Columbanism." The Danes and the Northmen had further added to this estrangement by their intrusion between the two countries. They also destroyed Iona, and compelled the Church to accept Dunkeld as the chief abbatial centre. Scotland was, since Malcolm Canmore, becoming a kingdom, independent of English and Irish influences in State and in Church, and the establishment of bishoprics by Kings Alexander and David freed the Scotch Church from England and Ireland both. If, therefore, a native Gaelic literature could arise, surely the 12th century was a most suitable time for it. Again, let us note that the literature of the Book of Deer is of a thoroughly practical kind; it is for business purposes, and the Gaelic of the district must have been used; for the intention of the entries is to prove claims against Mormaers and Tosechs, who might arise and "know not Joseph." All these arguments make it *a priori* highly probable that the book should be in Scotch Gaelic. And the contents of the book fully prove the truth of such deductive argumentation. For the Gaelic differs in spirit and even in form from the Irish Gaelic of the same period. The two Gaelics—Irish and Scotch—could not have been very different at that time in any case, at least as spoken languages. Irish had been a literary

language for some centuries previous to this, and, as such, we cannot trust that it exactly represents the popular language of the date at which it was written. The Scotch Gaelic, while keeping to the general style of spelling and writing which the Irish had, was not weighted by precedent and literary forms of bygone times; it consequently adapted itself to the time and locality in which it was produced. Hence it is that the Gaelic of the Book of Deer, as compared with the Gaelic of "Lebor na h-Uidri," the oldest Irish literary manuscript, composed about 1100, and, therefore, of nearly the same age, has the appearance of a descendant that is two or three centuries later. In fact, the Gaelic is well advanced in what is called "Middle Irish;" there is the same confusion of vowels if ending words—as *i* for *e*; the sinking of *e* and *t* to *g* and *d*; and the assimilation of *ld* and *ln* to *ll*. There are touches, however, of antiquity, as, for instance, in the use of the infixed pronouns—that is, the pronoun is placed between the particle, or prefix, and the verb. But the departure from all Irish lines are the most important and most remarkable facts. The spelling, though it is on the whole cast in the same moulds, has some local peculiarities. Thus *cc* is written for *ch*; this doubling of the consonants to show aspiration is unknown in the Gaelic languages, though common in the Brythonic tongues. The aspirated *d* or *g* is dropped as in *blienec*; so we learn also from Jocelyn (1180), that the Gaelic pronunciation of *tighearn* was at that time *tyern*; now the Irish at the time was *tigerna*. But the most marked Scotch tendency is the way in which the *n* of the proposition *in* is dealt with. While *n* disappears in early Irish before *s* and *p*, we have in the Book of Deer the thoroughly Gaelic method of keeping it; thus we find *in-saere*, *in-pett* (*dan-sil*); while a tendency of a middle Irish type for "eclipsis" appears in *ib-bidbin* for *im-bidbin* and *ig-ginn* for *in-cinn*. The absence of the orthodox spelling rule known as "broad to broad and small to small," forced on Scotch Gaelic from Ireland, is in the Book of Deer most marked, hence forming a powerful link in our chain of evidence. On the whole, then, there is a modern air—an air of posterity—about the Gaelic of the Book of Deer, as compared with contemporary Irish, and certain tendencies are displayed which nowadays characterise the Scotch Gaelic only, as compared with the Irish; so that we are quite warranted in accepting the book as containing genuine Scotch Gaelic of the time.

In so concluding, we have the authority of the two greatest living Irish scholars—Stokes and Windisch. The latter in his

“Celtic Speeches,” says—“The oldest source for Scottish Gaelic is the Book of Deer. . . . The manner of expression, words and forms, are as in the Irish, but the manner of writing shows already a stronger phonetic decay, whether it be that the Scotch Gaelic has lived faster or that only the manner of writing has remained less ancient, and has fitted itself more exactly to the pronunciation of the time.” And the next “source,” he informs us, is the Book of the Dean of Lismore; for the previous MSS., are all of Irish origin, character, and inspiration.

There are two editions of the Gaelic of the Book of Deer; one was published, Latin and Gaelic complete, with facsimile pages, in 1869 by the Spalding Club, under the editorship of Dr Stuart. The English translation was by Mr Stokes, who has himself given an edition of the Gaelic, with translation, notes, and vocabulary, in his “Goidelica.” To both of these I am indebted; to Dr Stuart for the text, and to Mr Stokes for assistance in translation and notes.

As to the Orthography, there are many contractions in the MS., such as those for *m* or *n* and *r*, and the contraction *mc* for *mac*. These contractions are filled out in our text, but they are put in italics. The spelling is on the whole wonderfully consistent throughout, but the accent marks, which do not mean accent at all, but only quantity, are irregular. The most errant word in its spelling is *tosech*; next come *achad*, *cathraig*, *Cainnech*, *Columcille*, *mec* and *meic*, *petir* (gen.), *pet*, *saere*, *ua* and *o*. In regard to the accents, the MS. is scrupulously followed in every peculiarity, but it is found impossible to reproduce some accents that are placed over consonants, whether by accident or design is doubtful. What may be design appears in the accentation mark placed over some double consonants, notably *nn*; as *óhúnn* (I 19), *proinn* (II 19), *cainnech* (II 20, 22); while *cc* has accent on the first *c* at I 19 (*ímacc* and on *m* here) and on second *c* at III 2 (*pet-meccobrig*). At I 10 we read “robomareh,” where the *e* is emphasised by accent and dots above and below. The word *slánte* of I 12 has an accent on the *t*, evidently meant for the *e*. In diphthongs, like *ai* at II 3 and 4, it is often hard to say whether the accent is meant for the *a* or the *i*.

Note that the ink and handwriting of what is within brackets at II 26 shows it to have been written by the writer of Entry III, and lines 25 and 26 of Entry V are in the ink and writing of VI.

The lines of the original MS. are followed in presenting the Gaelic text, and, for the reader's convenience, the translation is given line for line on the opposite page.

(1) THE TEXT.

I.

[Fol. 3, First Side, Middle.]

1. Columcille agus drostán mac cósgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg día dóib go níc abbordobóir agus béde cruthnec robomor mēr búchan aragínn agus essé rothídnaíg dóib
5. ingathráig sáin insaere gobraith ómormáer agus óthóséc. tangator asááthle sen incathraig ele agus doráten ricolumcille sí iarfallán dóráth dé agus dorodloeg arimormáer . i. béde gondas tabrád dó agus níthárat agus rogab mac dó galár
10. iarnéré nagleréc agus robomaréb act mádbec iarsén dochuid inmormaer dattác nagleréc góndéndæs

[Fol. 3, Second Side.]

- ernacde les inmac gondísad slánté dó agus dórát inedbáirt dóib úicloic intiprat goníce chlóic pette meic garnáit doronsat innernacde agus taníc
15. slante dó ; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódrostán inchnadráig sen agus rosbenaict agus foracaib im'bre ther gebe tisad ris nabad blienec buadace tán gator déara drostán arscartháin fri collumcille
 19. rolaboir columcille bedéar áním óhúinn ímaic ;

II.

[Fol. 3, Second Side, near Middle.]

1. Cómgeall mac éda dórát úaorti níce fúrené docolumcille agus dodrostán. Moridac mac moreunn. dorat pett meic garnáit agus áchád toche temní. agus bahé robomormáir agus robothosec. Matáin
5. mac caerill dorat cuit mormoir inálteri agus cula mac batín dorat cúit tóiséig. Domnall mac giric agus malbrigte mac chathail dorat pett inmulenn. dodrostán. Cathal mac moreunt dorat áchád nagleréc dodrostán. Domnall mac rúadri agus
10. malcolum mac culeón doratsat bidbín dó día agus dó drostán. Malcoloum mac einathá dorat cúit ríig íbbidbín agus in pett meic gobróig agus dá dabég uactaír rósábard. Malcolum mac moilbrigte dorat indelerc. Málsnecte mac lulóig dorat

(2) THE TRANSLATION.

I.

1. Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgrach, his pupil, came from Hi, as God had shewn to them, unto Aberdour, and Bede (the) Pict was Mormaer of Buchan before them, and it is he that bestowed on them
5. that town in freedom for ever from Mormaer and from Toisech. They came after that to the other town and it was pleasing to Columcille, for it was full of the grace of God, and he asked of the Mormaer, viz., Bede that he should give it him, and he did not give it, and a son of his took illness
10. after the refusal of the clerics, and he was all but dead. Thereafter the Mormaer went to entreat of the clerics that they should make prayer by the son that health should come to him, and he gave in offering to them from the Stone of the Well to the Stone of the Farm (Piece) of Garnat's son (Pett-mic-Garnait). They made the prayer and there came
15. health to him. Thereafter Columcille gave to Drostan that town, and blessed it, and left the saying :
"Whoever should come against it, let him not be many-yearred, victorious."
Drostan's tears came on parting with Columcille ;
19. Columcille said : " Be Dear its name from hence forth."

II.

1. Comgeall, son of Aed, gave from Orti unto Furenc to Columcille and to Drostan. Moridac, son of Moreunn, gave Pett-mic-Garnait and (the) field Toche Temni. And it was he was Mormaer and was Toisech. Matain,
5. son of Caerill, gave the share of Mormaer in Alteri ; and Culn, son of Batin, gave the share of Toisech. Domnall, son of Giric, and Malbrigte, son of Cathal, gave Milltown (Pett-in-Mulemn) to Drostan. Cathal, son of Morcunt, gave the Field of the Clerics to Drostan. Domnall, son of Ruadri, and
10. Malcolm, son of Culeon, gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Malcolm, son of Cinaed, gave the share of King in Bidbin and in Pett-mic-Gobrig and two *davachs* of Upper Rosabard. Malcolm, son of Malbrigte, gave the Delerc. Malsnecte, son of Lulach, gave

[*Fol. 4 First Side.*]

15. pett maldúib dó drostán ; Domnall mac meic dubbacín robáith nahúle edbarta rodros tán arthabárt áhule dó. robáith cathál árachóir chetna acuitíd thoisíg agus dorat próinn chét cecnolloce agus ceccasc dó dia
20. agus dó drostán. Cainnech mac meic dobarcon Acus cathál doratsator alterín alla úethé na camone (?) gonice in béith edarda álterin ; Dorat domnall agus cathál étdanin dó dia agus do drostán. Robáith Cainnech
25. agus domnall agus cathál nahúle edbarta ri dia agus rí drostan óthósach [goderad issære omórmaer agus othesech culaithi brátha]

III.

[*Fol. 4., First Side, Middle.*]

1. Gartnait mac cannech agus éte ingengillemcchel dóratsat petmeccobrig rícosecrad éclasi críst agus petir abstoil agus docolumcille agus dodrostan sér ónáhulib dolodib cónánascad dócórmae
5. éscob dunicallenn. innócmad bliádin rígi *dabid* Testibus istis. néctan escob abberdeon. agus léot áb brecini agus máledonni mac meic b ead. agus álgune mac árcill. agus rúad ri mórmarr márr agus matadin bríthem. agus gillecríst mac cóрмаic. agus malpetir mac domnaill. agus domongart
10. ferleginn turbrúad. agus gillecolaim mac muredig. agus dub ni mac mál colaim.

IV.

1. Dorat gartnait agus ingengillemicel báll dómin ipet ipáir doerist agus docolimcilli agus dodrostan
- 2 Teste . gillecalline sacart . agus feradac mac málbrícín. agus mal gire mac tralin.

Pre V.

[*Fol. 4., Second Page, Top Margin.*]

1. agus bennact inchomded arcecmormar agus ar
2. cectosech chomallfas agus dansil daneis.

V.

[*Fol. 4, Second Page, Side and Bottom Margins.*]

1. Donchad mac mec bead mec hídid dorat acchad madchór doerist
5. agus dodrostan agus docholuimcille insóre gobrád malechí agus cómgell agus gillecríst mac fingúni

15. Pett-Maldub to Drostan. Domnal, son of Mac Dubbacin, dedicated all the offerings to Drostan, giving the whole to him. Cathal dedicated in the same way his Toisech's share, and gave a dinner of a hundred each Christmas and each Easter to God
20. and to Drostan. Cainnech, son of MacDobarcon, and Cathal gave *Alterin-alla-uethe ne-camone* unto the birch between (the) two Alterius. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin. to God and to Drostan. Cainnech dedicated
25. and Domnall and Cathal all the offerings to God and to Drostan, from beginning to end, in freedom from Mormaer and from Toisech till doom's day.

III.

1. Gartnait, son of Cannech, and Ete, Daughter of Gille-Michel, gave Pet-mec-Cobrig for the consecration of a Church of Christ, and Peter (the) Apostle, and to Columcille, and to Drostan, free from all exactions, with the gift of them to Cormac
5. Bishop of Dunkeld in the eighth year of David's reign. *Testibus istis*, Nectan, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Leot, Abbot of Brechin and Maledonni, son of Mac-Bead, and Algune, son of Arcill, and Ruadri, Mormaer of Mar, and Matadin, Judge, and Gillecrist, son of Cormac and Malpeter, son of Domnall, and Domongart,
10. Reader of Turriff, and Gille-colaim, son of Muredach and Dubni, son of Mal-colaim.

IV.

1. Gartnait and Gillemichel's daughter gave Ball-Domin in Pet-Ipair to Christ and to Columcille, and to Drostan.
2. *Teste*, Gillecalline, Priest, and Feradac, son of Malbricin, and Malgire, son of Tralin.

Pre V.

1. And the blessing of the Lord on each Mormaer, and on each Toisech who will fulfil (it), and to their seed after them.

V.

1. Donchad, son of MacBead, son of Hidid, gave Achad-Madchor to Christ
5. and to Drostan and to Columcille in freedom for ever: Malechi and Comgell and Gillecrist, son of Fingune

10. *innáienasi intestus. acus malcoluim mac molíní. Cormac mac cennedig dorat goníge scá*
 15. *li merlec. Comgell mac cáennaig táesec clande canan dórat dochrist acus*
 20. *do drostán acus dócholuim cille gonige ingort lie mór igginn*
 24. *infius isnesu daldín alenn ódubucí gólurcháirí etarsliab acus achad.*
 25. [*issaeri othesseach cubráth acus abennacht arcachén chomallfas*
 26. *araes cubrath acus amallacht arcachén ticfa ris.]*

VI.

[*Fol. 5, Side and Bottom Margins.*]

1. *Robaid colbain mormær buchan acus eua ingen gar*
 5. *tnait aben phústa acus donnachac mac sithig tæsech clenni*
 10. *morgainn nahuli edbarta rí día acus ridrostan acus riacolum*
 15. *cilli acus rípetar apstal onahulib dolaidib archuit cetri*
 20. *dabach do nithíssad arardmandaidib alban cucotchenn*
 25. *acus arhardhellaib. testibus his brocein acus cormac abb tur*
 30. *bruaid acus morgunn mac donnch*
 32. *id acus gilli petair mac donnchaid acus malæchín acus da mac matni*
 33. *acus mathe buchan huli naiaidnaisse in helaín :—*

DAVID'S CHARTER (D.C.)

David . rex scottorum omnibus probis hominibus suis. salutes. Sciatis quod clerici. dedér. sunt quieti et immunes ab omni laicorum officio. et exactione indebita sicut in libro eorum scribitum est. et dirationauerunt apud . bánb . etiurauerunt apud abberdeon . quapropter firmiter precipio . ut nullus eis . aut eorum catellis . aliquam injuriam inferre presumat. Teste gregorio episcopo. deduncallden. Teste andrea episcopo. decatness. Teste samsone episcopo. debrechin. Teste doncado comite. defib . et malmori. dathótle. et ggillebrite. comite. déngus. et ghgillcomded. mac aed. et brocin. et cormac. deturbrud. et adam. mac. ferdonnac. et gillendrias. mac. mátni. apud. abberdeon.

THE OLD IRISH RUBRIC.

Hisund dubeir sacorfaic dau
 "Here thou givest Host to him."

THE OLD IRISH COLOPHON.

Forchubus caich duini imbia arrath inlebrán collí. aratardda bendacht foran main intruagáin rodscribai.
 "On the conscience of every man in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretch who wrote it."

10. in witness thereof, in testimony, and Malcolm, son of Moline. Cormac, son of Cennedig, gave as far as
15. Scale-Merlec. Comgell, son of Caennig, Toisech of Clan Canan gave to Christ, and
20. to Drostan and to Columcille as far as the Gort-lie-Mor at the head of
24. the Pius (!) which is nearest Aldin Alenn from Dubuci to Lurchari between mountain and field
25. in freedom from Toisech for ever and his blessing on each one that will fulfil (it)
26. after him for ever, and his curse on each who will come against it.

VI.

1. Colbain, Mormaer of Buchan, and Eva, daughter of Gartnait,
5. his wedded wife, and Donnachac, son of Sithech, Toisech of Clan
10. Morgann, dedicated all the offerings to God, and to Drostan, and to Columcille
15. and to Peter the Apostle from all exactions on a share of four
20. *davachs* of what would come on the chief residences [monasteries] of Scotland generally
25. and on her chief churches. *Testibus his*, Brocein, and Cormac, Abbot of Turriff,
30. and Morgunn, son of Donnchad,
32. and Gilli-Peter, son of Donnchad, and Malaechin, and Matne's two sons,
32. and the nobles of Buchan all in witness hereof in Ellon.

(3) GENERAL NOTES.

Entry I.—This entry is known as the “Legend of Deer,” for it is neither more nor less than a legend; indeed, it should be rather said that it is a myth. For no better example of the myth that accounts for a place name by founding a story on a popular etymology of that name could be found than this account of the origin of the name of Deer. Such myths are extremely common; for instance, Loch-Ness is similarly derived from the old lady's exclamation when she saw the valley, where a few minutes before there was only a well, now all filled with a large lake: “Tha Loch ann Nis,” she said, and hence the name Loch-Ness. Yet, this myth has actually been taken as a serious fact even in these critical days of ours, despite also the further fact that places were not of old named on such principles. A more likely derivation is sug-

gested by the fact that Derry and Durrow were the names of the leading Columban Monasteries ; Derry is, of course, *daire*, an oak grove, our *doire* ; and Bede tells us that Durrow, in his time Dearthach, meant the "plain of oaks," while in early Irish the word Daurtíge ("oak-house") meant "oratory." We get personal names with this Daurtíge or Derteach ; for instance, Breasal o Dertaig, "Breasal of the oratory," abbot of Iona in 772-801 ; but the most significant name for us is that contained in the Four Masters under date 717 : "Drostan Dairthaighe (*al.* Deartaighe) died at Ard-Breacain." And this name suggests some further doubts. Drostan is in the legend represented as companion and pupil of St Columba, and the Breviary of Aberdeen goes so far as to make Columba his uncle. Now, as a matter of fact, Drostan's name is unknown in Irish history in connection with Columba, and we examine in vain among the sisters and brothers of Columba for a trace of such an offspring, or among Columba's companions for record of such a name. We are forced to the conclusion that St Drostan was never connected with Columba ; and the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters is the only light we have in this dark region. The Drostan of the Oratory there mentioned is in all probability our Drostan—the Drostan who founded or to whom were dedicated churches at Aberdour, Aberlour, Dunachton, Edzell, Inch, Rothiemay, and one or two places also in Caithness. North-Eastern Pictland was evidently the chief scene of his labours, extending from Forfarshire to Aberdeenshire, and westwards to the centre of the Province of Moray. His probable date is therefore 700. The legend of Deer is of no historical value, save to show the beliefs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in regard to events that happend some five hundred years earlier. St Columba's name was one to conjure with ; this man, great in his life time, became far greater in the belief of posterity. He swallowed up into his own fame all the work of his predecessors, companions, and contemporaries, and deprived generations of pioneers and missionaries of their just fame. The conversion of all Northern Scotland is set down to Columba, whereas there were saints before him, like Palladius, that penetrated probably as far, and laid the foundation on which he reared the structure, while saints after him had still to conquer the angles and far-away nooks of the country. Drostan was one of these. The name looks Pictish ; it is a diminutive of a name common among the Pictish kings, the name Drust ; while Drostan was the mythical Druid of the Picts on their advent into Ireland some thousand and a-half years before our era. He then appears along

with Fib, Fidac, Fotla, Fortren, Cait, Cee, and Cirig, who are the seven sons of Cruithne, who divided Alban among them. They are the eponymic heroes of Scotland, as Brutus is of Britain; but how Drostan comes to be among this mythic company is not altogether very clear.

Entry II.—In entry two, we descend suddenly from myth to fact. It relates to the refounding of the Abbey of Deer sometime in the tenth century, and the period it refers to covers well-nigh a hundred years; the death of Malsnecte, for instance, took place in 1085, and probably the entry may have been made then or shortly after. Comgell, son of *Æd*, is the first Mormaer here mentioned, and he was doubtless Mormaer of Buchan. However, it must be remembered that the Mormaer of Moray was during the eleventh century often called “King of Moray,” that is, of the North; he was even called “King of Alba,” and in the person of Macbeth, he was actually such. Hence the Mormaer of Moray may here intervene as superior or king over the Mormaer of Buchan. Two Mormaers, or kings of Moray, at least, meet us in this entry; perhaps more. These are Malcolm, son of Malbride, whose death as “King of Alban” in 1029 is recorded by Tighernac; and Malsnectan, son of Lulach, who succeeded Macbeth, Lulach being slain in 1058, and Malsnectan dying quietly in 1085 as “King of Moray.” Domnall, son of Ruadri, may also have been a Mormaer of Moray, for Ruadri is the first Moravian Mormaer we have record of. The King of Scotland grants his share of the same lands; this may mean that he remits his “exactions” as Ardri, while the Mormaer and the Toisech at the same time remit theirs, but it may also be a confirmation of the “King of Moray’s” grant. The pair or triple granters of the same land may be arranged thus:—

Kings.	Mormaers.	Toisechs.
—	Comgell McÆda	—
—	—	.....Moridac McMorcunn
—	Matain McCaerill.....	Culn McBatin
—	Domnall McGiric.....	Malbride McCathal
—	—	.....Cathal McMorcunn
Malcolm McKenneth..	Domnall McRuadri ...	Malcolm McCuln
Malcolm McMalbride .	—	—
Malsnecte McLulach...	Domnall McMacDub-	
	bacin	Cathal [McMorcunn]
—	Cainnech McMacDo-	
	barcon	Cathal [McMorcunn]
—	Domnall [McMacDub-	
	bacin]	Cathal [McMorcunn]

There appear to be two parallel sets of Tosechs; there is the family or clan of Morgann or Morcunn, mentioned in Entry VI., who may have had one district, and the family represented by Cuhn and his son Malcolm, possibly the Clan Canan of Entry V. MacDubbacin may be a mistake for Dobarcon; Donnall and Cainnech would then be brothers.

Entry III.—Gartnait is son of Cainnech, the son of MacDobarcon, mentioned in the last entry. The grant is made in the eighth year of King David's reign, 1132. We have here a great stride towards the proper charter, for the witnesses are mentioned. The gift is made to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld, in whose person King Alexander had revived the power of Bishop of that see. Nectan was the first Bishop of Aberdeen. Ruadri, Mormaer of Mar, appears as one of the seven Earls of King Alexander the First, "Rothri comes." The only other name of interest is that of Domongart, Ferleginn of Turriff. The Ferleginn of a monastery had as his duty to transcribe the MSS., write the annals of the place, and teach the schools.

Entry V.—Some parts of the language here are difficult to decipher. The grant of Comgell, chief of Clan Canan, is especially obscure.

Entry VI.—Colban evidently has his right to the Mormaer-ship through his wife, Eva, daughter of Gartnait. The Toisech, the head of Clan Morgann, mortmains his share of the lands along with the Mormaer. But the monastery was yet liable to the exactions of the king, that is, of the State, on "four *davachs* of the gross burdens exigible from the chief monasteries and chief churches of Alba." This national tax would seem, therefore, to have been restricted, in the case of Deer, to four *davachs*. The term *davach* is applied to an extent of some four hundred acres, more or less, and contained four ploughlands; it would appear to answer to the Irish *Ceathramadhs*, or fourth part of the *Baile Biatach*, and thirty *Bailes* made a *Tuath*. The term *Pet* (hence Late Latin *Petium*, a portion of land, and English *piece*), applied in the Book of Deer to a farm or "share," probably meant a ploughland, and hence a fourth part of a *davach*. The word *davach* comes from the early Gaelic and Irish *dabach*, a vat or tub, and was, of course, first a liquid measure.

(4) LINGUISTIC NOTES.

(a) PHONETICS. We have little or no regressive action of the "small" vowels *e* and *i* on the previous syllable; so that the favourite law of "caol ri caol, agus leathan ri leathan" is

disregarded, or perhaps not yet commenced. Hence *a* remains unaffected by *i* or *e* in *athle*, *alenn*, *clande*, *doraten*, *eclasi*, *marroalseg*, *mathe*, *slánte*, *tánic*; *o* in *brocín*, *comgell*, *cotchenn*, *cosecrad*, *dolodib*, *domin*, *mori*, *nolloce*, *orti*, *tosech*; and *u* in *algune*, *cruthnee*, *culeon*, *dúni*, *funguni*, *mulenn*, *muredig*, *hule*. Nor again has the regressive action of a broad vowel made itself felt on the preceding small one. Thus we get *benact*, *cétna*, *cinatha*, *dísad*, *eclasi*, *escob*, (f)aienasi, *etar*, *gregor*, *petar*, *tídnaig*, *típra*. And connected with this, it has to be noted that the influence of the old terminal *a* of the declension of *a* stems had not yet asserted itself in the spelling of the *e*, any more than it had yet done in Irish. Thus we have *fer* for *fear*, but prehistoric *viras*, *bec* for *beag*, *cét* for *ciad*, *ingen* for *nighean*, *merlec* for *meirleach*, *nesu* for *neasa*. The change is just beginning, however; we get *Comgeall* for *comgell*, *déara* for *déra*, and *thesseach*.

Terminal *i* and *e* are sometimes confused. The genitive of fem. *a* nouns ought to be in *e*; but we have *cilli* as well as *cille*, *clenni* as well as *clande*, *eclasi* for *eclase*, *mori* for *more*. For *laithi* the Irish puts *laithe*; here is *dúni* for Ir. *dune*, and *gilli* for Ir. *gille*, which last, however, is the usual reading in the Book. And *e* appears for old Irish *i*; *nahule* for *nahuli* (plural of *ia* decl. fem.) and *ele* for *eli* (acc.s. fem. of same.)

The vowel *a* is replaced by *o* in *tangator*; it changes to *ai* by "regression" of *i* in *colaim*, *petair* (but also *petir*); into *oi*, *apstal* giving gen. *abstoil*, *luloig* from *Lulach* (nom.); into *ui* in *coluim*, into *e* in *cosgreg*, *bréther*, *ele*, *mec*; into *ei* in *meic*; into *i* in *muredig*. And *e* changes to *i* in *cille*, and *o* to *oi* in *cloich*; while *ae* in the genitive gives *oi*, as *moil* from nom. *mael*.

In regard to diphthongs, *a* is written for *ae* or *ai* in *mórmær*, *malcoluim*, and several other *males*. For *ae* we have *é* in *éda*; and *o* is written for *oi* or *oe* in *sóre* and *tosec*, and *é* in *én* for *oe* or *oi*.

Aspirated *g*, *d*, *t* are dropped in a few words; *be(th)ad*, *bri(gh)te*, *blie(dh)nec*, *fie(dh)nasi*; but is otherwise as a rule kept. Old Irish and Gaelic dropped *n* before *c*, *t*, *p*, *s* inside a word; thus *cét*, *típrat*, *cosecrad*, *pústa*. But Old Irish extended this rule so as to embrace a combination of related words, like prepositions and nouns, or adjectives and nouns; while Modern Irish merely modifies or "eclipses" these consonants to *g*, *d*, *b*. Modern Gaelic, however, preserves the *n* before them all, and in this respect the Book of Deer, while showing traces of eclipse, preserves the *n* in the following cases: *in saere*, *in pett* (*im pett?*), *dan-sil*, and *gon-dísad* (for *con-tísad*); it preserves it by the Irish

method of eclipses in *ib-bidbin*, *ig-ginn* ; while it follows Old Irish in dropping it in *ipet* (iv. 1.) and partially in *issaeri*. No trace of the old accusative or any inflectional endings in *n* can be found, save once in the article (I. 14).

A curious reduplication of the *n* is seen in the expression *innocmad bliadin* "in the eight year." The well-known Gaelic preposition "ann an" would seem here to be fore-shadowed.

Assimilation has taken place or is taking place in *nd* to *nn* ; *clenni* but *clande* and *muleren* ; in *ld* to *ll* (*mallacht* for *maldacht*), *ln* to *ll* (*comallfas* for *comalnfas*) ; *tl* to *ll* in *nollo-ce* for *not-laic*.

The curious spelling of *cc* for inflected *c* has already been noticed. We have *buadacc*, *imacc*, and even *acchad* ; but single *c* may even stand for *ch* as in *blienec*, *cec*, *clerec*, *cloic*, *feradac*, *moridac*, *ocmad*, &c.

The sinking of the tenues *c*, *t*, *p*, to *g*, *d*, *b*, is seen in the beginning of words only in pronouns and prepositions, even in modern times. Here we have it : *gé*, *go*, *gon*, all for old Irish, *cia*, *co*, *con*. It appears in the middle or end of words in *gonige*, *abstoil*, *edar*, all of which, however, have the older hard consonant in other places ; in *dendaes*, *escob*, and *tidnaig* at the end.

(b) ASPIRATION.—Single vowel-flanked consonants in the Gaelic languages have undergone a change known as aspiration, by which *c*, *t*, *p* became *ch*, *th* (*h*), *ph* (*f*) ; *g*, *d*, *b* became *gh* (*y*), *dh* (*y*), *bh* (*v*) ; and *f*, *m*, *s* became *fh* (*h*), *mh* (*v*), *sh* (*h*). The liquids *l*, *n*, *r*, though really undergoing changes, are not marked in writing. In Old Irish and the Book of Deer only *c*, *t*, *p*, *s*, *f* were aspirated ; the rest remained unchanged, with the exception already noted in the case of the Book of Deer, where we meet the forms *brite* of *gillebrite* in *D.C.*, *blienec*, *fienasi*, and *bead* ; but there is no inflected *g*, *d*, *b*, or *m* actually written in the book. Now, this aspiration of vowel-flanked consonants within words was extended to clusters of closely connected words, such as article and noun, noun and adjective, numeral and noun, preposition and noun or article, verbal particle and verb, negative and verb, relative and verb, and conjunction and verb. If the terminal sound of the first word was a vowel and the initial sound of the next word an "aspirable" consonant, then aspiration took place. The period at which the aspirating tendency commenced was evidently before the terminal *s* and *n* were lost, for the influence of these still remains. Thus : *fear ceart*, "a right man," but *bean cheart*, "a right woman," which prehistorically were respectively *viras certas* and *bena certa* ; where, on coalescing *viras* with *certas*, the *c* is preserved by the *s* of *viras* from being singly vowel-flanked.

Now, in the plural we have *fir chearta* for *viri cert(as)*, where the *c* as in *benacerta*, was originally flanked alone by vowels, and hence aspirated. A glance at my paper on the "Ancient Celts," where the language of the old Celts is restored, will at once make clear how aspiration proceeds; that, for instance, the gen. and dat. sing. mas., the nom. and dat. sing. fem., and the nom. plural masc. of stems in *a* must aspirate an adjective coming after them; and, by analogy, the other declensions mainly follow the *a* declension, save in the plural in *n*.

The following aspirations occur in the Book of Deer:—

(1) After the Article. At pre V. 1., *in chomded* is the gen. sing. mac. for *santi-comdetis*. Modern Gaelic makes here two changes; the *i* becomes an *a* and the *n* disappears before aspirated consonants, save *s*, *t*, *d*. At I. 16, the acc. fem. *in chadraig* appears, but the aspiration here is either a mistake (which is unlikely), or only shows that the acc. was fast becoming the same as the nom. in Scotch Gaelic. Prehistoric Gaelic gives *santin cataracin*.

(2) After feminine nouns. VI. 5, *ben phusta* = *ben(a)spons(a)ta*, nom. case; II. 10, *arachoir chetna*, dat. case = *cori cinntii*

(3) After 3rd pers. pron. adjectives, *a* for *asa*: *na(fh)iadnaisse* and *inna(fh)ienasi*.

(4) After the verbal particles *ro* and *do*: *do-chuid*, *marro(fh)alseg*, *ro-thidnaig*. After the negative *ní*; *ní tharat*.

(5) After verbs: after 3d sing. conjunctive: *gonice chloic*; after 3d sing. pret. *robo-thosec* = *bove tössecas*.

(6) After the prep. *ar*, *air* (*are*-), *do*, and *o*; *air(a)choir*, *archuit*, *arthabart*; *do choluncille* (compare *docrist*, *do cormac* where *c* is irregularly used for *ch*); *ó thosec* (*thesech* etc.), *ó thósach*, *ó hunn* (but *úa cloic*, where *c* is for *ch*.)

(7) With the relative (understood) in nom. case: *do ní thissad* (for *ni-a-thissad*) in VI 21; *ar cec(h)tosech* (*a*) *chomallfas*, *ar cachén* (*a*) *chomalifas*.

(8) In compounds: *ard-chellaib*. This is caused by the connecting vowel necessary in such circumstances.

(9) An extension of the principle of (8) occurs where one word governs another in the genitive; especially with *mac* in proper names, where, in fact, the two words make a compound. Thus, *mac-chatkail*; but also, *proinn chét* and *cuitid thoisiy*.

(c) ECLIPSES.—All the cases of eclipsis may be gathered together.

After the prep. *in*: *ig-ginn*; after the poss. pron. of 3d, plu.: *araginn* = *ar-an-cinn*; after *gon*: *gon-dísad* = *con-tísad*; after the gen. plur. of the article: *naglerec* = *nan-clerec*, from *santan*

clerican of prehistoric Gaelic; also after the acc. fem. sing. of the article: *in-gathraig* = *in n-cathraig*.

(d) DECLENSION.—“The declensional forms are scanty,” says Mr Stokes, “but sufficient to show that the Highlanders declined their noun in the eleventh century as fully as the Irish.” Again I must refer the reader to the division on Language of my paper on the “Ancient Celts,” for there the terminology will be found.

(1) Stems in *a*. Masculine nouns: (*Apstal*), gen. *abstoil*, dat. *apstal*; (*cenn*), dat. *cinn* (Old Irish *ciunn*); (*clérech*), gen. pl. *clérech*; (*dér*), nom. pl. *déara*; (*dia*), gen. *dé* (= *dévi*), dat. and acc. *dia*; (*dobor*), gen. *doboir*; *mac*, gen. *meic* or *mec*, acc. *mac*; *mór-maer* (*mormar*), gen. *mórmoir*; *toisech*, gen. *toisig* or *toisey*; (*uachtar*), gen. *uactair*. Masculine proper names: (*Caerell*), gen. *caerill*; *Cathal*, gen. *cathail*; *Colum*, gen. *colaim*; *Cormac*, gen. *cormaic*; (*Cosgrach*), gen. *cosgreg*; *Donchad*, gen. *donnchaid* or *donchid*; (*Lulach*), gen. *luloig*; (*Muredach*), gen. *muredig*; (*Petar*), gen. *petair* and *petir*, acc. *petar*; (*Sithech*), gen. *sithig*. Add also gen. *mulenn*, acc. *galar*.

Feminine *a* stems: (*briathar*) gen. *bréther*: (*cell*), gen. *cille*, dat. pl. *cellaib*: (*cland*), gen. *clande* and *clenni*: (*cloch*), dat. *cloic*, acc. *cloic*: (*dabach*) acc, dual *dá dabeg*, gen. pl. *dabach*: (*eclas*), gen. *eclasi*: (*edbart*), dat. *edbairt*, acc. pl. *edbartu*. Only nom. of *ben* and *ingen* are given. Also (*pet*), gen. *pette*, dat. and acc. *pett*.

Masculine *ia* stems: acc. in *ére*, *ernacde*, *laithi*: gen. s. *rigi*: nom. pl. m. *uli*, dat. p. *ülíb*, acc. p. f. *uli*. Proper names: nom. *Bede*, *dubni*, *algune*: gen. *matni*: nom. *ruadri*, gen. *ruadri*: *fiinguni*, gen. (*Fingonius*).

Feminine *ia* stems: (*saere*), dat. *saeri*; *slánte*: gen. *mori* for *More* (*Mariae*); for *uli* see masc.

Neuter: *fienasi*, a dat.

(2) Stems in *i*: (*maith*), n. pl. *mathe*: (*Brigit*), gen. *brigte*

(3) Stems in *u*: (*bráth*), gen. *bratha*, dat. *braith* (a mistake for *bráth*): (*Aed*), gen. *éda*; compare also genitive *marr*.

(4) Consonant stems. *c* stems: (*cathir*), acc. *cathraig*, *cal-raig*; compare gen. *cannech*, *ferdomnach*.

g stems: (*rí*), gen. *rúig* for *ríg*.

d stems: (*comdiu*), gen. *comded*; (*betha*) gen. *be(th)ad*, and a stem in *ant*, (*tipra*), gen. *tiprat*.

n stems: (*Alba*), gen. *alban*: *brithem*: (*cú*) gen. in *dobar-con*: *anim*.

as stems: acc. *sliab*, *macc* (*mach*); gen. in *dúni* for *dúne*.

Diminutives are in—*án*: *Drostán*, *Nectán*, *búchan*:—*áin* in

Colbain, Matain :—in *ín*: *brocin* and perhaps in *aldin, alterin, domin, dubbacin, brécin, aechin* :—*nat* in *garnait* gen. of *Garnat* :—*ine* in *Calline, Molini*, :—*éne* in *fúrene*.

The forms of the article are : sing. masc. nom. *in*, gen *ín* (aspirating), dat. *in*, acc. *in*. Sing. fem. acc. *ín*, plural gen. *na* (eclipsing), dat. and acc. *na*. Pre vocalic acc. sing. masc. *inn* (I 14).

The pronominal forms are : *sé* and *hé* "he," *sí* "she"; *a* "his"; *a(n)* "their"; *gé* "who" for *cia*. There are what are called infixed pronouns : *ro-s-benact* "he blessed it," where the *s* (= Eng. *she*) is placed between the particle *ro* and the verb *benact* : also *gon-das-tabrad*, where *das* is an infixed pronoun of like signification with *s* of the former. Stokes adds to these *nî-thárat*, which he resolves into *ni-do-a-rat*, where *a* is an infixed pronoun sing. fem., but really such a supposition is unnecessary ; the meaning does not require any pronoun. Prepositional pronouns are : *dó, dóib, ris* ; possessive prep. pronouns are, *ara, cona, dan*—all with *an* of 3d person plural, and *inna*. Demonstratives are *sain* or *sen* and *sunn* ; pronominal adjectives, *ele, ule, cach*.

The numerals occurring are, *én* "one," *dá* "two," *cetri* "four," *cét* "hundred," and *ocmad* "eight."

(d) CONJUGATION.—The verbal forms are not numerous ; the finite parts are all in the 3rd person.

The present tense of the verb *es* or *is*, "is," is the only example of that tense we have.

The past tense, indicative, is well represented. It has *ro* prefixed or, at times, infixed : *ro-báith, ro-s-benact, ro-bo, ro-(f)alseg, ro-gab, ro-thidnaig*. It is infixed in *do-r-aten, do-ro-dloeg, fo-r-acaib* ; in *do-ro-nsat* ; and probably in *dorat* and *tharat*, which both may be resolved into *do-ro-dath(?)*, according to the fall of the accent on or off the *do*. The plural of *dorat* is *dorat-sat* and *doratsatar* ; the latter is a deponent of the former, while the former itself is the plural of an *s* preterite ; so, too, *do-ro-nsat*. The examples of *do*, forming a past tense, beside the above with *ro* infixed with it—*do-raten, do-rodloeg, do-rat*, are *do-chuid* (went), now *chaidh* ; *tanic* for *danic*, and its plural *tangator* for O.I. *tancatar* = (do)*anancantar* of prehistoric period. See paper on "Ancient Celts."

The future tense, lost in modern Gaelic as an inflection, though represented by the old present, is here : *tiefa* = *do-ic-fa* ; from a shorter form of the root of *tanic*—the root *nak* ; *tiefa* = preh. *do-anc-abat* (compare Lat. *amabit*). Also the relative future : *chomallfas* for *comlanabat-ja* ? The root is *lan* (full.)

The imperative is represented by *bad* or *bed* "let (it) be."

The present subjunctive appears in *gon-ice*, from the same root as *tanic*: prehistoric form of *ice* would be *ancât*, judging from other verbs. An example of the *s* conjunctive appears in *tisad* or *disad*; Irish, *tiasad*; from prehistoric *tessata* or *steivata* (compare Greek *στέλιτοι*.)

The secondary present, also used in a subjunctive fashion, is represented by 3rd sing. *tabrad*, an accented *do-bered*: by 3rd pl. *dendaes* for *dentis*.

(e) ADVERBS, &c.—The adverbs are *act* (but), *asaathle-sen*, *ohunn*, *imacc* (modern *amach*.)

Prepositions *a* or *as*, *air* or *ar*, *cu*(*go*), *do*, *etar*, *fri* and *ri*, *iar* and *iarn*, *in* and *i*, *le*, *o* and *ua*.

Conjunctions: *acus*, *gon*, *ma*: *act* is adverbial here.

Negative particles: *ná*, *ní*.

(4) INDEX AND VOCABULARY.

An index to all the references and words in the texts is here added, and it is also made to do duty as a vocabulary where all the forms of the Old Gaelic are brought in contact with the New Gaelic of our time. Derivations are as far as possible given for the words, and where an English word is found allied in root to a Gaelic word, the further congeners of that word in allied tongues are not given, for these will be found in Skeat's Dictionary. The contractions are: D. C. for King David's Charter: N. G. for New or Modern Gaelic: M. G. for Middle Gaelic: O. Ir. for Old Irish: Lat. and Gr. represent Latin and Greek: Skt. is for Sanskrit.

VOCABULARY.

- a "his" [N.G. *a*; Skt. *asya*; Lat. *e(jus)*] I. 1, *adalta*: VI, 5, *a ben*: I. 19, *ánim* for *a anim* "its name:" II. 18; V., 25, 26. *an* "their" (Skt. *āsām*); p. V. 2, *daneis* for *dian-éis* "of their track"=after them; I. 4, *araginn*=*ar-an-cinn*.
- a "from" [N.G. *a*; Lat. *e.c.*] I. 2, *á hi*=*a Hi* "from Iona."
- abb "abbot" [N.G. *aba*; from Lat. *abbas* (Eng. *abbot*)]. V. 28: III. 6 *áb*.
- abber-, a place prefix signifying "estuary" [N.G. *obair*-; Old Welsh *oper*; from *od-ber*; *od*=Eng. *out*; *ber*=Eng. *bear* "carry"]. I. 3, *ab-bordoboir*: III. 6; D.C. *abber-deon*.
- abberdeon "Aberdeen." [From *abberdeon*; *deon*=*dévon*a; Lat. *Diana* "goddess;" see *dia*]. D.C; III, 6.
- abbordoboir "Aberdour" [From *aber-dobor*; *dobur* in Old Irish means "water," Welsh *dufr*, Breton *dour*. *dobur* is=*do-bur*, where *bur*=Eng. *burn*.] I. 3.
- abstoil "apostle" [N.G. *abstol*, from Lat. *apostolus* (Eng. *apostle*)]. III, 3 (gen.) VI. 16, *apstal* (dat.)
- áchád "field" [N.G. *achadh*; rt. *ac*; *achad*=*acatus* "edged, furrowed;" cf. Lat. *acies*]. II. 3, 8; V. 24; V. 3. *achad*.
- acchad *machor*; "Auchmachar" of present time; three miles N.W. of Deer church.

act "but" [N.G. *ach*; Gr. *ἐκτός*; see *a* (from)]. I. 10.

acus "and" [N.G. *agus*; Eng. *nigh*]
V. 1 is the only place *acus* is written in full; everywhere else a symbol like 7 is used.

aechin: see Malaechin.

aed "Aed"; prop. name [N.G. *Aoidh*, Gaulish *Aednus*; Gr. *ἄϊθος* (fire)]. D. C. aed; II. 1, òda. Both genitive.

alban "Scotland" [N.G. *Alba*; Lat. *albus* white (Eng. *alb*)]. VI. 23, gen. case.

aldin, prop. name: "Aden" now, east from Deer church along the Ugie. V. 24, daldin.

alenn? V. 24.

algune, name of person; III. 7.

alla "over"? [N.G. *thall*; Lat. *ille*?]. II. 21, Stokes suggests *all*, a rock, here.

álteri, prop. name: now "Altrie." II 5. (dat.)

alterin, name of place; diminutive of *altere*? II 21, 22.

ánim for a anim *q.v.*

anim "name" [N.G. *ainm*; Eng. *name*]. I. 19.

apstal: VI 16. See abstoil.

ar "on," prep. [N.G. *air*; Gr. *πάρος*; Eng. *for*]. Always joined to next word; I 4, 8, 18; II 17; pV 1; V 25, 26; VI 18, 21, 25.

ara "on his, its." V, 26 *araes* = *ara-és q.v.*

arachoir for *ar(a)-choir q.v.*

araes "after him" = *ara-és*. The *és* signifies "path;" hence *araes* = after him, on his path. So also *daneis*. [Compare N.G. *éis*.]

araginn for *ar an-cinn q.v.*

ard "high" [N.G. *ard*; Lat. *arduns* (Eng. *arduous*)]. Prefixed to the two next words:—

ardhellaib "chief churches." VI, 25. See *cellaib*.

ardmaindaidib "chief-dwellings." VI, 22. Dat. plu. of *ard-mendat*. See *mandaidib*.

as "from" [N.A. *as*; see *a.*] I 6

asááthle.

asááthle = *as-a-athle* "after." I 6.

ascad "present, gift:" II 4.

athotla "Athole" [= Ath-Fhothla. Fothla is a name for Ireland.] D. C.

attác "requesting." It is the inf. of vb. *ateoch* "I request."

ba "was" [N.G. *bu*; Eng. *be*] II 4, *ba'é* "it was he." Past conjoined is *ro-bo*; I 3, 10; II 4. Imperative is *bad*: I 17 *nabad*; also *bed*: I 19.

báith "drowned, mortmaine.1," preterite of *baidim* "I drown" [N.G. *báith*; Gr. *βαθός* (Eng. *bathos*)]. II 15, 16, 24; VI 1 *baid*.

báll "spot"? [N.G. *ball*; Eng. *bald*? or *phallic*?] IV 1, *báll dómín*.

banb "Banff." D. C. A name for Ireland of old is *Bauba*. Eire, *Fodla* and *Banba* were three goddesses of the Tuatha-De-Dananns.

batin; proper name, gen. case. II. 6.

bé; 3d sing. pres. subj. of *bi* "be" [see *ba*] I. 17, *gebe*.

bead; a proper name, gen. case. III. 7; V. 2. [Evidently same as N.G. *beatha*, life: Eng. *vital*, *quick*.]

bec "little" [N.G. *beag*, Welsh *bach*; Gr. *μικρός*; Eng. *small*?]. I. 10, *mádbec*.

bed "be" I. 19, *bedéar*. See *bad*.

bède: pr. name, nom. [Compare Gaulish epithet and name *Bedaios*.]

beith "birch" [N.G. *beath*; Lat. *betula*]. II. 22, *im-beith*.

ben "wife" [N.G. *bean*; Gr. *γυνή*; Eng. *queen*]. VI. 5, nom. case.

benact "(he) blessed." I. 16 *rosbenact* for *ros-benact*. See *ben-nacht*.

bennacht "blessing" [N.G. *bean-nacht*, from Lat. *benedictio* (Eng. *benediction*.)] V. 25. nom. case: pr. V. 1, *bennact*.

bidbín "Biffie" of modern times. II. 10, 12.

bliadin "year" [N.G. *bliadhna*, Welsh *blwyddyn*; Gr. *βλώσκω*?; Lat. *remeligo*]. III. 5.

blienc "many-yeared." I 17: [see *bliadin*.]

bo "was" [N.G. *bu*: see *ba*]. In form *ro-bo*—always here. I 3, 10; II 4.

- bráth "doom" [N.G. *bráth*; root of *breath* judgment, which is *ber*; Eng. *bear* carry]. V 25, acc.; II, 26 *bratha*, gen.: I 5. *braith* for *gobraith*, acc., but irregular. *go-braith*, "forever."
- brecini "Brechin" of to-day. Gen. case.
- brether "word" [N.G. *bríathar*; Gr. *ῥῆμα*; Eng. *word*]. I 16, acc of *bríathar*.
- brícin: pr. name; see *málbrícin*.
- brígte "Bridget," an Irish saint. [N.G. *Bríghid*, from *Brigantis*, root of Gaelic *brígh?* or of Eng. *bright?*] II 7; D.C. *brite*.
- bríthem "judge" [N.G. *brítheamh*; see root under *bráth*]. III 8, nom.
- brocein, a man's name, nom. case [Is it diminutive of *broc* badger, Eng. *brock?*]
- buadace "victorious" [N.G. *buadhach*; Eng. *booty*.] I 17.
- buchan "Buchan." I 4; VI 2, 33: gen. case.
- cach "each" [N.G. *gach* = ca-ch; Lat. *quis-que*.] V, 25, 26, ar-cach-hén; II 19, p V 1, 2, cec.
- cachhén "each one." See *cach* and *hén*.
- cadraig. See *cathraig*.
- caerill, proper name, gen. case.
- Cainnech, proper name, nom. case. II 20; II 24 *Cainnec*; V 16, caen-nig (gen.)
- callen "(Dun)-Keld." [N.A. *Chail-linn*; Lat. (from Celtic) *Caledonia*; root in G. *coille*, O.Ir. *caill* (dat. *caillid*, stem *caldet*); Eng. *holt*.] III 5, gen.; D.C.
- calline, proper name, gen. IV 2.
- camone? II 22.
- canan, proper name, gen. V 22.
- case "Easter" [N.G. *caisg*, from Lat. *pascha* (Eng. *pasch*) of Hebrew origin]. II 19.
- Cathal, proper name iu II [Welsh *cadwal*; root *cath* battle, and *wal* wolf (?), Gaelic *faol*; so Rhys. German Hathovulf "war wolf" is identical. Gaelic *cath* is = Saxon *heathor*; Gr. *κῆρος*.] Hence surname *MacCall*.
- cathraig "town" [N.G. *cathair*; rt. *kat* to cover]: acc. sing: I 5, 6.
- cat' for Catness: "Caithness" [*Catt-avia* "land of Catti"] D.C.
- cec "each." See *cach*.
- ceccase. See *cec* and *case*.
- cec-nollice. See *cec* and *nollice*.
- cellai' "churches" [N.G. *cill*, from Lat. *cella* (Eng. *cell*).] Dat. pl., VI 25: gen. *cille q.v.*
- cennedig "Kennedy" of to-day. V 13.
- cét "hundred" [N.G. *ceud* or *ciud*; Eng. *hundred*]. II 19, chét, gen.
- cétna "same" [N.G. *ceudna* or *ciadna*; root in Lat. *recens* (Eng. *re-cent*).] II 18.
- cetri "four" [N.G. *ceithir*; Lat. *quatuor*; Eng. *four*]. VI 19.
- chuid "went" [N.G. *chaidh*; Eng. *whet*]. I 11, do-chuid.
- cinatha "Kenneth" [Welsh *Cynedda*; Ir. *Cinaedh*; *cnn* high, *Aed q.v.?*]
- cinn "head" [N.G. *ceann*, old dat. *cionn*; Welsh *penn*; rt. *kvi* (swell).] I 4, ar-a-ginn, "before them;" the dat. case: V. 23 *ig-ginn*.
- clande "clan" [N.G. *clann*, Welsh *plant*; rt. *kval*, Old Celtic *qualnata*] V 17 gen. case; VI 9, clenni (gen.)
- clérec "cleric" [N.G. *cleireach* from Lat. *clericus* (Eng. *cleric*).] I 10, 11, II 9: na-glerec (gen. pl.)
- cloic "a stone" *nom.* cloch [N.G. *clach*; Lat. *calculus* (Eng. *calculate*).] I 13, 14, dat. and acc.
- cobrig prop. name, gen. case. III 2; II 12, *gobróig* [*Cobrach?*]
- coir "manner" [N.G. *cor* "state," from root of *cuir*, viz. *kar*; Lat. *creo* (Eng. *create*)] II 18, ara-choir (dat.)
- colbain, prop. name, nom.
- Colum "Malcolm" [N.G. *Calum*; from Lat. *Columba*, dove (Eng. *Columbine*.)] It appears *passim* in compounds.
- Colum-cille "St Columba." *Nom.*: I 1, 15, 19. *Dat.*: I 7, 18, II 2, III 3; *columcille* at V 6, 21; *columcilli* IV. 1. *Acc.* *columcille* VI 14.

- chomallfas "who will fulfil" [Gaelic *comhal* perform; from *Com-lán*. *com*=Lat. *cum* (Eng. *con*-); and see *lín*.] Relative future tense; p V 2; V 25.
- coinded "Lord"; gen. of *comdiu* [Obsolete Gaelic *coimhulhe*; *com* and root of *dia*, *q.v.*] pr. V 1; D.C.
- Comgeall, prop. name. cf St Comgall. [Roots: *com* and *geall* pledge?]
- co (con) "with" [N.G. *comh*-; Lat. *cum* (Eng. *con*)]. III 4.
- cónáscad "With their gift" [N.G. *a nasgaidh* for *ann an asgaidh*] III 4.
- Cormac, prop. name [Corpi-maquas of Old Celtic inscriptions]. III 4; V 12; VI 29; (gen.) III 9.
- coisecrad "consecration" [N.G. *cois-rigeadh*, from Lat. *consecratio* (Eng. *consecration*)]. III 2, dat.
- cósgreg, prop. name, gen. [Cosgrach] I 1.
- cotchenn "general" [N.G. *coitchionn*; from *con-tech-en*; rt. *tech* house?] VI 24.
- crist "Christ" [N.G. *Críost* from Lat. *Christus* (Eng.); native root *geir*]. IV. 1, V 4, V 16, dat.; III 3, 8, gen.
- cruthnec "Pict;" I 3. The root is *cruth* a form or picture, latterly from root *kar*, whence Lat. *creo* (Eng. *create*). Hence Cruthnech meant "Pictured One."
- cu "to," prep. [N.G. *gu*, O.Ir. *co(n)*; Greek *kará* (Eng. *cata*-)]. II 26; V 25, 26; VI 24. As *go* in *go-braith* I 5; *go-brád* V 7; II 26; V 24.
- cuit "share" [N.G. *cuid*; cf Lat. *quota*]. II 5, 6, 11 acc; VI 19, dat.
- cuitid "share." II 10. See above.
- culeon prop. name, gen [From *cuilean* a little dog? a dim. of *eu*]. II 10.
- culn (culfi in MS?), prop. name, nom. Same as above?
- dá "two" [N.G. *da*; Eng. *two*.] II 12, 22; VI. 32.
- dabach, *davach*, literally "a tub," but extended to denote a land measure of some 400 acres. [N.G. *dabhoch* and *Doch*-; Eng. *tub*]. VI 21, gen. pl.; dabég II 22, acc. dual.
- dabid "David" III 5; D.C. gives *David*.
- dálta "pupil, foster-son" [N.G. *dalta*; root is *al* as in *altram*; Lat. *alo* (Eng. *aliment*.) Word=*do-altias* to *dalte* of O.I.] I 1.
- daldín for *do aldín q.v.*
- dan (1) "to their" in *dan-sil*, p V 2; here it is *do* (to) and *an* (their), which see. (2) "of their" in *daneis*, p V 2; here it is for *dí* (*de*, of) with *an*. See *do* (3) and *eis*.
- das "it." This is the infixed pronoun in *gon-das-tabrád*, I 8 [See Zeuss p. 332; the roots are *da* and *sa*; cf *tha-t* and *she*.]
- dattác "to entreat:" I. 11. See *do* and *atac*.
- delere; a place name, II 14. The Delerc. Quid?
- dendaes "(that) they should make," I 11 [N.G. *deanadh*; O.I. *dentis*. Root *do-gen*; Eng. *kin*; Lat. *gigno*. See *doronsat*.]
- déara nom-pl. of *dér* "tear" I 18 [N.G. *deur*, better *déar*; Eng. *tear*.]
- derad "end" [N.G. *deireadh*, O.I. *deread*] II, 26 acc. case.
- día "God" [N.G. *dia*; Lat. *deus* (Eng. *deity*)]. Dat. at II 10, 19, 23, 26; gen. *dé* I 8.
- disad: see *tisad*.
- dloeg of *dorodloeg*, "he desired" [O.I. *dlug* "desire"; Lat. *in-dulgeo* (Eng. *indulgent*)]. I 8.
- do (1) a verbal particle for past time and for the infinitive [Eng. *to*]. It occurs 20 times with *dorat* and in *dorodloeg*, *dochuid*, *doronsat*, *dattac* (inf.)
- do (2) "to," prep. with dat. [Eng. *to*]. Appears a score of times and aspirates.
- do (3) "of, from" [N.G. *do*, properly *de*, O.I. *dí*; Lat. *de*]. I 7 dorath; VI 20. *do ni thissad* (of what comes on): p V 2, *daneis*=*do-an-eis*.
- dó (4) "to him" [N.G. *dá*=*do-è*, which see] I 9, 12, 15, II 17.
- dobarcon, prop. name, Dobarcon

- [O.I. *dobarchú*, N.G. *dobharchú*, means "otter;" literally water-dog; see *doboir*]
- doboir*, seen in *Abbor-doboir* "Aberdour *q. v*
- dochuid*: see *do* and *chuid*; I 11.
- doib* "to them"; I 24, 13 [N.G. *doibh*: from *do-ibh*, —*ibh* for *ibis*, dat. pl. of *é*.]
- dolodib*, dat. pl. of *dolod* "harm" [N.G. *dolaidh*: Lat. *dolus*? But cf. *solod* (profit.) III. 4: VI 18 *dolaidib*. The meaning here appears to be "exactions."
- domin*, place name, gen. [Diminutive of *dom* (a house)?]
- Domnall*, now "Donald" [N.G. *Domhnall*; from *domhan* "world" and root *fald* "wield." It answers in roots to Eng. "Deep-wielder," in meaning to "world-wielder": cf. *Bretwalda* and *Dubnorix* (world-king)] II *passim*; III 9.
- domongart*, prop. name, *Domongart*. III 9.
- Donchad*: "Duncan" V and VI [N.G. *Donnchadh*: Bedegives *Dun-chadus*; a Welsh inscription *Dun-ocatus*: roots *dun* fortress, *catus* warrior: hence "fortress-warrior".]
- donnachac*, a person's name [N.G. *Donnchadh*? confusion of *ch* and *dh*?]
- dorat* "gave," 3d. sing. past tense. It occurs *passim* in I, II, IV, V; its plural *doratsat* at II 10; III 1, and a deponential form of same, *doratsatar*, at II, 21. [Roots, *do-ro-dat*? Eng. *date* etc. Or *do-ber*? See *tabrad* and cf. *doronsat*]
- doráten* "pleased," 3d. sing. past ind. I 7. [N.G. *thaitinn* for *do-aitinn*: *aitinn* is *ad-tenn* (fire)= Lat. *et* and *tepeo* (Eng. *tepid*.)]
- dorodloeg* "he asked, desired." See *dloeg*.
- doronsat* "they made," I 14. [N.G. *rinn*: *doronsat*=*do-ro-gn-sat*; root *gn* or *gn* seen in *gigno* of Lat. See *dendaes*.]
- drostan*, "Drostan" [Diminutive of *Drost*.] It occurs in nom., gen., and dat, but unchanged, and in all the entries *passim*.
- dubbacín*, a proper name. A Dubucan, mormaer of Angus, of evident importance, died 938. Observe it is "Domnall, son of Mac Dubbacin;" Domnall's date is about 100 years later.
- duib*: pr. name, gen: Duff [N.G. *dubh* black; Eng. *dumb*.]
- dubni*, a person's name, gen. case: III 10.
- dubuci*, prop. name, V 24.
- dun* "fort, town." [N.G. *dún* (hill); Eng. *town*.] See *dunicallen*.
- dunicallen* "Dunkeld;" III. 5: in D.C. *duncallden*. [N.G. *Dunch-aillinn*; middle Irish *Duin Cail-denn*; it comes from *dun* (fort) and *Caledoni* (Caledonians), which words see.]
- hē* "he." [N.G. *e*; Lat. *is*; German *er*.] I 2, esse (now *is e*) for *es-é*, not *es-se* necessarily: II 4, *bahé*, for *ba-e*.
- eclasi* "church," gen. of *eclais*, III 2. [N.G. *eaglais*, from Lat. *ecclesia* (Eng. *ecclesiastic*.)]
- éda*, prop. name, gen. of *Aed q. v*.
- edar* "between." See *etar*.
- edbairt*, dat. of *edbart* "offering" [N.G. *iobairt*; from *ed-bart*; *ed* (now in N.G. *ath*- or *aith*-)=*et* of Lat.; and *bart* is from *ber*; Lat. *fero*; Eng. *bear*]; I 12; *edbarta* (acc. pl.) II 16, 25; VI 11.
- éis* "track," in *daneis* [N.G. *an déis* (after), for O.Ir. *dí eis* (Zeuss 657); root *sta* (*éis*=*in-sta*, Eng. *on-step*?)] pV 2; ar-a-es, V 26.
- heláin*, place name, now "Ellon;" VI 33. [N.G. *eilean* (island) from Norse *eyland*, which evidently here superseded Gaelic *innis*; compare *Insch*, *Insh*, *Inch*, seen in Lat. *insula*, (Gr. *νῆσος*)]
- ele* "other" [O.Ir. *aile*, N.G. *eile*; Lat. *alius*; Eng. *else*]; I 7.
- hén* "one" [O.Ir. *oen*, N.G. *aon*; O. Lat. *oinos*; Eng. *one*] V 25, 26.
- éngus*, place name, "Angus" [Root: *oen-gust*, that is same as Eng. *one* and *choose*, *gusto*]. D.C.
- ére* "refusal" [O.Ir. *era*, N.G. *ewra*] I 10.

- ernacde "prayer" acc. and gen. I 14, 12 [O.Ir. *ernai yhte*, N.G. *úrnuigh*; Zimmer gives *air-con-ig-as* roots: *ig* = Lat. *egeo*].
- es "is"; [N.G. *is*, O.Ir. *is*: Lat. *est*; Eng. *is*.] I 4; V 4 is.
- escop "bishop" [O.Ir. *epscop*, N.G. *easbuig*: from Lat. *episcopus* (Eng. *bishop*)] III 5, 6.
- etar "between" [N.G. *eadar*, O.Ir. *eter*: Lat. *inter*]. V 24: *edar* II 22.
- étandin, place name, II, 23.
- éte prop. name, fem. "Eta." III. 1.
- éua, prop. name, fem. "Eve." VI 4.
- fa "was" in *fallán*. A form of *ba q.v.* [M. G. and M. Ir. *fa*: Stokes assigns *ba* to root *gva*, in Lat. *venio*, Eng. *come*: hence *ba* or *fa*.] *fallán* "was full" I 7; for *ba* and *lán q.v.*
- (f)alseg "revealed," 3d. sing. past. ind. In *marroalseg*, I 2 [O.Ir. *foilsigim*, N.G. *foillsich*; from *svalastic*, whence *solus*, *soillsich*; Lat. *sol* (Eng. *solar*.)]
- fer "man," III 10 [N.G. *fear*; Lat. *vir*.]
- ferlegiun "reader," see *leginn*.
- feradac, prop. name, Feradachus; IV 2.
- ferdomnac, prop. name, gen. case; Ferdomnachus. D.C. Cf "Dominican."
- (f)iaidnaisse "witness" [O.Ir. *fiadnaisse*, N.G. *fiannis*, apparently borrowed from Eng. *witness*.] VI 33: V 10, *aienasi*.
- fib, "Fife"; D.C.
- funguni, prop. name, gen.: Fingonius. Hence "Mackinnon." V 9.
- fius? Is it *Pius*? V. 24: *iufius*.
- foracaib "left": 3d. sing. past. ind.; I 16 [O.Ir. *foácbaim*, N.G. *fág*: from *fo-ath-gab-*; that is *fo* = Lat. *sub*; *ath* = Lat. *et*; *gab* = Lat. *habeo*]. See *gab*.
- fri "with"; I 18 [N.G. *ri* and *frith-*; Lat. *versus*; Eng. *wards*]. See *ri*.
- fürene, a place name: II 1.
- gab "took," 3d. sing. past. ind.; I 9 [N.G. *gabh*; Lat. *habeo*].
- galár "disease;" I 9, acc. [N.G. *galar*; Gr. *χολέρα* (Eng. *cholera*)].
- garnáit, prop. name, gen.; "Garnet." I 14; II 3.
- Gartnait, a person's name; III 1; IV 1; VI 4. It is a common name in Pictland.
- ge "who" I 17 [O.Ir. *cia*, N.G. *ge* and *co*; Lat. *quis*; Eng. *who*]
- gebe "whoever" I, 17 [Made of *ge* and *be*, which see; N.G. *ge b' e* whoever].
- gille "servant," used *passim* in proper names; *gille* being first and the St's name after. [N.G. *gille*; Eng. *child*; root *gan*.]
- gillebrite, Gillbride, count of Angus, D. C. See *bripte*.
- gillecolline, a prop. name at IV 2.
- gillecolaim, a prop. name, at III 10; "Gilliecalum."
- gillecomded, a pr. name; "the Lord's gille." D.C.
- gilecrist, a pr. name, III 8, V 9; "Gilcrist;" "Christ's servant."
- gillemicel, a prop. name; III 1 and IV 1; "Michael's servant."
- gillendrias, pr. name in D.C.; "St. Andrew's servant;" now Gillanders.
- gillipetair, pr. name; VI 32; "St. Peter's servant."
- girc, pr. name, gen. II 6: *girc* IV 2.
- go "to" [O.Ir. *co(n)*, N.G. *gu*: Gr. *κατά*.] I 5, II 26, V 7, 24. See *cu*.
- gobraith. See *brath*.
- goderad. See *derad*.
- gobróig, prop. name, gen. II 12. See *cobroig*.
- gon "that," a conj. [O.Ir. *co(n)*, N.G. *gun*, spelt mistakenly *gu'n*; from prep. *con*.] I 3, 9, 11, 12; II 22; V 14, 22.
- gondastabrad, I 2 for *gondas-tabrad q.v.*
- gondendaes, I 11 for *gon denulaes q.v.*
- gondísad, I 12, for *gon-disad*, *q. v.*
- gonice "as far as." [O.I. *connici* for *con-do-icci*. N.G. *gu ruig*, from old *corricci* for *co-ro-icci*; see *ice*.] I 13, II 22; *gonic* I 3; *gonige* V 14, 22; *nice* II 1.
- gort "field" V 22. [N.G. *gort*; Lat. *hortus*; Eng. *garden*.]

- gortlie (?) at V 22; compare "Gartly" and "Gorthlick."
- gregor, pr. name, D.C. Hence *Mac-Gregor*.
- i. contraction for *idón*. [N.G. *eadhon*; "to wit"].
- hi, "Iona;" I 2.
- iar "after," a prep. [O.I. and here *iar n.*, N.G. *iar*; skt. *aparam*; cf *af-ter* of Eng.] I 10, 11, 15.
- iarfallan for *ar-fa-lán* (?) *q.v.*
- iarnere, for *iarn-ère*, *q.v.*
- ibbidbin, for *in-bidbin q.v.*
- ic, ice "may come," 3rd sing. pres. subj. [O.I. *ici*, N.G. (*ruige*); rt. *anc*, in Eng. *nigh*.] See *gonice*.
- hidid, prop. name, gen.; V 2.
- imacc "henceforward, out;" I 19. [O.I. *immach*, N.G. *a mach*; *im=in*, prep., *mach=magh*, a plain; rt. *mag*, great.]
- in "to, into," prep. [O.Ir. *i* and *i n.* N.G. *ann* or *an* or *ann an* (Lat. *indu*); Lat. and Eng. *in*.] I 5, 13; II 5, 12; VI 33; also *is* in *issère* II 26 V 25; eclipsing at *ib-bidbin* II 12, *ig-ginn* V 23.
- in "the," the article [O.Ir. *in*, N.G. *an*: from *santas*, roots *sa* (Eng. *she*) and *ta* (Eng. *the*). Occurs 17 times.
- ingen, "daughter" [N.G. *nighean*; Old Celtic *andegena*; cf. Lat. *indigena*; root *gan*: Lat. *gigno*]. III 1, IV 1, VI 4.
- inna "in its"; *innaienasi* "in witness of it," V 10.
- ipair, place name: IV 1.
- is "is"; V 24. See *es*.
- laboir "said" in *rolaboir*, I 19 [O.Ir. *labraim*, N.G. *labhair*; root in Lat. *labrum*; Eng. *lip*].
- laithi "day," acc. case, II 26 [O.Ir. *lathe*, N.G. *lá*. Root unknown].
- lán "full" I 7 [N.G. *làn*; Lat. *plenus*; Eng. *full*].
- leginn "reading;" III 10, gen. [Now *lenghadh*: *legenn* is Lat. *legendum*.]
- leot, proper name: "Leod." Hence *MacLeod*.
- le "by," prep. I 12 [O.Ir. *la*, N.G. *le*; from *leth* (side); Lat. *latus* (Eng. *lateral*.)]
- lesin "by the," for *lat-santan*.
- lie? At V. 23; is it *lia*, *leac* stone [Eng. *plank*? or read with *gort* as *gortlie*? cf. *Gartly*].
- luloig, "Lulach," King of Scotland; II 14, gen. Hence *Maculloch*.
- lurchari, place name, but cf. *luir-chaire* of O.Ir., "a foal." V 24, *ó dubuci go lurchari*; is cattle also grant-d?
- mac "son," gen. *meic* and *mec*, II 15, II 20; V 1, 2; III 2. [Old Celtic *maquas*, Welsh *map*, N.G. *màc*: Eng. *maid*.]
- mad "if" [O. Ir. *mad=ma-ta* (*if be, si sit*); N.G. *ma*.] I 10.
- madbec "if little." I 10, See *bec*.
- machor in *achad-machor*, V 4. [N. G. *machair*; M. Ir. *machaire*; Lat *maceria*; is it borrowed?]
- maer "steward," in *mormaer* passim. [N.G. *maor*, from Lat. *maior*.]
- mal "tensured one—priest, slave;" it appears in personal names. [N.G. *maol*, O. Ir. *mael*, Welsh *moel* (bald.)]
- malbrigte "slave of Bridget:" II 1; *moilbrigte* (gen.) II 13.
- malbricin, Mal-bricin: IV 2.
- malaechin, Mal-aechin VI 32.
- malcolaim "Malcolm" [Columba's slave.] II 10, 13; Malcoloum II 11; Malcolaim (gen.) III 11; Malcoluim V 11.
- malduib: Mael-duib "Malduff," or MacDuff?
- Melechi, Malechi V 7.
- maledonni, pr. name, III 7; compare *Maeldun*.
- malgirc, Mal-girie, IV 2
- mallact "curse;" V 26. [O.I. *mal-dacht*, N.G. *mallaich*; from Lat. *maledictio*.]
- malmori, "Mary's slave." D.C.
- malpetir, "Peter's slave." III 9.
- malsnecte, Malsnectan, King of Scotland, II 14.
- mandaidib "residences." [O.I. *mennat* and *mendat*: cf. *nansion*.] VI. 22.
- mar "as," conj. [N.G. *mar* (as): rt. *sma*, Eng. *same*?] I 2, *marroalseg*, see *mar-ro-(f)alseg*.

- marb "dead" [N.G. *marbh*; Lat. *mors*; Eng. *murder*]. V 10, mareb.
 marr, "Mar," district name: III 8
 gen
 matadin, pr. name, III 8.
 Matain, pr. name, II 4.
 mathe "nobles." [O. Ir. *maith*,
 N. S. *math*, Welsh *mad*, Gaulish
matos. Root uncertain.]
 matni, pr. name, gen. case VI 32.
 mec, gen. of *mac*, *q.v.*
 merlec "thief" [O. Ir. *merlech*,
 N.G. *meirleach*; Gr. *μαρπω*.] V
 15, gen pl.
 molini pr. name., gen. V 12.
 mór "great." [O. Ir. and N.G. *mór*,
 Welsh *mawr*; for *magros*; Lat.
magnus.] It appears with *mor-*
maer q.v., and also at V 23.
 morcuun, pr. name, gen. II 2;
 moreunt II 8; morguun (nom.)
 VI 31; morgainn (gen.) VI 10.
 [Compare Welsh *Morgan* and old
 Celtic *Moricantus* "sea bright"
 (Stokes.)] The surname Morgan
 still exists in Aberdeenshire.
 mori "Maria;" (gen.) Mary; D.C.
 Moridac, pr. name. nom. II 2; mure-
 dig (gen.) III 10. Now "Mur-
 doch."
 mormaer "grand steward." [From
mor and *maer, q.v.*] It appears
passim; mormar (nom.) III 8;
 mormoir (gen.) II 5.
 mulenn "mill," III 10. [N.G. *muil-*
eann: from Lat. *molendinum*; Eng.
mill.]
 ua "the," dat. and acc. pl.; nahule,
 II 16; II 25; II 4; VI 11, 17; na
 glerec for *nan-clerec* I 10. 11; II, 9.
 ná "not," in negative command [N.
 G. *na*; Lat. *ne*]. nabad, I 17, "let
 not be."
 naiaidnaisse, for (*in*)*na-a-(f)iad-*
naisse "in its witness"—in-wit-
 ness of it.
 néctan, pr. name, Nectan, III 6.
 Hence *MacNaughton*.
 nesu "nearer, nearest;" V 24 [O. Ir.
nesa.] British *nes*; Eng. *next*.
 ní "not," negative particle [N.G.
 has got *chz=no co* or *na co q.v.*
ni=Lat. ne] I 9.
- ní "thing, res;" VI 21, do nithis-
 sad; now *do na thig* (of what comes)
 [O. Ir. *ní*, N.G. : *ní* for *ant*, neuter
 of article and *i* a locative of *e*.]
 nice, for *gonice q.v.*
 nolloce, "christmas" II 19 [N.G.
nollaiy, O. Ir. *notlaic*; from Lat.
natalicia.]
 ó "from." It occurs *passim* as *ó* or
ua [N.G. *o* and *bho*; skt. *ava*;
 Lat. *au-fero*.]
 ocmad "eighth;" III 5. [O. Ir. *ocht-*
mad, N.G. *ochdamh*; for *actam-*
atus; Eng. *eight* ;.]
 óhuun; see *o* and *sum*.
 orti, place name; Gorti? II. 1.
 pet, a portion: only in place names
 and in Pictland [No N.G. unless
cuid; Welsh *peth*; Lat. *petium*
 (Eng. *piece*); but whence? Note
 there is no connection between *pet*
 and the English and Gaelic *pit*,
 borrowed from Lat. *puteus*]. *Pas-*
sim.
 petar, "Peter;" VI 15 dat; petair
 VI 32 gen.; petir (gen.) III. 3, 9.
 proinn (*phroinn*?), "dinner" [N.G.
proinn; from Lat. *prandium*], II
 19. MS. has a mark over p which
 may mean aspiration.
 pústa "wedded" VI 6 [N.G. *pósda*;
 from Lat. *sponsata* (Eng. *spouse*)].
 rath "grace" I 7 [N.G. *rath*; Welsh
rhad.]
 ri "with," prep. I 7; II 24; III 2;
 VI 12, 13, 15. See *fri*.
 ria "to, with" VI 14. See *fri*.
 riig, "king," gen. sing. II 12 [O. Ir.
ri, N.G. *righ*; Lat. *rex*]
 rigi "kingship, regnum;" III 5. [See
riig.]
 ris "against it" I 17 [*ri* and *se q.v.*]
 ro, tense particle, denoting past time
 [Lat. *pro*]. Many cases of it: *ro-*
alseg, ro-bo, ro-laboir, &c., &c.
 rosabard, place name, II. 13.
 ruadri, person's name; II 9, gen: III
 7, nom. Modern "Rory."
 s, infixed pronoun at I 16, *ro-s-benact*.
 This *s* is same as Eng. *she* in root.
 sacart, "priest" IV 2. [N.G. *sagart*;
 from Lat. *sacerdos* (Eng. *sacerd-*
otal.)]

- saere, "freedom." I 5; sere II 26; sér III 4; sóre V 7; saeri V 25. [N.G. *saor*; root, *so-fear* (good man); Skt. *svira*.]
- sain, "that." See *sen*.
- scali, "hut?": V 14. "Scali merlech" is now Skillymarno, a mile N. of Auchnachar.
- scarthain "separating," gerund: I 18. [N.G. *sgar*; Lat. *cerno*; Eng. *crisis* from Grk.]
- se, "he;" in *esse*? I 4. [*se*=Eng. *she*.]
- sen "that." [N.G. *sin*; root of Eng. *she*.] I 6, 11, 15, 16; sain I 5.
- sér at III 4. See *saere*.
- si, "she;" I 7. [N.G. *si*; root of Eng. *she*.]
- sil "seed, race;" p V 2. [N.G. *siol*; Eng. *seed*.]
- sithig, pr. name, gen: Síthech. V 3.
- slante, "health," I 12, 15. [N.G. *slainte*; Lat. *salvus*; Eng. *silly*.]
- sliab, "hill," V 24 [N.G. *slíab*; Lat. *silva* (wood)].
- sóre; V 7. See *saere*.
- sunn, "here;" I 19 ó hún [O.Ir. *sund*; root in *sen* and *d-as*.]
- tabart, "giving," a gerund; II 17 [O.Ir. *tabraim*, N.G. *tabhair*; from *do-binr* (bear to)]: I 9 tabrad, 3d sing. pres. secondary, "might give."
- táinic, "came;" 3d sing. pastind.; I 14 [N.G. *thainig*; from *do-ananc*, reduplicated form of Eng. root *nigh*]: 3d pl. tangator.
- tangator. See *tanic*.
- thárat, "gave." Initially accented form of *dorat q.v.*
- temní. place name; II 3.
- testus (*testimonium*?) "testimony," [N.G. *teisteas*; from Lat.]
- ticfa, "shall come." Future of *tanic*; for *do-ic-fa*; roots *to*, *nigh* (*anc*, *bé*).
- thidnaig "bequeath;" I 4 [N.G. *thiodhlaic*; from *do-ad(ath)-nac*; *rt-nac*; Lat. *nactus*; Eng. *nigh*.]
- tipra "well;" I 13 tiprat (gen.) [N.G. *tobair*: from *do-od-bur*; Eng. *to*, *out*, *burn*. See *dobor*.]
- tisad, "should come," future conditional, I 17; VI 21; disad I 12. [Root in Eng. *stair*.]
- toche, place name; what is it?
- tosec, "chief, thane" [N.G. *toiseach*; from *tós*=*tovastu-*, root *tu* (to increase.)] Variously spelt and used *passim*.
- tralin, prop. name IV 2
- turbruid, "Turriff;" III 10; VI 27.
- ua, prep. "from," see *ó*.
- uactair "upper part;" hence topographical "Auchter;" II 13 [N.G. *uachdair*: from root *ōx*, seen in Eng. *wax* Lat. *auxilium*; Welsh *uch* (above), Gaelic *úas*.]
- úethé; II 21?
- húle "all" [N.G. *h-uile*; Eng. *all*.] II 16; ú húle II 17; hulib (dat.) III 4; VI 17: huli VI 11 33.

11TH FEBRUARY 1885.

At the meeting on this date, Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Honorary Secretary to the Society, read a paper on the Celtic Derivation of English River Names, by Dr A. H. F. Cameron, late of Lakefield, now of Liverpool. Dr Cameron's paper was as follows:—

ON THE CELTIC DERIVATION OF ENGLISH RIVER NAMES.

"Books in the running brooks."—*Shakespeare*.

Many interesting points present themselves for consideration in studying the rivers of any country. Generally speaking, one

name is recognised from the time a stream assumes any considerable size, till it reaches the sea; sometimes, however, when two streams join and form a larger one, the inhabitants of the two banks designate the resulting stream by different names—each by that tributary of their own side. This is exemplified in the Rivers Bug and Narew, in Poland.* Again, when the course of one tributary is more in a straight line with the main stream than that of the other, the resulting river is called by that name, though it may not be the longer, as in the case of the Missouri and Mississippi, the Rhine, and the Aar, &c.† As a rule, however, one name prevails over a long course and through many districts. This name is probably more enduring than any other topographical distinctions. Cities may rise and fall, or their names may be changed, but rivers flowing through a long stretch of country, and having many and varied races frequently inhabiting their banks, it would be a matter of difficulty to induce those interested—all to combine—to alter the name of the stream on whose banks they live, and a matter of extreme inconvenience should the inhabitants of different regions designate it by a variety of names.

Thence we may generally look for a record of the early inhabitants of a country to its rivers.

Some years ago, sailing up the Gironde in company with a learned Irish scholar, he pointed out to me that the names of the French rivers were of Celtic origin. Thus we have the Garonne, Old Celtic Garumna, the rough river as Siegfried pointed out, the root being *garbh*, with stem in *man*; the Dordogne; the Rhone, anciently the Rhodanus, the rushing river, from Gaulish *rheda*, and our *ruith*; the Saone, and the Seine, the Sequana of old, the gentle flowing river; clearly showing that in a country in which the language has become Latinised the Celtic names of the rivers have outlived all political and social changes. It is my object to show that a similar condition exists in England, and that while Saxon, Norman, and Scandinavian influences have changed the population and modified the language, as a rule the rivers maintain their Celtic designations. The first name which we should feel inclined to look for would be that word which, under the various forms—*Avon*, *Afon*, *Abhainn*,‡ &c., seems common to

* "What to Observe," by J. R. Jackson, page 17.

† In some interesting articles on Rivers Geographically Considered. "Penny Magazine," 1842.

‡ It may be mentioned for the information of those unacquainted with Gaelic, that the pronunciation of this word is *Aoun*, the consonants *bh* not being sounded. This word in combination assumes a protean form.

the Celtic languages. Accordingly, we find in England (excluding Monmouthshire) seven rivers of this name. Three of these are tributaries of the Severn, one joining that river at Tewkesbury, one at Berkeley, and one near Bristol.

Then there are two Avons in Hampshire, one in Somersetshire, and one in South Devon. The fact of these seven rivers being distributed over different parts of the country, will be sufficient of itself to prove our point. But we may go farther. In Lancashire we have the *Alt*—the ordinary Gaelic name for a small stream or burn. It must be remembered that this word burn, is in itself Celtic, and is used as the ordinary designation of small streams in Northumberland as *Erring-burn*, *Ouseburn*, etc., and the word is probably to be recognised in the name *Bourne* which distinguishes two rivers, one in Wiltshire and one in Surrey. The *Whiske* in Yorkshire (and probably the *Wiza* in Cumberland), is nothing but *Uisge*, water, and is analogous to the Welsh *Uske* and the Scotch *Eske*, a name which is also found in Yorkshire, Devon, and Cumberland. Joyce,* however, gives *Eisc* as meaning a water channel, and this may be the derivation of the name of the Scottish river.

Another Gaelic word *Cam*, crooked, gives its name to three rivers, one in Essex joining the Chelmer, near Chelmsford, one in Cambridgeshire, and one in Gloucestershire. The *Camel* in Cornwall is probably derived from the same root. The *Stour*, a name which occurs in Kent and Worcestershire, and with the addition of an e in Somerset, is said to be derived from *Es Duer*,† the water. This root probably appears in other names as *Dore*, in Hereford; *Thur*, in Norfolk; *Durra*, in Cornwall; the *Dour* water in Yorkshire; *Dover*, in Nottinghamshire; the *Rother* (red-water) in Sussex; the *Adder* in Wiltshire; and the *Adur* in Sussex; the *Stort*, in Hertford and Suffolk; the *Torant*, in Dorset; and probably in other names.‡ *Ken* is a Celtic word, said to mean white or clear,§ and is found in several names in Scotland. In England there is a *Ken* in Devonshire, and one in Westmoreland, and the name *Kennet* in Wiltshire may in all probability be derived from the same root.

* Irish local names explained.

† Parliamentary Gazetteer *voce* Kent. The meaning of the letter s is obscure, and the conjectures of philologists do not seem worthy of much credence.

‡ See a paper on Cymro Celtic names of places, by E. S. Jones, in the *Transactions of the Royal "National Eisteddfodd"* for 1883.

§ A writer in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" derives this word from *Cean* a Head or End, with much probability.

The Guash in Rutlandshire is probably derived from *Guimeas*—quietness; and the Beult in Kent from *Beul*—a mouth or opening, a word frequently applied to rivers and their valleys, as *Beul Atha*, a ford.

Laugherne, the name of a brook in Worcestershire, is a name found both in Wales and in Ireland.

In addition to those words, which are clearly Celtic, we have a number of names, which, from the fact of their appearing with certain variations in distant districts, may fairly be assumed to be generic, though we may not with certainty determine their meaning.

The Thame, which afterwards becomes the Thames, appears as the Tame, in Warwickshire, again in Staffordshire, and again in Lancashire, as a tributary of the Mersey, near Stockport. Then we have the Terme, in Worcestershire, and the Tearn, in Northumberland.

May not all these be analagous to the Tay, in Scotland, and be derived from the Gaelic *Tamh*, quietness, a derivation supported by Pictet, in the "Revue Celtique," vol. 2. The Teign may possibly be of similar derivation, and signify the quiet river, and this may also be the derivation of the Coaly Tyne, in Northumberland.

Another name which appears to be generic is the Ouse. There is one river of this name in Yorkshire, one in Norfolk which has a tributary, the Little Ouse, and another the Ousel, one in Sussex, one in Cumberland, and an Ouseburn in Northumberland. There is also an Oux in Hampshire. I can find a Loch-Ousie near Dingwall, and the Oise in France is probably derived from the same. I cannot speak positively about it, * but Mac-alpine gives Oth, water, large body of water, and quotes the following as having a reference to Loch-Awe in Argyll, "Cha leithne Loch Otha a null na nall." Loch-Awe is equally broad whether you cross it hither or thither.

The name Colne seems generic, though I am unable to trace its derivation. There is one in Hertfordshire, one in Essex, and one in Gloucestershire. The name Rea appears in Shropshire, Warwickshire, Herts, and Worcestershire, and is from Ruith, to flow. From this root we have doubtless Rye in Yorkshire, Rey in Wiltshire, Ray in Oxford and Lancashire, Rhu in Cambridge, Rhea in Stafford, and probably Wray in Devon.†

* Taylor seems to think it a variation of *Uisge*. Names and places page 141.

† The Spanish and Portugese Rio is probably a cognate word and possibly the Italian Riviera and English river.

Another argument in favour of the Celtic origin of the names of the English rivers is the fact that the names of the rivers in Scotland are repeated in England, and it will generally be conceded that the names of the former are Celtic. Thus we have a Dee * and a Don in Yorkshire; a Leven in Lancashire, and a Leaven in Yorkshire; a Calder in Yorkshire flowing into the Aire, and another in Lancashire flowing into the Ribble; a Yarrow in Lancashire, and an Arrow in Herefordshire. Perhaps the Yar in Norfolk and in the Isle of Wight may be mentioned in the same connection, as may the Aire in Yorkshire and Ayr in Scotland.† In Somersetshire we have the Brue. This may be the representative of the Bruar in Perthshire. There is a Glen in Lincolnshire, and another in Northumberland; an Eden in Cumberland, and another in Kent. The name Douglas appears in Lancashire. The root of this is probably *Dubh*, black. From this may also be derived Dulas, a name which appears in Dorset, and is also frequently met with in Wales and Scotland. On the other hand, the word Geal, white, appears in the Calder, a name which is found in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and in Scotland, and in the Calder in Cumberland.

The name pool is supposed to be Celtic.—Poll in Gaelic signifying a pool, and in Irish a hole (Joyce). This name frequently appears in combination, as Liverpool, &c.. I think I have brought forward sufficient evidence in support of the Celtic origin of our river names, and I hope by drawing attention to the subject, that those learned in Welsh and other dialects of Celtic may further illustrate the subject. I have found a very great difficulty in discovering the names of the smaller streams; most works of reference and maps, unless of very large size, merely giving the names of the larger or principal rivers, while for philological purposes the names of the small streams are of equal importance with the larger. Perhaps some readers of this may be able to furnish me with names which have escaped me, and thus may enable me to throw more light on the subject.

Note.—Since writing the above my attention has been called to Mr Isaac Taylor's work, "Names and Places." His chapter on river names is most interesting, and though not prepared to accept all his conclusions, I must recommend the perusal of his work to all interested in this subject. He maintains that the principal rivers of Europe have in their names one of five Celtic roots—Avon, Devon, Esk, Rhe, and Don. The whole subject is treated in a masterly manner. I should like, in conclusion, to draw particular attention to Dr Joyce's valuable little work, "Irish Local Names

* This name is supposed to be from the root *dia*, god, and indicates river worship.

† Taylor derives these names from *garbh*, rough.

Explained." It has seemed somewhat strange that no name conveying the idea of size has presented itself. We read in Holy Scripture of the great river, and in Spanish and Portuguese Colonies we frequently find Rio Grande. A volume just published, however, "The Gentleman's Magazine Library"—dialects, proverbs, and word-lore—contains a paper on river names which, amongst other interesting matter, gives *Al Aune* as meaning the Great River. I do not know whether the writer is correct, but the name *Alun* occurs in Cornwall; *Allen*, in Dorset; *Alon*, and *Alanus*, or *Alen*, in Northumberland; and *Alen* in Warwickshire; besides similar names in Wales and Scotland.

I have been anxious to find the derivation of the name of England's noblest river, the Severn, but with no satisfactory result. The termination *Ern* or *Erne* occurs in the *Erne* in Scotland; the *Tern* in Shropshire, and I think there is a *Terne* in the Lake district, but beyond this I have been unable to go.

18TH FEBRUARY 1885.

On this date Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, read a paper on the Ardnamurchan Bard—Mac Mhaighstir Alastair. Mr Mackay's paper was as follows:—

PRESBYTERIAL NOTICES OF MAC MHAIGHSTIR
ALASTAIR, AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES
IN ARDNAMURCHAN AND MORVEN.

Through the courtesy of the reverend members of the Presbytery of Mull, I was recently enabled to peruse the earlier records of that Court; and I propose this evening to give you a few gleanings from them concerning our great Gaelic bard, Alexander Macdonald (better known as Mac Mhaighstir Alastair), and some of his associates, and throwing considerable light on the state of society in the Western Highlands during the first half of last century.

Macdonald is first mentioned in these records in September 1729, when he appears as teacher and catechist in the service of the Society for Propogating Christian Knowledge, and the Committee for managing the Royal Bounty, in his native parish of Ardnamurchan. This post he has apparently occupied for some time. His father was minister of Ardnamurchan in the days of Episcopacy, but refusing to conform when Presbyterianism was established, he was deprived of his living in 1697. He still continued to labour in the parish, however, and the bard was born there about the year 1700. The child early displayed signs of that intellectual vigour which distinguished him in after life; and,

as he approached manhood, his father dreamed of future eminence for him in the Church, while his chief, Clanranald, harboured the more worldly intention of educating him for the Scottish bar. The youth was sent to the University of Glasgow, which he attended for some sessions; but an early marriage made it difficult for him to prosecute his studies, and, like many another poor Highland student, he lapsed into a charity-teacher, supported by the Society and Committee which I have mentioned.

The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge had its origin in the design of a few private gentlemen, who met in Edinburgh in the year 1701, to establish charity schools in the Highlands. Their first school was started at Abertarff, which was then "the centre of a country where ignorance and popery did greatly abound;" but the teacher was so harshly treated by the people, that he fled the parish in less than two years, and no successor was appointed. The Edinburgh philanthropists were, however, not discouraged. They planted schools in other parts of the Highlands, secured the co-operation of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, collected money throughout the kingdom, and, in 1709 obtained letters-patent from Queen Anne, erecting certain of their number into a corporation under the title which it still bears.

In 1725 King George the First gave a donation of £1000 to the General Assembly, "to be employed for the reformation of the Highlands and Islands, and other places where popery and ignorance abound." This donation, being annually repeated by the First George and his successors, was placed under the control of a Committee nominated by the General Assembly, and called the Committee for managing the Royal Bounty; and it was this Committee that joined, as we have seen, with the Society in supporting the teacher and catechist of Ardnamurchan.

The times in which Macdonald lived were wild and unsettled, and the people among whom he laboured prone to war and factious disputation; but catechist and teacher, and elder though he was, he was no peace-at-any-price man, and into the quarrels and disputes of his time he threw himself with all the energy of which his fiery spirit was capable.

Early in 1732 Mr James Stevenson, the minister of Ardnamurchan, was (to quote from the Presbytery records) "carried off by the Presbytery of Lorn to the parish of Ardchattan, within the bounds of the said Presbytery, and fixed minister there, without ever acquainting the Presbytery of Mull or parish of Ardnamurchan, to both which he was related." The Presbytery of Mull and parishioners of Ardnamurchan were naturally indignant; but the latter

speedily recovered their equanimity and looked round for another parson, and at a meeting of the Presbytery held at Tayinlone, in Mull, on 6th December 1732, the bard appeared "as Commissioner from said parish, with a petition signed by the gentlemen, heritors, and elders of said parish, directed to the Presbytery of Mull, craving one of their number to moderate a call for a minister to them." The Presbytery granted the prayer of the petition, and appointed Mr Archibald Campbell, minister of Morven, to supervise a call. This duty was performed, however, not by Mr Campbell, but by the Rev. John Maclean, of Kilninian and Kilmore; and on 9th May 1733, the bard appeared before the Presbytery in order to prosecute a call to Mr Daniel Maclachlan, a probationer. Mr Maclachlan being present, and the call having been offered to him, "he submitted himself to the Presbytery," who forthwith ordered him to be prepared at next meeting with an exegesis on the Infallibility of the Church, and a sermon on the text, "Not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men, that turn from the truth." The probationer passed these "trials" to the satisfaction of the Presbytery, and the 15th of August was appointed for his ordination; but before that day arrived rumours reached the Synod of Argyll that the young man's moral character was not of a particularly high order, and the Presbytery was requested not to proceed with the ordination until the truth of these reports was inquired into. A libel, charging him with the odious crimes of drunkenness, swearing, and singing of indecent songs, was duly drawn up, and on 25th April 1734, the case came on for trial at Knock, in Morven, the principal witness being John Richardson, accountant to the York Buildings Company, who, at the time, were working the lead mines of Strontian; and among the other witnesses being "Collector Campbell," and "Robert Bowman, Officer of Excise"—names proving that even at that early period wild Ardnamurchan was not beyond the reach of the "resources of civilisation."

The case against Maclachlan broke down through insufficiency of evidence; and on 18th September 1734 he became minister of Ardnamurchan, to the great satisfaction, no doubt, of Mac-Mhaighstir Alastair, the Commissioner who prosecuted his call.

But, alas for the poor parish! In less than two months the new incumbent applied to the Presbytery for permission to go to Edinburgh for the purpose, as he alleged, of obtaining a Decree for his stipend, and arranging for the erection of a second charge within his extensive bounds. Leave of absence was cordially granted. "The Presbytery having much at heart the desolate

condition of that spacious parish, and highly approving the design, did not scruple to allow Mr Maclachlan sufficient time for that purpose, even the whole winter session." The winter session, however, passed away, and Mr Maclachlan did not return. After a time reports reached the Presbytery that he left Edinburgh without making any attempt to get the Decree, or arrange for the new erection; and that, after visiting Ireland, he made his way to London, where he filled the cup of his iniquity, by "writing and publishing a profane and scandalous pamphlet intituled, 'An Essay upon Improving and Adding to the Strength of Great Britain and Ireland by Fornication.'" Enquiry was set on foot; the reports were found to be too true; and the ambitious Essayist was deposed, and "excommunicated from the fellowship and society of Christians, as one unworthy to be counted a member thereof, to the example and terror of others." In these circumstances, the Presbytery, on 16th July 1735, appointed a Committee to visit the Charity School of Ardnamurchan, "and to recommend earnestly to Alexander Macdonald, schoolmaster and catechist there, to be more than ordinary painful in catechising the people in the different corners of the said parish, and report his diligence by certificates from the places where he was employed." It is possible that Macdonald had incurred the suspicion, if not the displeasure, of the Presbytery in connection with the Maclachlan fiasco.

In addition to the loss of his living in Scotland, and his excommunication, Maclachlan's pamphlet brought him into trouble in England, where he was arrested, prosecuted at the King's instance before the Lord Chief-Justice, and imprisoned. Having, however, renounced and recanted his extraordinary doctrines before the Bishop of Rochester, he was in 1737 dismissed from prison, and allowed to go "over seas to Jamaica," where, a few years afterwards, he died.

The call to Maclachlan, and the subsequent proceedings against him, give rise to another *fama clamosa* in the neighbouring parish of Morven—that "Highland parish" which has become so famous for its clerical race of Macleods, and whose "Annals" have been so charmingly recorded by one of them. We have seen that the Rev. Archibald Campbell of Morven, was appointed to supervise the Ardnamurchan call, but that he failed to do so. Campbell, it was suspected, was opposed to Maclachlan's settlement, and rumour pointed to him as the one who reported the young probationer's drunkenness, swearing, and singing of indecent songs, to the Synod. The latter resolved to have his

revenge by fighting the minister of Morven with his own weapons, and at his instigation his relative, Alexander Maclachlan, tacksman of Lawdell, appeared before the Presbytery on 27th June 1733, and lodged an "information" against Mr Campbell, "charging him with the odious crime of intemperate drinking, swearing, and squabbling, and the neglect of his ministerial functions" —charges wonderfully like those preferred against Maclachlan himself, only that Campbell apparently had not the gift of singing. These charges could not be ignored, and on 15th August, the Presbytery met at Kill in Morven, and opened a preliminary enquiry which extended over three days, and ended in the following libel being given in at the instance of the said Alex. Maclachlan, and of Dugald Maclachlan in Glen, and Archibald Cameron in Rahuoy:—

"Forasmuch as we are well assured from undoubted evidence, that upon the 21st of April, or the first Wednesday after Easter last, betimes in the morning, the Rev. Mr Archibald Campbell, minister of the gospel in Morven, in company with John Maclean, Esquire, in Achaforce, and Mr Charles Campbell, now preacher in Ardnamurchan, set himself down to drink at the Change House of Knock, in Morven, after having drank a considerable quantity of cold drams and ale, they got some punch. Mr Campbell, being toast master, called for Mr Maclean's toast, who answered, sir, I give you your Lady-Mistress, which Mr Archibald taking amiss, told him he was impertinent, and gave him some very bad language. To this Mr Maclean answered he would take no notice of him, as he was but a silly fellow. Upon this Mr Archibald struck him violently upon the breast with his fist. Mr Maclean returned the blow; and they were then separated from one another by Mr Charles and his servant. Mr Maclean fancying himself affronted by this ungentlemanly treatment, told Mr Archibald if he was not a minister he should know how to use him, and get satisfaction. Upon this Mr Archibald said, God damn you, sir, if you let anything pass with me on that score; and God damn me if I let anything pass with you upon that consideration; for, by God, I am ready to fight you by to-morrow morning, anyhow you will. The sederunt having continued from about eight o'clock in the morning till six in the afternoon, the gentlemen were all very merry, especially Mr Archibald, who exposed himself quite drunk, to Allan McIan vic Ewen vic Alastair and Donald Bane his brother; John Macintyre, servant to Lachlan Maclean, Esquire, in Kinlochalin; and John Macwilliam, now beadle to the said Mr Archibald. As he attempted to make the best of his way home

he always staggered, stumbled, and fell down, and could never have made it out if Mr Charles and his servant had not come to his assistance, one under each arm. He, finding himself thus supported, told them he was not at all drunk. They allowing him to take his own swing, he immediately turned down, and, endeavouring to recover himself, cursed furiously, and damned the place. He at length got home; asked his wife for his supper. She answered she was in no great hurry to give him any, for that she fancied he had got his dinner pretty well wherever he was. Upon this he kicked her furiously several times. . . . Mr Charles reprimanding him was obliged to defend himself with one chair, he coming on with another, and, violently struggling, tumbled down in each other's arms. They both recovering, stript, got two sticks, and so cudgelled strongly, with great fury, for a great while. But being at last struck with a sense of their extravagance, they both sat down, mourned, wept, called the family to prayers, and so went to bed. . . . We, therefore, do hereby charge you, the said Reverend Mr Archibald Campbell, Minister of the Gospel in Morven, with the odious sins of drunkenness, swearing, squabbling, beating, and offering to fight with sword; and we desire the Reverend Presbytery of Mull may proceed against you with censure, according to the Discipline of the Church, by summoning immediately before their Judicatory, there solemnly to be sworn (as to the narrative of this our libel) the following witnesses, to wit. . . . In confirmation, therefore, of what we have hereby undertaken and desired as above specified, we subscribe ourselves, reverend sir, your obedient humble servants,

Sic Sub. { DUGALD MACLACHLAN.
ARCHIBALD CAMERON.
JOHN MACLACHLAN.
ALEXANDER MACLACHLAN.

The Presbytery having considered the libel, admonished and exhorted the accused "to glorify God by an open and ingenuous confession of the crimes libelled;" but he failed to see the force of the strange exhortation, and refused to plead guilty. The case was accordingly sent to trial, and on 7th November the Presbytery met at Morven, and commenced to take evidence. For days the trial proceeded from morn to night, and on 12th November the Court was adjourned *sine die*, without closing the proof.

Mr Daniel Maclachlan, who had hitherto contented himself by assisting his kinsmen to conduct the prosecution on their own be-

half, now got a "Commission upon stamped paper" from them, authorising him to act for them, and to press the complaint to a decision. But he was in bad odour himself, and his progress as prosecutor was slow; and, although subsequent meetings resumed the proceedings, and took further evidence, it was only on 16th July 1735—after Maclachlan had deserted his own charge—that the debate on the evidence took place. Campbell's pleadings were able and ingenious. "The first article [Drunkenness, Swearing, and Fighting] is not proven, nor any part in it. . . . Swearing, no doubt, is a very great fault; but then it is certain that some may be excited to it by provocations and passions, when sober enough. But are the oaths libelled proved? Far from it. Does not Mr Charles and Mr Maclean agree that there passed but one oath? But they do not agree in the expression. One says one thing, and one another. If any asseveration that was swearing dropt from me, I am heartily sorry for it. But it was, I am sure, insensibly, and I cannot recollect any such thing."

It was stated in evidence against him that, when on one occasion, at the inn at Rahuoy, baptizing a child of the landlord of that establishment, he was "touched with liquor," went to bed without family worship, complained of the scarcity of the bed-clothes, and called the landlord *balach* and a liar. These charges he disposed of in the following manner:—"Allan Cameron alleges three reasons for which he believed me the worse of liquor, but he submits the weight of them to judgment. The first is no reason at all, it being certain that if I had not scarcity of bed-clothes I would not have used my big coat, which I used to give my servant when abroad, because however the master is served, *he* gets no supply. The second, calling the landlord *Balach*, has, I am convinced, been mistaken for *Allaich*, which in other countries is a familiar word, and never gives offence. But if I called him so, several will subscribe my opinion who know the man, and though I had called him a great deal worse. I travelled in a most boisterous, wet, and cold evening, over mountains and rocks, to oblige him, when I might have made him come my length; and everybody may see I had but a coarse and unkind reward. As for the third reason, my neglecting to pray, I own it to be a very great fault; but I am afraid 'tis one which I and others of my reverend brethren might have fallen into when far enough from liquor. Ministers of the most unsuspected temperance have been known to neglect prayer—sometimes a psalm even—in divine service on a Lord's Day. Whatever fault this be, I hope charity, nay, justice, will attribute to forgetfulness. For, the deponent being asked if

he thought this neglect being owing to my incapacity at the time, declared he did not, for that I discoursed articulately and freely enough on other subjects."

One of the witnesses having described Mr Campbell's state on a certain occasion by the word *corghleus*, which the Presbytery translated "the worse of liquor," the accused delivers himself of the following delicious dissertation:—" *Corghleus*, or the word inverted, *Gleus-cor*, shows no more than that cheerful humour which a moderate glass puts one in, which humour or temper is not his ordinary, or which he did not fully discover at first sitting down. That was the term the deponent used to express my disposition that night; but wrongously translated in the minutes. I appeal still to the deponent, with whom I was conversing, with some others, if this be not the notion he affixes to it. But further, this phrase, 'the worse of liquor,' admits of a great latitude; for if one exceeds the due measure that suffices nature, which with most constitutions is a single dram, he oppresses it, and is indisposed in his health—and in proportion as he exceeds this strict measure; so that he may be said to be the worse of liquor in both cases. Yet, is it not true that at every sitting, most exceed the precise measure? Notwithstanding of what I have been obliged to advance here in my own vindication, I am always obliged to acknowledge, and now do with concern, that a false modesty, with a mistaken notion of agreeableness, and an ill-placed confidence in my company, might, about this time [that is, before this prosecution was commenced], have inclined me sometimes to comply, beyond what I now and since condemn in strict duty and decency. I bless God for it, I can want liquors absolutely. I can boldly avow that I never did incline to them for their own sakes."

But these amusing pleadings, which I must not follow further, were of no avail. Poor Campbell was found guilty, and suspended for a year; and, although he resumed his ministerial functions at the end of that period, the wicked did not cease from troubling him, and he demitted or resigned in 1741. He died in 1754, in the twenty-fifth year of his ministry. His stipend as minister of Morven was £50 a-year.

Early in 1744 another great clerical scandal began to agitate the bounds of the Presbytery of Mull; and, as usual, Macdonald, the bard, had a finger in the pie. At a meeting of the Presbytery held at Aros in March of that year, and attended by the Bard, Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, and "Doctor Macdonald, brother to the Laird of Morar, commonly known by the name of Bishop Macdonald," appeared and lodged a complaint against Mr Francis

Macdonald, Presbyterian preacher at Strontian, and at one time Roman Catholic priest in Moidart, accusing him of incest with his sister, and other crimes. They gave in a circumstantial and well drawn "information," extending to twenty-five foolscap pages, and written "by John Stewart, drover in Knoek, in Mull, and Alexander Macdonald, schoolmaster at Ardnamurchan." The prosecutors being of the Romish Church, the first questions which the Presbytery had to consider were—"How far Kinlochmoidart, a professed Papist, should be received as an accuser against a minister, while he is actually under process for adultery before the Kirk Session of Ardnamurchan; and whether Doctor Macdonald, who is well known to us all, not only to assume the character, but also to exercise the functions of a Popish Bishop, should be sustained by us as a party in this question;" and "in case a process shall commence, how far Popish evidences shall be admitted, considering the known principles of that party, the slavish subjection in which they are known to be, particularly in that corner [Moidart], to the Bishop and lairds, and the rough and unpolished manners of the ignorant populace, who even already, as we are informed, threatened to destroy Mr Francis, who is become the object of their resentment, by his coming over from them, and having the impudence, as some of them term it, to live under their eye and act the Protestant minister;" and, "whether, if Mr Francis can make it appear that he had a moral character while a Popish priest, and that he was well liked as such by those who now hate him, this should not be sustained as a sufficient exculpation, especially seeing that she [his sister], is still a professed Papist, continues firm in giving one of the children she brought forth to the Bishop, and the other to Kinlochmoidart, who was suspected, even by his own lady, of going astray from the marriage-bed in that instance."

These were questions too weighty for decision by the Reverend Court, and a memorial embodying them was sent to the Procurator for the Church, Mr William Grant, subsequently Lord Advocate during the troubles at and after the Rebellion, and thereafter a Judge of the Court of Session under the title of Lord Prestongrange. "I am very apt," replied the Procurator, "to believe, or to apprehend, or suspect, that this accusation may proceed from malice or the resentment of Papists and Highlanders against one whom they look on as an apostate from the true Church. At the same time, I can't take it for granted beforehand, that the accusers are all villains, or that their witnesses will be all perjured, and, therefore, I think it concerns the

interest of religion in general, and the credit of the Church of Scotland, to give this matter a fair and full trial, that Mr Francis Macdonald may be vindicated, if he is innocent, as I hope he is, and, if otherwise, that he may be dismissed from his station in this Church. . . . It is, in my humble opinion, no good objection against Dr Macdonald, for which he should not be sustained an accuser or complainer, that he is a Papist, or that he is a Bishop, or of whatever denomination in that persuasion, for he is still a Scotchman and a Christian; and I would be inclined even the rather to give a fair hearing and trial to his accusation, by reason of the singularity of his character as a pursuer before the Ecclesiastical Courts in Scotland." With reference to the other questions, Mr Grant advises the Presbytery "to examine all the witnesses whom the accuser shall adduce, who are liable to no other objection than their religion. At the same time," he adds, "I am very sensible that the circumstances mentioned in the papers I have read, of Mr Francis Macdonald's being what they call an apostate, and the visible marks of resentment conceived against him by persons who formerly appeared to esteem and cherish him, are such as may justly affect the credibility of these witnesses when the proof comes to be weighed, and advised, and compared with the exculpatory evidence."

Mr Francis Macdonald was in the pay of the Committee for managing the Royal Bounty, who requested the papers connected with the case to be sent to them for consideration. This was done; and in March 1745 it was recorded by the Presbytery that the accused had been removed by the Committee to Skye, and that the "clerk was appointed to signify to Kinlochmoidart that Mr Francis has left our bounds, so that we are no further judges of the controversy betwixt him and them."

The Sound of Sleat having thus been placed between Mr Francis and his accusers, it is not likely they followed him further; and, indeed, they were soon engaged in more exciting scenes. In July Prince Charles arrived at Lochnanuagh, resolved to conquer the kingdom; and his cause was immediately espoused by Kinlochmoidart, Bishop Macdonald (the Mr Hugh Macdonald of history), and Mac Mhaighstir Alastair. The Bard's later experiences as Presbyterian catechist and teacher had not been encouraging. When we first meet him in 1729 his salary is £16 a year. In 1732 it is raised to £18, whereof £3 is contributed by the Society, and £15 by the Committee; and it continues at this figure till 1738, when it drops to £15, being £3 from the Society and £12 from the Committee, "because the funds can bear no more."

Next year the Committee—"because the funds are exhausted"—give £11 only, and in November 1744 their contribution is further reduced to £9, making the total salary £12. That this remuneration did not keep the wolf from the door appears evident from the Presbytery's minute of 28th April 1741—the very year in which Macdonald gave to the world his *Gaelic and English Vocabulary*. "The visitors of the Charity School of Ardnamurchan report that when they attended there in order to visit said school, Alexander Macdonald, schoolmaster thereof, sent an apology to them for absence, viz., that through the great scarcity of the year he was under immediate necessity to go from home to provide meal for his family. The appointment is therefore renewed upon said visitors."

In the *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, as well as in the sketches of Macdonald's life prefixed to the recent editions of his poems, he is said to have been *parochial* schoolmaster of Ardnamurchan. This, however, is not correct. In his day there was no parochial school in that parish, and throughout his teaching career he was in the service of, and exclusively supported by, the Society and Committee. On account of the great extent of the parish, his school was, as it was termed, "transported" from time to time. For the first few years he taught at Eilean Finnan; in March 1738, he was ordered to "set-up his school with his first conveniency, and as soon as may be at Killechoan;" and next year he and his school were "transported" to Corryvullin, where he closed his pedagogic career in 1745. Hitherto he has been supposed to have given up his school after the landing of Prince Charles; but at a meeting of Presbytery held on 15th July, four days before the Prince cast anchor in Lochnanuagh—the minister of Ardnamurchan reported "that the charity school in this parish has been vacant since Whitsunday last by the voluntary desertion of Alexander Macdonald, the former schoolmaster of this country." In the same way it has been assumed that he joined the Church of Rome to please the Prince; but the part he took with prominent Roman Catholics against the ex-priest in 1744, seems to indicate that secretly, if not openly, he believed in the doctrines of that Church even before he ceased to be catechist and teacher. At the same time it is right to note that in the preface to the *Gaelic and English Vocabulary*, published in 1741, he speaks in the highest terms of the work of the Protestant Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and places "Popish Emissaries" among the evils from which the Highlands then suffered.

"In the Highland army Macdonald held a commission, and

was looked upon as a kind of poet-laureate to the Prince. "He was," observes Mackenzie of the *Beauties*, "the Tyrtæus of his army. His spirit-stirring and soul-inspiring strains roused and inflamed the breasts of his men. His warlike songs manifested how heartily he enlisted in, and how sanguine he was of the success of the undertaking." After Culloden he concealed himself for a time in the recesses of his country; and on the passing of the Indemnity Act, he received from Clanranald the office of Bailie of the Island of Canna—a position which he occupied when, in 1751, he published the first edition of his poems. He subsequently resided in Knoidart, and thereafter in Arisaig, where he is said to have closed his mortal career at a good old age. If we may credit Dr Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (part V. p. 81), he was addicted to the use of opium, and died in a lunatic asylum; but in his day neither opium nor lunatic asylums were plentiful in the Highlands, and this story is highly improbable.

I have now fulfilled the object which I placed before me in commencing this paper; and if some of the circumstances which, in the interests of truthful historical enquiry, I have considered it necessary to relate, are unsavoury and unpleasant, they throw considerable light on the state of society in the Western Highlands during the first half of the eighteenth century; and for that reason, if for no other, they ought not to be suppressed. But in considering them we must keep in view that these presbyterial records, however accurate, only exhibit the worst phases of life. So long as a man lived without reproach no notice was taken of him; but if he chanced to lapse from the paths of rectitude, he was cited before the Church Courts, which faithfully chronicled the particulars of his sin. And that there was much goodness, and kindness, and true chivalry within the bounds of the Presbytery of Mull, even in the stormy times of which I have been speaking, is not difficult to prove. When, for instance, the Church of Scotland was in the heat of that ecclesiastical conflict with Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, the most momentous event of which was the secession of 1733, the Presbytery of Mull showed an example of Christian charity and tolerance which it is unfortunate others did not follow: they instructed their Commissioners to the General Assembly to "side the most moderate party with respect to Mr Erskine's affair, as it is our opinion that if he be chargeable with nothing but defending the rights of the Christian people in the choice of their pastor, he ought to be treated with all tenderness and charity by such as differ from him and his adherents."

Then the Laird of Kinlochmoidart, who prosecuted Mr

Francis Macdonald, and who, in 1746, laid down his life for Prince Charles, on the Gallows Hill of Carlisle, was the hero of the beautiful story thus told by Sir Walter Scott in his first note to the "Monastery." "In the civil war of 1745-6, a party of Highlanders, under a chieftain of rank, came to Rose Castle, the seat of the Bishop of Carlisle, but then occupied by the family of Squire Dacre of Cumberland. They demanded quarters, which, of course, were not to be refused to armed men of a strange attire and unknown language. But the domestic represented to the captain of the mountaineers, that the lady of the mansion had been just delivered of a daughter, and expressed her hope that, under these circumstances, his party would give as little trouble as possible. "God forbid," said the gallant chief, "that I or mine should be the means of adding to a lady's inconvenience at such a time. May I request to see the infant?" The child was brought, and the Highlander, taking his cockade out of his bonnet, and pinning it on the child's breast: "That will be a token," he said, "to any of our people who may come hither, that Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart has taken the family of Rose Castle under his protection." "The lady," adds Sir Walter, "who received, in infancy, this gage of Highland protection, is now Mary, Lady Clark of Pennycuik; and on the 10th of June still wears the cockade, which was pinned on her breast, with a white rose as a kindred decoration."

And, without further multiplying examples, you will find in the poems which Mac Mhaighstir Alastair wrote amid the hardships and distractions of his life, a grandeur of conception, a nobleness of sentiment, a power and felicity of language, and a richness of description, which would do credit to any nation in any age.

After the above paper was read before the Society, Mr Colin Chisholm communicated with the Rev. Charles Macdonald, C.C., Moidart, regarding the bard's place of burial, &c., and in reply he received the following letter :—

MINGARRY, MOIDART, 1st June 1885.

My Dear Sir,—The constant tradition here, and in Arisaig, is that the bard, Alastair Mac Mhaighstir Alastair, was buried in Arisaig. After leaving Knoydart he settled in Arisaig. For some time he was living at Strath-Arisaig; then at a place between

Camus-an-talamhainn and Rhu; finally he removed to Sanntaig, and it was at Sanntaig that he died. His remains were buried in the Arisaig Church-yard, close by the present Catholic Church of St Mary's.

John Macdonald, an old man, living near me, tells me that he was born on the very spot where the bard died, but not in the same house. This house, being probably a turf one, had fallen down, but John's grandfather, or father, built another of the same kind on the identical spot. I have examined into this account, and find that there is no reason to doubt it.

The old people add that on the night preceding the bard's death, two young men, belonging to Arisaig, had been sent to watch by his bedside, and to assist him in his last moments. These young persons were rather disappointed at the duty imposed upon them, because it prevented them from taking part in the rejoicings connected with a wedding which was taking place that night at Strath-Arisaig, and at which most of the country people were present. To relieve the monotony of their duty, they began reciting songs, and made an attempt at composing something of their own. The bard, who had been listening to their efforts, made some remarks upon their want of success. Fearing, however, that they might feel hurt or ashamed at what he had said, he helped them with a few verses of his own making. He had scarcely done this when he fell back on the pillow and expired.

The bard's father, Maighstear Alastair, is buried at Eilean Fhionan. Miss Bell Macdonald, Dalelea, who lived at Dalelea House before the Rhu Family came to Moidart, used to tell the younger people that the minister's body was under a monument having a skeleton (hideous enough) sculptured on it. This Miss Bell knew more of our local traditions than any other person in her time, and I have no doubt that she was correct in this.—
Yours faithfully,

CHARLES MACDONALD.

25TH FEBRUARY 1885.

On this date Mr John Macdonald, merchant, The Exchange, read a paper on the Social Condition of the Highlands. It was as follows :—

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE HIGHLANDS—
SECOND PAPER.*

He knows but little, I think, of Highland history who does not admit and deplore the absence in our day of some of those splendid elements of character, the kindly feelings of mutual confidence that bound the people to each other and all to their chiefs, the conditions of life and surroundings under which the people lived, so favourable as these were to the strengthening of those ties and the development of those traits of character for which our ancestors were distinguished. Contrast those times with the present, and look upon the almost distracted condition of the Highlands—agricultural and almost every other industry on the verge of ruin; and instead of the old feelings of mutual confidence and attachment to their chiefs, you have almost everywhere a discontented people, in some districts at open variance with their proprietors, the natural successors of those to whom in a former age they were so firmly attached. Look at the wilderness aspect of those straths and glens, which even in times and under circumstances less favourable to agriculture and stock-rearing in the Highlands, supported thriving contented communities. Look at the uncomfortable condition of the landless masses, who either struggle on patches of unsuitable soil or form the unproductive populations of the towns and sea-coast villages; and I think it must be admitted that whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the causes and remedies, there can be no difference of opinion as to the fact that the social condition of the Highlands is not satisfactory, and contrasts unfavourably with the past, in days not long gone by.

PAST GRIEVANCES AND WRONGS.

It is sometimes said that the mere rehearsal of grievances and wrongs, which, to say the least, originated in a past age, and for which a past and departed generation is mainly responsible, is neither fair nor of much practical effect towards having those grievances remedied. To this it may be replied that could there now be traced on the part of the Highland landowners, or that section of the public press which supports their past policy, symptoms of a generous acknowledgment of those wrongs, and a desire to trace the present agitated state of the Highlands to something

* For the first paper on the same subject by Mr Macdonald, see *Transactions*, Volume X., p. 239.

like the natural causes, then, I say, we might be expected to (and readily would) draw a veil over much of what is regrettable and even discreditable in the past treatment of the Highlanders. We might then be asked from henceforth to say nothing more about the clearing of the straths and glens, or that purely commercial policy which, to make room for sheep and deer, drove the best of the people into exile, or to the morally as well as physically unhealthy atmosphere of the towns.

Where, however, in all the public utterances of landlords and that section of the press just referred to, do we find a trace of such an acknowledgment? On the contrary, is not the present unfortunate social condition of the Highlands attempted to be traced to almost every cause and influence except those which will by-and-by be found the real ones?

LOCHIEL'S RECENT UTTERANCES.

In illustration of this, perhaps I may be allowed to refer to that excellent and sympathetic address recently delivered to this Society by our late chief, Lochiel. It may be taken as representing the views of the best and most sympathetic among our Highland lairds. In the efforts that must soon be made to heal the breach that apparently in the Highlands is widening between the owners and occupiers of the soil, Lochiel's expressed opinions must always deservedly exert a most important influence. In dealing, in that address, with the present agitation in the Highlands, he, however, as I humbly think, falls into two common errors. He under-estimates its importance and traces its origin to circumstances and incidents by far too recent and local in their character. He says—

“The history of the agitation in the North is short. It began not a very long time ago. It was insinuated by the quasi famine, owing to the bad harvest of 1882, and was brought into more prominence by debates in the House of Commons, and it finally received more notoriety by the appointment of the Royal Commission.”

This short and ready explanation of the present condition of the Highlands is not satisfactory to many who have given the subject some earnest impartial attention. Many—and their number is increasing—believe that the present agitation originated not two years or twenty years ago, but that it originated many years ago along with, or rather out of, that policy of the depopulation of the rural districts which so much altered and disturbed the social life of the Highlands. Every small holding extinguished so

as to increase the size of the big sheep farm, every acre of ground thrown out of cultivation to increase the dimensions of deer forests—these, and not a recent bad harvest, were the incidents that helped to develop it; and what more than the appointment of the Royal Commissioners gave this agitation its recent activity and notoriety, is the development of Mr Winans' deer forest, which, not content by the swallowing of thousands of acres of good laud stretching from the East to the West Coast of Scotland, threatens to clear off the land of their ancestors the entire community of crofters and cottars, not even tolerating the bleat of Murdo Macrae's pet lamb on the fringe of this huge forest. These matters surely had, and have, something to do with the present condition of the North; and yet in Lochiel's excellent speech they found not a single reference.

OTHER CRITICISMS OF THE AGITATION.

There is, however, another class of speakers and writers who, when dealing with the present state of the Highlands, not only ignore the primary causes of the present trouble, but assume a tone and give expression to sentiments that certainly are not calculated to soothe the irritations that unhappily exist. I refer to those who profess to see in this movement an agitation originated and fostered by external influences only. By such critics those who venture to condemn the depopulating of the past, or demand the redress of present grievances, are branded as outside agitators, actuated by selfish and unworthy motives. Now, although the history of this movement warranted this tone and these insinuations in a greater measure than it does, I think it is an exceedingly ill-advised method of dealing with such a social agitation, especially among Highlanders. To attempt to suppress a constitutional agitation for the remedy of recognised and well-defined grievances by mere bullying; to drag the names of respectable and loyal citizens who express sympathy with the people through the press in columns of sarcasm and ridicule, is as foolish as it is unfair. Such treatment has a two-fold pernicious effect on this or any similar movement; it deprives the agitation of the advice and influence of many who, while quite in sympathy, are too sensitive to face the sneers and sarcasms to which connection with such a movement exposes them. But this is not all, for just in proportion as the more sensitive (not unfrequently the more real) people are alienated, in the same ratio does the control and guidance of the agitation fall into the hands of those whose personal feelings are not so sensitive, and who on that very account will, in

the final adjustment, show less regard to the feelings and interests of the other party in the conflict.

I do not know that there are many lessons that the modern history of Europe teaches more forcibly than this, or an error more frequently repeated in dealing with agitations for the redress of social and political wrongs.

After references to the case of France and of Ireland, the speaker proceeded:—

It is to be hoped, indeed, from the past history and character of the Highland people, we may say it is absolutely certain, that this Highland movement will never show any trace of similarity to that of France or Ireland. At the same time, I hesitate not to say that should this agitation in the future develop a more objectionable tendency, the responsibility will rest on the apathy of those who are now appealed to for reasonable remedies. To any one who has given the least attention to the past history of the Highlands, the theory that the present agitation and the unfortunate relationships existing in some places between proprietors and people is the mere outcome of outside influences and agitators, is as unlikely as it is absurd.

REAL ORIGIN OF THE AGITATION.

The present agitation would never have originated, far less assumed its present importance, did there not exist in the conditions and surroundings of the people abundance of that material on which such agitations flourish. The feelings and sentiments of a people, especially the Highland people, towards their superiors and landlords could never have undergone such a manifest change at the bidding of any outsider, however influential, or under the promise of rewards, however tempting. A little less than a century and a half ago the powerful influence and threats of the English Government was brought to bear on the Highlanders to induce or compel them to turn their backs on their chiefs and the cause they supported. What a strange contrast does the conduct of the people of that time present to the present. Then neither the threats, the promises, nor the dazzling reward of £30,000 offered by the Government, would induce the men and women of Skye to forsake their chiefs or the prince whom they believed to be their sovereign. Now the scene is changed, and the Central Government has to send the military to Skye to enforce those obligations which, in a former age, no pressure or reward would induce the people to violate. Such a change as this indicates in the temper and relationship of proprietor and people affords surely food for reflection, not

only to the proprietors, but to the nation as well. When troubles surround our wide-spread interests abroad, and when even still more alarming dangers manifest themselves in our large towns at home, it is surely not a time to alienate the affections of a people always the most loyal and law-abiding—a people who have more than once proved the country's protection in the hour of need.

In the face of the abuse heaped on those who now venture to sympathise with the present grievances, and condemn the policy which has so depopulated the rural districts in the Highlands, it may not be out of place to notice that, if they err, it is in the company of many with whom it is no small honour to have any association whatever.

That the Highland people have got but scant justice has been quite as earnestly expressed in the past as it is in the present day; and that by men and women with whom, in point of culture, patriotism, and sound sense, the modern critics will bear no comparison. Nearly a century ago, and just when in the new departure in the Highlands sheep and deer were replacing men, that lady of culture, Mrs Grant of Laggan, in some of those splendid "Letters from the Mountains," took occasion to denounce the clearances, and express her sympathy with the people. General Stewart of Garth, who thoroughly appreciated the character of the Highlanders and their military value to the nation, reiterated the same opinions. Hugh Miller, whose deep philosophical mind and scientific mode of thinking and writing would surely place him above suspicion as a mere agitator, saw the wrongs inflicted on the people, and denounced them in the severest language. The Macleods of Morven wept and sung melancholy dirges over the desolations that surrounded their once populous parishes. And what shall I say of that brave and gallant youth who, to the grief of his countrymen, recently lost his life in that struggle that has now cast such a halo of melancholy interest over the Soudan. In John A. Cameron, of the *Standard*, the Highlanders lost their latest and best friend. His life, short as it has been, was far too real to allow vague theories and sentiments have for him any attraction, and yet his chivalrous nature responded to some of the grievances of his native Highlands. During the earlier troubles in Skye his stirring letters to the *Standard* newspaper gave the social condition of the North an interest to the higher circles of English society that it never had before, and from the publicity thus obtained good will follow. Some of his latest literary work before leaving for the Nile were, I think, papers in some of the magazines bearing on Highland subjects. In one of these he

drew public attention to the degenerating composition of the Highland regiments, deploring that some of these were fast becoming Highland in name only, by the necessity of filling the ranks from the large towns. Another, a paper entitled "Storm Clouds in the Highlands," is full of melancholy interest, giving ample promise that had he lived the best interests of his native Highlands would have in him an earnest advocate. If it were really necessary to say more to vindicate the justice of the claims made on behalf of the Highlands by referring at greater length to the character of those who in the past as well as the present recognised and advocated those claims, I might furnish you with a list long enough of Scotchmen and Englishmen whose very names and association with this movement should protect it from the harsh criticism we are so accustomed to hear. When the critics and newspapers who ridicule the efforts of those who in the present day advocate land law reform in the Highlands shall be forgotten, a future age will set its proper value on the services rendered by such men as Professor Blackie, Mackay of Hereford, and the ever-increasing band who are at present fighting the people's battle. I would not refer to this matter so much for the mere object of indicating the character and motives of the Highlanders and their public friends, even if this were necessary, as it is not, but I avail myself of this opportunity of protesting against harsh and unfair insinuations on public grounds, and in the interest of law and order throughout the Highlands, and as such criticism has a tendency to irritate and rouse feelings once awakened not so easily calmed down.

It is hardly necessary for me here to say that the greatest obstacle in the way of social reform in the Highlands at present is the conduct of those of the people who, in their efforts to obtain redress, do not strictly adhere to constitutional and peaceable means, and who, while able to do so, refuse to discharge obligations which honour and morality demand. Highlanders should at this time in particular remember that every act of lawlessness, as well as every unreasonable demand, throws discredit on their movement, and frustrates the best efforts of their friends.

Let me now assume that what I have so far been pointing out is to a certain extent at least correct; let me take for granted that you admit that there are in the circumstances and surroundings of the people grievances that call for remedies; let the characters and motives of those who advocate those remedies be at least respected; let landlords and factors, county officials, and a section of the press, for a time at least, sheathe those weapons of cold indifference and active irritation which have hitherto marked

their attitude towards this movement ; and then, and not till then, I venture to say a foundation has been obtained on which good will and mutual co-operation may yet build a future of peace and prosperity for the Highlands.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE LEGISLATURE, PROPRIETORS,
AND THE PEOPLE.

I say mutual co-operation, for if the present condition of the Highlands is to be improved, three parties must co-operate, each fulfilling their respective obligations—the Legislature, the proprietors, and the people. Speaking generally, this combined action must tend in the immediate direction of gradually reversing the policy which has for so long influenced land legislation, estate management, and the system of agriculture in the North.

The unnatural exodus of the people from the rural districts into the large towns and villages must be stopped : not by any arbitrary or artificial means, but by creating in the rural districts conditions of life and surroundings more attractive than at present exist. This process of clearing the people from the rural districts, and the natural effect of rapidly increasing the population of the towns, is unhealthy and dangerous. The whole tendency of the present land laws and systems of estate management encourages this process. What of the land that is not idle and unproductive is year by year passing into fewer hands ; there is thus less labour needed and less food produced. A first step in the right direction would, I think, be the immediate alteration of those laws of entail and primogeniture that at present bind up so much land in the nominal hands of those who have neither the power or the means to develop its resources. A veto must at the same time be put on the further increase of deer forests, or such other arrangements as withdraws the land from its proper use, and limits the quantity.

Without the active interference of the Legislature, I think that from the present state of agriculture in this country, and the evident collapse of the past system of large farms, the good practical sense of the proprietors will encourage an immediate increase in the number and size of small holdings. Legislation must, however, give the tenant a tangible security of tenure, and an undoubted claim to whatever improvements he makes or additional value he adds to his holding, with a perfect right to dispose of his interest in the same to the best advantage. In connection with this, it is often said that security of tenure with or without leases already exists on most estates in the Highlands. In reply to this,

it need only be said that that security of tenure a man holds dependent on the goodwill of his proprietor or the customs of the estate, is by far too unsatisfactory and precarious, compared with that security established by law. A change of proprietorship, a mere dispute with one of the estate officials, may disturb the former, while the latter is dependent only on his proper performance of his lawful obligations, and is much more conducive to independence and a greater incentive to industry. Placed in a satisfactory position in his tenure and in his rights to his improvements, I do not know that it would be desirable to fix rents by legal processes such as the proposed land courts. This, I fear, would tend to create new difficulties, and lead to frequent and expensive litigation, adding to the objectionable extent to which our social and business arrangements are already in lawyers' hands. An agricultural holding, like other places of business, must always be more or less affected by other circumstances than the position and nature of the soil, such as the amount of industry and intelligence brought to bear upon it; and no land court, however impartial, can on the whole so surely and safely determine the value of such holdings as the healthy action of the natural law of supply and demand.

LIMITED AREA OF LAND—DEER FORESTS.

Here, however, we are at once confronted with the great difficulty in the Highlands, the limited quantity of land available for the multiplication of small holdings. At present the tenant looking out for such is placed at an enormous disadvantage; he has to make terms for a commodity the value of which is naturally increased, and the supply of which is restricted by the long operation of unhealthy influences. This, however, is surely a difficulty that the wisdom of Parliament and the proprietors ought to be competent to deal with. The unprofitable history of large farms for the past few years, and the greater success attending the smaller holdings, clearly indicate that even in the interest of the rent-roll the increase in the number of the latter is advisable. The alternative of deer foresting large farms falling vacant, so much acted on of late, is one not in favour with popular opinion—in fact, it is not only in the rural districts but in the large towns becoming regarded as a social evil, limiting the food-producing capacity of the country. Any one who studies the signs of the times can see that “the coming democracy” has its eye on this and similar alienation of land, and if these matters once become the subjects of practical legislation, we may depend upon it that the

reforms effected will be much more drastic than the reasonable concessions that are now demanded.

DIFFICULTY OF STOCKING SMALL HOLDINGS.

But let me now suppose that the difficulty of the present limited area of land available for small holdings be got over by the voluntary breaking up of the large farms and the compulsory curtailment of deer forests, we are again confronted with the next difficulty, the want of means on the part of the great body of the people to stock such holdings. Now, every one admits that in the present condition of the Highlands this is a difficulty, but I cannot help thinking that it is a difficulty to some extent exaggerated, and a difficulty very much occasioned by the policy of the past, for which the people are less responsible than is usually admitted. On this account, the inability of the people to stock the land ought to be referred to in a more kindly and considerate manner than is sometimes done. If many of our Highland people have not the means to stock the land with, we must not forget that they once had means, and stock too, but in many instances by the sudden evictions from their holdings, they were compelled to part with stock at little value, and the want of subsequent employment soon dissipated the little means that the expenses of removal left.

In their present condition, however, the difficulty of want of capital is surely not insurmountable. Once let the Highland crofter have security in his tenure, and a legal right to whatever increase of value he gives his holding in the form of stocks or other improvements, and I am bound to say that the necessary aid will be forthcoming when required.

INVESTMENTS OF CAPITAL IN SMALL HOLDINGS.

To the merchant, the banker, and capitalist there is no safer investment than the requirements of the holders of moderately sized holdings on such secure footing as I have indicated. The scale of their operations does not expose them to the risks and expenses attending a more extensive system. The circumstances are better known to themselves and more readily ascertained by those who have dealings with them. Money invested on the security of industrious Highland small farmers and crofters, and thus employed in developing the resources of the Highlands, is surely as safe and well employed as in those foreign securities that have within recent years swallowed up so much of even Highland capital. I am told on reliable authority that within a

few years back considerably over a quarter of a million of money has been lost to Inverness and neighbourhood in investments of this class—surely a strong argument for seeking safer and more creditable investments at home.

For the investment of such capital, the Highlands at this moment offer a wide, profitable, and patriotic field. The food-producing powers of this country are being neglected, so that year by year we are becoming more and more dangerously dependent on foreign supplies. Not only in the towns, but in country villages and rural districts, the people almost live entirely on foreign food, and not only those commodities for the production of which our soil and climate are unsuitable, but those articles which could be grown and produced in this country better than in almost any other. Every shilling's worth of such food imported is so much added to the wealth of the nation we buy from, and is equally so much reduction in the wealth of our own. With, I suppose, about 35,000,000 of people in this country to provide food for, the British agriculturist has a wide field for the sale of his produce. If, as I have said before, we make a large allowance for such articles for the production of which our climate and circumstances may not be suitable, and in the position to compete with the foreign farmer, there is still a wide field in other articles in the production of which the British farmer, and particularly the Highland crofter, might profitably compete.

In a magazine the other day I came across some statistics of foreign food importations that in the present condition of this country generally, and in the Highlands particularly, were almost staggering. This writer, quoting reliable Board of Trade statistics, says that we import annually, apart from wheat and other kinds of grain, over £38,000,000 in articles that could easily and profitably be produced at home. I shall only mention a few of these, and in round numbers:—

Pork, cured and fresh	...	...	...	£8,000,000
Butter	...	...	...	11,400,000
Cheese	...	...	...	4,700,000
Eggs	...	...	...	2,400,000
Lard	...	...	...	1,800,000
Onions	...	...	...	1,000,000
Potatoes	...	...	...	130,000

And ten other articles of a similar class. Now, if we have in this country, and in the Highlands particularly, the two great factors in food production, the land and the people, is it too much to say

that if not in the interests of the people themselves, then in the wider interests of the nation, these two should be brought together.

We must not forget, however, that other remedies are proposed for the improvement of the social condition of the Highlands, and to one of these in particular I wish to draw your special attention. It is, you are aware, proposed that it would be better for us to buy our food from abroad than produce it at home, and the people are asked to improve their condition by emigrating to other lands. I shall not take up your time at present by referring to the fallacy of the former remedy, but I have a word to say as to the latter. I am not going to disparage emigration as a powerful and often successful means in improving the condition of the people; and when carried out under such favourable circumstances and generosity of spirit as seem to be the case on the estates of Lady Gordon Cathcart, I think such a remedy is deserving of praise. I confess, however, that I look with grave suspicion on many of the emigratory proposals now made to the Highlands. We have seen over and over throughout the Highlands that emigration, on however large a scale from a given district, does not improve the condition of those who are left, as the land thus vacated is not appropriated to them. In cases like these, emigration, as a remedy, is only a mockery. Districts might be named where the present population is only a percentage of what it once was; and yet the condition of the remnant left is worse than in the days of alleged congestion. This indiscriminate emigration from the Highlands may be one of the causes of the present poverty. From an industrial point of view the best portion of the population are driven away—the young, the active, and the more intelligent—leaving behind those less able to do for themselves. The former, to become our keenest competitors in the productive industries of other lands; while the latter become year by year the unproductive classes at home. Looking at the matter broadly, and in the light of much of what has come under my own observation, I am not sure that the glowing prospects of the successful career of the Highland emigrant is too often realised, at least in the measure expected. Of course there are many instances of emigrants getting on well in the land of their adoption; but, at the same time, I suspect that there are many cases of emigrants suffering privations, hardships, and ultimate failure, intensified by the absence of the soothing influences of home and kindred; and I suspect that the history of Highland emigration furnishes as many sad tales of this sort as throws a

shade of gloom over the bright side of the picture. Last year a remarkable instance of the uncertainties and hardships attending emigration came under our notice here. I understand that the facts are still under investigation, and may yet attract some attention. Shortly after the troubles that made the "Braes" famous, a body of Skye people (including some of those who were conspicuous in that trial) were induced to emigrate to North Carolina. According to the apparently-truthful story of two of the men who came back to collect as much as would bring home their families, their fares to the port of shipping, as well as their passage to North Carolina, were paid, they knew not by whom. The prospect of plenty work and good wages was held out to them on arrival, with other brighter prospects for the future. On their arrival, however, they discovered to their bitter disappointment that both promises and prospects were a delusion. Where work was obtained, the only wages given was the bare food, and the houses provided were the small one-roomed huts (as one of the men remarked) once occupied by slaves. The 70 emigrants, scattered over the country at long distances from each other, struggled on in the hope of better treatment so long as the means they brought with them lasted. Their condition, however, getting worse instead of better, and the food and the climate telling injuriously on their health, those who could do so left the place. The poor men who told this story in Inverness and other places had no means left to bring back their families. By the kind assistance of some friends and countrymen they have, I trust, by this time been enabled to rescue the remaining members of their families from the desperate condition into which they consider themselves to have been misled. The melancholy tale of the hardships and disappointment experienced by this small band of Skye emigrants is, I suspect, if all were known, not unfrequent in the history of emigration from the Highlands. The sufferings experienced by the earlier emigrants to the North American colonies are matters of history, and when one ponders over such records as these, one is forced to ask the question, is emigration really the only alternative? Can no other means be found to relieve the congestion of population in certain districts in the Highlands by presenting opportunities for migration to other districts where the presence of an industrious people would be a mutual benefit to themselves and the proprietor. What has already been done in this direction gives ample encouragement to do more. Let me give you one instance. Between 30 and 40 years ago a large number of the inhabitants of a Highland glen I know of had to leave owing to the new estate arrangements of large farms char-

acteristic of those times. I suppose that the large majority of those people shared the common fate usually attending such changes, either emigrating or finding shelter in the Lowlands. By what seems to have been a chance more than anything else, however, some 18 or 20 families got a settlement on a piece of not very promising land on the southern side of Knockfarrel, in the neighbourhood of Strathpeffer. Here those families and their descendants formed what I consider a model Highland township. Generously treated as they have been by their noble proprietrix, even in the absence of much early agricultural training, they have, by sheer hard work and industry, converted that patch of comparative moorland into one of the best cultivated and attractive clusters of small holdings to be found in the Highlands. The area of land under cultivation does not, I think, much exceed 150 acres; yet on this limited area has existed for so long almost as large a population as is to be found (holding land at least) in the extensive glen from which they migrated. Perhaps you will allow me to quote the complimentary reference made to this community by their factor, Mr Gunn, Strathpeffer, in his evidence before the Royal Commission:—"It happened that a colony of crofters who were removed from another estate, to the number of eighteen families, applied for this new land, and the Duchess of Sutherland, then Marchioness of Stafford, yielded to their importunities and gave them possession, granting them leases and materials with which to build houses. It is due to these people to say that, with scarcely one exception, they have proved to be excellent tenants in every respect. They are industrious, and farm systematically and well, and of this we have the best evidence in the fact that they pay their rents regularly, and that within the last few years most of them have substantially improved their houses, four of which have lately been slated." To this testimony it may be added, without fear of contradiction, that in their characters, social arrangements, and the discharge of all outside obligations, this little township is a credit to themselves and to the Highlands. Living compactly together, and having common experiences, they have retained among them many of those kindly feelings and mutual interest in each other so characteristic of the Highland people of the past. The old people among them, now almost passed away, were with few exceptions carried back to their native glen, wishing with true Highland instinct to mix their dust with those of their kindred. I have just referred to this case to show that if such comparative success has attended migration of an almost accidental

character, what could, and may still, be done under systematic efforts and greater encouragements. This continual cry about the glories of emigration, with its glowing prospects of wealth and fortunes, and entirely ignoring the possibilities of industrious well-doing at home, has a demoralising effect on the minds of the rising youth of the Highlands. Between the squalid misery so often pictured to us on the estates of Skye, and the ideal wealth of the emigrant, there is a wide field still unoccupied at home, however much that field may be despised by the false teachings of modern political economy. The maximum of happiness is not always found in the effort to amass a fortune any more than in extricating oneself from the toils and privations of poverty; possibly it is more to be found in the medium condition of constant industry reasonably rewarded. A complete reversal of the present agricultural system in the Highlands would bring the people nearer this condition than anything else I can think of. In agricultural and rural occupations perhaps, oftener than in any other, is realised the ideal life of the poet—

“Toiling, rejoicing, sorrowing,
 Onward through life he goes,
 Each morning sees some task begun,
 Each evening sees it close:
 Something attempted, something done,
 Has earned a night's repose.”

And as another of our own poets has beautifully expressed it, there may be more real pleasure and profit in constant industry than in the accumulation of wealth—

“'Tis the battle, not the prize,
 That fills the hero's heart with joy,
 And industry that bliss supplies
 Which mere possession might destroy.”

When legislation will give the Highland people a firmer footing on the land, and place more of it at their disposal; when the present agitation ceases, because its objects shall have been gained; then will arrive a testing time in the history of the Highlands as trying as any through which they have yet passed. If the people are to preserve not only their own reputations, but that of their ancestors, they will face the new and improved condition in a manner that will command respect. When present grievances are remedied there should be no desire to create new or imaginary ones, and there should be an earnest effort made to revive those

feelings of goodwill and confidence—feelings between proprietors and people so happily expressed in the good old motto:—"Clann nan Gaidheal an gnaillibh a cheile." Then shall our western isles, our straths and glens, romantic in scenery as well as in history, become once again the home of a people who, while they brook no injustice, will readily acknowledge with gratitude such improvements in their social condition as wise legislation and the prudence of the proprietors may bring about.

4TH MARCH 1885.

At the meeting on this date, Duncan Mactavish, of D. Mactavish & Co., High Street, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member. The Secretary then read a paper by Mr Alexander Ross, Alness, on "Sir Robert Munro, VI. Baronet, and XXIV. Baron of Fowlis, who fell at Falkirk." Mr Ross's paper was as follows:—

SIR ROBERT MUNRO.

Sir Robert Munro was the eldest son of Sir Robert Munro, known as the "Blind Baron" of Fowlis. Sir Robert was born on the 24th of August 1684. His military and other achievements, as recorded by the sober pen of Dr Dodderidge, seem fitted to associate rather with the ideas derived from the high conceptions of poetry and romance, than with those which we usually acquire from our experience of real life. He was a gentleman of calm wisdom, determined courage, and unassuming piety. His life resembles a well-wrought drama, the scenes of which become doubly interesting as it hastens to a close. One of Dr Dodderidge's correspondents states that Sir Robert "was noted for the countenance he gave to Divine worship, both in public and in his family, and for the regard which he always expressed for the Word of God and its ministers;" and then adds, "that he was sincere in his friendship, and full of compassion even to the meanest of those around him; remarkable, above most, for his activity in the discharge of any office of friendship, where he had professed it; and for his great exactness in the performances of his promises."

Sir Robert was at an early age sent to Edinburgh University, where he highly distinguished himself. On leaving college, he entered the army as a captain in the Earl of Orkney's Regiment. In 1705, when only 21 years of age, he went to Flanders, where

he served for several years under the famous Duke of Marlborough. It was while serving there that he became acquainted with the celebrated Colonel James Gardiner, then a cornet of Dragoons, and formed with him that strict friendship which death alone terminated. On the peace of 1712, he returned to Scotland, and was elected M.P. for Ross-shire. In Parliament he gave an inflexible opposition to the measures which the Ministry were then taking to subvert the succession to the Crown, and with it, no doubt, the Protestant religion, of which the Royal Family was the strongest barrier.

On the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1715, Sir Robert readily gave his services to the House of Hanover. He immediately raised his clan, and was joined by a body of the Rosses, his company amounting in all to about 600 men. With these in November 1715, he encamped at Alness, and on the 6th of October following he was joined by Lord Reay, with an additional force of 600. He, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland and Reay, so harassed a body of 300 Highlanders, who, under the Earl of Seaforth, were on the march to join the insurgents at Perth, that the junction was retarded for nearly two months—a delay which is said to have decided the fate of the Stuart's in Scotland, as it prevented the Earl of Mar from crossing the Forth till the Duke of Argyll had gathered sufficient strength to oppose him. In consequence of his stand for the Government, Sir Robert exposed himself and his estate to the fiercest resentment of the Jacobites, by whom his lands were plundered and destroyed; while others, who pretended to be friends of the Government, saved themselves and their lands by capitulating to the enemy. Being appointed governor of Inverness Castle, Sir Robert, at his own charge, maintained 400 of his clan there till the Rebellion was quelled. And these, together with some other clans, well-affected to George I., kept possession of that important pass, so that the Stuart followers were prevented from making a stand there, after Argyll had dislodged them at Perth.

In 1716 Sir Robert was appointed one of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the forfeited estates of the attainted. In this office he strenuously exerted himself to have erected, in the remote parts of the Highlands, parishes which would have their stipends derived from the confiscated estates. "In this manner," says Dr Dodderidge, "the Gospel was preached in places it had not been preached before, and new Presbyteries were formed in counties where discipline and worship of Protestant Churches had before no footing." It is stated that such was the compassion and hu-

manity which attempered his high courage, that by his influence with the Government he performed eminent services to the unfortunate families of those chiefs whose estates were confiscated.

Sir Robert was for thirty years a Member of Parliament for the Wick district of Burghs, during which time he distinguished himself as a consistent friend of both the people and the King, and as an upholder of the religion and liberty of the country. His fidelity and zeal for these had not to be purchased, solicited, or quickened, by personal favours. It continued through all that period unshaken and active, though from 1724, when his appointment as a Commissioner of Inquiry terminated, till 1740, he held no post under the Government. In the latter year, when the country was on the eve of what he deemed a just war, though he had arrived at an age at which the soldier commonly begins to think of retiring from the fatigues of active military life, he quitted the work of the senate for the dangers of the field, and passed a second time into Flanders. He had now held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for 25 years, and "his heart was too generous and too warm not to accept of the same commission," which was then given him in the Highland regiment. This regiment was the 42nd Royal Highlanders, *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch. Such was his influence over the soldiers under his command, and their admiration of his character, that his spirit and high sense of honour pervaded the whole regiment.

When a guard was granted to the people of Flanders for the protection of their property, they prayed that it should be composed of Sir Robert's Highlanders. Among Sir Robert's papers there is still existing a copy of a letter from the Elector-Palatine to his Envoy at London, desiring him to thank the King of Great Britain, in his name, for the excellent behaviour of the Highland regiment, while they were in his territories, "which," he expressly says, "was owing to the care of Sir Robert Munro, their Lieutenant-Colonel, for whose sake," he adds, "he would for the future always esteem a Scotchman."

Sir Robert and his regiment's gallant behaviour at the Battle of Fontenoy, gained him lasting honour. He was among the first on the field, and having obtained permission from the Duke of Cumberland that his Highlanders should fight after the manner of their country, he surprised the whole army by a display of extraordinary, yet admirable, tactics, directed with the most invincible courage against the enemy. [Mr Ross then described in detail the doings of the regiment at Fontenoy; but as there is an account of that battle in Vol. X. of our Transactions, this part of the paper is omitted.]

As an acknowledgment of Sir Robert Munro's services at Fontenoy, as well as on former occasions, George II. appointed him to succeed General Ponsonby, who was slain at Fontenoy, in the command of the 37th Regiment, which was ordered to Scotland. This regiment took part in the Battle of Falkirk on the 17th of January 1746, where Sir Robert fell, the tragic circumstances of his death displaying still more his indomitable heroism. On that fatal day his regiment was placed upon the left wing of the army; but in the moment of attack it participated in the general panic which had seized the other regiments on the left, and fled, leaving its Colonel surrounded by the Highlanders, alone and unprotected. In this situation Sir Robert was attacked by six men of Lochiel's regiment, and for some time gallantly defended himself with his half-pike. He killed two of his assailants, and would probably have dispatched more, had not a seventh come up and shot him in the groin with a pistol. On falling, the Highlander struck him two blows across the face with his broadsword, which killed him on the spot. His younger brother, Dr Duncan Munro of Obsdale, who had, from fraternal affection, attended him to the field to afford him any medical assistance he might require, seeing his brother so hardly beset, ran to his assistance, but was only in time to witness and to share his fate at the hands of the same Highlander, who, after firing a pistol shot into his breast, cut him down with his claymore. Thus fell the brave and gallant Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, in the 62nd year of his age. Both his body and of that his brother were next day honourably interred in Falkirk Churchyard, near where they fell, by the Macdonald's who, though engaged in the Rebellion, could not withhold their high regard for the memory of such an honourable and valiant man. The funeral was attended by Prince Charlie and all the Chiefs in the Highland army. His son, Sir Harry, erected over his grave a large and elaborately-ornamented sarcophagus which is still a conspicuous object, and bears a suitable Latin inscription, detailing the good qualities of the honourable baronet.

At the beginning of the present century many anecdotes concerning Sir Robert were floating among the tenantry of Fowlis, which, if then collected, would have formed a handsome volume. They are all of one character—tints of varied but unequivocal beauty, which animated into colour and semblance of life the faint outlines of heroism traced by Dr Dodderidge. An old man—a Munro—who died eighty years ago, could for hours together narrate the exploits of his chief. He is described as a tall, upright,

greyhaired Highlander, of a warm heart and keen unbending spirit, who fought at Dettingen, Fontenoy, Culloden, and Quebec. One day when describing the closing scene in the life of his almost idolised leader, after pouring out his curse on the dastards who had deserted him at the battle of Falkirk, he started from his seat, and grasping his staff as he burst into tears, exclaimed in a voice smothered by emotion, "Ochoin ! Ochoin ! had his own folk been there !!"

Sir Robert Munro was an elder in Kiltearn Parish Church, and discharged the duties connected with that office with characteristic conscientiousness and consistency as the Session Records of the parish, still extant, abundantly testify.

On the 29th of October 1724, the parishioners of Kiltearn resolved to give a call to the Rev. John Balfour, minister of Logie-Easter, as successor to the Rev. Hugh Campbell, translated to Kilmuir-Wester on the 21st of February 1721 ; and Sir Robert, George Munro of Lemlair, John Munro of Milnton, and David Bethune of Culnaskea, were appointed commissioners to prosecute the call before the Synod of Ross and Sutherland. The next notice of the matter is in a minute of the Session Records, dated 4th October 1725, where it is stated that "Colonel Robert Munro reported that he, with the commissioners nominated, had attended the Synod meeting anent the prosecution of Mr Balfour's call to this parish, and that the Synod transported him hither, yet by the appeal made by the heritors of Logie-Easter and the Presbytery of Taine from yr sentence to the next General Assembly of this Church, he found such insurmountable difficulties that they could not expect the obtaining of the said Mr John Balfour, wherefore he asked the Moderator of the Synod to call ane *pro re nata* meeting to recognose their said sentence, which the Moderator agreed to, and appointed the meeting to hold at Cromarty, on the 12th instant." On the suggestion of Sir Robert a deputation was appointed to attend the meeting of Synod, and prosecute the call. Thereafter, he "represented that the desolate state of this parish lay very much at his heart, which was the reason that he with oys (others) joined to call this meeting, in order to concert upon a proper minister for the paroch." The Synod, at its meeting at Cromarty, reversed their former sentence, transporting Mr Balfour to Kiltearn, and, on appeal to the General Assembly, their sentence was confirmed. On the 8th of November following, the session and parishioners met to take steps to fill the vacancy, and unanimously agreed to call the Rev. William Stewart, Inverness. Sir Robert, his brother, Captain

George Munro of Culcairn; George Munro of Lemlair; John Munro of Killichuan (now called Mountrich); and David Bethune of Culnaskea, were appointed commissioners to prosecute the call before the Presbytery of Inverness. Mr Stewart, after some delay, accepted the call; and he was admitted to Kiltarn on the 8th of November 1726. He died on the 10th of October 1729. Sir Robert represented for many years the Presbytery of Dingwall at the General Assembly.

Sir Robert Munro married Mary, daughter of the Hon. Henry Seymour of Woodlands, in Dorsetshire, Speaker of the House of Commons, by his wife, Tregonwell Anderson. Mr Seymour was a lineal descendant of Sir Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Protector of England from 1547 to 1549—being his great-grandson.

I shall conclude my notice of Sir Robert by a reference to a *fracas* which occurred at Dingwall in 1740, bearing on his election as M.P. for the Northern Burghs. As the law stood then, the retiring Councillors of a burgh chose their successors, and the right of election of members of Parliament for burghs was vested in Town Councils. It was natural therefore that intending candidates for Parliamentary honours should take some interest in municipal elections. Sir Robert knew that the Parliament then existing would in a short time be dissolved, and he resolved to stand for the Northern Burghs. It appears that the majority of the Magistrates and Town Council of Dingwall did not favour Sir Robert's candidature; and, to further his purpose, it is stated that he formed a project, in combination with his brother, Captain George Munro of Culcairn, then Sheriff-Depute of the County of Ross, and several others, to carry off the members of the Council who were opposed to him, and detain them till the election was over, which was to come off at Michaelmas following. The night before the municipal election of Dingwall Councillors, Captain Munro arrived in the burgh, accompanied by about 60 armed men, and surrounded the house where Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch and the other Councillors opposed to Sir Robert were at the time. He immediately took them prisoners, and carried them to Fowlis Castle. Here they were confined for the night, and next morning they were put on board a boat at Fowlis beach, to be taken to Orkney. The vessel had not, however, proceeded far when a terrific storm arose, and the sailors were obliged to run for the shore, and in the fear and confusion the Councillors escaped. They immediately made for Dingwall, where they arrived in time to take part in the municipal election. Sir Robert being informed

of what had happened, repaired at once to Dingwall at the head of 200 armed men, and was there joined by a number of men from Inverness. Having disposed of his men in such a manner as to be fully master of the town, he, with a few chosen men, proceeded to the Council house, took Tulloch and his friends prisoners, carried them to Tain, and placed them in the gaol there where they were detained till the Parliamentary election was over, after which they were set at liberty.

There are two accounts of the incident, taken on precognition, still preserved— one by Tulloch and his friends, and the other by Sir Robert. Tulloch's statement is as follows:—

“Some time preceding the election, Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, member for Dingwall, etc., Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Crawford's regiment, and at the time Provost of Dingwall, uttered some threats, and renewed those threats in a letter writ by his own hand to Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch, in case the Town Council should not elect his friends. The day before the election, Sir Robert had secretly conveyed to the house of William Fraser a party of 60 or 80 men in full arms; his brother, Culcairn, as a Justice of the Peace, with three other Justices called Munroes, and whose yearly income scarcely deserve a name, had likewise appointed that very day for beginning to repair the roads that lay within a short mile of the town; and, under that pretext, convoked nearly 200 men; who, instead of shovels, spades, and other instruments proper for mending the roads, were likewise armed with guns, swords, and pistols. The party that had been thus secretly conveyed to the town were concealed the morning of the election day in Fraser's barn and office-houses, until Sir Robert came to the house of Alexander Mackenzie (where Kenneth Bayne of Tulloch and nine more of the Council were met, in order to proceed together to the Council-house), and there again renewed his threats, unless such friends as he thought proper to name were brought upon the Council; but as the ten who were then present, and who made up two-thirds of the Council, besides that the office of Dean of Guild had become vacant by the death of Colin Mackenzie, which reduced the Council to 14, seemed unanimously resolved to support the rights of the town, and yield to no arbitrary demands for placing the absolute Government in the hands of any particular man, the furious Sir Robert, after several menaces, left them with these words—‘Gentlemen, farewell, every man for himself, and God for us all.’ Immediately upon his departure, the Councillors and whole inhabitants were alarmed with seeing 50 or 60 men in

arms rush out from Fraser's Close, under the command of Culcairn and one Douglas, late surgeon in Culcairn's Independent Company, and march straight to Mackenzie's house, where the 10 Councillors were met, and, without knowing any cause, to find the doors of the house broken open, and the whole Councillors carried away by an armed force. Mr Mackenzie's wife offering to go into the room, was drawn backwards by the cuff of the neck down a narrow turnpike stair, by which she was severely hurt and bruised. When the Councillors demanded to know for what cause they were so roughly used, five men appear as messengers, and apprehend so many of the Council; another collars a sixth, in virtue of a pretended warrant from the same Justices of the Peace, whose names have been already mentioned; but when the Councillors desire to see the several captions, and the warrant, and under form of instrument require to know for what sums, or at whose instance the captions are, and what cause was expressed in the warrant; declaring that they were ready instantly to pay any sums that should be contained in the captions, and likewise to find immediate bail to answer whatever was laid in the warrant; each of these, by order of Culcairn, is refused, and they are dragged out of town: while Sir Robert's butler was sent express to call the 200 men, convoked under the pretence of mending the roads, to join the cavalcade; and so many of the Councillors, from debts contained in these sham captions, several of which were actually suspended, and the suspension duly intimated, were carried prisoners in triumph to Tayne, sixteen miles distant; and the whole Councillors forced to forsake the town. The Councillors being thus removed, Sir Robert Munro, Mr Duncan, his brother, with two others who were in his party, proceeded to the Council-house, and made an election; which the other ten Councillors, with the Town-Clerk, having the books of the town, had done some short time before the alarm was brought that Culcairn and Douglas were marching at the head of their banditti to assault them. And scarcely had Sir Robert's election been over, when twenty or thirty of the armed men, who had left the town, returned, and found the Councillors' wives, and others of their female friends, not six men of the town being then in it, calling to Sir Robert to return their husbands and their friends; whilst he and Culcairn answered their complaints, by renouncing all title to common humanity, and ordering their banditti 'to fire sharp shot, east and west, to clear the street.' And these orders were accordingly obeyed, and thereby one boy of ten years of age was shot in the forehead, another shot at the mouth, the ball lodging in the root

of his tongue ; and several women were wounded, particularly the wife of Alexander Mackenzie, who is since dead of her wounds, one in the cuff of the neck, which, according to the surgeon's declaration who dressed her wound, was large enough for him to turn his thumb in ; and several other women are now lying in so dangerous a way that their lives are despaired of. In short, nothing but the shrieks and cries of women in the agonies of death were to be heard, while the streets were running blood, and to such a height did these barbarities proceed, that upon Sir Robert and Culcairn being told that Mrs Mackenzie was mortally wounded, their answer was, it would do her good to lose some of her foul blood."

Such is the account of the affair as given by Tulloch's party : the following is that given by Sir Robert Munro and his friends : —“ On the 30th of September (the election day), five of the King's Messengers required Capt. George Munro of Culcairn, as Sheriff-depute, in terms of the will of letters of caption, to give his assistance in putting the same to execution, they having had certain information that the rebels had convocated a numerous body of men and women, and fortified themselves in and about the house of Alexander Mackenzie, vintner in Dingwall. Accordingly, the Sheriff, with about 10 or 12 in his company, attended with five messengers, who had each of them six assistants and no more, went to Mackenzie's house about ten before noon ; where they observed a great mob and convocation of people ; by whom they were assaulted, invaded, and opposed with stones and staves, in the discharge of their office, to the effusion of blood. During this tumult Mrs Mackenzie, the landlady, appearing extremely active, was in the calmest manner entreated by Culcairn to keep within doors lest she should be hurt, he having stood all the time in the close, and neither entered the house nor approached the stair leading to the room, where the messengers had by that time apprehended only three persons, viz., Bayne of Tulloch, Bayne of Delnie, and William Macneill, mason in Dingwall ; and having brought their prisoners to the street, they (although the proclamation against riots were read) were attacked with stones, clubs, and batons, from a numerous mob, to the number of 200 to 300, who pursued the messengers for more than a mile out of the town, and wounded most of the messengers and their party ; during which interval the town was in peace and quiet. But the mob despairing of rescuing the prisoners, returned to the town, and increasing their numbers, from the tenants of the neighbouring ground, to betwixt 300 and 400, they beset the house of Bailie William

Fraser, where Sir Robert and Captain Munro, with several other gentlemen were, and set fire to the straw-thatch of the house, on the alarm of which, Sir Robert and the gentlemen within the house came to the gate of the close, where a live coal was extinguished, which had been put to the straw-thatch. Then retiring into the house, to avoid any recounter with the mob, and to prevent mischief, they were thereafter alarmed by a servant acquainting them that they were undone, the mob being ready in great numbers to press in upon them from the streets; whereupon, the Sheriff, with Sir Robert, the Provost, and the two Bailies of the town, went to the close, and from that to the gate leading to the street, where the Sheriff read the proclamation against mobs, explained the same in Irish, and he and the rest of the gentlemen used their utmost endeavours to sooth and mollify them; but, instead of that, with greater rage, and uttering dreadful menaces, they attacked the gentlemen, pouring vollies of stones into the close where they were standing, particularly from a stairhead overlooking the close on the west, and over the roof of the house from the street, by which several were hurt, and the gentlemen obliged to retire to a low room in Bailie Fraser's house, which had no access or communication to the street either by door or window, in which place they continued confined and besieged for about two hours, during which time the windows of the storey above where they had been sitting were broken down by the stones thrown at them by the mob. Whilst thus pinned up, and apprehending every moment to be put to death, they got what arms they could for their defence, but they fired no shot that day, a part of the said arms being a blunderbus without flint or shot. They then heard a report of three shots in the streets; upon which they, in a body, left the room, and came out to the street, where they were informed that about twelve or fourteen men (among whom were three or four constables) with a few arms, but mostly with clubs and staves, were come from the country, upon information of the gentlemen being besieged, and in hazard of their lives; that those men being attacked by the mob, had fired the said three shots, and that they heard Mrs Mackenzie, who is since dead, and one man were wounded; and soon after one of the gentlemen in the company was sent to dress their wounds."

Such is the statement of the affair as given in by, or for, Sir Robert. Both accounts are said to be in terms of two precognitions taken at different times; but Tulloch's party alleged that the witnesses examined on behalf of Sir Robert were his brothers, his

gardener, butler, groom, and certain of his dependents. Warrants were issued by the Justiciary Court for the apprehension of Sir Robert and Captain Munro, and the case set down for trial in Edinburgh, but on Sir Robert's application the trial of the case was removed to the Circuit Court at Inverness. The jury returned a unanimous verdict against Sir Robert and his brother, fining them £200. Sir Robert appealed against this decision, but I have as yet been unable to discover with what result, the old documents from which I have unearthed the above being silent on that point.

11TH MARCH 1885.

On this date, the Secretary read a paper by Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart., on a Contract of Friendship, dated 1549, between Mackenzie of Kintail, Lord Lovat, and Chisholm of Comar. Sir Kenneth's paper was as follows:—

OLD CONTRACTS OF FRIENDSHIP.

In the sale catalogue of the Abertarff books and papers, which were disposed of at Inverness towards the close of last autumn, I was attracted by the entry, "Contract of friendship, Alexander Lord Lovat and John Chisholm, John Mackenzie, and Kenneth Mackenzie, 2nd May 1549;" and having given a commission for the purchase of this document, I became the possessor of a rather torn and ragged half sheet of foolscap, which was folded and endorsed "Contract of mutuall frendship betwix my Lord Louat and Jone M'Kenze of Kintail." Internally the writing was in good preservation, except where the paper was torn; but it contained some words in which the characters and abbreviations were almost illegible. As illustrative of the state of society in the Highlands in the middle of the 16th century, it may have an interest for the Gaelic Society of Inverness, one of whose objects is to rescue from oblivion manuscripts bearing on the history of the Gaelic people. The document, which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been published, is as follows:—

"At Bewling ye second day of may in ye yeir of God ane thousand vc and xlix yiers it is appointit aggreit & fynale endit betwex ane nobill & potent lord Alexander Lord frayser of Louet Johne Chessolm of Comer on ye tane part and Johne M'Kenze of Kyntail and Kennocht M'Kenze his sone and apperand ayr on ye toyr part in maner form and effect as eftr followis, that is to say

ye sayd Johne M'Kenze of Kyntaill and Kennocht M'Kenze his sone hes bundin and oblist yam selfis be ye faytht and treutht in yair bodeis ye haly ewangelist tucheit corporly that yai sall defend matayne & tak afald pt wt ye sayd Lord frayser of Louet and Johne Chessolm of Comer in yair querellis quhat sumeuyr in contrar all mortall man ye authorite my Lord of huntlie ye Erle of Suthyrland & James Grant of Fruquhy allanerly exceptit And in lykwyss ye sayd Lord frayser & Johne Chessolm of Comer hes bundin & oblist yam selfis be ye faytht and treutht in yr bodeis ye haly ewangelist tucheit corporly yat yai sall defend matayne and tak afald pt wt ye sayde Johne Mckenze and Kennocht his sone in contrar all man mortall ye authorite my lord of huntlye & ye lard of Balnagowyn allanerle exceptit and yis band of kyndnes mayd becauss of ye tendyrnes & kyndnes qlk hes beyne abefoyr betwex or forbears ; and [for observing ?] and keeping and fulfilling of yis or band of kyndnes ye sayd Johne McKenze and Kennocht my sone hes subscribit and selit our part hereof to remane interchengeble wt ye sayd Lord frayser and Johne Chessolm. At Bewling the yeir day effoyr wretin before yir wytness Hewchon Symson off Brigend Alexander Bayne and Sir Wylleam Dow chaplane wt wderis diueress. And in lykwyss ye sayds pteis abune wretin hes bundin & oblist yair kyn freynds [and serwands ?] in maner form as is abune wretin.

“Johne McKenze of Kyntail wt my
hand led at ye pen

“Kennocht McKenze wt my hand
led at ye pen.”

Bonds of this nature seem to have been not uncommon at the period when the above contract was entered into. Law received but doubtful recognition, or at least its rule was too frequently superseded by that of might ; and men who could not rely on their own strength as sufficient for their protection were glad to purchase the support of their more powerful neighbours, or exemption from their ill-will, or to strengthen the bonds of alliance with their kinsmen and friends. There seem to have been at least three distinct classes of bonds employed for these purposes.

(1) There were bonds of assurance in which one man undertook not to molest another. Thus, on 22nd October 1527, Hector Mackintosh, Captain of the Clan Chattan,* assures Ewen Alan-son, Captain of the Clan Cameron, “hymeself, his kyne, party, purcheis and enyrdance, his & thare landis, gudis purcheis and

* Shaw's Mackintoshes and Clan Chatten, p. 198.

enyrdance" up to "ye fest of St Andrew nixt to come." We may feel pretty sure that Ewen Alanson would need to keep good watch after the feast of St Andrew, the 30th of November following, but this bond secures him forty night's of peaceful sleep, so far at least as the Clan Chattan were concerned. Bonds of assurance were not always so limited in point of time. In 1593 Hugh Rose of Kilravock received* a bond of assurance from Huntly securing him and his dependents against molestation "be ws, our army, kyn, freyndis or Allane McConill dw off Locheall, Alexr. McRennald of Gargawehe, our dependaris, their serwandis, dependaris or awaitteris wpoune thame, in ony maner of way:" and this assurance was to hold good till recalled.

(2) Another class of protective bond was that of manrent given by inferiors to superiors, under which protection was stipulated for, in return for a life-long obligation of military service. This seems to have been very commonly resorted to. It must not be supposed that all bonds of manrent were of this nature. In some the obligation was for menial service, and the stipulated return was a mere matter of wages. There has been preserved a bond† of this kind in which Thomas Davidson binds himself with a servant, to serve Hugh Rose of Kilravock as a gardener for a year, and thereafter if it pleases Kilravock for the rest of his life, receiving therefor during the first year meat for himself and his servant, and four pennies each working day, with a fee of one mark for the servant for the year, and also a chamber to lodge in; thereafter Kilravock, if he retains him, is to build him a house and give him such wages as are usually given to men of his craft. Four pennies a day, or two shillings Scots for six days work, is twopence of our money as weekly wage, while the servant's annual fee was but 1s. 1½d. The special feature of bonds of manrent, whether the obligations undertaken were of military or menial service, appears to be that they bound for life to a state of vassalage. They seem to be, indeed, a relic of slavery or serfdom, the manrent service being even assignable.

When Sir Jno. Campbell, brother to Colin, 3rd Earl of Argyll, made good his claim in right of his wife, Lady Muriel Calder, to the Cawdor estates, he found himself far from home and friends. Sheriff Nicolson, quoting Gregory, gives the proverb, "Is fada an éubh o Loch Obha, 'us cobhair o Chlann O'Duibhne," as having originated at a battle in Glenlivat between Huntly and Argyll in

* Kilravock papers, p. 274.

† Kilravock papers, p. 204.

1594. But in the book of the Thanes of Cawdor, where the proverb is given thus, * “S’ fhada glaodh o Lochow ; s’ fhada cobhair o chlann dhoaine” [the last word evidently misspelt], it is said to have originated in a contest for the possession of the person of Lady Muriel Calder in 1500. Campbell of Inverliver had been sent by Archibald, 2nd Earl of Argyll, to take the child from her maternal grandfather at Kilravock, and bring her to Inveraray, Argyll and Kilravock having obtained a gift of tutors dative to her, and Argyll having the ward of her marriage. Inverliver was opposed by two of her uncles, Alexander and Hugh Calder, who overtook him with a superior party at Daltullich, and, pressing him to fight, caused him to utter the ejaculation which has passed into a proverb. Whichever story is true, whether the proverb originated before or after Sir John Campbell’s time, there can be little doubt that the idea it expresses, a sense of imminent danger, and of distant relief, might very well have been uppermost in the knight’s mind as he took possession of his wife’s heritage. It was in these circumstances that his brother, the Earl of Argyll, assigned to him in the year 1522,† “the manrent and servise of our traist frendis, and servandis Alexander McAllane McRoyri and Donald Gromach McDonald Gallach and all thar kyne frendis and servandis that dependis one them, etc.” Such an assignation, though rare, is said by Mr Cosmo Innes to be “not without parallel.” When bonds of manrent were given by considerable personages, they may sometimes have been compelled to do so by the pressure of circumstances ; but quite as frequently such bonds had a commercial character, and were given as a *quid pro quô*, a return for gifts of land or other favours. The bond of the Grants in 1546, which is cited in the footnote,‡ was given by them in consideration of their having been infeft in liferent by Huntly in “his sex dawachs of his landis of Strathoune . . . with the forest and glen of Glenawne, and keping of the hous and fortalice of Drummyne, togidder with the bailliorye of the lorschipe of Strathoune,” and similarly in 1550 the Laird of Fowlis gives his bond of manrent to Huntly “for the quhilk (he says) the said nobill and mychty Lord hes giffen me his bond of mantenans, togidder with the sume of foarte pundis vsuall mone of Scotland to

* Cawdor Papers, p. 104.

† Cawdor Papers, p. 144.

‡ Among the Gordon Castle Papers (Spalding Miscellany IV. p. 214) there is preserved a bond of manrent given in 1546 to Huntly by “us James Grant of Freuchye, and Johnne the Grant, my eldest sone and appearand ayre.”

be payit yeirlye induring the said space of my lifytyme." There are many bonds extant approaching in character those of manrent, but in which the obligation is not expressly stated to be for life. They are generally between persons more nearly of equal station, and they may be met with, shading imperceptibly into deeds of the next class.

(3) This third class of protective bond is that between friends and equals, of which the transcript from the Abertarff papers is a fair specimen. The chief of Kintail and his son, who were parties to it, are also parties to a much more formal agreement of a similar kind* between them, and Campbell of Cawdor, Grant of Fruquhy, and Ross of Balnagown. This agreement, which is entered into at the Chanonry of Ross January 1545, contains a provision that if any of the parties fail in fulfilling their part thereof, the remainder shall take part against "the brekar fray their consall." It is difficult to understand by what other sanctions such a contract could have been enforced. A breach of its covenants could hardly have formed the ground of a civil action, not to mention that the very fact of such agreements been made, presupposed a state of society in which submission to law was uncertain. In the case of the contract between Lovat, Chisholm, and Kintail, which has been the foundation for these remarks, the covenant is affirmed with an oath on "the haly ewangel," a disregard of which might perhaps have been dealt with ecclesiastically. In 1570 Lord Lovat and Huntly entered into a contract of friendship† for the enforcement of which there is neither oath nor any other visible provision beyond the sanction which mutual interest supplied. Lovat wanted a feu farm of "the landis & names of Beowlyne with the salmond fischeing thereof," etc., and Huntley's influence is promised to obtain this for him from the Abbot of Kinloss. On the other hand, Huntly, who belonged to Queen Mary's party, had to maintain his position in the North against Lennox, who had been appointed Regent by Elizabeth, and wanting all the support he could get, he secures Lovat's aid by this agreement.

On the face of the contract between Lovat and Chisholm "on the tane part," and the two Mackenzies "on the toyr," there is nothing to show why it was entered into, nor does tradition or history so far as I am aware mention any special circumstance which called for a strengthening of alliances on the borders of Ross

* Cawdor Papers, p. 167.

† Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv., p. 227.

and Inverness at that particular juncture; and I am inclined to suppose that it may have been with some view of avenging his clan on the Macdonalds, with whom the Mackenzies had a hereditary feud, that Alexander Lord Lovat entered into this agreement. He was the son of Hugh, the fifth Lord, who with his eldest son by his first wife Ann Grant of Freuchy, and with most of his clan, fell in fight with the Macdonalds at the Battle of Blar na Leinne, on Loch-Lochy in 1544. Sir Robert Gordon says that 300 of the blood and surname of Fraser were killed at this battle, * “and there was a rumor spread that there was not one of the familie left alyve that was of manes state. Bot it happened by the singular benefite of God, that they left their wyffs with chyld when they went to the feight: by which meanes that familie wes afterwards raised and restored.” But as yet five years only had elapsed: the Frasers who, in the interval, had come to man’s estate could not have been very numerous, and their Chief might be willing enough to strengthen himself by alliances whether for defence or for vengeance.

Another explanation of this contract may be that it was a token of reconciliation between Lovat and Kintail. Hugh, Master of Lovat, who had been killed at Loch-Lochy, was a son of Ann Grant of Freuchy, and tradition says was left at home intentionally by his father, who did not wish his life endangered. But stung by the taunts of his step-mother, Janet Ross of Balnagown, who wished the succession opened to her own son (the Lovat of this contract), the Master followed his father, and with him lost his life. It might very well be, therefore, that the Grants of Freuchy felt some coldness towards the young Lovat and his mother. John Mackenzie of Kintail was married to one of these Grants (a daughter of John, the tenth laird, says the historian of the Mackenzies), and if so a sister of the deceased Anne Lady Lovat, and aunt of Hugh, who was the victim of his stepmother’s taunts. There was thus a reason for coldness between the two families of Lovat and Kintail, which were, nevertheless, closely allied by blood—John of Kintail’s mother having been a daughter of Hugh, 3rd Lord Lovat; and it is not unnatural to suppose that as this contract was “made because of the tenderness and kindness which has been before betwixt our forbears,” so it bore witness to the close of a temporary estrangement.

This would seem to be the most reasonable explanation, were it not for the introduction of Chisholm as a party to the deed. I have been unable to trace any near connection by blood between

* Sir Robert Gordon’s Earldom of Sutherland, p. 110.

him and either Lovat or Kintail, and though there had been early alliances between their families, I think he must have been here conjoined with Lovat, rather because his lands, lying interspersed among those of the Frasers, the interests of the two families as regards defence from aggression were inseparable. The contract thus receives the colour of a defensive alliance rather than that of a deed of reconciliation. It may have been both; and the reservation by the Mackenzies of their freedom in the case of quarrel between Lovat and Grant, shows that if there had been a reconciliation between these families, doubts were felt as to its permanence.

The reservations made by each of the parties to the contract are not without interest. Both admit a prior allegiance to "ye authorite," *i.e.* the Crown, and to "my Lord of Huntlye." Huntly was at this time Chancellor of the Kingdom and Earl of Moray, and at a previous time had been her Majesty's Lieutenant-General for the North of Scotland; but "ye authorite" having been already "exceptit," it is evident that Huntly here stands for himself, and not for the Crown. When during the Queen's minority, he held the Lieutenancy of the Northern parts of Scotland, he had obtained a general bond from the nobility and barons of the North,* pledging them to obedience, and to maintenance of the law, and among the names attached to it are those of Lovat, Chisholm, and John Mackenzie of Kintail. Possibly this bond was regarded as one personal to Huntly, but unless his distinctive qualities and hereditary position had secured for him the attachment of the Highland Chiefs, one can hardly suppose that it would have been long regarded as of perpetual obligation.

The Mackenzies further exempt from their part of the agreement the Earl of Sutherland and Grant of Freuchy. The cause for this last has been already mentioned, and Kintail was bound by a bond of manrent of 1545† to the Earl of Sutherland.

On his part, besides the Crown and Huntly, Lovat only excepts from the contract his mother's relative, the Laird of Balnagown.

The document, signed by the Mackenzies, is described as "our part hereof," showing that there was a counterpart signed by Lovat and Chisholm to remain with the Mackenzies. Neither John nor Kenneth Mackenzie could write their own names, a rather unusual circumstance in persons of their degree at that period.

In a deed, cited by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, of the 9th August

* Spalding Club Miscellany, iv. 213.

† Sir Robert Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, p. 134.

1550,* we find the names of the witnesses Hugh Simsonne and William Dow, and we learn that Brigend was Easter Kinmylies, near Inverness.

Perhaps some members of the Society may know where the Brig stood. In a document of this sort there is some interest in filling up local details, and a local association is peculiarly fitted for doing it; but it is as illustrating the nature of social relations in Inverness-shire three centuries ago, that I have brought this interesting contract of friendship under the notice of the Gaelic Society of Inverness; and I hope it may be considered a not unsuitable contribution to the Society's Transactions.

On the same date (11th March 1885) Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage, Inverness, gave a paper entitled "Unpublished Old Gaelic Songs, with Illustrative Traditions," which was as follows:—

OLD GAELIC SONGS.

The first song on my list for this evening is one composed by Donald Gobha for the first Glengarry Fencible Regiment. Here I may briefly state that the idea of embodying those Highlanders into a Fencible Regiment originated with the late Right Rev. Bishop Macdonnell of Canada, when he was a young missionary. He procured a meeting at Fort-Augustus in February 1794. An address was drawn up to the King, offering the service of a Catholic Corps, which Glengarry and Fletcher of Dunan handed to the King. A letter of service was received. The missionary was gazetted chaplain to the regiment. The corps volunteered for England, &c. The regiment was disbanded in 1802. In 1804 the Bishop obtained for them patent deeds for one hundred and sixty thousand acres of land in Canada.

ORAN DO REISEAMAID GHLINNEGARAIDH LE DONULL SIOSAL,
i.e., DONULL GOBHA.

Na'n deonuich sibh m' eisdeachd,
Bho 'n a dh' fhailig mo gheur orm,
'S na facail a leughainn dhuibh an drasd.

Gu bheil sinn' ann an solas,
Ged tha mnathan fo bhron dhe,
'S tha mo bheachd gur e dochas a's fhearr.

* Invernessiana, p. 222.

Tha iadsan a' caoidh nam macan
Tha triall thun na feachda ;
Cha 'n'eil sinne ga fachdain na'n càs

Ach faigh a nall dhuinn am botal,
Agus glaine no copan,
Gus an ol sinn an deoch s' air an slaint'.

Air slaint' an t-Siosalaich Ghlaisich,
Agus olamaid' as i ;
'S na robh slaint' anns a' phearsa nach traigh.

'S am fear nach ol i gu dubailt,
Call a dheudach 'sa shuil air,
Gus nach leir dha mo dhurachdsa dha.

Ach buaidh is piseach air Uilleam —
Dia ga dhion bho gach cunnart,
'S air gach duine chaidh bhuileachadh dha.

An t-og aigiontach, rioghail,
A chuireadh sgairt fo na miltean ;
'S leat am prasgan is finealt a dh'fhas.

An am a' chatha 's na comh-stri,
'S leat maithean Chloinn-Donuill,
Eadar Uidhist a's comhnard Phort-chlar.

Bha Gleannagaradh dhut dileas
An am cogadh no siochaint,
'S thig Mac-Dhughaill gle chinnteach ad phairt.

'S mar sud a's Clann-Choinnich,
Le'm brataichean soilleir,
'S thig Mac-Shimi na d' choinnimh o'n Aird.

Gur a lionmhor fuil uasal
Tha na d' bhallaibh a' bualadh,
Nach lamh mise an uair s' chur fos 'n aird.

'S beag an t-ioghnadh e thachairt,
Oighre Chomair nam macan,
Dha robh foghlum a's fasanan ard.

Bha thu tighearnail, feilidh,
Gun airce, gun eucoir,
Bha mar leomhan beum-cheannach, garg.

Bha thu iriosal, beachdail,
 Gu h-ardanach, smachdail,
 Rachadh daicheil am fasan nan arm.

B'ann a dh-fhasan nan Glaiseach
 Bhi gu ceannsgalach, gaisgeil,
 Le luths lamh gum biodh fachdain aig cach.

'S gur e fasan bu dual dhuibh,
 'Nam caitheamh na luaithe,
 Bhi gu bras-lamhach, cruadalach, borb.

Gur e suaicneas a bh'aca
 An am dhol sios anns na batail
 Dealbh an tuirc ann am brataich gun sghath.

Mur bhi ghiorrad 's tha m' eolas,
 Chuirinn tuilleadh an ordugh,
 Gus gum bitheadh an t-oran na b'fhearr.

Ach ghuidh mi Dia bhi gar seoladh
 Anns gach onair an coir dhuibh,
 Gus an till sibh air 'ur n-eolas a nall.

In my humble opinion the following version of the elegy composed by Donull Gobha in memory of the "Fair Chisholm" in 1793 is superior to the one published by us last year* ; besides, there are nine additional stanzas in this copy. It has been sent from Nova Scotia by a gentleman who knows it to be the version sung by Strathglass men among whom Donull Gobha lived and died in Nova Scotia.

ORAN DO SHIOSALACH SHRATHGHLAIS, LE DONULL SIOSAL,
i.e., DONULL GOBHA.

Gum beil mulad orm fein,
 Chaidh mo chadal an eis,
 An diugh cha leir dhomh ach eiginn sgleo.

Bho na ghlasaich mo chiabh,
 Agus a sheachdaich mo bhian,
 Thug an aiceid so dhìom an fheoil.

Bhuail saighdean mi goirt,
 A rinn mo chlaoidh a's mo lot ;
 Bithidh mi tuilleadh fo sprochd ri m' bheo.

* See Transactions, Vol. X. p. 222.

'S e bas an t-Siosalaich ghleusd'
A bhrist air osnaich mo chleibh,
'S aobhar m' acain thu bhi 'n ceisibh bhord.

'S ann 's a' Mhanachuinn fo'n uir,
Dh' fhag sibh tasgaidh mo ruin,
Am mac, 's an t-athair le'm b'fhiu dhuinn falbh.

Chaill sinn Ruari an aigh,
Fear a dh' fhuasgladh gach càs ;
An diugh cha 'n aithne dhomh aicheadh beo.

Agus Dunnachadh na dheigh,
Bu shar cheannard nan ceud ;
Dh'eug e'n Lunainn, 's mo leir-chreach mhor.

So i bhuille bha cruaidh ;
An t-eug thug Alasdair bhuainn,
Craobh dhe'n abhul a b' uaisle meoir.

Crann seudair nam buadh,
A dh'fhag fir Albainn fo ghruaim,
'Nuair a dh' iundrainn iad bhuath thu, sheoid.

'S iomadh fear a bha 'm breis,
Eadar tuath agus deas,
'S iad fo ghruaim, ann an deiseachan broin.

'S gur a fiosrach tha mi
Gu'n robh meas ort 's gach tir,
Ann am Parlamaid rìgh 's aig mod.

'Nuair a shuidheadh tu'n cuirt
Bu leat eisdeachd' 's tu b' fhiù ;
Chuireadh d'fhacal gach cuis air seol.

Fhir a dh'oladh an fheisd
Mar bu chuibhidh dha'n treud,
'San teaghlach farsuinn bu shaibhir gloir.

Bha gach fasan a b'fhearr
Ann am pearsa mo ghraidh,
Ach co mhealas an drasd a chot'.

Far 'm biodh fidheal nan teud,
'S a bhi ga'n tathaich le beus,
Pìob chruidh, sgalant, le fileantachd mheoir.

Le fraoch Feadailteach binn,
A's e gu h-airgiodach, grinn
Cha robh an Alba a thug cis do cheoil.

Bho na thoisich an triath
Gun robh ainn dhibh bhi fial,
Eadar Sasunn nan cliar 's an Roimh.

Le bogha dhe'n iubhar le lann,
Cha bu chearbach do 'lainmh,
Gum buingneadh tu'n geall 'sa choir.

Leat a chinneadh an t-sealg,
Ann an srath nan damh dearg,
Eadar Fionn-ghleann a's Cioch an fheoir.

Eadar Comar nan allt,
Agus garbh-shlios nam beann,
Eadar Gleann Srath-Farair 's an Caoran-gorm.

Cha b'e dublachadh mail,
A dh' fhag do bhancaichean lan,
Ach an torc-sona bhi ghnath na d' lorg.

Bu leat faghaid nan gleann,
'S fuaim nan gaothar na'n deann,
Fhir a leagadh na maing le sgorr.

Seall gur Gaidhealtachd Glais,
Na dian Galld' i le lagh,
Tuig a comas a's creid mar tha.

Mar tha 'n sean-fhacal ceart—
Mol a' mhachair 's na treabh,
Diomail fasgadh a' phris 's na fag.

Och ! 's mi na m' iomadan truagh,
An diugh ga d' iundrainn 's tu bhuan,
'S mo chul-taic anns an uaigh gun treoir.

Ach mile moladh mar tha,
Gum beil oighre na d' aite,
Friamh dhligheach dhe 'n chraoibh a dh' fhalbh.

Coisinn beannachadh Dhia,
Duine bochd na leig dhiot,
'S thoir lan cheartas do'n fhear a's coir.

Donull Gobha was at a wedding in Comar, Strathglass, where the *elite* of the neighbourhood were assembled. In the evening, after having enjoyed themselves to their heart's content, the guests were wending their way home, when by accident or design the brother of the bridegroom, Iain Mac-Thomais, appeared to a party of the young men, and soon had them inside a *sabhal-feoir*, where he tapped a cask of genuine Ferintosh whisky. Their drinking cup was a two-handled wooden cog (*meadar chluasach*), which was charged and sent round and round again and again until, as Donull Gobha avows in the following couplets, their vision was so much increased that they saw the handles of the cog getting longer and longer, the hoops doubling, and their good opinion of themselves immensely elevated at each successive round of the magic cog!

Dheanainn sugradh ris an nighinn duibh,
Agus éirigh anns a' mhaduinn.

Dheanainn, &c.

Iain 'ic Thomais 'ic Dhaibhidh,
Thug thu cail dhuinn nach robh againn.

Dheanainn, &c.

Cha b' e glaine bheag no strùbag,
Thug thu dhuinn ach cupa' maide.

Dheanainn, &c.

H-uile strachd rachadh mu'n cuairt dheth
Chite chluas a' fas na b'fhaide.

Dheanainn, &c.

'N àite cearcail chit' a dha air,
Barail ard a bha fas againn.

Dheanainn, &c.

Here is a song by Duncan Chisholm, *i.e.*, Donnachadh Buidhe. Duncan, I ought to remark, left his native Strathglass for Nova Scotia early in this century, he, along with his neighbours, having been evicted from their holdings in order to make room for sheep. I am indebted for the words of the song to a gentleman in Nova Scotia, whose father and grandfather I well remember before they left the Brae of Glencannich.

ORAN DHA NA CAOIRICH MHORA.

Ge b'e h-aon rinn an duanag, chaidh e tuathal an tòs,
Nach do chuimhnich na h-uaislean dha 'm bu dual a bhì mòr;
Na'm biodh feum air neart dhaoin' ann an caonaig no'n toir,
'S iad a sheasadh an cruadal, 's lannan cruaidhe na'n dorn.

Na Siosalaich Ghlaiseach bho chaisteal nan arm,
 Na suinn a bha tapaidh 'nuair chaisgt' orra 'n fhearg ;
 'Nuair theid iad 's a' bhaiteal, cha bu ghealtach an colg,
 'S gu'n cuir iad fo'n casan luchd chasagan dearg.

Sibh a bhuaileadh na buillean, 'sa chuireadh an ruaig,
 'S a sheasadh ri teine, gun deireas gun ghruaim ;
 Na suinn a bha fulangach, curanta, cruaidh,
 Nach leigeadh le namhaid an larach thoirt uath'.

La Blar Airidh-Ghuidhein rinn sibh pruthar air sluagh,
 Ged bu lionmhor na daoine air 'ur n-aodann 'san uair ;
 Cha deachaidh mac mathar dhiubh sabhailte uath',
 'S gu'n do thill sibh a' chreach air a h-ais do'n Taobh-tuath.

'Nuair a dh'eirich na curaidhean curanta, dian,
 Gu luath-lamhach, guineach, 's iad ullamh gu gnìomh,
 Gu'n d' fhag sibh na miltean na'n sineadh air sliabh,
 Gun tuigse, gun toinise, gun anail na'n cliabh.

'Nuair theid iad an ordugh, na h-oganaich ghar, g,
 Cha 'n'eil 's an Roinn-Eorpa na's boidhch' theid fo'n airm ;
 'Nuair a gheibheadh sibh ordugh, bu deonach leibh falbh,
 'S gu'n déanadh sibh feolach an comh-stri nan arm.

'S ann chunnaic mi 'm prasgan bu taitniche leam,
 Eadar bun Allt-na- Glaislig a's braighe Chnochd-fhionn.
 Nach leigeadh le namhaid dol dan air an cùl,
 Ged tha iad bho'n la sin a' cnamh anns an uir.

Gur a tric tha mi smaointinn air an duthaich a th'ann,
 Tha'n diugh fo na caoirich eadar raointean a's ghleann ;
 Gun duine bhi lathair dhe'nalach a bh'ann,
 Ach coin agus caoirich ga'n slaodadh gu fang.

'S ann tha aobhar a' mhulaid aig na dh' fhuirich 's an ait',
 Gun toil-inntinn gun taic ach fo chasan nan Gall ;
 Bho'n a dh' fhalbh an luchd-eaglais bha freasdalach dhaibh,
 Co a ghabhas an leth-sgeul, 'nuair bhios iad na'n cas ?

Gur lionmhor sonn aluinn chaidh arach bho thus,
 An teaghlach an armuinn a bha tamh an Cnochd-fhionn ;
 'S bho'n a dh' fhalbh na daoine-uaisle, chaidh an tuath air an glùn,
 'S gu'm beil iad bho'n uair sin gun bhuachaille cuil.

B'iad sud na daoine uaisle 'sna buachaillean ciuin —
 Easbuig Iain 's a bhrathair, a's Iain Ban bha'n Cnochd-fhionn—
 Na daoine bha feumail gu reiteachadh cuis ;
 Chaidh an duthaich an eis bho'n la dh'eug iad na'n triuir.

Dh' fhalbh na Cinn-fheadhna b' fhearr eisdeachd 'sa' chuir—
 An ceann-teaghlach bu shine dhe'n fhine b' fhearr cliu ;
 Tha gach aon a bha taitneach air an tasgadh 's an ùir,
 'S iad mar shoitheach gun *chaptain*, gun acfhuinn, gun stiuir.

Dh' fhalbh an stiuir as na h-iaruinn 'nuair a thriall na fir bhan—
 Na h-Easbuigean beannuichte, carranta, tlath,
 'S ioma buaidh agus cliu bha' air an cunntas 'n'ur gnath ;
 'S ann agaibh bha'n t-ionntas a dh' ionnsuidh a' bhàis.

Cha bu bhas e ach aiseag gu beatha na b' fhearr,
 Dol a dh' ionnsuidh an Athar tha 'n Cathair nan Gras ;
 Na seirbheisich dhileas dha 'n Ti tha gu h-ard,
 'S a tha an toil-inntinn nach diobair gu brach.

'S mi-fhortan dha'r cairdean thug sibh thamh anns' an Lios,
 Na h-armuinnean priseil lan sith agus meas,
 Na coinnlean a b' aillte dheanadh dearsadh na'r measg,
 'S ann a tha na cuirp àluinn air an caradh fo lic.

'S ann fo lic air an aineol tha na feara gun ghruaim,
 Nach fuilgeadh an eucoir ann an eisdeachd an cluas ;
 Gur e a bh' aca na'n inntinn toil-inntinne bhuan,
 Le Soisgeul na Firinn ga innseadh dha 'n t-sluagh.

'S ann an sin a bha 'n comunn a bha toilichte leinn,
 'Nuair a bha sinn mu'n coinneamh bha sonas ri'n linn ;
 'Nuair a chaidh iad 'san uaigh sgiot an sluagh as gach taobh,
 'S iad mar chaoirich gun bhuachail' air am fuadach thair tuinn.

Cha'n 'eil buachaille an aca no taic' air an cùl,
 Bho na leigeadh fir Shasuinn a fagadh an Dùin,
 'S e naigheachd is ait leam mar thachair do'n chuis,
 Gu'n do shleamhnaich an casan a mach dhe' na ghrund.

Tha mi 'n dochas gun tionndaidh a' chuis mar a's coir,
 Gu'n tig iad a dh' ionnsuidh an duthchais bho thos ;
 Na fùranan aluinn chaidh arach ann og,
 Gu'n cluinneam sibh 'thamh ann an aros nam bò.

Ged' a thuit a' chraobh-mhullaich 's ged' fhrois i gu barr,
 Thig planndais a stoca an toiseach a' bh'ais ;
 Ma gheibh iad mo dhurachd mar a dhuraichdinn daibh,
 Bidh iad shuas an Cnochd-fhionn—'s e bhur duthchas an t-ait'.

Agus Iain Chnuichd-fhionn, bi-sa misneachail, treun,
 Glac duthchas do sheanar, 's gu meal thu a steidh
 An t-ait' robh do sheorsa, bho 'n'oige gu 'n eug,
 Am mac an ionad an athar, suidh 's a' chathair 's na treig.

Bi togradh air d'eolas, a bhuain chno anns' an Dùn,
 Far an goireadh an smeorach am barr oganan dlu ;
 Eoin bheaga an t-sleibhe deanainh beus mar chruit-chiuil,
 'S a' chuthag 'sa' cheitein a' seinn a "gug-gùg."

Dh' fhalbh gach toil-inntinn a bh' aig ar sinnsreadh bho thos,
 'S e mo bharail nach till iad ris na linntinnean òg' ;
 Cha 'n'eil fiadhach ri fhaotainn ann an aonach nan ceo ;
 Chuir na caoirich air fuadach buidheann uallach nan cròc.

Dh' fhalbh an earb as a' choille, dh' fhalbh coileach an duin,
 'S am buicein beag, biorach, bhiodh fo shileadh nan stùc ;
 Dh' fhalbh na feidh as an aonach—cha 'n iognadh sud leam—
 Cha chluinnear guth gaohair no faoghaid 'san Dùn.

Leam is duilich mar thachair nach d' thainig sibh nall
 Mu'n deachaidh 'ur glacadh le acanan teann ;
 Na'm biodh uachdaran dligheach na shuidh' air 'ur ceann,
 Cha rachadh 'ur sgapadh gu machair nan Gall.

Cha b'i mhachair bu taitnich le na Glaisich dhol ann,
 'Nuair a thigeadh an samhradh, ach braighe nan gleann ;
 Bhiodh aran, ìm, agus càise, ga'n arach gun taing,
 Crodh-laoigh air an airidh, bliochd a's dair ann's an am.

Cha 'n'eil 'n 'ur ceann-cinnidh ach duine gun treoir,
 Tha fo smachd nan daoine-uaisle chuireas tuathal a shron,
 Nach iarradh dhe'n t-saoghal ach caoirich air lòn,
 An aite na tuatha a bha buan aig a sheors.

Sgrios as air na caoirich as gach taobh dhe'n Roinn-Eorp',
 Cloimh a's cnamhag a's caoile, at nam maodal a's cròc,
 Gabhail dalladh na'n suilean, agus mùsg air an sroin,
 Madadh-ruadh agus fireun a' cur dith air a' phòr.

Guidheam bracsaidh 's na h-oisgean, 's ploc a's tuaineal na'n ceann
 'Sa' chroimheag 'san iorbal, gu ruig an eanachainn 'san t-sron ;
 'S gun a h-aon bhi ri fhaicinn, ach craicinn gun fheoil,
 Na cibeirean glas a' tarsuinn as gun snaithn' bhrog.

Maoir a's madaidh na'n deigh, gu'm b'e mo raghainn do'n phòr,
 Bhi ga'n tarrainn gu priosan, 'sa bhi ga'n diteadh aig mod ;
 Gun dad de thoil-inntinn aig ciobair de'n t-seors',
 Ach dol an tigh-obrach, 's an cuipe ri shroin.

Tha diochuimhn' orra fhathast 's cha n' fhaod e bhi ann,
 'S an teid *factor* na duthcha an curban gle theann ;
 Gun snathain mu choluinn ach briogais gun bhann,
 'S a bhualadh le slatan, bho chasan gu cheann ;

A chur ann an leaba gun dad a bhi ann
 Ach dris chur fo choluinn a's droighionn fo cheann,
 A's cluaran air uachdar, 's a bhualadh gu teann,
 'S an teid an cu-badhail do dh-Athall na dheann.

I often heard my dear parents singing the following beautiful elegy, but when trying lately to write the words of it I could not satisfactorily succeed. My difficulty being made known to the editor of the "Celtic Magazine," he kindly lent me the MS. from which I copied the whole song. I do not know the name of the author of the elegy, but it seems to me that it was composed in memory of Alex. Mackenzie, eighth laird of Fairburn, to whom the estates, forfeited in 1715, were restored in 1731. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Roderick. See "History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies," by Alex. Mackenzie, p. 385.

MARBHRANN DHA ALASTAIR FARBRANN.

Gur muladach mi leam fhin,
 Gun duine mu 'n cuairt,
 Air bealach na pairce,
 Ag amharc air d'aite bhuam ;
 Gur lionmhor bean chraidhte,
 Fear boineid a's paisde truagh,
 Tha galach an drast,
 Mu naigheachd a chraidh an sluagh.

'S lionmhor fleasgach na d' thir,
 Fad seachdain nach cir a ghruag,
 Agus cridhe tha sgith,
 Bho'n thog iad a' chis ud bhuainn ;
 Ged tha choille fo bhath,
 Gun d' atharraich pairt dhi snuadh,
 Cha b'e samhradh le bhlàs,
 Thug abhul na pairce bhuainn.

Gur guileach a dh' fhag Dimairt,
 Bochdan an tuir,
 Tha aobhar an craidh,
 Mar sgail a lot air an suil,
 Mu'n Alastair phriseil,
 Rìgh bu mhaisiche gnuis,
 'S a dh' aindeoin na chi,
 Cha dirich fear air do chliu.

Far an d' fhuair mi mo radharc,
 Bu ghleadharach fion mu bhuird,
 Fad s' bha thu anns na breathaibh,
 Do leithid cha robh air ar cùl ;
 Gur iomadh fear fearainn,
 A tharraing thu riabh gu Tùr
 Nan iomadaidh sluaigh,
 Gun tighinn air tuath do dhùch.

Cha b' eol dhomh fear d' fhasain,
 An Alba no Sasunn nan cliar,
 'S e 'n gille bu bhochda,
 Bu toirteala leat ann am miadh ;
 Gur tric a rinn d' onair dhuinn,
 Sonas am Monar nam fiadh,
 Bho'n chaidh thu 'san uir,
 Gur tùrsach fearaibh nan erioch,

Bho'n chaidh thu 'san uir,
 Gur tùrsach fir as do dheigh ;
 Na'n deanadh e treoir,
 Bhitheadh bròn air iomadaidh ceud ;
 Gur iomadh fear leointe,
 'Nam thional do dhrobh gu feill,
 Mu ghlac mhalairt an oir,
 Bhi 'n cise chaol bhord 's na céir.

Ann an cise chaol bhord fo shròl,
 Bha fear san robh cial,
 'S tu b' iochdmhoire ghnath,
 Ri cumail do dhaimh gu dìon ;
 'S tu bu duineile tlas,
 Dha facas dhe'n àlach riamh,
 Fhir cheannas na bh'ann,
 Shìochd Ruairidh nan lann 's nan sgiath.

Shìochd Ruairidh nan lann,
 B'e siubhal nam beann ur miann,
 Mar chuiridh gun sgàth,
 Air nach fhaigheadh a namhaid cis ;
 Bu leibh urram a' bhlaire,
 An cumhachd, 'sa' spairn, 'san strith,
 'S mi chuala bhi 'g ràdh,
 Nach robh samhuil dhuibh an gearrd an rìgh.

Tha gach neach dheth na dh'fhag thu,
A theaghlach an àidh fo ghruain,
'S iad mar chairt air a' chlàr,
A' facain a cheath'rnaich bhuath ;
Am mac tha na d' aite,
A Ghradhaich neartaich suas,
Ach an coisin e' n cluith,
Bhi na cheamard air Tùr nam buadh.

'S ann am freasdal Mhic Dhe,
Tha do shliochd as do dheigh bhi buan,
Bho'n as iomadh na ceudan,
Ghuidheadh do sgeula cruaidh ;
Iad a gearradh nam beum
Mu'n t-suil mheallaich 'n robh 'n fheil air chuairt,
S' iomadh fear agus te,
Thug am beannachd an deigh na fhuair.

'S iomadh maighdean ghlan ur,
Agus fleasgach a's boiche snuadh,
Tha sileadh nan deur,
Bho'n chuir iad thu, sheoid, na d'uaigh ;
Luchd iomain nam bo,
Ri iomadan mor bochd truadh,
Iad gun taisealadh coir,
Bho'n thaisgeadh do dhorlach bhuath.

'S beag neonach an gaoir,
'S cuis eagail an t-aog gun truas,
Tha tighinn mar mhaor,
Le bagar cha 'n fhaodar bhuaidh ;
Cha' n'eil neach fò na ghrein,
S' urra teicheadh an ceum gha 'n gluais,
S' thug e marcach nan steud,
Bu cheannard air cheudan sluaigh.

Craobh nan abhal a b'aillte,
Nach 'eil aon anns a' phairc cho mòr,
Nach d' fhuirich ri h-aois
Ach a gearradh na maothan og ;
Do fhear foghainteach treun,
Dha' m bu shoilleir 's dha 'm bu leur a' choir,
'S nuair a bhitheadh tu air feill,
'Si do lamh a rinn feile air or ;

Gur misde fir Alba thu dh' fhalbh,
 Bhuath uile gu leir,
 Air chumachd, air dhealbh, air ainm,
 Air ghliocas 's air cheil ;
 Ged thigeadh Clann-Choinnich,
 S na shloinninn-sa dhiubh gu leir,
 Cha 'n fhaicear cho soilleir iad,
 Tuillidh bho'n dh' fhalbh thu fhein.

'S iomadh fleasgach tha cianail,
 Nam teannadh ri fion 's gha òl,
 Eadar Cromba ud shios,
 'S an ruigeadh e crìoch Mhic-Leoid ;
 'Sann a gheobhadh tu 'n t-aite,
 Ann an Sasunn nan càl s' nan cleòc,
 Ruith a sgeul ud fos 'naird,
 Gun bhun eug dhut gun dail, a sheoid,

Lamh mhalairt nan crun,
 Fear ceartais gun smur air mod,
 Anns an t-saighdearachd chruaidh,
 Sud na fir dha 'm bu dual bhi n tòs ;
 Cha robh 'n taobhsa do 'n chrich,
 Ris nach ruisgeadh tu pic na d' dhorn,
 'S bu shar lamh thu air tir,
 An am tional an ní sa chro.

Tha mi nis air fàs mall,
 'S mi ri iomadan gann mo sgeoil,
 Cha n'eil teang ann am cheann,
 Chuireas dreach air mo chainnt ach sgleo ;
 Ruith a sgeula man cuairt,
 Gun d'ìomaich thu bhuainn, a sheoid,
 Sud an nigheachd bha cruaidh,
 'S iomadh fear bha ri suathadh dhorn.

I never heard who composed this Elegy, but the author makes it clear in the first verse that he is lamenting the death of "Ruari Mac Alastair Oig," the ninth Laird of Fairburn. Next July it will be fifty years since I went to reside in England, and remained for forty-one years in that land of liberty. From the day I left my native district—Strathglass—in July 1835, till now, I never heard as much as one verse of "Cumha Ruari 'ic Alastair Oig." Consequently, this version may be imperfect, and if anyone

can send a corrected or extended version of the song to the Secretary of the Gaelic Society, or to myself, he will be conferring a favour on me.

CUMHA DO RUAIRIDH, FEAR FARBRAINN.

Sgìth mi ag amharc an droma,
 Far bheil luchd nan cul donna fo bhron ;
 Ann am Farbrainn an Tuir so,
 Far am bu shilteach an suilean le deoir ;
 Lot an suilean dha 'n gearan,
 Bas Ruairidh, Mhic Alastair Oig ;
 Gum bu dhalta 'Rìgh Alb' thu,
 'S oighre dligheach Fhìr Farbrainn an coir.

'S iomadh cridhe bha deurach,
 An òm dhol fodha na greine Diluain,
 Aig a' chachaileidh 'n dé so,
 'S an deach na h-eachaibh 's na séis a thoirt uaibh ;
 Shìl air suilean do phéidse,
 Sud an acad a leum orra cruaidh ;
 Ach 's ann ann a bha ghair bhochd
 Dha do thogail air ghairdean an t-sluaigh.

Na 'm bu daoine le 'n ardan
 A bhiodh coireach ri d' fhagail an cill,
 Mur a marbht' ann am blar thu,
 'Casgadh maslaidh as taire do 'n Rìgh,
 Chan 'eil duine no paisde
 A b' urrainn biodag a shathadh no sgian,
 Nach biodh uil' air do thoireachd,
 Eadar Cataobh 's Caol-Rònach nan ian.

Dh' eireadh sud 's an Taobh-tuath leat,
 Mac-Coinnich, le shluagh air an ceann,
 Eadar Leodhas 's na h-Earadh,
 Cinn-t-saile, Loch-Carunn, 's Loch-Aills' ;
 Bu leat armuinn na Comraich,
 Agus pairt dh' fhearaibh donn' Innse-Gall,
 Mar sud a's siol 'Ille-Chaluim,
 'S iad a' dioladh na fola gu teann.

Dh' eireadh sud mu do ghuaillibh,
 Na 'n cluinnt' thu bhì 'n cruadal no 'n càs,
 Clann Eachainn nan roibeann,
 'S cha bu ghealtach an toiseachadh blair ;

Bhiodh da shlios Locha-Braon leat,
 'S ged bhitheadh cha b' iognadh leam e,
 Mar sud 's a' Choigeach Chinn-Asainn,
 Dha do chomhnadh, fhir ghasda, 's an spairn.

Bu leat na Gordanaich rioghail—
 'S iad nach sòradh am fion mu do champ—
 'S gun seasadh iad dileas
 Gus an cailleadh iad dìreach an ceann ;
 Clann-an-Toisich nam pìos leat ;
 Bha iad crosda 'n uair shineadh iad garg ;
 'S mur deach fad' air mo chuimhne,
 Thigeadh brod Chlann-'ie-Aoidh leat a nall.

Gheibhteadh iasgach mu d' bhaile,
 Agus fiadhach mu d' ghleannaibh gu h-ard ;
 Gheibhteadh boc agus maoiseach
 Anns gach doire 's air aodainn nan carn ;
 Bu leat Conainn gu iasgach,
 Agus Monar gu fiadhach, a sheoid,
 Oidhe Challainn, na 'm b' aill leat,
 Gheibhteadh bradan bho'n Ain-eas gu d' bhord.

Gur trom tursach am bannal
 Tha anns an Tur bhallach a thamh,
 'S iad a' spionadh an cuailein—
 Mo chreach, is goirt truagh leam an càs !
 Tha mo choill air a maoladh,
 Gus an abuich na maothanaich og',
 'S mas-a toileach le Dia e,
 Na 'm bu fad' ach an lion iad do chòt'.

'S tim dhomh sgur dheth mo mhulad—
 Mo chreach leir mi cha bhuidhnig e bonn—
 'S ann is fheudar dhomh sgur dheth ;
 Na d' dheigh theid gach duin' air an fhonn.
 Mar na coilltichean conmaidh,
 Tha na saighdean a' pronnadh nan sonn ;
 Sgith mi dh' amharc an droma
 Far bheil luchd nan cul donna gu trom.

This is a "Soraidh," or salutation, from John Macrae, *i.e.* Ian Mac Mhurchaidh, the Kintail Bard, to the people of Strathglass, in which he enlarges on their well-known hospitality and convivial habits ; the musical sweetness and modest demeanour of their matrons and maidens, uncontaminated by modern fashions and frivolities :—

SORAIDH DO MHIUNNTIR STRA-GHLAIS.

Fhir a theid thar a' mhonadh,
Bheir mise dhut dolar,
Agus liubhair mo shoraidh,
Gu sàbhailt,
Fhir a theid, &c.

Air faidead na slighe,
Na leig i air mhi-thoirt,
Gus an ruig thu 'n tigh-dibh'
Anns a' Bhraighe.
Air faidead, &c.

Bheir Seònaid an toiseach,
Gun mhòran a chosd dhut
Na dh' fhoghnas a nochd dhut
Gu sàbhailt.
Bheir Seonaid, &c.

Bidh failt' agus furan,
Agus òl air an tunna,
'S an stòpan beag ullamh
Dha phaidheadh.
Bidh failte, &c.

Theirig sios feadh na tuatha,
Ris an can iad na h-vaistean,
'S cha' n fhaigh thu fear gruamach.
Mu 'n fhàrdaich.
Theirig sios, &c.

Tha 'n duthaich ud uile,
Air a lionadh le furan,
Bho iochdar a bun
Gus a braighe.
Tha 'n duthaich, &c.

Le mnai ceanalta, còire,
Is grinne air am meoirean,
'S is binn ghabhas crònan,
Dha 'm paisdean,
Le mnai, &c.

Le maighdeanan maiseach,
Nach d'ionnsaich droch fhasan,
Ach ullamh gu
Taisbeanadh cairdeis
Le maighdeanan, &c.

Na rach sios thar a' bhaile
 Ris an can iad Bun-chanaich ;
 Thoir a mach ort
 An Gleannan 'is airde*
 Na teirig, &c.

Tha coig bailtean urad,
 Gus am fiach dhut'do thuras,
 Gheibh thu fiadhach a' ghunna
 Bho phairt diubh,
 Tha coig, &c.

I will now give you some of the hymns which used to be sung from my earliest recollection in Strathglass :—

CRABHADH DO DH-AINM IOSA.

Dh' fhoghnadh smaointean air t' ainm, Ios,
 Gu sòlas dian a ghin' am chré ;
 Cuilm bu taitniche na fion,
 M' inntinn ga m' lionadh le d' spéis.

Cha taisbean binneas theudan ciùil,
 Cha nochd seanachas no tùr sluaigh,
 Cho luachor 's tha 'n t-ainm ud dhuinn,
 'S aingle le umhlachd ga luaidh.

Gach nì tha 'm flathanas Dé,
 Air talamh no fo 'n talamh shios,
 Lubaidh an glun gu leir,
 Nuair chluinneas iad ainm euchdach Ios'.

Ios' an t-ainm os cionn gach ainm,
 Beatha m' anma 's mo leigh,
 Ged is tric a thoill mi t' fhearg,
 Bithidh mi leanmhuinn air do dhèigh.

'N uair a dh' iarras an saoghal 's an fheoil
 Ormsa do-bheart a chur an gnìomh,
 Diridh mo spiorad mar is coir,
 Gu Rìgh na Trocaire gu dhion.

* This alludes to Glencannich, noted at that time for happy tenantry and famous deer-stalkers.

Air sgiathaibh creidhimh agus gràidh
Teichidh mi gu gàradh mo mhiam,
Far an d' fhuilig Crìost a phàis,
Is fallus ga fhàsgadh ro dhian.

'S a' ghàradh choisinn sinn am bàs ;
Pheacaich Adhamb, dh' ith e'm meas ;
'S a' ghàradh dh' umhlaich Rìgh nan Gras
E fhein, gur sabhaladh bho sgrios.

Bhuaileadh Cibear nan caoin bheus,
Sgapadh a threud 'sa luchd-dàimh,
Chaidh Crìost an cuibhrich le ostal fhein,
Chuir pòg an eucoraich e'n laimh.

Guilemaid mu d' dhiols', a Chrìost,
Na d' bhall-buird am measg do naimh ;
O 's iad ar peacannan a sgiurs,
'S a sparr le cràdh an crùn mu d' cheann.

Choluinn, umhlaich sios thu fhein,
Aig bun a' chroinn-cheusd a dh-Ios',
'S na cuir tuilleadh e gu pein,
Ag urachadh a chreuchd' le d' ghnìomh.

M' anam, umhlaich sios dha d' Dhiù,
Las mar theine dian do ghaol,
Smaoinich na dh' fhuilig do Thiath,
Dh' ionnsaidh d' fhiachan a bhì saor.

Thug e ghoimh dhuinn' as a bhàs,
Thionndaidh e na phàras an uaigh ;
'N uair rinn e aiseirigh nan gràs,
'Choisinn air gach namhaid buaidh.

Cliù dha 'n Athair, cliù dha 'n Mhac,
Cliù dha 'n Spiorad neartmhor naomh ;
Trionaid chumhachdach nam feart,
Molamaid mu seach 's mar aon. *Amen.*

CRABHDH DO 'N SPIORAD NAOMH.

A Spioraid Naoimh ar n-ard threise,
Thig bho ghrian-ctathair do ghloir' ;
Sgaoil gach ceo tha ga'r cur iomrall,
'S leig soillsean dhe d' sholus oirun.

Thig, O Athair nan diol-déirce,
Do gach feumnach sìn do lamh ;
A Lamh bho'n tig gach rogha gibht,
Soilleirich gach cridhe dall.

A Rìgh na cofhurtachd 's an t-sòlais,
Bu tu Aoidh an àigh dha 'n anam ;
Cha 'n fhairich e teas no ganntar,
Is e na d' laimbs' a' triall gu aineol.

Is tu bheireadh furtachd agus tàmh,
Do 'n phiantach a bhios fo sgios ;
A mhal' air an laidh am pràmh,
'S ann agads tha sòlas dì.

A Sholuis is aillidh snuadh,
Na bi 'n dubhar oirnn nar càs ;
Ach ann an cridhe do chreidich ghaoil,
Beothaich teine caomh do gràidh.

Gun do chomhnadhs', a Dhia thrèin,
Cha 'n 'eil sgoinn am mac an duine ;
Cha 'n 'eil ceann gun lochd fo 'n ghréin,
'S ann ad mheinnse tha sinn uile.

Glansa dhinn gach uile thruailleachd,
Uisgich le d' ghrasan ar tart,
Leighis gach anam tha leointe,
Strìochd na rag-mhuin'laich ri d' reachd.

Taisich neimh a' chridhe chruaidh,
Bi d' chairt-iuil duinn auns gach gàbhadh ;
'S dha na creidich tha na d' earbsa,
Thoir seachd tìodhlaicean do gràidh.

Treoraich na creidich ri'm beo,
'S na treig iad an uair am bàis ;
Sabhail an anam 'o phian,
'S gu'm meàl iad do shith gu brách. *Amen.*

TE DEUM, NO LAOIDH MOLAIDH DO DHIA.

Tha sinn, a Dhia, 'seinn do chliu,
Ag aideachadh gur tu ar Triath,
Toirt urraim dhut tha 'n domhan mor :
Athair gun tùs gun chrich.

Tha na h-Aingle naomh gu leir,
Tha Cumhachdan néamh gu h-ard ;
Tha Cherubim le caithream binn,
Is Seraphim a' seinn gun tàmh :

Is Naomh, Naomh, Naomh
Thu, Thighearna Dhia nan slògh ;
Tha neamh is talamh lan,
Le d' mhorachd us le d' ghloir.

Tha còisridh ghlormhor Ostala,
Tha Fàidhean 's airde cliu,
Tha armailte geal nam Mairtirean,
Ga d' mholadh, a Rìgh nan dùl.

Anns gach àite a ta fo 'n ghrein,
Tha t'Eaglais naomh, a Dhia,
Ag aoradh dhut 's a' toirt geill ;
Athair na morachd gun chrìoch.

Aig t'aon Mhac naomh tha h-uile còir,
Air urram is gloir mar-aon ;
Mar sin 's an Ti ni colbhair oirm,
An treas pearsa do 'n Trìonaid naoinh.

'S tus, a Chrìosta, Rìgh na gloir',
'S tu Mac Siorruidh gun tùs,
Nach d' rinn tàir air com na h-Oighe,
Gu sabhaladh a cheannach dhuinn.

Thug thu buaidh air guin a' bhàis,
Dh' fhosgail thu dha d' chreidich neamh
'S tu tha 'n gloir Athar nan gràs,
Na d' shuidhe air deas laimh D'hè.

Thig thu thoirt breith air an t-sluagh ;
Gabh truas dhed mhuinntir fein,
A shaor thu le d' fhuil bu mhor luach,
A thaom bhuait troimh ioma creuchd.

Mealadh iad do ghloir gu bràch,
Air an aireamh measg nan naomh,
Fo sgéith do chumhachd biodh iad slàn,
Ann an seilbh do ghrasan caomh.

Riaghail iad is dian dhaibh iul ;
Stiuir iad gu beatha bhuain ;
Molaidh sinn thu, Dhia nan dùl,
Gach là bithidh do chliù ga luaidh.

Molaidh sinn t' ainm gun tàmh,
 Gu lath ar bàis 's na dheigh ;
 Cliù bheirear dhut gu bràch ;
 Dion sinn le 'd ghras o bheud.

Dian trocair oirnn, a Dhia nan gras ;
 Reir ar n-earbsa dian trocair oirnn,
 Mo dhochas tha unnads' a mhain ;
 Chaoidh cha bhi faillinn orm. *Amen.*

ANNSACHD NAOMH MOIRE.

Fhir-tighe Naomh Moire, 's oid-altrum a Mic !
 Tha saoghal mar fhàsach do dh 'anrach fann, sgith ;
 Fo chiaradh nan speuran cha leir le mo shuil
 Ach, annsachd Naomh Moire, na cuir-sa rium cùl
 O annsachd Naomh Moire, 's tu thaghainn mar iùl.

'S tu dhiongas dha'n choigreach cùl taice 's ceann aoidh
 Fhuair Iosa agus Moire sàr chobhair fo d' iùl
 O Ioseph nam beannachd ! cha b'fheagal domh chaoidh
 O annsachd Naomh Moire, ach thusa ri m' thaobh,
 O annsachd Naomh Moire, na treigse mi chaoidh.

O Ioseph fhuair giftean 'us earras 'us cliù,
 Mac samhail air thalamh do dh-athair Mhic Dhe,
 Bha Iosa mar Mhac dhuit ; gabh mis air do 'sgà,
 O annsachd Naomh Moire, dhalta na àit',
 O annsachd Naomh Moire mar dhalt duit gu bràch.

Bha dà ailleagain neamh air faontraigh nar measg,
 Rinn thusa cùl taice dha'n Mhaighdinn 's dha Mac
 Sheas thu athair do dh-Iosa ; bith d'athair dhomh chaoidh,
 O annsachd Naomh Moire, 's bheir mise dhuit gaol,,
 O annsachd Naomh Moire 's cha teirig mo ghaol.

THU RIAMH GUN SMAL.

A Mhoire ! 's eibhinn m'fhonn 's gur eutrom,
 Lion aiteas clann Dé mi 'n diugh ;
 Fhuair m' anam braon do dh-aighear Phàras.
 B'e 'n sar aileas a bhi thamh ann tur !

Fonn.

An am bhi cuimhneachadh air do staid,
 Air do mhorachd 's air do mhais,
 'S eibhinn linn 'bhi seinn gun stad,
 Thu riamh gun smal, thu riamh gun smal !

'S miann-sùil le Iosa do chruth rò ghlan
 T' aghaidh ghlòirmhor is aillidh aoidh—
 'S fo iùl-s' chaidh ur-laoidh an diugh 's gach aite
 Le foirm fos n-aird ort san Eaglais naoimh.

Togaidh ainglean binne ceolmhor,
 Suas fonn òrain a chinnidh-dhaonn'
 'S thig naoimh Neamh na'n ioma comhlan
 Thoir eis mar 's còir do Bhanrigh nan Naomh.

Do ghin gun smal ! Rinn Dia riut gràs
 Nach d'fhuair fo lamhs' mhain ach thu ;
 Gràs a bhoisgeas a chaoidh mar dhaoimean
 Air uchd saibhir Rìgh-nan-dùl.

MOIRE AN DU-BHROIN.

Sheas lamh ri Crann-ceusaidh Iosa a Mhàthair.—Eoin xix., 25.

Bu trom a bròn,
 Bu ghoirt a leon
 Bu dlù na deoir
 Bho shuil na h-Oigh,
 'S Sàr-Mhac òg
 San dòruinn mhoir,
 Ga cheusadh beò
 'S i 'g amharc air.

Co chuala no chunna,
 Measg mnatha na cruinne,
 Tè eile a dh' fhuilig
 Do chruadalsa, Mhuire !
 Co è a b' urra,
 Gun ghuth dubhach,
 'S gun shuil struthach,
 Aithris air.

Bha 'cridhe air a leòn
 Lè claidheamh a bhròin,
 B' ùr acaid dh'i'm beo
 Gach cneadh bha na fheols',
 'S é bho chridhe gu dhorn,
 Bho mhullach gu bhróig,
 Gun eang, gun òirleach
 Fallain deth.

'Sè mhiaduich a cràdh
 Sa theannaich a spàirn,
 Gur è 's ceann-fath
 Dha osnaich 's dha phàis
 'S dha lotan bàis,
 An peacadh gun agh
 A rinneadh lè càirdean
 Aineolach.

A mhin Mhoir-Oigh !
 A bhanrigh 'n du-bhròin !
 Le Magdalen 's Eoin,
 Thoir cead seasamh dhomhs',
 Bho 'n 's ro-math mo chòirs'
 Dhol fo d' mhulad 's fo d' leòn,
 Sa shileadh nan deoir
 Air Calbhari.

'S gach troidh 's gach dearna
 'S mi chuir àlach ;
 Mo pheacadh bais-se
 An t-sleagh a ràinig
 Cridhe mo Shlanuighear,
 'S mise a shàth i—
 Fath mo nàire
 'S m' aithreachais !

An crochadh ri craoibh
 Tha cuspair mo ghaoil,
 A chridhe fosgailt le faoilt
 Sa ghàirdeanan sgaoilt
 Gu m' fhalach na thaobh ;
 Sud ceann-uidh nan naomh,
 Tearmunn 's dachaidh an taobhsa
 Fhlathannas.

Crann-ceusaidh mo ghraidh,
 Sud leabhar an aigh
 As an ionnsuichear crabh,
 Umhlachd gu lár,
 Umhailteachd gu bás,
 Ole a mhathadh do chách,
 'S prìomh-shubhaile a ghràidh
 Sior-mhaireannuich.

Bho lotan bàis
 Leum fuarain ghràs,
 Nach traogh 's nach tràigh
 A chaoidh nan tràth—
 A Mhoire mo ghràidh !
 Dian riumsa bàigh,
 'S cha ruith iad gun stà
 Dha m' anamsa.

A mathair, riamh
 A fhuair na dh' iarr,
 Air t'aon ghin Ios'
 Guidh agus grios,
 Gu maith é ar fiach,
 'S gu leasuich ar guiomh,
 'S gu meal sinn gu siorruidh
 Flathanas.

Glu gu brath do dhia.

As it is now getting late, and the time for us to wend our way homewards, I will conclude with an *attachadh luidhe*. In my young days in Strathglass the words of this *attachadh* were invariably the last words the people used after going to bed and before sleeping ; and during the last 60 years I have never, on any night in my recollection, failed to say them myself :—

AN T-ALTACHADH LAIDHE.

Laidhidh mis 'a nochd
 Le Moire 's le' Mac ;
 Mathair mo Rìgh
 Ga m' dhion bho'n olc.
 Laidhidh mi le Dia,
 'S laidhidh Dia leam ;
 Cha laidh mi leis an olc,
 Cha laidh an t-olc leam.
 Eiridh mi le Dia
 Ma 's ceadach le Dia leigeil leam.
 Deas-lamh Dhia,
 A Chriosta, gun robh leam.
 Bho throidhean mo bhuinn
 Gu mullach mo chinn
 Guidhim Peadar, guidhim Pol,
 Guidhim Moire oigh agus a Mac,

Guidhim air an da Ostal deug
 Gun mise dhol eug a nochd.
 A Chriosta chumbachdaich na gloire,
 A mhic na h-Oighe 's gloine cursa,
 Seachainn sinn bho thigh nam pian,
 Tha gu h-iosal, dorcha, duinte.
 Fhad's a bhios a' cholluinn na cadal
 Biodh an t-anam air bharraibh na firinn*
 An co-chomunn nan Naomh. *Amen.*

20TH MARCH 1885.

At the meeting on this date the Secretary, on behalf of Mr Charles Fergusson, Cally, Gatehouse, Kirkcudbright, author of the *Gaelic Names of Plants*, &c. (*vide* Transactions Vol. VII.), read a paper entitled—"The Gaelic names of birds, with notes on their haunts and habits, and on the old superstitions, poetry, proverbs, and other bird lore of the Highlands." The paper was as follows:—

THE GAELIC NAMES OF BIRDS.

PART I.

The collecting and preserving of the Gaelic Names of Birds is a most important but much neglected work, and one which is getting every day more difficult, from their being less used now, and from the death of old people who knew them. Not only are the Gaelic names dying out, but I am sorry to say many of the birds themselves are dying out as well. Many of our noblest native birds—the Great Auk, the Bustard, Stork, Bittern, &c., are totally extinct in the Highlands; whilst the Golden Eagle, Sea Eagle, Osprey, Ger Falcon, Goshawk, and a score of other noble birds, though quite common in every glen half a century ago, are now only to be found in the most remote and inaccessible corners of the Highlands and Islands; and if the ruthless slaughter that has been going on for the last generation goes on a few years longer, they will soon all be as extinct as the Great Auk, or the Dodo of New Zealand. I am glad to say, however, that some of the more patriotic proprietors in the Highlands are now trying to preserve the eagles, and other large birds of prey. One great cause of their destruction is the large price offered by sportsmen and collectors to gamekeepers and shepherds for the eggs of those rare birds, as well as for the birds themselves for stuffing.

**Air bharraibh na firinn*—On the roads of truth.

How numerous the breeding places of the eagle used to be in the Highlands can be seen by the number of rocks still called "Creag-na-h-iolaire" (Eagle's Rock). I know a dozen rocks of that name in Athole alone.

So far as I am aware, there is as yet no complete list of the Gaelic Names of Birds published. Alex. Macdonald (Mac Mhaighstir Alastair), in his "Gaelic Vocabulary," published in 1741, gives a list of about 80 of the more common birds; and Lightfoot, in his "Flora Scotica," published in 1777, gives about the same number, which may be thoroughly depended on, as they were supplied by that famous Gaelic scholar and naturalist, Dr Stewart, of Killin and Luss. In Grey's "Birds of the West of Scotland," a good many of the Gaelic names are given, as also, I believe, in Professor Macgillivray's work on Birds, whilst most of the common names are to be found in the Gaelic dictionaries, and in the works of our Gaelic bards. I first began collecting and noting down the Gaelic names of birds when a boy amongst the Grampians, and I have continued doing so to this day, but the idea of making them the subject of a paper for the Gaelic Society was first suggested to me by reading in Vol. VIII. of the Transactions the Rev. Mr Mackenzie of Kilmorack's speech at the annual dinner of 1879, in which he urged me to take up this subject, which I did. I was then in the wilds of Ireland, away from all assistance, but since I came to Galloway I have had the able help and advice of our worthy Sheriff Nicolson, who not only gave me all the aid he could himself, but took my list of Gaelic names with him to Skye and the North, and got several gentlemen there to add many of the names of sea birds which I had not got. To his splendid work on Gaelic Proverbs I am also indebted for many. I am also under obligation to another good Gael and able naturalist, Mr A. A. Carmichael, whose long residence in the Hebrides gave him a thorough knowledge of the many rare birds of the West Coast, and of the Gaelic names by which they are known to the Islanders. He very kindly lent me a mass of notes on birds, which I have freely used.

Shortly after I gave the Gaelic Society my paper on "The Gaelic Names of Trees, Plants, &c.," Cameron's complete work on that subject appeared, and I shall be very glad, indeed, if the same thing happens again, and if some learned member of the Society, far more able to do justice to this important subject than I am, will now follow me up with a complete work on our Highland Birds and their Gaelic Names.

I have much pleasure in giving the Society the result of my

labours, by giving the following Gaelic names for about 240 different birds, making up, as in many cases there are several different names for the one bird, about 600 Gaelic names altogether. I will begin with the King of Birds—

THE GOLDEN EAGLE.

Latin—*Aquila chrysaetos*. Gaelic—*Iolair-dhubh, Iolair-bhuidhe, Iolair-mhonaidh, Fìreun*. Welsh—*Eryr Melyn, Eryr tinwyn*.

The eagle seems to have been, in all ages and by all nations, honoured as a royal bird, and as much so perhaps in the Highlands as anywhere. From the earliest ages the eagle has been the emblem of swiftness, boldness, strength, and nobility. Our early bards delighted in comparing their heroes to the eagle. In *Cumha an Fhìr Mhoir*, or Lament for the Great Man in *Dan an Deirg*, we have—

“ Bha t' airde mar dharach 'sa' ghleann,
Do luaths, mar *iolair* nam beann, gun gheilt.”

And in *Tiomna Ghuill*—

“ Luath mar *fhìreun* an athair,
'S an ioma-ghaoth na platha fo sgiathaibh.”

Again, in the same poem, the bard shows fine poetic imagination, in likening his wounded hero, the mighty Gaul Mac Morni, to an eagle wounded by lightning—

“ Mar *iolair* leont air carraig nan cnoc,
'Sa sgiath air a lot le dealan na h-oidhche.”

From the earliest ages, eagles' feathers—“ *Ite dhosrach an fhirein*”—have been the distinguishing emblem of rank amongst the Gael. In more modern times, as Logan tells us, three eagles' feathers adorned the bonnet of a chief, two that of a chieftain, and one that of a gentleman.

The old Highlanders also used eagles' feathers for their arrows, the best for that being got from the eagles of Loch-Treig, in Lochaber, as we are told in the old rhyme—

“ Bogha dh' iughar Easragain,
Ite *firein* Locha-Treig,
Ceir bhuidhe Bhaile-na-Gailbhinn,
'S ceann bho'n cheard Mac Pheadarain.”

This is an example of how the old Highlanders always put their wisdom and knowledge into verse, being well aware how much more easily poetry was remembered than prose. Another example

of this habit alludes to the age of the eagle as compared with that of man, other animals, and an oak tree—

Tri aois coin, aois eich ;
 Tri aois eich, aois duine ;
 Trie aois duine, aois feidh ;
 Tri aois feidh, aois *firein* ;
 Tri aois *firein*, aois craoibh-dharaich.”

Now, according to this, if we put the age of man at his promised threescore and ten, a deer's age will be 210 years, and that of an eagle 630 years—a very respectable age indeed. No wonder though it gave rise to the old belief that the eagle renewed his age, as the Psalmist puts it—

“Tha d' aois air a h-ath-nuathachadh
 Mar *iolair* luath nan speur.”

In olden times, long before the invention of firearms, no Highlander was counted a real finished sportsman till he had with his bow and arrow shot an eagle, a royal stag, and a wild swan, the three monarchs of the air, the earth, and the water. The sportsman of to-day may easily get the stag, but the eagle or the wild swan is now truly a “*rara avis*,” though the eagle was so very common during last century, that we find Lightfoot, who accompanied Pennant on his famous tour in 1772, writing then in his “*Flora Scotica*” of the Golden Eagle—“In Rannoch eagles were, a few years ago, so very numerous that the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates (after 1745) offered a reward of five shillings for every one that was destroyed ; in a little time such numbers were brought in that the honourable Board reduced the premium to three shillings and sixpence ; but an advance in proportion as these birds grew scarcer might in time perhaps have effected their extirpation.” I am afraid in most cases that the Golden Eagle would prove rather a bad neighbour, however, as even the worst neighbours have some redeeming point, so had the eagle, for Logan tells of a pair that had built their eyrie near a gentleman's house in Strathspey, and collected so much game to feed their young that they kept the laird's larder well supplied, and on the arrival of any visitors, however unexpected, he had only to send some one to the eagle's eyrie where an ample supply of all kinds of game could be speedily obtained. I have found different versions of the same story common all over the Highlands. In Strathardle, during one of the great famines so common long ago, a poor man kept a very large family so fat and flourishing on the

spoil of an eagle's nest, and prolonged the supply so long by clipping the young eagle's wings, when his neighbours were dying of hunger that at last, he was supposed to "hae dealins wi' the Deil," and accused of witchcraft, and only saved himself from being burnt by conducting his accusers to the eagles' nest, and showing them the source of his supply. He must have gone to the nest at night, or when he was very sure of the old birds being absent, as the eagle has courage enough to attack even an armed man, attempting to rob its nest. Numerous instances of this are on record, of which I need only give two from Goldsmith:—"A respectable person from Sutherland relates that two sons of a man named Murray, having robbed an eagle's nest, were retreating with the young, when one of the parent birds, having returned, made a most determined attack upon them. Although each had a stick, it was with great difficulty that they at length effected their escape, when almost ready to sink under fatigue." "The farmer of Glenmark, in Angus, whose name was Miln, had been out one day with his gun, and, coming upon an eagle's nest, he made a noise to start her and have a shot. She was not at home, however, and so Miln, taking off his shoes, began to ascend gun in hand. When about half way up, and in a very critical situation, the eagle made her appearance, bringing a plentiful supply to the young which she had in her nest. Quick as thought she darted upon the intruder, with a terrific scream. He was clinging to the rock by one hand, with scarcely any footing. Making a desperate effort, however, he reached a ledge, while the eagle was now so close that he could not shoot her. A lucky thought struck him, he took off his bonnet, and threw it at the eagle, which immediately flew after it to the foot of the rock. As she was returning to the attack, finding an opportunity of taking a steady aim, he shot her; and no doubt glad that he had escaped so imminent a danger, made the best of his way down." When the eagle has the courage to attack even the lord of the creation himself, it is not so surprising that it would sometimes attack even the most powerful of the lower animals, and as an example I may mention the account that lately went the round of the papers of an attack by a golden eagle on a very large, powerful, and well-antlered stag in Strathglass, when, after a desperate and very prolonged struggle, the stag got the worst of it, and would certainly have been killed had he not managed to escape into the thick woods of Glassburn. I may mention, in passing, that the eagle is very destructive to deer, killing many of their young. Lightfoot says of the Golden

Eagle—"Most destructive to deer, white hares, and ptarmigans, has almost destroyed the deer of the Isle of Rum." I have given those examples, and I could give many more did space permit; of the daring courage, strength, and ferocity of the eagle, as I find in several of the later works on birds, that many of our carpet naturalists, most of whom I am afraid have never even seen a live eagle, do not believe in an eagle ever attacking a man, even when robbing its nest. To all such my advice, from experience is, if ever they exchange their cosy arm-chairs by the fireside, where most of their experience is gained, for the vicinity of an eagle's nest, even though they be able for the climb, they had better not try, unless they are both able and willing to do battle with the eagle-papa, or, what is worse, with the very much larger and more ferocious mamma; for in all rapacious birds the female is very much larger and bolder than the male. To the daring robber of her nest, the eagle's challenge on defiance, as given by the old Gaelic bard in "Tiomna Ghull," in the Sean Dana, is significant enough—

“Co dhìreas am mullach? no dh' fhogras
M' eoin riabhach na 'n leabaidh sheimh.”
Who dare climb the eyrie's height? or disturb
My young grey birds in their quiet bed?

Many writers also deny the possibility of an eagle being able to carry away a child, and say that there is no authentic case on record of such ever having happened. There is scarcely a glen in the Highlands without its story, with plenty proof of such having happened, and that not so very long ago; and in Ireland I found the similar stories quite common, and in both countries I was always glad to find a happy end to such exciting stories, as in every case I have come across the child was always happily recovered unhurt, generally by the heroic efforts of his mother. The longest distance I ever heard of an eagle carrying a child is the old tradition of an eagle carrying a child across the stormy Minch, from the Isle of Harris to Skye, a distance of over twenty miles. Grey mentions a MS. account, written by Matthew Mackaile, apothecary in Aberdeen, in 1664, and preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, which says—"I was very well informed that an eagle did take up a swaddled child a month old, which the mother had laid down until she went to the back of the peat-stack at Honton Head, and carried it to Choyne, viz., four miles, which, being discovered by a traveller, who heard the lamentations of the mother, four men went presently thither in a boat, and, knowing the eagle's nest, found the child without any prejudice done to

it. The following story I got from Mr Colin Chisholm, Inverness :—

“Duncan Mor Macpherson, who lived at Inchully, Crochail, Strathglass, about the latter half of last century, when a young lad, entered the eyrie of an eagle in a rock above Crochail. No sooner had he got into the nest than the old eagle appeared, and, making a swoop, clutched the boy with him in its claws, and flew away with him across the River Glass, which happened to be in flood at the time, and dropped the boy into the water at a head or creek called Lon-an-t-siugail, where, fortunately, the water was shallow, so that he managed to wade ashore. Whether it was that the boy got too heavy for the eagle there, or that it really intended to drop him in the water, I cannot pretend to decide. However, the good people of Strathglass to this day give that eagle credit for having the sense to really intend drowning the boy by dropping him in the water.”

Though so bold and ferocious in a wild state, the eagle can be easily tamed, and is then very docile, as will be seen by the following story, kindly sent to me from Uist by Mr Carmichael :— “A few years ago Dr Macgillivray, of Barra, brother to the eminent ornithologist, got a young golden eagle, which became a most interesting pet with the Doctor’s two boys. It had a house made for it on the face of the hill, about a hundred yards from the house, where it spent the night, but it spent most of the day with the Doctor’s boys, to whom it seemed greatly attached. It would come at their call, and feed out of their hands, and walk about with them, and fly after them wherever they went. Nothing seemed to delight it so much as to get the boys away amongst the hills rabbit hunting. On these occasions it would always accompany them, and ‘bark’ with seeming delight. It would fly about their heads high in the air and perform the most graceful aerial evolutions. When an unfortunate rabbit showed itself, it swooped down upon it like a whirlwind, and triumphantly bore it away in its talons. The most perfect confidence, understanding, and attachment seemed to exist between it and the boys, but unfortunately this was soon snapped asunder. A young gentleman from Glasgow was on a visit to Dr Macgillivray at Eoligary. The morning after his arrival he went out about the house, and immediately the eagle came flying over his head, calling for its breakfast, and—‘a’ cur failte’—giving a friendly welcome to the stranger. The young gentleman, thinking this a good chance for practising at a big bird on the wing, ran back to the porch where the Doctor always kept several guns, and

without consulting anyone carried away the gun and shot the eagle. He then triumphantly returned to the house, and roused the whole household in his excitement to ascertain the name of, and to show the splendid bird he had shot. Fancy the vexation of the Doctor and the grief of the boys on finding their noble pet in the agonies of death, and the unlucky sportsman still more to be commiserated." I shall finish those notes on the king of birds with the old Highland nursery rhyme, imitating the cry of the eagle, and referring to the royal bird's superiority over all the feathered race—"Glig, glig, glig, ars an iolair's e mo mhac sa's tighearn oirbh"—"Glig, glig, glig, says the eagle, it is my son who is lord over you all."

THE SEA OR WHITE-TAILED EAGLE.

Latin—*Haliaetus Albicilla*. Gaelic—*Earn, Iolair-mhara, Iolair-bhan, Iolair-bhuidhe, Iolair-riabhach, Iolair-chladaich, Iolair-Suil-na-greine, Iolair-fhionn*. Welsh—*Mor-Eryr, Eryr Cynffonwyn*.

The Sea Eagle used to be very common all over Scotland, especially in the Isles, and is now much more frequently met with than the Golden Eagle. Till recently, the Erne was thought to be quite a distinct bird. Now, however, it is found to be only the young of the Sea Eagle in the immature plumage. So numerous and destructive were those birds in Orkney and Shetland, that special laws were framed for their extirpation, one of them being, that any person destroying an eagle is entitled to a hen from every farm in the parish where it occurred. Grey quotes the following Act of Bailiary, for the county of Orkney—

“Act 31.—Anent slaying of the Earn.

Apud Kirkwam, 8vo die 9bris. 1626.

“The which day it is statute and ordained by Thomas Buchanan, Sherreif-deput of Orknay, with consent of the gentlemen and suitors of Court present for the time. That whatever persone shall slay the earn or eagle shall have of the Baillie of the parochine where it shall happen him to slay the eagle, 8d. from every reik within the parochine, except from cottars that have no sheep, and 20 shill. from ilk persone for ilk earn's nest it shall happen them to herrie; and they shall present them to the Baillie, and the Baillie shall be holden to present the head of the said earn at ilk Head Court.”

On Herrmann Moll's map of Scotland, published 1714, I find the following note on the Shetland Isles—“These islands also

produce many sheep, which have two or three lambs at a time; they would be much more numerous did not the eagles destroy them." Mr Carmichael gave me the following anecdote of the Sea Eagle—"A servant girl of Sir Norman Macleod of Bearnaraidh was tending cattle on the small island of Hamarstray, Sound of Harris. She saw what she conceived to be a *currach*, or curricle, with sail set, coming before a smart breeze towards the island on which she was. She could not conceive what kind of craft it was till it touched the shore, when, to her astonishment, she found that the craft was the dead carcass of a cow and the sail the spread wings of an eagle, that had its talons so deeply embedded in the carcass that it was utterly unable to extricate itself or escape. The girl unfixing its talons and took hold of the bird, but no sooner had she done this than the ferocious bird fixed its talons in the girl's thigh, and tore out the flesh from the bone. The wound healed up, but a hollow large enough to hold a large apple remained as the effect of the injury. The woman lived to an advanced age, and was an ancestress of Captain Malcolm Macleod who told me this."

Grey, in his "Birds of the West of Scotland," writes:—"In South Uist there is an eyrie every year on Mount Hecla. Mr D. Lamont informed me when I crossed to the locality with him last year (1869) that he had seen the old birds of this hill coming almost daily from Skye, with a young lamb each for their eaglets. The distance is about twenty-five miles. They never, he says, destroy the flocks in South Uist itself; hence the maintenance of their family does not add to the local taxation." Mr Carmichael gave me the following—"When I was at Barra Head last June (1868) I was told of an eagle which carried away a lamb from that island in autumn many years ago. The eagle was seen going away with the lamb in its talons, a chase was given, the people throwing down their sickles, but to no purpose. The eagle with its booty took to sea, to the utter astonishment of those who were in chase. Nothing more was thought of the matter, but two or three years after, when the owner of the lost lamb was driven in to Tiree on his way from Bearnaraidh, Barra Head, to Greenock, with a skiff full of fish, flesh, eggs, and fowl, the man in whose house "Iain Mac Dhonuill ic Ghilleaspic Mhic Illeain" found shelter had a few sheep, which were sharing with their owner the benefit of the fire at night. The sheep were of a peculiar breed, and as they resembled those John Maclean had at home, he asked his host where he got the breed. The Tiree man told him that two or three years before, while he and his

family were at the harvest near the shore one day, they saw an eagle with something white in its talons coming from the sea and alighting on a knoll hard by. They ran to the eagle, which was so exhausted that it was scarcely able to escape. They found that the white thing they saw the eagle carrying was no less than a ewe lamb, which was rather badly torn by the talons of the eagle, but was still alive. It was carried home and tenderly fed and reared. It grew and prospered, and in due time became the mother of lambs. When the Barra man and his entertainer compared notes, they came to the conclusion that the lamb brought by the eagle to Tiree, and now the dam of a thriving family, could be none other than the one carried away from Barra Head. This is said to have occurred about 90 years ago." The distance the eagle carried that lamb would be about 40 miles, and a lamb by harvest time must have been a great weight.

SPOTTED EAGLE.

Latin—*Aquila Nævia*. Gaelic—*Iolair-bhreac*. Welsh—*Eryr Mannog*,

A very rare bird, but found several times in Skye.

BALD EAGLE.

Gaelic—*Iolair-mhaol*.

I do not find this eagle mentioned in any book on British birds, its visits being so rare that it may have escaped notice. I have it on very good authority that a couple of those birds frequented Glenlyon for several seasons some years ago. I hope they may be there still.

OSPREY.

Latin—*Pandion Haliaëtus*. Gaelic—*Iolair-uisge*, *Iolair-iasgair*, *Iolair-iasgaich*.

The Osprey used to be very common in the Highlands, but is now almost extinct. So late as 1840 it is mentioned in the New Statistical Account of the Parish of Dunkeld as a common bird. Now it is only very rarely seen there on some of the wild upland lochs. I got the following anecdote of the Osprey's devotion in defence of its mate from Mr Carmichael—"Capt. Malcolm Macleod, Lochmaddy, a most intelligent, observant man, told me the following incident, of which he was an eye-witness:—Upon one occasion when crossing with the Lochmaddy packet from Dunvegan, and when two or three miles from Gob-an-Iroid, Dunvegan Head, he saw something strange fluttering on the water

two or three hundred yards to leeward. He bore down upon it, and found that it was a large Iolair Iasgaich or Osprey which had exhausted itself in its endeavours to carry away a large codfish it had secured, and which now lay floating on the surface of the sea. The noble bird lay exhausted beside its victim, and with extended wings and feathers saturated with brine screamed loudly. When the vessel was within about a hundred yards of the bird, the people on board saw its companion coming from Dunvegan Head. It was screaming loudly, as if defying its foes to injure its mate. It kept at an elevated height till within a few yards of the exhausted bird, when it swooped down with the noise of distant thunder and the speed of lightening, and with unerring aim secured its companion in its claws. It then began to ascend in a circle, gyrating, and extending the higher it went. When it got up to a very high altitude with the helpless bird still in its claws, it relaxed its hold, and down tumbled headlong and confusedly the exhausted bird, like Vulcan when he was kicked down from Heaven by his injured father. The falling bird seemed to make no effort to arrest its downward course till it almost touched the water, when, with one beat of its powerful pinion, it stopped its fall, and majestically sailed away and joined its companion in its flight towards the precipices of Dunvegan Head, where they had their nest."

GER FALCON

Latin—*Falco Greenlandicus*. Gaelic—*Seobhag-mor, Seobhag-mor-na-seilge, Seobhag mor ban. Gearr-sheobhag*. Welsh—*Hebog chwyldro*.

This large and very beautiful falcon, though almost extinct now, used to be quite common in the Highlands, and was very much prized as a hunting hawk. It is mentioned by Sir R. Sibbald in 1684, also by Pennant in his tour in 1772. Fair Isle used to be a favourite breeding place for the Ger Falcon. In Hermann Moll's map of Scotland (1714) in a note on Fair Isle, that famous geographer says—"Faire Isle, famous for the best hawks that are to be had anywhere." McGillivray mentions it as breeding in St Kilda a few years ago, its only known breeding place then in Britain, but I doubt now if it will be allowed even there to breed in peace. And if a solitary specimen of this noble and very conspicuous bird appears in any district of the Highlands, the gamekeepers make short work of him, and, in their ignorance, don't generally know even the value of this very rare hawk to collectors, so that fine specimens have even been known

to have been nailed to a kennel wall for the sake of the sixpence, which most keepers get for every head of so-called vermin from their employers, and which is the cause of the rapid extirpation of so many of our native beasts and birds. To most keepers of the sixpenny-a-head class all are vermin, from the Royal Eagle and noble Ger Falcon, down to the useful and harmless Kestrel or owl, whose sole food generally consists of mice, moles, and insects. There are now a few enlightened proprietors in the Highlands, who strictly forbid the wholesale destruction of our rarer birds of prey. May their number increase !

ICELAND FALCON.

Latin—*Falco Islandicus*. Gaelic—*Seobhag-mor-gorm*, *Seobhag Lochlannach*.

This is a rarer hawk in the Highlands than even the Ger Falcon. I do not believe it ever breeds in this country now, and is generally only a winter visitor.

PEREGRINE FALCON.

Latin—*Falco Peregrinus*. Gaelic—*Seobhag*, *Seobhag-gorm*, *Seobhag-mor-gorm*, *Seobhag-na-seilge*, *Seobhag-sealgair*, *Sealgair*, *Facon*. Welsh—*Hebog Tramor*, *Cammin*.

Though for its ravages amongst game the Peregrine is more hunted after by keepers than any other hawk, yet, I am glad to say, it has bravely held its ground, and is now perhaps the commonest of all our large hawks in the Highlands. I also find it regularly breeding in Galloway, both on the hills and the sea-shore cliffs. As its Gaelic name implies, this is the real hunting hawk of this country. For though the Gyr and Iceland Falcons were used for hunting the Crane, Heron, and other large game, the Peregrine was generally used for ordinary game, and is so to this day where hawking is carried on. I well remember my first acquaintance with the Peregrine began when a boy, being employed to take the young out of the rocks of Strathardle for the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh to hunt the moors of Loch-Kinnaird, where for a time he revived the ancient sport of hawking.

Buchanan mentions the Isle of Muic as being a very famous breeding place of the falcon about 1550, and in the Old Statistical Account mention is made of the famous falcons which for ages built their nests in the rock above Moulin, and which were reckoned the best hunting hawks in the Highlands, and about which the following curious tradition still lingers in Athole, which I never came across anywhere else, viz., that of there

being a king of birds, not, of course, in the sense that we use in English when we call the eagle the king of birds or the lion the king of beasts, but a distinct individual bird that was king of all the feathered race and decreed justice amongst the different tribes. The story I got from an old Athole sennachie long years ago:—“For ages before the foundations of the old Black Castle of Moulin were laid (and its history lies before all written record) these famous falcons under the king’s special protection built their nests undisturbed in that rock above Moulin every season, till once upon a time, just as the falcon was preparing to lay, a huge old raven came from Badenoch, from the haunted forest of Gaick, and by its superior strength drove the poor falcon from its newly finished nest. Of course more than the raven tried that game in those days, for were they not the good old days that Rob Roy many centuries afterwards mourned when he said—

‘The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.’

So, perhaps, the old raven was not so much to blame after all. However, there seems to have been more justice going on then amongst the fowls of the air than amongst men, for, after the falcon had used every possible means to dislodge the raven without success, it at last rose in wheeling circles higher and higher till it was almost out of sight, then it flew straight away southwards, and the good men of Athole thought they had seen the last of their famous hawks. Such, however, was not to be, for, on the seventh day after, the falcon reappeared, coming from the south, accompanied by a ‘smart, slim, long-winged, white bird’—‘*Ian caol, sgairteil, fad-sgiathach, geal*’—making straight for the nest. As soon as the old raven saw them coming, it rose in a great flurry off the nest, and flew to meet them, croaking out an apology to the stranger for his misbehaviour to the falcon. This apology, however, seemed of no avail, as the stranger with one stroke of his powerful wing dashed out the raven’s brains, at the same time losing a feather from his own wing. Then he flew round for a little time, till he saw the falcon once more take possession of her hereditary nest, and then rose above the clouds and flew southwards, and was never seen in Athole since. The lost feather was picked up, and found to be so hard that, as my old informant put it—‘*Bha an iteag sin cho cruaidh ’s gu’n tugadh i sliseag as a’ mhaide dharaich a bu chruaidhe bha ’n Lagan Mhaolainn*’—‘That feather was

so hard that it would cut a shaving off the hardest oak plank in the Howe of Moulin," and he used always to conclude the story by saying very earnestly—"Agus 's e Rìgh nan Eun a bli' ann,"—"And that was the King of Birds." This story seems to point to an old belief, that somewhere away in southern lands there reigned a king over all the birds, to whom all the rest could apply for protection or redress when they had a just cause.

Another old belief somewhat similar, also common in Athole, was that an Albino or pure white rook was regarded and obeyed as a king by all the black rooks. Of course a pure Albino is so rare amongst rooks that it was sure to draw special attention, and get its special share of romance. An uncle of mine, who is a great authority on birds, told me that when a young man, about 50 years ago, in Strathardle, he spent some days trying to stalk and shoot a pure white rook, but as it always kept in the middle of a large flock of black ones, he could never get within shot of it, as the black ones always warned it of the approach of danger.

Many of the Highland clans carry a falcon on their arms, and in Gaelic poetry and proverb this noble bird is very often mentioned, either as an example of swiftness and nobility, or in reference to its use in hawking. Alex. Macdonald (Mac Mhaighstir Alastair), in his Gathering of the Clans to Prince Charlie, says of the Macleods—

"Gu'n tig na fiurain Leodach ort
Mar *sheobhgan* 's eoin fo 'n spag."

And of the Frasers—

"Thig ris na Frisealaich,
Gu sgibidh le neart garbh,
Na *seobhagan* fìor-ghlan togarrach
Le fuaths blair nach bogaichear."

Alex. Macdonald again, in a verse which has now become proverbial, in alluding to the difficulty of changing the nature of things, and of the many impossible things that might happen before a fool could be changed into a wise man, puts the difficulty of changing the lazy carrion-eating buzzard into a noble falcon first—

"Cha deanar *seobhag* de 'n chlamhan,
Cha deanar eala de 'n ròcas,
Cha deanar faoileann de'n fhitheach,
Cha deanar pithean de thomas ;

Cha mho nitear sporan sioda
 De fhior-chluais na muice ;
 'S duiliche na sin filidh fìor-ghlic
 Dheanamh de chli-fhear gun tuigse."

The old Gaelic proverb says, alluding to the falcons habit of always killing its quarry on the wing—"Mar a's àirde theid an calman, 's ann a's dòcha 'n t-seobhag breith air." From another old Gaelic proverb we learn that our ancestors were aware of a fact which a good many of their posterity seem to forget, viz.—That all birds could not be noble falcons, neither could all men be great men—"Is beò na h-còin, ged nach seobhagan uil' iad."

THE HOBBY.

Latin—*Falco Subbuteo*, Gaelic — *Obag, Gormag, Seobhag-nan-uisceag* Welsh—*Hebog yr Hedyad*.

This is another beautiful little hawk that has of late become very rare, and the few that are left are rapidly finding their way to the bird-stuffer. Dr Stewart mentions it in the Old Statistical Account as a common bird in the parish of Luss in 1795. It was much used in hawking for hunting small birds, especially the lark from which it got one of its Gaelic names.

RED-FOOTED FALCON.

Latin—*Falco rufipes*. Gaelic—*Seobhag-dhearg-chasach*. Welsh—*Hebog-big-goch*.

MERLIN.

Latin—*Falco æsalon*. Gaelic—*Seobhag-gorm-an-flhraoich, Meirneal*. Welsh—*Corwalch, Llynysten*.

This the smallest, but the most active of all our native hawks, is still quite common in most districts of the Highlands. As it always builds its nest on the ground amongst the heather, like a grouse, it has more chance of escaping notice than the rock or tree building hawks, whose nests are generally easily found. The Merlin was much used in olden times, especially by ladies, for hunting partridges, plovers, and other small game.

KESTREL.

Latin—*Falco tinnunculus*. Gaelic — *Deargan-allt, Croman-luch, Clamhan-ruadh*. Welsh—*Cudyll coch*.

The Kestrel gets his very appropriate Gaelic name, Deargan-allt, from his reddish colour, and from the fact of his so often

building his nest and frequenting the rocky banks of burns in the Highlands, and that of Croman-luch, from his living almost entirely on mice if he can get them; and when hunting for them who has not seen and admired him as he pauses and hovers in one spot high in the air, sometimes for many minutes, watching till he gets the mouse far enough from its hole, and then darting down with such rapidity as to have given rise to the Hebridean phrase—“*Abhsadh a' Chromain-luch,*”—Shortening sail, Kestrel fashion,—applied to awkward handling of a sail, letting it down too suddenly like the descent of a Kestrel.

I may here give a wonderful instance of the instinct of the Kestrel and the great care it takes of its young, of which I was a witness when a boy, but of which I have never seen any notice of in any work upon birds:—A pair of Kestrels had their nest in Kindrogan Rock, and as I was then a lad of 15 at school, and knew every hawk's nest and most other nests for miles round about, and was therefore very useful in that line to the keeper, he took me with him to shoot the Kestrels. When we got under the nest the old hen at once rose, and was shot, but the cock was wild, and kept out of range all day. Before leaving I scrambled to the nest, and found four very young birds in it, one of them blind of an eye. Next day the keeper did not get back, but I went, and as I was lying on the top of the rock a little to the east of the nest, the cock passed close by me with something white in his claws. I did not take any particular notice of this at the time, as I had often seen Kestrels carrying empty skins of small rabbits and moles, skeletons of birds, and other refuse out of their nests in their claws and dropping them at some distance, so as not to draw attention to their nests by such refuse lying about—all hawks do so. On the second day the keeper returned with me to try and shoot the cock, but as there was no signs of him I was again sent to the nest, when I found it empty, and we concluded that the young had died and being eaten by prowling hooded crows, so we proceeded eastward into the wood in search of sparrow-hawks' nests.

About half-a-mile on the keeper made a noise at a tree where there was an old hooded crow's nest, when out flew a Kestrel cock, at which he fired but missed. I was very much surprised, as not only had I never seen a Kestrel build in a tree before (they always build in rocks in the Highlands, but generally on trees in the Lowlands), but I had been up at that very nest three days before and found it empty. However, I was soon up the tree again, when, to my utter astonishment, I found the four young Kestrels, including the

one-eyed one I had seen in the nest in the rock. I at once remembered then seeing the old cock coming in that very direction with the white thing in his claws, and had no doubt but what he was then carrying his young ones carefully away, from their former dangerous home to this ready-made place of safety. The keeper had never come across such a case before, called the Kestrel an "artful dogger," or, perhaps, even something stronger, and was more determined than ever to slay him, so next day we returned very quietly expecting to get a shot at him on the nest, but, to our amazement, found the nest again empty. Judging from the former experience, and knowing of an old sparrow-hawk's nest a few hundred yards to the north, I made for it, and snug enough in it found my one-eyed young friend and his three downy brethren, while high overhead circled the gallant cock, beyond reach of the gun of the vengeful keeper. Next day an underkeeper was sent to the nest with orders to conceal himself at the foot of the tree, and await the cock's coming and shoot him on the nest. However, he might have waited there yet, for after losing all patience he ascended the tree, and found the nest once more empty. Where that much persecuted and devoted bird carried his young the third times I never knew, but I suspect he took them a long distance, for though I searched diligently, far and wide, I could get no further trace of them, only I hope he got them reared in safety as he so richly deserved. This is the only instance I ever knew or heard of, of a bird carrying its young to another nest out of the way of danger, and, as I am positively certain, that there is no mistake about it, I think it worth recording.

GOSHAWK.

Latin—*Astur palumbarius*. Gaelic—*Gos-sheobhag* (Alex. Macdonald), *Glas-sheobhag*, *Seobhag-mor*, *Seobhag-riabhach*. Welsh—*Hebog Marthin*.

The Goshawk is very rare now, though once common enough in all the wooded districts of the Highlands. Lightfoot mentions it as breeding in the forests of Invercauld in his time, and Penant also tells of its nesting in the woods of Rothiemurchus and Glenmore in 1772. Grey mentions several places in the Highlands where it bred within the last few years. He also mentions a charter of the Avenel family, dated 1235, granting the estates of Eskdale to the monks of Melrose, but reserving the breeding places of the falcons and the very trees on which the Goshawks built, and which were not to be cut down, till it would be seen whether they came back to them next year or not. The Goshawk was the

most highly prized of all the short-winged class of hawks for hunting. I am very much inclined to think that the name Gosheobhag and its English equivalent are simply corruptions of its other name "Glas-sheobhag," which certainly is very descriptive of the bird's colour.

SPARROW-HAWK.

Latin—*Accipiter Nisus*. Gaelic—*Speireag*, *Speir-sheobhag*.
Welsh—*Gwepia*.

The Gaelic name of this hawk is very descriptive, meaning literally, "the hawk with long or sharp claws," and certainly to any one seeing this bird for the first time, its long legs and very sharp curved claws are the most striking feature about it. The English name is simply a corruption of "speireag," and has no connection at all with "sparrow," as most people think. This hawk may take an odd sparrow occasionally, but so rarely that it never could have given it its name, as a plump partridge or fat pigeon is far more to its taste, and it is impudent and bold enough to attack and kill a bird three times its own weight and size. A singular instance of daring in a sparrow-hawk occurred at Dingwall in November 1870. The hawk seeing a caged canary suspended near a window in the house of Mrs Grigor, from whom I learned the details, dashed through a pane of glass, broke the cage with the impetus of the same blow, and killed its prey as if the deed had been accomplished without any such obstruction as glass or wires. When apprehended, it was found that the hawk had, some time before, been trapped by one of its legs, which was wholly gone from the thigh downwards. I saw both birds about three weeks after the incident happened. I also know a gentleman's house in the North, where a few years ago, a wild pigeon closely followed by a sparrow-hawk dashed through the dining-room window, and so much at home did the hawk feel in its strange quarters, that when discovered he was coolly plucking the feathers off the pigeon and scattering them all over the carpet.

KITE OR SALMON-TAILED GLED.

Latin—*Milvus vulgaris*. Gaelic—*Clamhan-gobhlach*, *Croman-luchaidh*, *Croman-lochaidh*, *Croman-lachdunn*. Welsh—*Barcud*.

This distinct and very beautiful bird from being one of our commonest hawks has within the last 20 years become one of the rarest, and in a few years I am afraid it will be amongst "the things that have been" in the Highlands. It is oftener mentioned

in the poetry and proverbs of the Gael than any other hawk, caused doubtless by its being distinguished from all others by its beautiful forked tail, which seems to have drawn attention at a very early age, as Pliny mentions that the invention of the rudder arose from the observation men made of the various motions of that part when the kite was steering through the air. The kite used to be a great torment to the thrifty Highland housewives, as he was very fond of making a swoop on the barnyard and carrying off a fat fowl as often as he got the chance, to which bad habit the following old Gaelic proverbs refer:—

B'e sin faire '*chlamhain* air na cearcan ;
 Gleidheadh a' *chlamhain* air na cearcan ;
 Tha 'n *clamhan gobhlach* 'n am measg.

One of Duncan Ban Macintyre's most humorous songs refers to a practical joke by a certain Patrick on a farm in Glenorchy, who one night about dark saw a very fine favourite cock go to roost on the top of the house, and then went in and told some young fellows that it was a large kite that was roosting on the housetop. One of them at once got out an old rusty gun and shot the poor cock. This untoward incident inspired Duncan Ban's muse to write the "Marbhrann Coilich."

COMMON BUZZARD.

Latin—*Buteo Vulgaris*. Gaelic—*Garr-chlamhan, Clamhan, Bleideir*. Welsh—*Bod teircaill*.

Any one who studies the Gaelic names of birds, as well as of plants, &c., must be struck with the very appropriate and descriptive names given them by our early ancestors, and with the knowledge of the nature and habits of the birds they must have had at the early date when those names would be given, as will be seen, not only in the names themselves, but in our ancient poetry and proverbs as well. The Gaelic name for the Buzzard—"Am Bleideir"—is very appropriate, as it is a very lazy, cowardly bird: all writers on birds blame him for that. One says—"The Buzzard just as frequently seems to wait until its prey comes to it, as trouble itself to go far in search of it." An old Gaelic proverb says "Cha'n ann gun fhios e'arson a nian *clamhan* fead," alluding to the buzzard's habit of whistling when hunting for his prey, which, of course, is as seldom as possible. And as he is a carrion-eating hawk, and will devour all sorts of rubbish, he did not get credit for bringing up his family in a cleanly way, for does not another old proverb say—"Cha d'thainig iau glan riamh a nead a' *chlamhain*"—ap-

plied to people from whom very much good is not to be expected, owing to the stock from which they are sprung.

ROUGH-LEGGED BUZZARD.

Latin—*Buteo lagopus*. Gaelic—*Bleideir-tonach*, *Bleideir-molach*.

The name of *Bleideir-tonach*, by which this bird is always known in Athole, is very descriptive, as his very rough feathered legs, which give him his English name, make him look rather heavy and clumsy behind. To any bulky, clumsy, bungling fellow the old forcible Athole phrase is applied—"Nach e am *Bleideir-tonach* e." In the New Statistical Account of Dunkeld mention is made of the great number of Rough-legged Buzzards that appeared in that parish during the winter of 1840.

HONEY BUZZARD.

Latin—*Peruis apivorus*. Gaelic—*Bleideir-riabhach*, *Clamhan-riabhach*, *Para-riabhach*. Welsh—*Bod-y-mel*.

The last Gaelic name, "Grey Peter," is that by which this bird is known in Glenlyon.

MARSH HARRIER.

Latin—*Circus rufus*. Gaelic—*Clamhan-loin*, *Puthaig*. Welsh—*Bod y gwerni*.

HEN HARRIER.

Latin—*Circus cyaneus*. Gaelic—*Breid-air-toin*, *Eun fionn* (male) *Clamhan-fionn*, *Clamhan-luch*. Welsh—*Barcud glas*.

The last Gaelic name, signifying mouse-hawk, is the name given to this bird in the Hebrides, as those mischievous little animals form a great part of its food there.

MONTAGU'S HARRIER.

Latin—*Circus Montagui*. Gaelic—*Clamhan-luch*.

This is known as the mouse-hawk on the mainland of Scotland.

EAGLE OWL.

Latin—*Bubo maximus*. Gaelic—*Cumhachag-mhor*, *Cailleach-oidhche-mhor*. Welsh—*Y Ddyluan fawr*.

The Eagle Owl is very rare now. One was shot near the Pass of Killicrankie a few years ago.

LONG-EARED OWL.

Latin—*Otus vulgaris*. Gaelic—*Comhachag*, *Cumhachag-adhar-aiche*. Welsh—*Dylluan gorniog*.

SHORT-EARED OWL.

Latin—*Otus Brachyotus*. Gaelic—*Cumhachag-chluasach*. Welsh—*Dylluan glustio*.

BARN OWL.

Latin—*Strix flammea*. Gaelic—*Cumhachag, Cailleach-oidhche, Cailleach-oidhche-bhan, Cumhachag-Bhan*. Welsh—*Dylluan wen*.

The hooting of this owl is supposed in the Highlands to foretell rain, hence the old saying “*Tha ’chomhachag ri bron, thig tuitlean oirnn*”—the owl is mourning ; rain is coming.

25TH MARCH 1885.

On this date G. H. Campbell, grocer, Church Street, Inverness, and Duncan Macmillan, assistant grocer, High Street, do., were elected ordinary members. The Secretary read a paper by Mrs Mary Mackellar, Bard of the Society, on the Educational Power of Gaelic Poetry. Mrs Mackellar’s paper was as follows :—

THE EDUCATIONAL POWER OF GAELIC POETRY.

When a stranger visits the Highlands for the first time, he must be to some extent forgiven for concluding that the shaggy and rudely-clad natives are ignorant and miserable. He sees a people dwelling too often in smoky huts that are dingy and comfortless, and living on a diet so plain as to seem to the educated palate near akin to starvation. Then he considers their language a jargon that keeps him from any spirit contact with the speaker thereof ; and, worse than all, he has probably read the remarks of some travelled Cockney who took a run through some district of the Highlands, and considered himself so well informed as to air his knowledge, or rather his ignorance, of the people and their habits in the pages of some periodical, or in the columns of a newspaper. All who read these come, as a matter of course, in contact with our people with preconceived ideas ; and we all know that preconceived ideas set a traveller at a very serious disadvantage. I, at least, found it so on my first visit to London. I was very much disappointed to find that, though the Royal Augusta wore an imperial crown, and was clothed in purple, she had naked feet that were anything but clean, and the hems of her robes were torn and muddy. I had expected a glorious vision of glittering

grandeur, and upon asking myself concerning the foundation of such an expectation, I found it was no deeper than my first nursery rhyme—

“Give me a pin, to stick in my thumb,
To carry my lady to London toon—
London toon’s a beautiful place,
Covered all with gold lace.”

Perhaps the sneers of the travelled Cockney given in the pages of some newspaper had also affected me, and deepened my impression, that poverty and comfortless homes were evils unheard of in the great centre of civilisation, and that the favoured denizens of that land of light and sunshine saw filth, squalour, and poverty for the first time in our Highland glens. Going to London with such preconceived ideas, I got a shock when I found that the travelled Cockney had been trying to draw an impossible parallel between his own home and the cots of our peasantry. For, verily, our people on strath, glen, or mountain side lead beautiful, poetic lives, when compared with the dwellers in the slums and alleys of London. They may have lowly cots, and have many privations and hardships, but they have also many blessings, and much to give zest to life. They are, verily, like the strong, finely flavoured, brightly blooming heather on the hills; and those dwellers in the slums like the sickly plants they attempt to grow in their windows, without sunshine, and in a poisoned atmosphere. The Highlander has all day long the fresh air of heaven, the fragrance of the flowers, the ozone of the sea, and the pure sunshine—all of them unbought gifts showered freely from the Great Father, who made the country, and whose choicest blessings belong to those of His children who are reared in His own immediate presence and in His temples not made by human hands. These temples have the mountains for their walls, and the blue sky for their dome; and they are carpeted by flowers of a thousand hues, and the voices of the winds are like diapasons called forth from a mighty organ played by His own Almighty hand, and the little birds are choristers singing in unison; and surely such a choir should have a more civilising effect than the penny-gathering organ-grinder of the city, even if he has the addition of a grinning monkey who is a very adept in gymnastics.

The southern traveller who stays long enough in our mountain land to learn to know our people will be astonished to find how they have been misrepresented. He will find modest and beautiful maidens, and brave, true-hearted men who would de-

light with kindly souls and willing hands to serve him in his hour of need. He will find faithfulness among servants, courtesy and politeness among all classes. Not only so, but he will find a people who are educated even in the face of an entire ignorance of the three R's. All ideas of education are not necessarily confined to a knowledge of letters. Good stout old Earl Douglas was a perfect gentleman, I am sure, although he could thank St Dunstan that no son of his save Gawain could e'er pen a line ; and so many a gallant Highlander, notwithstanding his ignorance of letters and even of the English language which is considered the high road to all culture, is an educated, well-informed man, full of high and noble thoughts, and having a very mine of knowledge. For this the Highlanders have been greatly indebted to an institution which mistaken though, perhaps, well-meaning, men have wrested from them—the *Ceilidh*. There the young mind, thirsting to drink from the fountains of knowledge, got it night by night orally, as our students in our Universities get it from their Professors : only these, instead of taking notes on paper, have every word graven on the tablets of the soul. There the youth heard a store of legends that no Arabian Nights could excel ; there he heard the proverbs of his country fraught with philosophy and profoundest wisdom. He heard the battles of his country retold there, and learned to think of the hero as the great pattern to be imitated, and of the coward as the most despicable being in creation. To have had anyone of his kith and kin obliged to stand at the church, taking his tongue between his fingers and saying, "*Sid am bleidire a theich,*" would be worse than death. The stories told at the *Ceilidh* were full of love and romance, but they always had a good moral, and the genius of the language in which they were told was of so lofty a kind that the unlettered could talk it in all its nervous eloquence and intensity, as well as in all its pathos and power, without the artificial aids of grammar or etymological manual. The young people at the *Ceilidh* drank in their mother tongue as they had drunk their mother's milk pure and unadulterated from their mother's breasts. The young man would go away from the *Ceilidh* elevated by the knowledge he had acquired there. He knew he was not a stray atom in creation. He had listened to the tales told of his clan, and felt that the halo encircling the brows of the heroes of his race reflected a glory upon him. His heart swelled with pride, and the greatness of the heroes of his race would have to be transmitted by him unclouded to his children. There was thus an obligation laid upon him, and he dared not do anything to bring shame to the

proud race from whom he sprang. He could not even with impunity marry the girl he loved if she were of a race whose deeds would disgrace his children.

But though proverb, tradition, and story served to educate the young Highlander at this wonderful institution of the *Ceibidh* (at which the dance also had no mean place), the great source of knowledge and of culture was in the poetry of the country; and if it is a sign of superior culture in the homes of rank and fashion to be able to quote the poets, it must necessarily be so also in our lowly Highland cots. I, who know the poets of both languages intimately, know of nothing as a teaching element loftier than the sentiments of our good old Gaelic bards. I pass by Ossian, whose poems are so well known in the different languages of Europe. Not to enter the controversy of whether they are really Ossian's or James Macpherson's, they are in either case Highland; and if their sentiments are considered too lofty for the minds of a primitive race like our Highlanders, we will pass them over to pick up and admire a gem whose right to be considered a pearl of the Highland shores has never been questioned—that is “The Desire of the Aged Bard.” Let any one who cannot read Gaelic read that poem as it has been translated by Mrs Grant of Laggan, and say if there is anything purer, sweeter, or better in any of the poems of the last three Laureates. The beautiful poetic emblems are delicately handled, and the sympathy with nature is of a highly refined character. The old man rejoices in the visions of love and romance to which his eyes are closed for ever. He is glad to know that the flowers he loved are growing about his place of rest by the side of the wimpling brook, and no sweeter music can thrill his soul than the songs of the birds that he poetically calls “The little children of the bushes,” and his high-souled memory of the days when he rejoiced in the cry, “The stag has fallen.” There is no cowardly fear of death. He is sorry to leave the mountains he loves, but he knows his trembling hand can no longer awaken the harp. He knows his winter is everlasting, and he is willing to go to join his brother bards in their residence on Ardrven. We are sorry that we have no other poem of this grand old man's, but it is a high compliment to the tastes of the people that even this one of his has come down to posterity—orally handed down “under the feet of the years” by an appreciative people. Next in antiquity, although generations have elapsed between, comes “The *Comhachag*,” not so full of the poetry of romance as the other, not so fraught with eloquent words and lofty thought, but yet full of sound sense and

of historical and genealogical lore. This old Macdonald has a ring of manliness in his song that breathes of the free, wild hunter who killed so many wolves in his day, and who grudged the laying down of his bow and arrow at the feet of hirpling, stumbling, old age. The soul was young though the body was aged, and we are sorry that we have not a few more of the out-pourings of so grand a spirit. This is perhaps the only song in which we find a bard utterly despising the creatures of the ocean, from the shell-fish on the sea-shore to the deep-breathing whale that splashes among the billows. Down through the years the bards gave voice to the ennobling thoughts God gave them, and thus became the teachers of the people. What is loftier or more ennobling for a young man bent on wedlock than Duncan Bàn Macintyre's song to Màiri his wife. His admiration of her beauty and purity, his determination never to make her heart palpitate the quicker for any irritating words of his, and to protect her and provide for her in all circumstances, are beautifully expressed; and every one who hears that pure and sweet song must be all the better for it. Truth and faithfulness in love, and the hatred of everything mercenary in connection with marriage, are universal characteristics of our Gaelic songs.

“Ged a tha mi gann do stòras,
Gheibh sinn bho là gu là na dh'fhoghnas;
'S ciod e tuilleadh th'aig Rìgh Seòras,
Ged is mòr a Rìoghachdan !”

seemed to represent the general feeling of the bards in regard to conjugal happiness. We need not say how much they have added to the military ardour of their countrymen by their praise of great and heroic actions, and their utter detestation of everything akin to cowardice and unmanliness. Not to go further back than Mackinnon, we may know the effect such thrilling battles as he has described would have upon all who listened to the stirring words. *Blàr na h-Olainn* and *Blàr na h-Eiphit*, speak of the rival soldier's high and lofty spirit, and although the bard was wounded almost unto death, he only refers to it in passing. It is of the noble daring of his officers, and the lofty courage and great deeds of his brother soldiers, of which he speaks so caressingly and so full of sympathy—

“C'uim nach tòisichinn 'sa' chàmpa,
Far an d'fhàg mi clàun mo ghaoil;
Thog sinn tighean sàmhruidh ann,
De dhuilleach 's mheang nan craobh.”

I know many of the old people of Lochaber who can repeat every word of these songs, but the *Céilidh* has now vanished into a thing of the past, and the songs so full of profound wisdom and high teaching have been frowned upon as sinful; and, therefore, the young of the present day, with all their knowledge of the three R's, are less educated than their ancestors were.

Not only could the Highlanders sing the songs of their country, so full of sublime and noble thoughts, but they also could tell the names of the authors. They could give the right melody, and tell the story attached to each song, and the circumstances in which it was composed; and many a tear was shed and many a pang of sorrow experienced over the sufferings of those whose tale was told in such pathetic language, wedded often to the weirdest and sweetest of melodies. Of such tales was the one attached to the song—

“ A Mhic-Neachdain an Dùin
Bho thùr nam baideal.”

when Macnaughton of Dundarave fled to Ireland with his wife's sister—one of the Campbellis of Ardkinglass—and the poor deserted wife's cry of pain echoes down to us through ages. Then there was the unhappy wife whose sister tied her hair to a stake on the sea-shore, where she was drowned,—

“ Gheibh iad mise hug ò,
Anns an làthaich hi ri ho ro,
Mo chuailcan donn hug ò,
Mu stob feàrna hi ri ho ro.”

Such treachery was always execrated in the Gaelic songs and the sympathies won to all that was pure and noble, and as each of such stories had in them the power and interest of a great novel, the mind filled with them could be neither vacant nor uncultured. Love, faith, hospitality, bravery, energy, and mercy were praised in these songs, and every form of tyranny and wrong, cowardice, treachery, or meanness, was treated with the “hate of hate and the scorn of scorn.” The description of scenery in the Gaelic songs is always beautiful. We cannot imagine any one further from the unappreciative Peter Bell, to whom a primrose was just a yellow primrose and nothing more, than a Highlander who could delight in the minutest details of Duncan Ban's *Coire-Cheathaich*, or some of Mac Mhaighstir Alastair's descriptive pieces. We regret very much that this cultivating influence has been wrested from the people, but we hope that even yet amidst this modern revival of Celticism our Gaelic bards will meet

with renewed appreciation, and that no minister or elder will dare to wrest from the people the songs that were sung by those whom God had gifted specially to make the world wiser and better. God who gave the proud flash of the eye to the eagle, who gave his gay feathers to the peacock, his thrilling song to the lark, and even his spots to the tiger, rejoices in beauty ; and, verily, if His eye rejoices in loveliness of the outward form—in the red of the rose, and in the scarlet of the poppy—He must also rejoice in the beautiful thoughts that make the soul blossom in freshness like a well-watered garden ; and people might as well turn the garden into a desert as wrest by fanatic and ignorant hands from the hearts of men the loveliness and gladness of which God made them full—which made them tender and sympathetic, and filled their souls with a chivalrous love for heroic deeds, that made them emulate the bravery of former generations, and made them patriotic and virtuous.

On the same date (the 25th March 1885) Mr Alexander Macdonald, audit office, Highland Railway, Inverness, read a paper on Celtic Poetry. We summarise it as follows :—

CELTIC POETRY.

Celtic poetry includes the poetry of Brittany, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, but in this paper Gaelic poetry is taken as representative of the rest ; the other countries, however, are occasionally referred to for illustration, confirmation, or addition.

Poetry took literary shape before prose, for the simple reason that rhythmic language is almost necessary for the memory ; and the memory was the only repository of literature in barbaric and savage times, before writing was invented. The Celts of ancient times were especially fond of poets ; the classical writers continually refer to the bards that attended the chiefs and appeared at the feasts. And, if we may trust old Irish history, the poets were the most important class of men in the State ; their privileges were extraordinary ; they had right of hospitality from every person and the right of exacting gifts ; they were themselves, on the other hand, divided into grades said to have been seven, and the highest poet had to know and recite, if called on, 350 tales or poems, the next, 175, and so on to the 7th, who recited 30 tales or poems. Some authorities give 10 or 11 grades. We know from Cæsar that the Druids taught poetry to their pupils, and probably embodied their doctrines in poetic form,

which, as they did not commit them to writing, would facilitate remembrance. We know, too, that the poets used to appear in battle, inciting their own side and hurling taunts and detraction at their foes. So powerful, indeed, was their influence that they could even stop the combatants when drawn up and ready for fight: "So," says the old writer who records this, "among the wildest barbarians passion yields to art and philosophy, and Mars reveres the Muses."

For ease of reference and for perspicuity's sake, we shall consider the subject of Gaelic poetry under the following heads:—The antiquity of Gaelic poetry; its heorism; its patriotism; its love; its power of description; and, lastly, its poetic value.

Much dispute has existed as to the antiquity of Gaelic poetry, and, indeed, all Celtic poetry that now exists. The Welsh claimed for their Triads and their Four Books of Wales, an antiquity that dates as far back as the 6th century. Indeed, Mr Skene thinks they actually were composed about that time, and handed on traditionally until the 12th to the 15th century, when they were written down. But, unfortunately for all such theories, their language is very modern; in fact, it is the language of the time at which they were written down, say the 13th and 14th centuries; and, again, their historical elements are too vague, legendary, and mythical to argue upon their intrinsic antiquity. The very same criticism applies to Irish literature; its earliest MS. is of the 10th or 11th century, say about 1100, and though the language does point to a century or two older for some pieces, yet little can be claimed with any degree of probability or regard to scientific accuracy, as older than the 9th century. Scotland is even worse off; passing over the Book of Deer in the 12th century, as of little literary though great linguistic importance, we come first to the Book of the Dean of Lismore, written about 1512. It contains poetry of two classes—the heroic and the contemporary. The contemporary poetry is of the ordinary mixed kind—elegiac, erotic, philosophic, religious, and, as is usual among the Gaels, genealogical or clannish. The heroic pieces deal with legendary and mythic characters, mostly the Féine. Some of them purport to be by contemporary authors, doubtless working in the old quarries of Fenian romance; but many are attributed to Ossian and several other Ossianic heroes. Prof. Windisch has shown the value of this reputed authorship of Ossian by a comparison with the older Irish tales and poems. In these tales or poems are introduced, after some narrative or descriptive passage, the char-

acters as reciting their opinions in poetry. It is the dramatic and narrative forms combined, but it is not for a moment implied that Cuchullin, Conchobar, Fergus, Finn, Ossian, Oscar, or the others were poets, but only that they said or sung the piece that followed. In the Dean's book Ossian and the others are actually named as the authors, not the sayers, reciters, or singers merely of the pieces. Then as to the character of these Ossianic ballads contained in the Dean's book; most of them are common to Ireland and Scotland, and belong clearly to the 13th on to the 16th centuries, but not later. The language in every case is Middle Gaelic; they are often in a Christian setting—Ossian and St Patrick speaking; and they are always apart from the prose narrative, which ought to include them. It is not safe to postulate any great antiquity for them; five or six hundred years must be their utmost age. As to Macpherson's Ossian, it is a thing by itself; it has no relation to any other Celtic poetry, ancient or modern, save to imitations of itself. In its love of natural scenery, it is Celtic; in its weird mythology and its historical references, it is Norse; in its vagueness and sentimentality, it is quite 18th centuryish and modern. The language is excellent, but it is *very* modern Gaelic. To sum up; we cannot claim any Celtic poetry to be much older than the MSS. on which they are written, for their language is of that date; hence little or no Celtic poetry can be traced back a thousand years, and the bulk of the older poetry is later than half that period.

The second point to be discussed is the heroism in Gaelic poetry, which is, in fact, one of its most characteristic features. The poetry breathes a spirit of magnanimity which was but the reflection of the character inherent in the Celtic race. Their battles, their feasts, and their every-day life were all conducted on principles of Homeric heroism—"they were like the people in Homer's time," says Diodorus. If animosities were keen, if cruelty was not absent, yet friendship and tenderness were correspondingly intense. An act of dishonour was unknown. How changed are the times now! Their frequent single combats form a proof as to the magnanimity and generosity of their character—combats in which any mean advantage was scorned. Scott caught the idea of the ancient Gael excellently in his Roderick Dhu. And the Fenian ballads, both those of genuine origin and those of Macpherson, breathe a spirit of heroism and old-world life and generosity that can only be compared to Homer and the early Greek heroes. Indeed, the Celts and Greeks were much alike; of course they were descended from the same Aryan stock, but, all the same, they kept a wonderful similarity to each other in their

separate existence and under widely different conditions. Both races were poetic and æsthetic; the Greeks were the originators of poetic form in ancient times, and the Celts gave the magic of rhyme to modern poetry.

Our third point is the patriotism of Gaelic poetry. The Highlanders have a remarkable position among the nations—a mountaineer people deeply and passionately fond of their country. For it they were at all times prepared to sacrifice their all—themselves. Whether under their chiefs, inspired by the chants of their bards and the strains of their music, or fighting for our general country of Britain, in regiments—“all plaided and plumed in tartan array”—where have they ever been known to turn their backs on the foe? The poetry is full of their patriotic feeling; their country, its institutions and its glory, are perennial themes, potent to inspire both bard and people. We need only refer to the last Rebellion as a proof of our position. The Highlanders clung to the old Stuart race with a passion, deep and abiding, and the mark which that struggle has left on the literature of the Gaels is correspondingly prominent, for a great part of Gaelic poetry and prose has Prince Charlie for its theme. Alexander Macdonald was in arms for the cause, and his most vigorous poems were written for it; while Duncan Ban, a soldier of the Crown at the time, was delighted to run his best in flight before his Highland kinsmen. He could even be a coward in appearance for his country's sake—possibly a higher pitch of self-sacrifice than any else. The history of Ireland presents another instance of Celtic patriotism. The struggle is also deeply imprinted on its literature. When Wales irrevocably lost its liberty, it turned to its ancient stores of literature, and lived over again in imagination the Homeric times of King Arthur, “who is to come again, and thrice as fair.” The beautiful Arthurian legends, which attracted Milton, and inspired Tennyson to produce in them his masterpieces, belong to the Bretonic branch of the Celts; they sprung up in Brittany and in Wales. From these countries they overran mediæval Europe, and fired the songs of the troubadours and poets of both the Teutonic and Romance nations.

Our next point deals with the love-songs of the Gael. Few nations in the world can boast of such tender and affecting productions on the subject of love; the Gaelic language seems here “to the manner born” made, like Anacreon, to sing of love alone. Their songs glow forth from their hearts, pure as the crystal-coloured waters that stream out from the mountainous recesses

of their native country. At the shrine of this divine power, this all-pervading essence—love—was poured out nearly three-fourths of all their poetry. In adversity and in prosperity, in sorrow and in joy, the Highlander was equally mindful of breathing his feelings to woman. He lived for her, and died for her. She always exercised a peculiar influence over him that never failed to inspire and enliven his soul, however conditioned. He seemed to possess a very clear conception of the relation in which woman stands to man socially, and we seldom or never find him to have betrayed her confidence or dishonoured her fidelity. It was not as the phlegmatic, materialistic generations of our time do that the Highlanders of old loved. They might have been simple; but whether or not, they were certainly truthful. In this respect they can be compared to the Minne-singers of Germany, and to the Italians of past ages. This similarity, perhaps, can be accounted for through the affinity that exists between the languages of these nations, and the probable inheritance of some manners and customs at once common to all of them. But we are under the impression that neither the Italians nor the Germans possess love-songs that are more pathetic, more pregnant with intense feeling, more innocently natural, more sublimely spontaneous than the Highlanders of Britain. In this we hope we are not claiming too much for them. But where can we find anything more characteristically human, more true to nature under the fervent emotions of love, than the “*Mair iBhan Og*” of Donnachadh Ban.

We quote in proof these lines from William Ross, the “Burns of the Highlands:”—

“*Ge binn cuach 's ge binn smeorach,
'S ge binn coisir 's gach crann,
'Seinn ciuil domh 'n coill smudain,
Theich mo shugradh-s' air chall—
'Tha mi daonnan a' smaointeach'
Air mo ghaol anns a' ghleann,
'S mi air tuiteam am mighean,
Gun a briodal bhi ann.*

“*'N uair a bhithinn-s' mo mhin-mhal'
An gleannan riomhach na cuaich,
No 'n doire fasgach na smeoraich,
Gabhail solais air chuairt ;
Cha mhalairtinn m' cìbhneas
O bhi ga h-eugmhais car uair,
Airson beartas fhir-stata
'Dh' aindeoin airdead an uaill.”*

In the frozen atmosphere of our day, all this ennobling, edifying, and beautifying element in our poetry, may very likely be sneered at. Love is now, like friendship, very much a condition of self-interest from a business point of view. But such it was not before now; and a true-hearted Highlander will admire his ancestors as much for their highly advanced ideas of this passion as for any other good qualification which they are known to have ever possessed. We find those nations always the best and the most civilised where woman is loved and respected. In giving her the position of trust and eminence to which she is virtually entitled, man raises himself considerably beyond such as cannot appreciate her. Love therefore is never to be despised. It is the sunshine of life, and the light of the social world.

The descriptive element of Gaelic poetry is, in our opinion, the most poetic of all that enters into the constitution of it. When describing the magnificent scenery of the land of the heather and craggy bens, the Gaelic poet was more truly himself than at any other time. The sublimity of conception, the variety of idealities, and the striking felicity of expression displayed in all songs and poems descriptive of our hills and glens, of our mountains and valleys, of our streams and rivers, and of our woods and forests, are undoubtedly the masterpieces of Gaelic poetry. Here the Gaelic poet drew his inspiration from all the glorious manifestations of nature on earth known to him; and the harmony with which he evolved his poetic creations from such betrays the unlimited use of that Heavenly gift of humanising and transubstantiating nature's external world peculiar to a poet. In reading the poetry of the Highlands of Britain, it is evident that the reflective organs of the poets' minds were remarkably impressionable to the beautiful scenery of their native land, and that their representations or reproductions of those impressions affected deeply the race to whom they were delivered. The Highlanders seem to have been as susceptible to the beauty of their native country as they were to that of their women. It was the source of their patriotism, the nucleus around which nearly all their affections revolved, and the centre from which their most ambitious aspirations took their rise. The poets knew this, and failed not to make extensive use of it in appealing to the passions of the people. From the bards of heroic times down to the poets of our own day, nearly all have dwelt more or less upon this idea, and interspersed their works with direct or indirect references to the all-glorious charms of the picturesque magnificence of Highland scenery. There is no better criterion by which to go in judging the mental

advancement of a nation than its descriptive poetry; for it is from this that we can have revealed to us, not only the impressionability of a nation, but, more particularly, the civilisation of a nation, which is of incomparably greater consequence from a philosophical stand-point. In this light the Highlanders of old present to us, as now conceived through their descriptive poetry, a picture of refinement that truly astonishes us.

Little now remains to be added regarding the last part of our subject—the Poetic Value of Gaelic Poetry—in other words, how many or how few of the elements that constitute poetry are to be met with in the Gaelic poetry of the Highlands of Britain? We need not recapitulate what we have written regarding it to confirm here the genuineness of it as poetry. Does it not create worlds of love and friendship in the minds of the brave sons of the Gael? Does it not engender the tenderest affections in their hearts? Does it not, even now, awaken the most glorious associations in their souls? And, not only in these respects, but in all others that mark true poetry, we have in the Gaelic portions of Celtic poetry, as a whole, something that approaches to poetic perfection. They are an ocean of poetic passion, a sea of poetic intensities, a forest of poetic fancies, they teem with poetry's soul-stirring sentiments, and are all alive with poetry's life-sweetening dreamings; even the very language in which they are written is peculiarly and supremely poetic.

1ST APRIL 1885.

On this date, after the transaction of some routine business, Mr D. Campbell, of the *Northern Chronicle*, proceeded to give, with the aid of maps specially prepared, a brief account of the provinces and the divisions of the old Kingdom of Alba, after which he went on to show that Alba had two main lines of defence. The northern one extended from the Moray Firth to Inverlochry. The southern one, which before the appearance of the Scandinavians was by far the more important of the two, began on the Drumalban watershed, passed down Glenlyon to Fortingall, called of old Fotherchill, and thence to Dunkeld, where it bi-forked. Inverammon, or Rathammon, at the mouth of the Almond, and Perth, in Gaelic Baile Feairt, formed a sort of front defence to the regal seat of Scone, while from Dunkeld following the hills, then crossing Strathmore to Dunsinnane, and thence curving along the chief range of the lower Grampians, stretched a long chain of fortified places to Dunottar, which was of old variously written Dun-fother and

Fother-dun. Logie-Pert, like Perth, derived its name from "feart," which was the usual name for a small round fort, while a larger erection was, it would seem, called "fother." In Glenlyon, which had twelve of these round forts, the people called them generally "The Castles of the Feinne," but they had particular names for some of them. It appeared that Kenneth Macalpin advanced his southern defence line to Strathearn. Forteviot and Dundurn were the two chief strengths of the new line. Another Kenneth, he who was reigning when "the Pictish Chronicle" was written, about 990 fortified the banks of the Forth. Then, by degrees, the old importance and true history of the old Pictish chain of forts were forgotten. Mr Campbell referred to the dedications of the churches of the district, in proof of his argument that the line he described was that on which the men of Fortrenn, and at times the men of all Alba, mustered in days of old. Most of the region of the southern forts continued to be crown lands until the death of Alexander III. He had no doubt it would be found, on due investigation, that the northern chain also stretched through territories which belonged to the Crown until a comparatively late period. In conclusion, he urged strongly, that the Gaelic Societies should co-operate to bring out a Gaelic map, that is a map giving the old Gaelic names of districts and place as correctly and completely as possible.

10TH APRIL 1885.

On this date, Mr John Whyte, librarian, Inverness, read an interesting and suggestive paper on "the Principles of Gaelic Translation." The paper was an introductory one, and will be given in its amplified and extended form in next year's Volume of Transactions.

On this same date the Secretary, on behalf of Mr Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, London, author of the History of Clan Chattan, read a paper on Mackintosh's Cairn, Glentilt. Mr Mackintosh Shaw's paper was as follows:—

MACKINTOSH'S CAIRN IN GLENTILT, AND ITS LEGEND.

This paper has been written with a double object, in addition to the primary one of helping *Comunn Gailig Inbhirnis* to wile away part of an evening. On the one hand, I desire to show how

easily a tradition of some ancient event may have been disseminated and have become localised in various districts, and, therefore, how necessary it is for any person wishing to use such a tradition for historical purposes to satisfy himself, by careful examination of all its conditions, that it is genuine, and even then to take it *cum grano salis*. On the other hand, I wish to draw the attention of members of the Society to the subject of Highland tradition and legend generally, with a view of inducing them to aid in this field of research. The excellent paper of the Rev. Mr Watson, Kiltearn, on "The collecting of Highland legends, and the necessity for collecting them now," printed in Vol. VI. of the Society's Transactions, has had some result, certainly, but none commensurate with the quantity of material or the importance of the subject. There must still be many traditionary stories which have not yet appeared in print, and unless these are placed on record now, they may be for ever lost; for newspapers and cheap literature have as withering an effect on them as the east wind has on the early fruit-blossom. Losing them, we should undoubtedly lose some help, greater or less, towards obtaining a knowledge of past times and manners, and probably, in addition, some means of verifying the better known stories which have been made public property. In the following remarks, I will first "say the tale as 'twas said to me," and then endeavour to indicate some possible standing-ground of history for it. I do not claim to have succeeded; to a great extent my endeavours are only by way of conjecture, for, except the facts of its existence and of its being applied to two different districts, the story has nothing certain in connection with it. Possibly this paper may elicit further information.

About a mile to the north-east of Loch-Loch, among the hills of Ben-y-Gloe, in Perthshire, is a cairn known generally as Mackintosh's Cairn, sometimes as Comyn's Cairn (*Carn a' Chuimeinich*). It is said by tradition to mark the spot where, some centuries ago, a great chief of the Comyns was killed by a certain Mackintosh, who raised the stones as a monument of his act.

The story of the feud which culminated in the erection of this cairn has been told more than once. The main incidents, as narrated on the authority of local tradition by Colonel J. A. Robertson (author of *Gaelic Topography* and other works) in a little volume entitled *The Earldom of Atholl*, privately printed in 1860, are as follows:—The Comyns, on obtaining a footing in Atholl, at once commenced their usual practice of attacking their neighbours. Among these were the Mackintoshachs, or Mack-

intoshes, descendants of the old Tosachs or Thanes of Glentilt, who were attacked by the Comyns at a feast and all murdered, except a young child in a cradle. This child, Ewen, also called "Sherigan," grew up, and some fifteen years after the massacre attacked the Comyns at a place called Toldamph (Toldamh, near Blair Atholl) and defeated them. The Comyns fled up Glentilt, and turned in at the stream which issues from Loch-Loch, but Ewen, taking a near way through the Hills of Ben-Gloe, by a stream called Cromaldun, met their leader at Loch-na-diold, and shot him. Colonel Robertson says that these events are supposed to have taken place about or soon after 1260, and that Ewen had a son named Angus, who obtained a "bounding charter" to his lands.

In *Legends of the Braes o' Mar*, by John Grant (Aberdeen, 1876), the story is given in more detail. According to the generally accepted version, Comyn, Lord of Atholl, coveting the lands of Tiriny, the heritage of Mackintosh, surprised the latter's house in the night, and put all its inmates to the sword except a child, Mackintosh's son, whose cradle, being overturned in the scuffle, was overlooked. The child was discovered next morning by one of Tiriny's tenants, called Croit-a'-bhoineid (or Bonnet-croft, from his paying a yearly rent of a new bonnet), and was by him secretly conveyed to the relatives of the murdered mother, Campbells in Argyll. Comyn followed up his cruel act by adding the lands of Tiriny to his own, and continued to "go on still in his wickedness."

The boy thus saved was well brought up by his Argyllshire relations, and was once a-year visited by the faithful Croit-a'-bhoineid, who passed for his father. As he grew up he became an expert archer, and on one occasion, when he had reached the age of eighteen years, the worthy crofter, seeing his skill at the bull's-eye, exclaimed, "Bravo! Tiriny, broader far than the round on that target is the brow of your father's murderer." "Are not you, then, my father?" asked the youth; and then Croit-a'-bhoineid related his sad tale. Young Mackintosh was as eager for revenge as his old friend could desire, and plans for obtaining it were speedily matured between them. With a band of picked men—given by the Campbells, according to some, by the Mackintoshes of Inverness-shire, according to others—the two went to Tiriny, in Atholl. Their followers lay concealed while they applied for shelter at the house of an old woman who had fostered the murdered Tiriny. She at first would not believe their story, and refused them admittance; but on being repeatedly assured that the son of her foster child was really there, she said, "Let him breathe through the key-hole, for I would know the breath of a Mackin-

tosh." The youth did as she desired, and was immediately welcomed as a true Mackintosh.

Our authority continues—"Some have it that the nurse had learned the Big Cumming was honouring by his presence the marriage of one of his retainers; that the Mackintosh partisans got between him and the castle; that the alarm was given, and that Cumming rushed to his stronghold, but finding himself intercepted, directed his flight up Glen-Tilt. Others say that an ambush was led near the castle; that a party of Mackintoshes came forward to make a feint assault, and afterwards fled, drawing out the Cummings in pursuit; that the ambush intercepted their retreat; and that those who escaped from the short combat which ensued fled with their leader up Glen-Tilt. The streams that join the Tilt, all the way to its source, recall, by their names, the places where some of the fugitives fell. Thus we have Allt na Maraig (pudding burn), Allt na Stroine (nose burn), Allt Iurg na Smeara (the burn of the shin of marrow), and so forth.* Alone at last, Cumming the Big turned away by Loch-Loching, east of Ben-y-Gloe nan Eag. But young Mackintosh and Croit-bhoineide still pursued. They kept on one side of the loch, the murderer on the other. As he sat down to rest on a large stone, raising his hand to wipe away the perspiration, an arrow from the bow of Tiriny pinned that hand to his brow, and the Big Cumming fell dead. Carn a' Chuimeinich still marks the spot." (*Legends of the Braes o' Mar*, p. 29.)

This story, in its main features, is so true to the wild spirit of the times in which its incidents are supposed to have happened—times when right often had to give way to might, and when men were accustomed to measure out justice for themselves—that we can scarcely refuse to believe that it had some foundation in fact. It is quite possible, of course, that it is nothing more than an ancient mythological story, handed down from the remote ancestors of our branch of mankind, to which local colouring and surroundings have been given and additions made by successive story-tellers to suit the taste of their audiences. There are many popular stories, some even finding a place in grave histories, which modern research has traced back to this source—notably the story of William Tell and the apple, which figures, *mutato nomine*, among the legends of England and Scandinavia as well as of Switzerland, and is given as a legend of Braemar in the book

* These names do not necessarily indicate connection of the places bearing them with such events as those of the legend.

already quoted. The principal incidents of the story before us would fit in closely with such a theory, and the story might be taken as representing the destruction of summer by winter, and the subsequent overthrow of the destroyer by a new summer; or it might be a myth of the ever recurring conflict between the sun and night. In the latter case the prowess of the youthful hero as an archer would lend probability to the theory. If, however, the story were such a myth, we should doubtless find it elsewhere than in the Highlands, among other nations descended from the great Aryan stock; but there is no trace of it in this direction.

On the whole, then, we are perhaps justified in regarding it as historical rather than mythological. There can be no doubt as to its being an old story, for the names of the actors in it are names which have ceased for some centuries to have any connection with the district, and the country people through whom the story has come could have had no knowledge of such connection otherwise than by tradition. In any tradition of more than two or three generations it is vain to expect correctness in more than principal facts, still more vain to expect dates and individual names; and in this case we have to be content for the purpose of historical enquiry with knowing that the parties concerned were the Comyns on the one hand and the Mackintoshes of Glentilt on the other. The name given to the saviour of the infant Mackintosh, and the conversation between the two, according to the foregoing detailed story, have no doubt been added during the steps of the tradition.

It is not necessary here to trace the origin and history of the Comyns; their deeds, good and bad, and their accessions of wealth and power in various parts of Scotland, are well known to every reader of Scottish history, although their early history, as given in the Peerages, is somewhat meagre and contradictory. The Mackintoshes of Glentilt, or of Tiriny, are less widely known; in fact, very little is known of them even by the best informed. Mr Skene, in *Celtic Scotland* (vol. iii., p. 274) says that "no doubt" [an expression, by the way, which does not always imply certainty] they proceeded from the family which held the office of Thane or Toshach of Glentilt, one of the thanages held under the Earl of Atholl, and that this family was descended from Eugenius or John, brother of Reginald of the Isles, who acquired the thanage from Robert, Steward of Scotland (afterwards Robert II.), before 1371.*

* By a misprint, 1471 is the date given in Mr Skene's book. An Alexander Mackintosh of Tiriny appears in the Privy Council Records in 1590, but the thanage of Glentilt had been disposed of by the descendants of Eugenius in the beginning of the century.

Thus they would be of the same line as the Macdonalds. But there appear to have been other Mackintoshes in Atholl for some time about the 15th century, the Clan Chattan of Inverness-shire having had a colony there. The MS. history compiled by Lachlan of Kinrara about 1670, from three MSS. of the previous century, says that the posterity of Angus Og, third son of Angus 6th of Mackintosh and his wife Eva, settled in Glentilt in Atholl. The 6th chief of Mackintosh died in 1345, and the children of his third son would probably come into the 15th century; but there are reasonable grounds (which will be advanced in due course) for supposing that the removal of Angus Og's descendants to Atholl did not take place until nearly the end of that century. But at whatever period the removal took place, in 1595 we find Duncan, who then represented Angus Og's posterity, and who (or his immediate predecessors) had acquired Dalmunzie, giving a heritable bond of manrent to the 16th chief of Mackintosh, and promising in it to defend him as his "naturall cheiff," thus acknowledging his descent from the Clan Chattan Mackintoshes. Assuming that Mr Skene's account of the origin of the Tiriny Mackintoshes is correct, there would be in the 16th century two sets of Mackintoshes in Atholl—those of Tiriny, Macdonalds by extraction, springing from the thanes of Glentilt, and those belonging to the Clan Chattan; and the question now is, which of these has the greater interest in the cairn and its legend? The Atholl tradition, as gathered by Colonel Robertson—a native of the district—and by the writer of the Braemar Legends, would appear to give the honour to the former; but, as has already been suggested, local tradition cannot always be depended upon for accuracy in the names of persons, and, supposing that the story was really connected with the Clan Chattan Mackintoshes settled for a time in Atholl, it would be but natural to expect that after their removal across the hills to Dalmunzie, the incidents would in the course of a few generations come to be applied to the other Mackintoshes who remained in the district. Tradition always has a tendency to localise events, and no doubt this tendency has been a powerful help towards the preservation of old stories such as that of Mackintosh's Cairn. How many of us, even now, in reading or hearing of a stirring or romantic incident, unconsciously lay the scene in some locality which we know, and which is promptly conjured up before our mental vision. Such mental portrayal of events seems to be particularly a gift of the young, whose world is usually a small one. I well remember that in my first youthful reading of "The Last of the Mohicans," all the inci-

dents of that captivating story were presented to my mind as taking place within and about a certain well-known wood of not more than twenty acres in extent; and that, similarly, John Bunyan's famous "Pilgrim" made his "Progress" along roads and paths trodden by my feet, and received entertainment at houses where I was a frequent guest. And so deep were these first impressions that even now, after a lapse of more than thirty years, when reading the story of Fenimore Cooper or the allegory of Bunyan, I find myself once more in imagination among the well-known banks and glades where I first knew La Longue Carabine, or accompanying Christian along a miry ditch-bordered country lane, overshadowed by sombre trees, which to me was the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Nearly every reading boy of imaginative mood, unless his tongue is tied by the reserve which usually accompanies that mood, will acknowledge similar experiences.

The Atholl youth of two or three centuries ago, on being told a thrilling tale of Mackintoshes slaughtered by Comyns, would almost as a matter of course associate the victims with the only Mackintoshes known to him, those living in his own neighbourhood; on hearing of the young Mackintosh's revenge, he would mentally pursue the Comyns through the defiles and over the hills which he best knew, and as the tale of the pursuit went forward he would have no difficulty in imagining that several of the pursued were brought to bay at such and such a pass or crag, that the blood of others dyed such and such a burn, and that the crowning event, the slaughter of the great Comyn himself, took place at a similarly appropriate spot. As he grew up, the story and his own mental picture of its incidents would become fused; we can even imagine him, while both were fresh in his memory, giving his version to his playmates, and with their assistance, acting the pursuit over again; or, in his mature years, telling his story, localised according to the ideas of his youth for the sake of impressiveness, to his descendants. In this way the story, though originally told of some far distant locality, would gradually and easily become identified with his own district.

All this supposing, as I said, that the story really belongs to the Clan Chattan Mackintoshes, and not to the other Mackintoshes in Atholl. Now for the grounds for such a supposition. In the first place, there is no distinct evidence that the Comyns were at any time powerful in Atholl, or even that they had possessions there. Nisbet in his "Heraldry" (part iv. p. 71) mentions a "David de Cumine, Comes de Atholiæ, Dominus de

Strathbolgie," as giving a grant of land, confirmed by Alexander II. in 1239; but no such person appears in the Peerages, and it seems clear that there is some mistake on Nisbet's part. In 1239, according to Douglas, the Earl of Atholl was Patrick. He in 1242, was succeeded by David de Hastings, who became 7th earl in right of his wife, Patrick's aunt, and was succeeded about 1269 by John de Strathbogie, of the Macduff family, who likewise acquired through his wife. He held the earldom until 1283. Although the Cumyns had thus no right in Atholl, it is fair to mention the *possibility* of their having seized and occupied it for a time during the unsettled state of the kingdom in the 13th century—a period about which there is little detailed information. There is, however, no actual evidence of such an occupation. Another possible connection of the Comyns with Atholl may perhaps be found in the marriage in 1152 of Richard Comyn, the first of his name holding lands in Scotland, to Hexilda, alleged grand-daughter of Malcolm Ceanmor's brother Donaldbane; but all the author of *Family Records of the Bruces and Comyns* (p. 395) can say of this lady is, "Why Countess of Etheletela we have not been able to discover, but Hexilda, being of the royal house of Ethel or Atholl, probably succeeded to the appanage of her grandfather, Donaldbain, who appears to have been chief of Atholl;" and if Hexilda was Countess of Atholl, it is strange that her right was not transmitted to her husband or family. In the next century there is a connection which is quite distinct, though distant. David, Earl of Atholl, grandson of the John de Strathbogie (a Macduff) already mentioned, married one of two grand-daughters of that John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, who was killed by Bruce at Dumfries in 1306. On these ladies devolved the representation of the Badenoch-Comyn family; and Earl David may have given hospitality to some of the dispossessed followers of his wife's family.

Enough has been said, however, to show that the domination of Atholl by the Comyns, in the manner and to the extent pointed at in the traditionary story, is without foundation in history.

In the next place, almost the identical story told in the *Mar Legends*, with the exception of the part taken by Croit-a'-bhoineid, is told of the Shaws in Rothiemurchus, originally Mackintoshes of the Clan Chattan,* and for the story, as applied to them, there

* A somewhat similar story is told of the Macaulays and the Morrisons in the Lews; the alleged period being about the 15th or 16th century.

is historical foundation. For a great part of the 14th and 15th centuries, the Comyns and Mackintoshes were at deadly feud, in both Moray and Badenoch. The origin of the feud is unknown, but may perhaps be referred to the Comyns' jealousy of a rising clan living near them and yet remaining independent of them. In 1230 one of the Comyns (a Norman family, be it remembered) was made Lord of Badenoch; and six years afterwards a right to the adjoining district of Rothiemurchus was acquired by the 4th chief of Mackintosh, who sent his warrior son Ferquhard to occupy the lands. We may be sure that the Comyns would regard this occupation with disfavour, and would not be disposed to leave the newcomers in peace; no doubt cause of quarrel was easily found or made, and before the close of the century the Comyns and Mackintoshes were in arms against each other. The breach was widened in the War of Independence, the Mackintoshes taking the patriotic side with Robert Bruce, the great foe and rival of the Comyns, and the destroyer of their once immense power. The feud continued, though apparently with intermissions, until about the middle of the fifteenth century.

The traditionary story of Rothiemurchus was obtained in that district some twenty years ago, by my friend and fellow-clansman the late Rev. W. G. Shaw. It is given, somewhat briefly, at page 139 of the account of Elginshire in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1845), and more fully in vol. i., page 333, of the *Celtic Magazine* (1876), where, however, the hero, Shaw of Rothiemurchus, is wrongly reported as in after life murdering his step-father, Dallas, and thereby forfeiting his property.

The Rothiemurchus story, as has been observed, closely resembles that told of the Mackintoshes of Atholl. The chieftain of the Shaws is murdered, with most of his supporters, by the Comyns, who seize on his possessions; his son, an infant, is saved by a nurse, who takes him to the Baron of Strathardle (according to one account, to his mother's relations), and then returns to her home; the child grows up into a strong, brave young man, and, with a band of followers, visits Rothiemurchus, with the object of recovering his patrimony. He goes at night to the house of his nurse, who at first will not believe that it is he who seeks admittance, but on his breathing through the key-hole at her request, is at length satisfied, and admits him joyfully. An attempt on the part of one of the youth's followers to deceive her by the breathing process had failed. Young Shaw finds that his arrival is well-timed, the chief men of the Comyns being expected back on the following day from a raid in the low

country; he lies in ambush, in a pass which they must traverse, the nurse standing on the Callort Hill, and giving warning of the enemy's approach by calling "Tha na gobhair anns a Challort" (The goats are in the Callort); and, as the unsuspecting Comyns arrive in detached parties, driving the cattle they had "lifted," he falls upon them, and cuts them to pieces. The scene of the massacre is still known as *Lag-nan-Cuimeineach*—the Comyns' hollow.

All this story of the Shaws is as circumstantial and as probable as that told of the Mackintoshes of Tiriny, and the evidence for its being a story of events which took place in Rothiemurchus is quite as strong as that for its relating to Atholl—perhaps stronger, having regard to the considerations already advanced as to the connection of the Comyns with the two districts.

Assuming that the Shaws of Rothiemurchus—or, to speak correctly, the branch of the Mackintoshes afterwards known as Shaws—were the actors in this drama, it is not difficult to fix the period at which the events occurred. To begin with, an important clue is furnished by the Rev. Lachlan Shaw at p. 42 of his *History of Moray* (Edin. 1775), where he gives the name of the murdered chieftain of the Shaws as *James*. The historian of Moray, however, makes this James live some eighty years too early, and it is interesting, as bearing on the study of tradition generally, to enquire into the reason for his so doing. It is a well known fact that traditionary stories, besides their liability to become localised, have a tendency to crystallise round the name of some distinguished individual. The great hero of Rothiemurchus history and tradition was that Shaw Mor (the *Scha Ferqwharisone* of Wynthoun's "Cronykil") who in 1396 led the Clan Chattan champions to victory in the battle of thirties at Perth, who received as a reward from the chief of Mackintosh the *duchus* of Rothiemurchus, and whose grave is still to be seen in the parish church-yard; and it is extremely likely that in the time of the Rev. Lachlan Shaw—that is, about the middle of the 18th century—the people of the district had come to regard him as the youth who had so gallantly recovered his own. At any rate, the reverend historian appears to have understood from the tradition he heard that Shaw Mor himself was the youth, and that the name of the murdered father was *James*; so that, not knowing the pedigree of the Shaws, he sets down James as their first chief and the father of Shaw Mor, and the date of the seizure by the Comyns as "about 1350."

The account of the Shaws in the *History of Moray* is full of errors. Its author was to a great extent dependent on tradition

for his information concerning ancient times, and was so ignorant concerning the history of the Shaws—now clear as to its main features from extant deeds and other documents—as to be unaware that they were known as Mackintoshes until the middle of the sixteenth century, or that Rothiemurchus passed from them by sale, and not, as he relates, by forfeiture on account of a murder. The James Shaw of “about 1350,” whom he makes their first chief, never existed; but Shaw Mor’s son and successor was named *James*, and was killed at Harlaw in 1411, fighting on the side of Donald of the Isles. He left two young sons—Alasdair, or Alexander “Ciar,” who, first of his line, acquired a right to Rothiemurchus; and Adam, who became ancestor of the Shaws of Tordarroch in Strathnairn. Both brothers are mentioned in bonds and deeds of various descriptions.

With the clue afforded by the name *James* in the *History of Moray*—a work, be it remembered, now more than a century old—we may reasonably assume that, if the Comyns ever seized and held Rothiemurchus, and if they were ever massacred by the young ancestor of the Shaws, who had been an infant at the time of the seizure, it must have been soon after 1411. In that year the head of the Mackintoshes in Rothiemurchus, *James*, son of Shaw Mor, was killed at the “red Harlaw,” no doubt with many of his followers; his two sons were infants (the elder appears, from a deed of 1499, to have been actively engaged in 1492), and Rothiemurchus would thus be left in a comparatively unprotected state. Where the Comyns who seized upon it came from cannot now be stated, but it is not too much to suppose that some of them had remained, as outlaws or “broken men,” in and about Badenoch, after that district had been wrested from their heads by Robert Bruce. Wherever they came from, Comyns appear to have settled themselves in the district; tradition is positive as to this; and it is highly probable that the island castle or fort in Loch-an-Eilan—traditionally ascribed to the Comyns, but said by some to have been the work of Alexander Stewart, Wolf of Badenoch—owes its existence to them. It is difficult to imagine a motive for the Wolf’s building such a fort in Rothiemurchus, on Church land, and outside his own lordship; but on the other hand, a band of outlaws, such as the Comyns probably were, would actually need a stronghold to which they could retire when hard pressed, and doubtless one of their first acts, after seizing the district, would be to provide such a refuge.

To go further, if the scene of the events described by tradi-

tion was really Rothiemurchus, and if the time was soon after 1411, as I have endeavoured to show must have been the case, there can be little or no doubt that the young hero of the tradition was Alexander "Ciar," son of James, son of Shaw Mor. There is one circumstance in Alexander's history which possibly points to him as the recoverer of the lands of Rothiemurchus, and that is that he was the first of his line who possessed a right to them. These lands were Church lands, the property of the Bishops of Moray, from whom the Mackintosh chiefs held them in feu. Alexander Ciar's father and grandfather had held them from their kinsman, the chief of Mackintosh, only as *duchus*—that is, they had had the occupation and use of them as tenants at will. But in 1464, says the Kinrara MS., Duncan, 11th of Mackintosh, "disponed his right of possession and tack to his cousin Alister Keir Mackintosh, *alias* Shaw, the third from Shaw, *alias* Gilchrist vic Ian." The Episcopal Register of Moray, under date 4th September 1464, confirms the MS., for it records the terms of the charter to the new tenant:—"Carta feodifirmæ ab Episcopo cum consensu capituli facta Alexandro Keyr Makyntosy, terrarum ecclesiasticarum de Rothymurchos, in vice com. de Innernes; Reddendo 24 mercas annuatim," &c., &c. The MS. gives no reason for the chief's thus transferring his right to his relative; but may not the explanation be that he did it out of a feeling of gratitude to Alexander Ciar for winning back the lands and destroying the troublesome enemies who had seized them? Viewed thus, his act was one of simple justice; and Duncan, if we may judge by the character given of him by the family chronicler, was a man from whom such an act might reasonably be expected.

On the whole, we have sufficient weight of probability to justify the conclusion that the incidents of the legend, if they ever took place at all, took place in Rothiemurchus and not in Atholl. How then did the story of them find its way to Atholl and become a part of the traditionary history of that district? This is a question which, like most questions connected with our subject, cannot be answered with certainty; we are still thrown back on probabilities, and must be content if we can discover any circumstances in which the story *might* have travelled southwards to Atholl. Such circumstances are found in the statement of the MS. History of the Mackintoshes, already referred to, that descendants of Angus Og, a younger son of the 6th chief, settled in Atholl. When this settlement took place, or by which of Angus Og's descendants it was made, is not stated; but there are sufficient grounds for a reasonable conjecture on the point. On the

15th May 1482, "Donald M^oIntosche Angusson" entered into an agreement with Lachlan "Badenoch," brother of the 11th chief of Mackintosh, that he (Donald) should take "in all possibill hast" the castle or tower of Kilravock, and hold it as constable under Lachlan—who, by the way, was brother-in-law of the baron of Kilravock, Hucheson Rose. Donald performed his part of the agreement, surprising the castle, killing the constable and watch, and doing great damage. How long he held the castle does not appear, but in 1498 a royal summons was issued against Donald, at the instance of the next baron of Kilravock, for "the wranguis distructioun of the hede hous of his touer of Kilravock, the grete hall of the samyn place, with kichin, baikhous, &c., &c." The circumstances are mentioned in the Rev. Hugh Rose's *Geneological Deduction of the Family of Kilravock*, written in 1683-4, and both the agreement between the two Mackintoshes and the royal summons are printed in full in *The Family of Kilravock* (pp. 146-166), edited by Cosmo Innes for the Spalding Club—the agreement being particularly interesting and instructive in regard to the manners and customs of the period.

There can be little doubt that this Donald Mackintosh, son of Angus, was either grandson or great-grandson of the Angus Og mentioned in the Kinrara MS. No other Angus from whom Donald could have sprung appears in the Mackintosh genealogy, and it is evident from the terms of the agreement that Donald was a person of some standing in the clan. Thus part of his reward for the capture of Kilravock Castle was the hand of Lachlan Badenoch's daughter Margaret, with 40 merks of tocher, and it is not likely that Lachlan, the brother of the chief of Mackintosh, would have given his daughter to an obscure person; moreover, Donald and Margaret appear to have been within the degree of consanguinity which required a Papal dispensation for their marrying, for under the agreement the bride's father is to bring "the dispensacione owt off Rome on his expens." Further, Donald, having no seal of his own, is of credit sufficient to procure the seal of no less a person than William, Thane of Calder.

The fact of his being summoned by royal mandate to answer for such acts as the capture and destruction of Kilravock Tower and the murder of its defenders under trust—particularly at a time when the Mackintoshes were in anything but pleasant relations with the governing powers, their chief being at the date of the summons imprisoned in Dunbar Castle—would, as we can readily imagine, cause Donald to quit a neighbourhood where he was well known and within reach of the law; and he in all pro-

bability was the Mackintosh descended from Angus Og who moved to Glentilt, as stated in the MS. History.* He and those who accompanied him would doubtless carry with them the stories of events in which their clan, and perhaps some of their own immediate progenitors, had taken part, and not the least memorable of these would be the story of the Mackintoshes and Comyns in Rothiemurchus.†

If this was really the way in which the story was introduced into Atholl, it is interesting to note that in its new home the story has always kept to the old name of the people who were for a time so overridden by the Comyns, while in the district in which (as assumed) the events occurred the name has been changed. In Atholl the story has always been told of Mackintoshes; in Rothiemurchus, for at least a century and a half, it has been told of Shaws. As has already been observed, the Shaws of Rothiemurchus were originally

* The family of MacRitchie, connected with the parishes of Clunie and Caputh in Perthshire for at least two centuries (they have documentary evidence as far back as 1683), have a tradition that the first of their name was a Mackintosh, who, with his brother, fled *south* to Dunkeld after a family quarrel in which a chief was killed; and that one of the brothers was of great bodily strength, being able to hold a stag by the horns. In the course of a long and interesting correspondence with one of this family a few years ago, I was led to the conclusion that the MacRitchies are an offshoot from the Mackintoshes of Dalmonzie. This being so, they are descendants of the Mackintosh or Mackintoshes who founded the colony of that name in Glentilt, and their tradition, instead of referring to the first of their name of MacRitchie, may really refer to the founder of the colony. A tradition of the circumstances of Donald Angusson's flight from Inverness-shire to Atholl might easily become distorted in the course of more than three hundred years into that held by my correspondent's family.

The following remarks in one of the later letters of my correspondent have no particular bearing on the subject of this paper, but their suggestiveness to the mind of a tradition hunter, will perhaps be deemed a sufficient excuse for my quoting them:—"This Dalmonzie research has proved, to all but the most fastidious, that we are descended from Mackintosh stock, and that the fact has been revealed through a tradition 200 years old As my father died before I was old enough to care much for research of that kind, I cannot say how much of my tradition came directly from him, or how much I heard repeated by my brothers; but I *know* that we used to have a vague belief that we shared the blood of Mackintosh of Mackintosh. . . . An unimportant part of the tradition is one that I think stamps the whole with a certain amount of authenticity, namely, that which accords to my ancestor (or his brother) such great personal strength that he could hold a deer by the horns. This is one of those small details that could never be corroborated, but it is just the kind of thing that makes one feel that the brother from whom we descend, directly or collaterally, was 'a real man,' and not a myth."

† The presence of the name *Angus* in the local tradition, as told by Colonel Robertson, is perhaps worthy of note.

Mackintoshes; their great eponymus, Shaw Mor, was a Mackintosh, being great-grandson of the 6th chief; and his descendants used and were known by the name of Mackintosh for several generations after his time. Thus his grandson, Alexander Ciar, the assumed hero of the story under consideration, appears as Alexander Ciar Mackintosh in nearly a dozen extant deeds and documents dated at various times between 1464 and 1499, while Alexander's grandson, fourth in descent from Shaw Mor, is similarly called Mackintosh—"Alanus Keyr Makyntosh"—in the charter by which he sold his family's rights to Rothiemurchus to Lord George Gordon, and in its confirmation by the Bishop of Moray, both deeds being dated as late as 1539. This alienation of their inheritance may have been the occasion of the family's change of name from Mackintosh to Shaw, but it is not until the 17th century that we begin to find mention of the latter name in Rothiemurchus, where, it should be mentioned, most of the family remained down to the early part of the last century. The writer of the MS. Mackintosh History, writing about 1660-70, speaks of Alexander and his grandson as Alexander and Allan Kiar "Mackintosh *alias* Shaw," showing that in his time the change of name was of such recent date as to be remembered, or even that it was still not fully established. But whenever the change took place, it would of course involve a corresponding change in the traditionary story.

These considerations with regard to the name of the old occupiers of Rothiemurchus lead naturally to a summing up of the whole question, for it would be a most remarkable coincidence if precisely similar events had occurred both in Rothiemurchus and Atholl, and if the actors in these events had been in both cases Comyns and Mackintoshes. Such a coincidence, however, is scarcely probable, and we may reasonably assume that the events of our story occurred in only one of the two districts. That this district was Rothiemurchus is testified to by local tradition, which is not less strong than the tradition in favour of Atholl, and which is to a considerable extent corroborated by the history of a Rothiemurchus family; while the localisation of the story in Atholl can be accounted for, though not with certainty, yet with a large measure of probability, by the migration to that district of some Mackintoshes (assuming that Donald Angusson and his family are pointed at in the MS. History) at the close of the 15th century, a time when the occupiers of Rothiemurchus were still known as Mackintoshes. Unless, indeed, the improbable coincidence above suggested took place, the fact that the story has become localised in Atholl with the *Mackintoshes* as actors in it

proves that it must have been told there for at least three hundred years.

If, then, the events described in our story never occurred in Atholl, what is the meaning of the cairn among the hills near the head of Glentilt? What event or personage does it commemorate? No certain answer can now be given to these questions. One of its names, that of Comyn's Cairn, has in all probability been given to it merely on account of a supposed connection with the story, and may be of comparatively recent date. The better known name, Mackintosh's Cairn, is most likely the correct and original name. It probably denotes that the spot is the place of death or burial of some Mackintosh in the olden time—it may be of the Donald Angusson who was driven from his clan and friends in Inverness-shire for his share in the "Raid of Kilravock," or it may be of some descendant of the ancient Toshachs or Thanes of Glentilt. But whoever the individual so distinguished was, the facts and considerations which have been advanced are perhaps sufficient to show at least that there are good reasons for doubting whether the cairn has any connection with the story or legend so often told concerning it.

15TH APRIL 1885.

On this date, Dr Morrison, West Bow, Edinburgh, was elected an ordinary, and John Macgregor, 100 Castle Street, Inverness, an apprentice member of the Society. Thereafter, the Rev. Alex. Bisset, Stratherrick, read an introductory paper on "The Gael, his Characteristics and Social History." It was as follows:—

THE GAEL—HIS CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

PART I.

The branch of the human family designated "The Gael" possesses an interest which for remoteness of origin and continuity of a special type of character, far surpasses that of any other people of Europe. Two great families spring from the "cradle of the human race," known to the student of History as the Celtæ and the Goths. The Celtæ appear to have taken the lead, and to be the first inhabitants of Europe. The Goths followed, and in the advancing stages of civilisation gradually supplanted the

original inhabitants. With the advantages derived from following the pioneers of colonisation, the Goths instituted laws and forms of rule and government, which form the germs and roots from which has sprung, with varying and succeeding changes, the economic policy which now governs Europe. Driven before succeeding waves, and yielding to amalgamated forces, the Celts broke up through the British Isles. Confined by the insular character of these, their last settlement, they made a determined stand, and have kept up an increasing opposition in habit and sentiment to each invading power, whether Goths or Romans, or later of Saxons and Norsemen.

That Great Britain was peopled from Gaul by the advancing Celts, and Ireland peopled from Britain is the most approved theory of the early colonisation of these islands. The Celts adhered to the patriarchal forms and manners of life, and in the form of tribes whose habits became moulded by local circumstances, they, in the course of time, frequently came into unpleasant relations, and even violent contact one with another. Petty jealousies between kith and kindred invariably led to animosities and divisions. The stronger seek to overpower and conquer the weaker; the oppressed retaliate, feuds and dislikes, the remembrance of inflicted wrongs and of hardships endured, are the fruitful causes of the weakness of the Celts, and to these causes may be traced their gradual decay and their all but final disappearance as a distinct people. United they prove an invincible force, while Culloden Moor betrays the weakness of divided councils and interests.

The remarks in this paper are confined to the "Scottish Gael," who is now admitted on the best authority to have originally inhabited Caledonia. Colonel Robertson, in his "Gael of Alban," says of the Caledonians—"They were the men who were otherwise called Picts, whom the Romans could not subdue in their Highland refuge, nor Anglo-Saxons drive out of more than the southern plains; and in the Highlands they have remained:" and Skene, the highest Celtic authority known, agrees with him in confining the Irish settlement which took place in the sixth century of the Christian era to Argyllshire; and both maintain the identity of the language of the Picts with the modern Gaelic of the Highlands. A long and keen controversy has been kept up as to the origin of the name of Scotland. Scoti Vagantes or "Wandering Scots" appear first in Britain about the year 360 as strangers who came to plunder the Roman province. For centuries a severe contest raged between Irish invaders and the Picts, and while the invaders gave their

name to the whole territory of the Picts, a very small portion, viz. Dalriada (Argyllshire) is admitted to have remained in their possession. Skene says that the name (Scotland) came originally to be improperly applied to Caledonia, and that in the course of time the whole territory of the Picts came to be known as Scotland.

It is somewhat amusing to observe how many Scotchmen of the present day indignantly repudiate all connection with their cousins of the Sister Isle, while Irish writers persistently claim the glory of having conquered the Picts; and point to the name given to the conquered country in proof of the flattering view they contend for. Whatever may be said of the civil conquest by the Scoto-Irish of the Pictish Kingdom, there can be no question that, to Irish Missionaries belongs the glory of finally effecting the moral and religious conquest of the ancient Caledonians. Christianity was first introduced into Caledonia by Roman soldiers and missionaries in the train of the Roman armies. The Romans penetrated into the very heart of Scotland, reaching as far as Inverness. Julius Cæsar invaded Britain about fifty years before the birth of Christ, but it was in the subsequent campaign under Agricola that the Caledonians and the Roman legions met, and engaged repeatedly in severe struggles. Tacitus, who was married to a daughter of the Roman General, Agricola, wrote an account of his father-in-law's campaigns. He writes, that the first campaign commenced in the year of our Lord 78, and that in two campaigns the territory to the Forth and Clyde was annexed to the Roman Province. Tacitus is described as the ablest and most philosophical of the Roman writers, and he informs us that at this period the Caledonians resembled the neighbouring tribes of South Britain, and that in social life, and civil government the people resembled savages. We must remember, however, that the Romans applied the term "barbari" or savages to all who had not been brought under the Roman sway.

Chalmers states that at this early period the whole extent of North Britain was inhabited by twenty-one tribes, who were connected by such slight ties as scarcely to enjoy a social state. Lord Macaulay writes, that the Primitive Britons were very little superior to the natives of the Sandwich Islands in the nineteenth century. Druidism was the form of worship adopted by the Caledonians, and Roman historians state that the Druids offered human sacrifices. One Roman historian, Diodorus Siculus, states that it was customary to keep prisoners under ground for five years and then to offer them up as offerings to their gods by having them impaled and burned in great fires along with quantities of

other offerings. Cæsar also mentions that the Druids offered human sacrifices, and made vows to offer such, as the gods would not be content with less. The same author mentions that the chief deity worshipped by the Druids was Mercury, who was regarded as the guide of men in their journeys, the inventor of arts and the god of gain and commerce. Next to Mercury they worshipped Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. We are also told that the head of the household had the power of life and death over all his dependents, and that near relations had a community of wives. The Druidical priesthood held the chiefs as well as the people in complete subjection. So that it was the priests who reigned in reality, and the chiefs or kings were merely tools for executing their designs. They are thus represented to us as the most implacable enemies of the Roman invaders, as well as the inveterate foes of the missionaries of the Christian religion. Yet notwithstanding the social, moral, and religious degradation in which the inhabitants of Caledoniæ were involved at this time, we find that the various tribes were instructed, civilised, and converted to the faith of Christ. Tertullian says "that before the end of the second century the Christian religion had made wonderful progress; that Christians were to be found everywhere throughout the Roman Empire, in the towns, in the villages, in the fields, in the army, in the ships, and even in the Senate itself. He further says the kingdom and the name of Christ have extended to places that defied the arms of Rome." From this we see that Christianity in Britain had spread before the end of the second century beyond the Roman Province to that part of Caledonia, now the North of Scotland, which had not been conquered.

The people lived on the milk of their flocks and the produce of the chase. Such were our ancestors when the influence of the Christian religion was first brought to bear on their character. In the course of time various influences came to act on their lives. They came under the more settled government of more powerful chiefs and eventually kings, and from contact with their more favoured and civilised neighbours of South Britain, and in the course of time by frequent intercourse with the more polished nations of the Continent, and especially with France, the Caledonians came to form a noble nation remarkable throughout Europe for gallantry, military prowess, indomitable courage, and a love for learning and the fine arts. In the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries Scotland, according to Tytler, shone as high in the eyes of Europe as she does now. A Scotchman, John Duns Scotus, in the reign of Alexander III., 1250,

was ranked as one of the most learned men in Europe, and he lectured at the University of Oxford to 30,000 students who attended the University in his time ; and Scotchmen were famed throughout Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for their knowledge of mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy.

The virtues which distinguish Scotchmen are characteristic of the Gael; and although the language of the Gael has gradually given way to the Saxon tongue throughout the greater part of Scotland, the character of the Scotchman has not become assimilated to that of his southern neighbour. The canny Scot is but the shrewd observant and sharp-witted Celt in English character. Communities, like individuals, are the creatures of circumstances. From the fact of their occupying a less favourable field for commercial enterprise a portion of the community has continued longer beyond the reach of Southern influence ; and this portion it has become fashionable to stigmatise as ignorant, lazy, and unworthy to be classed with their more opulent neighbours. The mountaineers or Highlanders, as their very name indicates, are debarred from prosecuting those industries which have proved a source of wealth to their neighbours who are placed in more favourable circumstances. The Highlanders have been harshly dealt with. Slow to abandon those feelings of attachment and loyalty to their chiefs and superiors, inherited through ages of patriarchal customs and social usages, they found themselves ignored, abandoned, and expatriated by those very men whom they were taught to obey, to serve, to love, even unto death.

When the cry came to be, "Mak' money, Jock, mak' money ; honourably if you can, but mak' money," and when money and not men became the object of many a landlord's ambition and aim, his devoted subjects were ruthlessly driven from their dearly cherished homes and forced to seek that shelter in foreign lands, which they were denied in their own. Instead of giving their subjects the chances and the encouragement to husband their resources and to turn their native hills and glens to the best of profit, strangers were invited to speculate in the industries for which the country was found best suited, viz., pastoral farming. What would be thought at the present day if a similar process were adopted to remedy the evil of congested fishing communities on the West Coast and throughout the Western Isles ? Would the suggestion to drive the population away to the Soudan or Afghanistan, and to invite south country trawlers to take possession of the whole fishing ground, be for a moment entertained ? The idea would give rise to horror and scorn, and would not be

for an instant tolerated. Yet this is akin to the Highland Clearances.

The Education Act of 1872, and the presence in Skye of about 500 marines mark an epoch in the history of the Gael. Education will create laudable ambition, and incite enterprise, while the present agitation in Skye and throughout the Highlands, however much we must condemn the manner in which it is partly conducted, will, I believe, have the effect of teaching the Highlander a more manly independence.

22ND APRIL 1885.

On this date, H. Mackenzie Munro, 42 Union Street, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member. Some routine business having been transacted, Mr George J. Campbell, solicitor, Inverness, on behalf of Mr Hew Morrison, F.S.A., Scot., Andover House, Brechin, read a paper on the diary of a Sutherland Minister—the “Maighstear Murchadh” of Rob Donn—between 1726 and 1763. Mr Morrison’s paper was as follows:—

NOTICES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE PRESBYTERY
OF TONGUE FROM 1726 TO 1763 :
FROM THE DIARY OF THE REV. MURDOCH
MACDONALD OF DURNESS.

In this paper I propose to give you a brief notice of the Diary kept by the Rev. Murdoch Macdonald of Durness, and a few notes upon the ministers of the Presbytery of Tongue from 1726 to 1763, with occasional references to other ministers in the North.

First, then, as to the Diary itself:—It may not be out of place for me to state that in the winter of 1881, I wrote a short essay on “Rob Donn,” which was read at a meeting of the Glasgow Sutherland Association, and which gave rise to a lengthened controversy as to whether Rob Donn was a Mackay or not. From researches I made in the Register House and the records of the Presbytery of Tongue, and from information obtained from other sources, I came to the conclusion that Rob was surnamed *Calder* and not Mackay. In the course of a visit to the Rev. Mr Findlater of Lochearnhead, who has a duplicate of the MS. from which Rob’s poems were edited, I learned that in 1840 Mr

Findlater, while acting as Probationer in Cantyre, had come to the knowledge of the existence of a diary kept by the Rev. Mr Macdonald of Durness (Rob Donn's "Mr Murchadh.") He made several attempts to get a perusal of it, but in vain, and for many years could not find what had become of it.

I at once telegraphed to the Rev. Mr Graham of Campbeltown, who assured me of the existence of the diary in the possession of a gentleman whose address I got. I proceeded next morning to Cantyre, and I have now the diary before me. I may say that there is no mention by name of Rob Donn in it at all, though there are several references to events which Rob has commemorated in verse, which serve to throw light in a highly interesting manner upon the songs of our great northern bard. The MS. is in eight octavo volumes, extending to over 4000 pages in all. The writing is very legible and regular, and very small and close, so that each page contains more than a page of twice the size of the ordinary writing of to-day.

It is somewhat disappointing to find that the greater part of it is taken up with religion, that is, as a record of the spiritual experiences of the writer. It is an indicator of the rises and falls of the religious barometer. Each day's sins are lamented and confessed, and the feelings which are supposed to indicate a retrogression are as carefully, though sorrowfully, recorded as are those which show an upward and forward advance in the higher life.

Poverty of soul, the want of spiritual appetite, indolence in the performance of duties, and a relish for the things of the world, as well as a concern for the proper ordering of his own worldly affairs have each their value placed upon them in the sliding scale, which indicates the retrograde motion, while the experiences of the opposite nature are as carefully reflected upon, and ascribed their due place in the Christian life.

Things secular were of importance only in so far as they served spiritual ends, a treatment of them which has unquestionably deprived us of much of what we should wish had been recorded regarding the events of the time over which the diary extends. Here, for example, is an instance:—

Under the date, Sabbath evening 19th December 1740, we have the following:—"There is something just now on the wheels in this place of no small importance, which, therefore, I have been laying before Thee, O, my God, for a good issue;" and a little further on, under the date April 3, we have the same matter referred to in much the same manner—"This morning acquainted

that a certain project in which I was somewhat concerned, is blown up: I have the more Peace in this, that I did put a Blank in God's Hand, with respect to it, and thus I am bound in the event to submit to His better Will. There are many, perhaps, who are pleased at the Disappointment who probably will make no better of the matter than I meant to all concerned." This project, whatever it was, was set on foot by Mr Pope, the minister of Reay, as appears from a marginal note.

It would be unfair, however, to suppose that all secular topics were thus scantily treated, for many are taken up and dwelt upon at great length.

Mr Macdonald was a great reader, and a close student of the works of men of his time, especially of those who wrote on religious questions. We find him writing long criticisms of such books as Henry Scougall's "Life of God in the Soul of Man," Boyle's "Seraphic Love," Gurnal's "Directory," Boston's (who, he says, borrowed from Gurnall) "Fourfold State," Bennet's "Christian Oratory," which he read in public, and Hervey's "Meditations," &c., &c.

It would be not only interesting, but useful, in judging of the clerical cast of mind a hundred and fifty years ago, to make a list of the books read, together with the criticisms upon them by Mr Macdonald. Such a thing would be too tedious for a paper of this nature, but we do not find him confining himself so much as one would be inclined to think to such works as those mentioned. We find him spending the greater part of three day's in reading "The History of a Foundling" by Henry Fielding, of which he notes "a performance which tho' it has the air of romance, or some other such fiction, yet contains rules and models of human nature, which may greatly contribute to the improvement of mankind in virtue, and particularly it is calculated to form the manners of those who despise instruction in a more serious dress." He was also very fond of poetry, and an admirer of Pope, of whom and of his works, as they come to hand, notices frequently occur. So much was he taken up with Pope's "Messiah" that he translated it into Gaelic and recited it to his parishoners in the course of his visits to them, and when they, as was their custom, after having a fellowship meeting on the first Monday of the month, adjourned from the church to his house. It has often been a matter of some surprise to students of Rob Donn's poems, that so many of his ideas are so nearly related to those of Pope. This, to which we have referred, is the explanation of it, for Rob Donn was for many

years living at Balnacille, near the manse of Durness, and had many opportunities of hearing his minister discourse on Pope.

In the latter part of his life he was much taken up with Young's "Night Thoughts," and carried the book with him everywhere, frequently reading as he went. He committed the greater part of it to memory, and so much was he enamoured of it that on the 26th November 1762 he addressed a long letter to the author which he signed "Phila Gathos," but in which he tells that he has the pastoral charge of the parish in the North of Scotland, in which Farout Head was situated, as he might see by the map. Dr Young replied, and as this production of that writer has never been published, we give it here:—

"27th January 1763.

"Rev. Sir,—I thank you much for your very obliging letter, and should be extremely glad of your further correspondence, if my correspondence with this world was not so near an end. Such is my age and indisposition that I cannot show you that respect, which I cannot but collect from your pious pages, to be greatly your due. God prosper your wise pursuit of higher correspondence than this world can afford, and grant that after the fullest happiness this scene admits of, you may attain the glorious reward of your having here your conversation in Heaven.—I am, Sir, with great truth and gratitude, your most faithful and most humble servant,
E. YOUNG."

When his son Patrick was studying in Edinburgh we find him asking him to procure some new work or other. He complains of the little interest taken in books in that part of the country, and declares that in the Presbytery bounds there is only one reader in the proper sense of the word, and that was Mackay of Strathy. Few of the common people could read at all, and he had great difficulty in getting them to do anything in that way, but the middlemen, or tacksmen, were not only men of intelligence, but of good education. The tacksman of Ribigill in Tongue was a writer, and as a lawyer was known among the common people as "Forbes of the Quirks." Then the Popes of Eddrachillis were lawyers also. The tacksman of Skerray, and the Gordons of Skelpick, Langdale, and other places in Strathnaver, were the counsellors and leaders of the people. Mr Charles Gordon of Skelpick is referred to in this diary as a gentleman of a charitably liberal mind, and from an example of his writing in a deed of renunciation of Wadset, in Dunrobin charter chest, by Mr George Gordon of Langdale, in favour of the Earl of Sutherland, we conclude that his education was "liberal" also.

Mr Macdonald established schools in the outlying parts of the parish, and was at great pains to get a schoolmaster for the parish school when a vacancy occurred. The progress, however, was not very encouraging, and in December 1737, he writes—"I have been at more than ordinary pains in public and private with the people to incline them to consider their ways, and particularly because very few of them can read, I have been endeavouring to shame and frighten them out of their unaccountable neglect of getting the Questions, wherein the principles of the Protestant religion are most accurately and summarily set down, and my pains to this purpose for some seasons past have not been altogether useless."

He lived to see a great change in this respect, and we find him testifying to the superiority in knowledge of his people over those of the neighbouring parishes. He commenced what was known as a fellowship meeting in which religious matters alone were discussed, but there was always an after meeting to talk over the news of the day, and the political questions of the time. At these meetings a part of some book was read, when those present were asked individually to give their opinions of the statements of the author. This created a taste for reading and for acquiring knowledge, which bore fruit in improved moral habits and intelligence.

It may be interesting to observe that Mr Macdonald notes that at one of these meetings the death of Mr Pelham had been the subject of talk and comment. It is more than probable that Rob Donn was present, and had the subject of conversation fresh in his mind when he went to Polla, where he composed the "Elegy to Ewen."

A great part of the diary is taken up with references to the Reay family, to Lords George and Donald, who lived at Balnacille, in Durness. He made allusions to their visitors, which are very interesting. One of the visitors he mentions I will refer to:—In 1759, Dr Pococke, then Bishop of Ossory, made a tour in Scotland, and was for some time the guest of Lord Reay. Mr Macdonald made his acquaintance, and from his remarks upon him, seems to have been profoundly impressed with the knowledge of places which he showed. I cannot find that he knew his work on the East, published 14 years previously; but he was led to believe that the worthy bishop was then engaged collecting materials for what might soon see the light in print, and was somewhat concerned as to what might be said as to the parish of Durness. Dr Pococke never published his notes, but in 1849 his MS. was secured for the British Museum, and I would commend a perusal of

it to any member who may have the time and opportunity to consult it. I came to know of its existence only three or four months ago.

The allusions to the Rebellion of 1745 are numerous, and he relates how Lord Reay called out all the men of the parish, and how he himself accompanied them, and on the confines of his parish preached to them a sermon, notes of which are given at some length.

But his references to the Reay family, the Rebellion, the modes of travelling, and the condition and habits of the people must meantime be left over.

I will now give a few notes upon the members of the Presbytery of which Mr Macdonald was a member. The Presbytery of Tongue was erected by the General Assembly of 1726. Four parishes were disjoined from the Presbytery of Caithness and two from that of Dornoch, which latter two were restored to Dornoch Presbytery in 1727 and 1736.

The parish of Durness was the largest and most important in the north of Sutherland up to 1724, when it was divided into three parishes as follows:—Tongue on the East, Durness itself round each side of Loch Eriboll, and Eddrachillis to the West.

In the records of the Commissioners of Teinds, it is stated, under date 15th July 1724—“Anent the summons and action of disjunction, modification, and locality, raised before the Lords of Council and Session, att the instance of Master George Brodie, minister of the Gospel at Durness; Mr Hugh Corse, Moderator of the Presbytery of Caithness; and Mr John Dundas, advocate-procurator for the Church of Scotland, against the Honourable George, Lord Reay, and the Officers of State as representing his Majesty for his Highness's interest;” that, “True it was and of verity that the paroch of Durness in Strathnaver, was about fifty miles in length and more than nine in breadth, having therein about 2400 catechizable people, which made it impossible for one man to perform all the necessary ministerial duties to such a dispersed and numerous people, and also on account of bad roads for travelling by reason of greatt mountains, hills, rocks, marish grounds, quagmires, waters, and arms of the sea coming far up the country, and for the better accommodation of the inhabitants there had been five churches or places for publick worship in the foresaid paroch, at which the minister used to officiate by turns . . . and children died without baptism. . . . The General Assembly did by their act, dated 13th May 1721, grant a recommendation for a voluntary contribution through all the paroches

of Scotland, to be gathered from house to house; and appointed the procurator and agent for the Church to raise and carry on all processes needful for the erecting and settling as many preachers in the foresaid bounds as the said publick collection then recommended, and the teinds thereof would admit. . . . The Committee of Presbytery travelled the parish from Torrisdale in the East to Glencoull in the West, and recommended that the parish of Tongue should extend from Torrisdale to West Moan, nine miles, and Strathmelness to Letter Lyall, eight miles, containing 800 examinable persons; that Durness should extend from West Moan to Keoldale, twelve miles, from Clashneach to Strathuradale, ten miles, also containing 800 examinable persons, and in each of these there was already a church in the most central parts. They also recommended that Eddrachillis should extend from Tarbert to Glencoull, thirteen miles, and from Duart-beg to Auldinrinie, nine miles, the district having 700 examinable persons. The teinds were £560 Scots for each of the parishes to be paid by Lord Reay and his successors in these lands, possessors, tennants, and intromitters, with the rents, and the collection was to belong to Lord Reay, to be laid out in land or other good security in the name of the Church."

I will now briefly notice the members of Presbytery who were contemporaries of Mr Macdonald, under each parish, beginning with Eddrachillis in the West. This parish, as noted above, was erected in 1724, and the first minister of it was Mr George Brodie, mentioned in the deed of disjunction. Mr Brodie was a man for whom Mr Macdonald entertained the highest respect. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Inverness in 1714, and was ordained to the parish of Durness in 1715 at Reay, which is over sixty miles distant by road. He continued in Durness till 1724, when of his own free choice he went to Eddrachillis, where he laboured till his death in 1740. Mr Macdonald alludes to his death, and his remarks may be worth quoting, as Mr Brodie's name is still not infrequently mentioned in the north of Sutherland, where his fame as a man of prayer is not yet dead. Under date, Saturday 1st March 1740, writing in Badaul, Mr Macdonald notes:—

"One of those alarms which I have got this week at the expense of others was by the sudden and surprising death of the minister of this place, who departed this life Sabbath last in a manner which should be as instructive as it was stunning. He was taken ill in his bed some night of the last month when turning speechless (overwhelmed, it seems, with blood), he surprised his wife and family who were in the utmost confusion for some

hours, till, after calling the neighbourhood, he recovered his speech, and being bled he was mending as to health after some days' illness to such a degree that he was offering to preach last Lord's day, had he not the help of a probationer his friend. He did eat, and drink, and talk that morning in pretty good health of body and soundness of mind, projecting to go to the Presbytery a few days thereafter, and sent me word (which I got the very evening of the day whereon he died) to that purpose. He was at his own desire left alone in the house, the rest having gone to church by his positive order, but when towards the close of worship two of the women of the house came to kindle fires, &c., they found him dead; upon which one of them went to give the alarming news in the congregation, who upon the last psalm poured out of the kirk and found him as they were told."

Mr Macdonald preached his funeral sermon on the 2nd March, the funeral took place on Tuesday the 4th. Shortly after Mr Brodie's death, while at the Synod which met at Thurso, Mr Macdonald attended the communion at Orlig, and refers to the young preachers of the time thus:—"The method of preaching now in fashion by the young set of ministers, who have got up within these few years is not so pleasing to such who have been acquainted with the good old way. Morality is mostly insisted on by this new tribe, and perhaps it is not without reason that some of the more judicious hearers are afraid of a legal extreme, though they might also advert that practical Christianity may have been in the preceding period, too much neglected. How difficult it is to guard against extremes, and to keep from the right and the left hand in whatever religious duties."

Mr Brodie was succeeded by Mr George Mackay, one of the clan Abrach, a branch of the clan Mackay, who possessed Achness at the north end of Loch-Naver in Sutherland. His was a short ministry, extending to less than two months. It was supposed that his sickness and death were brought about by a reputed witch whose daughter Mr Mackay had reproved in the severest manner. Mr Macdonald, who attended the funeral, and makes lengthy remarks on the case, says—"In short never was a scene of more opposite circumstances within the compass of my knowledge, and I think the case has hardly a parallel in history or experience."

Mr Mackay was succeeded by Mr William Henderson, who died within a year of his ordination. The next was Mr John Munro, a native of Uist, who was ordained at Tongue in 1743 and died in 1755. Of these two, and of the next incumbent, Mr Falconer, who was a native of Inverness, Mr Macdonald does not

make frequent mention. Shortly after Mr Falconer's arrival from Fort-Augustus, where he had previously acted as missionary, he visited the manse of Durness, and the minister says "That he promises to be an agreeable member of society, and fit in body and mind for the pastoral charge designed to him.

Of Mr Macdonald himself, a pretty complete and extended biography could be written from his own notes. He was born in 1696, and was educated principally at the Parish School of Fearn, in Ross. He was impressed with religious thoughts from an early age, and his parents resolved to set him apart for the Christian ministry. He studied at St Andrews, and was much thought of by the Principal of the time. He graduated in 1722, and was ordained to Durness in 1726. He was married to Agnes Coupar, daughter of the minister of Pittenween. He had four sons and seven daughters. His eldest son, Patrick, was minister of Kilmore, Argyllshire, and was a most accomplished musician like his father. He edited a collection of Gaelic airs, several of which are given as original, and some of which have been attributed to Rob Donn. From references up and down in the diary, many of the airs must have been composed by Mr Macdonald, who not only taught his children to sing, but encouraged them to compose airs. His son Joseph, and his daughter Flora, who was married to the Rev. Dr Touch, of Edinburgh, were particularly apt scholars in music, according to their father's account, but there is no special mention of Patrick as a composer, though he is spoken of as an accomplished violinist, having been taught to play by Mr Kenneth Sutherland, on whose death Rob Donn composed one of his best poems. His youngest daughter was married in Durness, and the late Mr Murdoch Lowe, Lloyd's agent there, was his grandson,

Mr Macdonald was Presbytery Clerk down to the time of his death, and took a great interest in all ecclesiastical questions.

There were two or three rather peculiar cases that exercised the Presbytery. One of these was the question of appointing a lay missionary to the district of Strathmore, in the parish of Durness. It appears that Mr John Mackay or Maceachin of Mussel, Rob Donn's early friend and patron, was at the bottom of the agitation, but the Presbytery refused to hear of such a proposal, as an extraordinary affair, known as "Tuitean Halmarie," had been the outcome of some lay preaching in the Heights of Strathnaver. The Presbytery, on the occasion of discussing the question, met in Strathmore, the most sublimely beautiful, but now the most lonely and houseless glen of the Reay country.

Another question that exercised the minds of the members was what Mr Macdonald designated "The Abridged Communion." His uncle, the Rev. Walter Ross, minister of Tongue, and Mr Macdonald took opposite sides in the controversy that ensued upon this point. It is needless to refer to the services common then, as now, at the Communion season. We find that Mr Macdonald was far from favourable to the Friday meeting, when the "men" had their field-day. And as he was anxious to compromise the affair of the abridgment, as proposed by the minister of Tongue, by having the Fast on Friday, instead of on Thursday, and the other services as usual. This brought on him a good deal of odium, and, indeed, for a time he was suspected of having set on foot the project to curtail the services to those of Saturday and Sunday.

The following extract explains the whole matter:—"We (that is, the minister of Eddrachillis and himself), agreed to write a letter to the minister of Tongue, who, in the absence of the brother in Eddrachillis, should have had that solemnity. Accordingly the letter was sent, but it brought us an answer proposing that such an occasion should hold in every parish of the country, in one day, in the abridged method of beginning the work on Saturday, and ending it on Sabbath evening, or, as an alternative, that the Supper should be on the same day celebrated in Eddrachillis, by the brother of that place and me, and by the two other brethren in the parish of Tongue, and that in the abridged way foresaid. But neither of these proposals being acceptable to the public, on account of the novelty and impracticability of the scheme, there was a meeting of Presbytery appointed for deliberating on the affair on the 14th inst., at Tongue, where we met, and as there was an appearance of the people, represented by so many of their elders, who remonstrated against the new project in both its branches, the majority of the Presbytery agreed that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should hold at Tongue, in the wonted solemn way, sometime in October next. The minister of that parish was not for this, as he took it in his head last spring to emit a pamphlet proposing the abridged method mentioned in form of an address to the Venerable Assembly of this Church. But as there was no regard had to it by act or overture of that Supreme Court, the Presbytery did not look upon themselves as bound to humour the author, by commencing a war with the people or with the standing practice of the nation, the rather that the little alteration made already in our bounds, was so much exclaimed against, though the thing took place here, and in some other parishes

(viz., beginning the work on the Friday) by concert of the Synod, and an express order of our Presbytery in summer 1750. The remonstrances of same, I say, against this gentle alteration, came by way of appeal to the Assembly of 1751, whose passive conduct gave so much encouragement to the contraveners, that some of us thought it inconvenient, if not dangerous, to improve upon that alteration, by going into a scheme of a still more abridged nature. For my own particular part, I had the greatest reason to oppose this novel scheme, as my obedience to the Synod's Court and my Presbytery's appointment had greatly exposed me to the popular odium, as if I were at the top and bottom of all the division, nay, some went so far as to reckon me author of that pamphlet, as I had it in word and writ from several quarters. It was high time for me, therefore, to do myself justice, and fall upon ways to make every man father his own offspring, and, accordingly, I stood by the standing method of celebrating the Holy Ordinance. Nay, though I were as much for the innovating scheme as I am suspected by some, I would reckon it no affront to my judgment to resile from a method that was like to raise a flame in the Church, remembering the excellent poet's observation—

‘Some positive, persisting Fops we know,
Who, if once wrong, must needs be always so.’—POPE.

I know that the number of days and dyets at these occasions is a thing indifferent in itself, and, therefore, have all freedom to join with those who celebrate the ordinance in the longest or shortest way. . . . I have the satisfaction of reflecting that I was very willing to prevent the abuses committed by buying, selling, feasting, &c., on the vacant Friday, for which reason I agreed with those who began the solemnity on that day, so am I far from making the circumstantial of that holy ordinance a love of contention. . . . Contention is a greater evil than the abuses committed by private persons, therefore I am ever willing to go into that side that is attended with least inconveniences.”

In the parish of Farr, the Fast on Thursday was reverted to, but it was more on account of popular clamour than any other reason. The men were keen to have their field-day restored, and we find that Mr Macdonald, when officiating there several years afterwards, took a somewhat curious method of procedure on that day. Writing on Saturday, 3rd July 1762, before preaching in the Church of Farr, he says—

“Yesterday we had a sort of meeting, long in desuetude at

such occasions, till of late by the ignorant zeal of the populace supported by some clergymen who affect ecclesiastic patriotism. . . . The nature of this meeting of old was to give opportunity to the ordinary swarm of professors for displaying their talents in putting and answering questions concerning what they call 'experimental godliness.' But, as it was ordinary in such conventions to start questions either frivolous or ill stated, and to allow ignorant people to harangue on them at random, perhaps without touching at all, or very superficially, on the subject in debate, while the ministers present allowed them without control, correction, or direction, to ramble on in their indigested stuff. I, yesterday, after consulting my few brethren, offered to read a piece of Henry on the Sacrament, and ask about in the congregation who best understood and remembered what was read. This took, and the burden of the work was laid upon myself. I know not yet how this innovation as it may be thought was relished by the giddy people, but as this is my way at home, I find good by it."

Though for a time in abeyance, the Fast on Thursday was reverted to in the bounds of the Presbytery. In his ministerial capacity, Mr Macdonald was held in high esteem, as may be inferred from what Rob Donn has sung of him. He joined his parishioners in their festivities, and was ever a welcome visitant in the house of sorrow. He gave medical advice in cases which, from what he has recorded of them, would require the skill of a properly qualified medical practitioner. He was charitable to a fault, and in times of scarcity assisted the needy as long as the limited stock of provisions at the manse held out. On two occasions he mentions famines which caused the death of several of his parishioners. On one occasion no fewer than a dozen persons died during the week.

The most interesting parts of his records are the notes he made of a journey to Cawdor, and another to the General Assembly. In the latter case he started on 20th of March, and only arrived at his father-in-law's at Pittenweem when the meeting of Assembly was half over. He made frequent journeys to Caithness, and many of his remarks on them are amusing and others very interesting. One of these I quote here as it refers to a very interesting period in the history of the Highlands. He visited Thurso in June 1746, and preached in the church there "at the pressing desire of some eminent and worthy persons in the absence of their own minister, who is now for about a year out of the country and kingdom in a state almost of exile, by reason of his faithful ap-

pearance in favour of the Government and against the enemies thereof, who therefore made the place too warm for him; though some even of his friends wish more of the wisdom of the serpent were mixed with the harmlessness of the dove."

While at Thurso he remarks on the arrival there of a contingent of the Royal Forces, as follows:—"On the Monday thereafter I had the pleasure to witness some companies of the King's forces coming in to the town of Thurso, and though they were only 250 in number, yet I thought there was something regularly awful in their appearance. The pipe sounding in the front, and the drum a good way behind towards the rear, sounded something agreeably formidable in the ears of the Government's friends, somewhat agreeable indeed; and no less formidable to the enemies thereof. Thought I with myself, from this small swatch of what I saw and heard, how mad are that set of men who, in the midst of prosperity and plenty, and under the influence of the most mild and merciful Government, have made such an unreasonable insurrection, as has thrown them upon the thick bosses of the buckler of a power that can order, nay, command many thousands of such, and still more terrible troops in its own defence against its foes. This sight was the more noticeable to the well-meaning inhabitants, nay, and to the opposite party too, though in different ways, from the consideration of the unruly and dissolute crew, who some months before were in the place, and thought the day and cause there own. One might read men's minds in their faces, as they were differently affected on either side of that question."

In July of next year he attended the meeting of Synod at Dornoch, and among the remarks he makes upon his brethren is the following, the gentleman referred to being the ministers of Tain and Edderton:—"I had occasion to understand a most melancholy scene, occasioned by the discord of two ministers, whose flourishing circumstances from without made them such objects of envy and esteem, that some think they were ripe for a Providential check, lest they should be exalted above measure. This they got by an out-cast among themselves, whereby they fell foul of one another in such an outrageous way as that the one of them is like to bear the marks of it for life." Mr Macdonald died in the autumn of 1763.

Mr Walter Ross, minister of Tongue, was, as we mentioned, Mr Macdonald's uncle, and the entries in the diary concerning him are very numerous and lengthy, but seldom of a flattering nature. Mr Ross was translated from Creich in 1730. He demitted office in 1761, and died in September 1762. Mr Mac-

donald remarks freely on his worldliness and marked want of hospitality even to the brethren of the Presbytery. While the ministers of Durness and Eddrachillis had enough to do to make ends meet on their limited incomes, Mr Ross was saving money. To show that this charge against him by Mr Macdonald was not groundless, I give the following extract from the Register of Sasines kept in the Register House :—

“In presence of me, Notary Public, and witnesses subscribing, compeared personally George Buie in Kirkiboll, as attorney for, and in name and behalf of Mr Walter Ross, minister of the gospel in Tongue, Annabell Stewart his spouse, and Barbra Ross their daughter, and with us past together with John Mackay in Kirkiboll, Bailly in that part, specially constitute by the precept of Sasine after insert to the grounds of the lands and others respectively after-mentioned: Having and holding in his hands ane heritable bond, made, granted, and subscribed of this date by the Right Hon. Geo. Lord Reay, to, and in special favour of the said Mr Walter Ross, Annabell Stewart, and Barbra Ross, whereby, for the principal sum of 4000 pounds Scots, paid and advanced by the said Walter Ross to the said Lord Reay, his lordship became bound and obliged to infest and sease duly, validly, and sufficiently, the said Mr Walter Ross and Annabell Stewart, in conjoint fie, and liferent, for her liferent use allenarly, and the said Barbra Ross in fie, which failing the heirs or assignees of the said Mr Walter Ross heritably, but under reversion in manner herein after specified. In all and hail the towns and lands of Ardachow, Rians, Inchvery, and Kirkiboll, exclusive of the gliob with houses, biggings, tofts, crofts, annexis, connexis, sheallings, grassings, mosses, muirs, common pasturages, parks, pendicles, and universall pertinents thereto belonging, as the same are presently possessed, by Donald Rie, Hugh Macrancorchie, Donald Macangus Neil, John Macleod, and Angus Macranhoustane in Ardachow, &c., &c., all lying in the shire of Sutherland, and Barony of Far, and parish of Tongue, to be holden of the said Lord Reay, his heirs and successors in free blanch for the yearly payment of a penny Scots money, upon the ground of the said lands, if the same be required allenarly, or from the said lord of his immediate lawful superiors of the same, as freely in all respects as he holds, or might hold, the same himself, as the said bond itself containing clauses of Requisition and Reversion, pro-cry of Resignation, precept of Sasine, assignation to writs, and evidents mails and duties, clause of absolute warrandice, and sundry other clauses do more fully bear. Which heritable bond the said George Buie, attorney, foresaid,

presented and delivered to the said John Mackay, Bailly in that part, desiring and requiring him to execute the office of Bailliary thereby committed to him, and the said Bailly perceiving the said request to be just and reasonable, received the said heritable bond into his hands, and delivered the same to me, Notary Publick, to be read and published with the precept of Sasine therein mentioned in audience of the bystanding witnesses, which I accordingly did, and of which precept of Sasine the tenor follows *verbatim*. . . .

. . . . Written on 6 pages of stamped vellum by Daniel Forbes, and signed by Lord Reay in presence of Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, and Patrick Doull of Winterfield. Declaring as it is declared in the foresaid heritable bond that the lands and others foresaid shall be redeemable by the said Lord Reay, his heirs and successors by payment making to the said Mr Walter Ross, spouse, daughter or foresaids at the term of Whitsunday or Martinmas thereafter (within the New Kirk of Edinburgh, being the place of consignment or redemption) of the said principle sum 4000 pounds and annual rents thereof that shall be resting at the time on premonition of six months at their dwelling by a Notary Publick. *Laus sit Deo.*"

The part Mr Ross took in the matter of the abridgement of the Communion has been already referred to. When he demitted office in 1761, he was succeeded by Mr John Mackay, minister of Eddrachillis. Lord and Lady Reay were very anxious to get Mr Mackay settled, and it is not a little amusing at this time of day to read of the means used to get a quorum of Presbytery. Writing at Ribigill, in Tongue, on the 15th May 1762, Mr Macdonald says, "On my arrival at Port Chamil (west side of Loch-Eriboll) I found an express with a letter from Mr George Munro, entreating me to come to Tongue, as our correspondent from the Presbytery of Dornoch, without whom there could not be a quorum, would come no further. In the letter there was, by order of the Grandees here, a boat to be sent for me next day, but finding myself greatly the worse of my walk to Port Chamail, I returned the express who was to be at Tongue in such time as might hinder the offered boat from setting out. In expectation whereof, I went the next day to Island Chorie, to which place notwithstanding all my precautions, the boat came at night with a feather bed and blankets for my accommodation at sea from Lady Reay, together with a second letter from the minister of Farr earnestly pressing me to come over all impediments to the Presbytery's seat, by the positive orders of said lady in absence of her lord. However surprising and disconcerting this new command

was, finding the sea so very mild on the morning of Wednesday, I came off early and before 12 o'clock we arrived at Tongue."

In Farr, Mr John Skeldoch was the first of whom Mr Macdonald writes. Mr Skeldoch was translated from Kilmonivaig in 1732. He was a "man of the world," and was rather unpopular with his own people. He farmed or held in tack one or two of the townships of Strathnaver, and bought the cattle of the common people, who regarded him more as a drover than as their own pastor. He was reprov'd for his conduct in this matter, but all to no purpose. Mr Macdonald notes—"The brother who was at odds with his Presbytery and people, and whose cause I espoused beyond the allowance of some, who set up for my directors, is found daily to get the better of his opponents, and his innocence is more and more cleared up according to the promise—Psalm 37."

The case was frequently before the Presbytery, and seems to have been one of worldliness and inattention to ministerial work. In April 1737, the case was debated at a meeting of Presbytery, and Mr Macdonald states that the affair was one arising from "malice of hearts and scourge of tongues." He goes on to make reflections on the case, and says that the accusers were so "malicious that their indignation and revenge are more and more whetted by every new disappointment, but they are egg'd up to all by the doctrine of some who plainly declare that good intentions will justify bad practices, or that God will never impute to a man his honest error."

The ecclesiastical machinery was set in motion, and on the occasion of the Communion in Durness in the summer of 1737, the members of the Church of Farr had either to receive tokens of admission to the Sacrament from their own minister or not communicate. Many accepted the terms of the Church, and it is with more than ordinary satisfaction that we have it stated that this mode of procedure not only cured the disaffection in Farr, but opened the eyes of the sympathisers of the malcontents to the untenableness of their position. But ten years afterwards the same parties were before the Church Courts again. This time the man Mr Skeldoch sent south with the cattle of the small tenants, disappeared, and the money having gone also, raised the whole of the people against Mr Skeldoch. Mr Macdonald attended "two meetings of Presbytery, held within three days of each other, on the affairs of a certain member of our small number who gives himself and others a great deal of trouble, perhaps unexcusably, nay, unaccountably. I have been this man's friend, while it was possible for me to do so, consistently with charity and honesty;

and this from a conviction of the hard measures I thought he always had from his parishioners, whose ways with him are to this day somewhat odd, ever lying at the catch for his halting, which should teach him the most cautious walk ; but instead of this, when I find him continually involving himself in things that common prudence might make him shun, nay, when his worldly mindedness breaksout in such glaring instances, as might even be reckoned faulty in a Laick, and all this in opposition to the warmest admonitions to the contrary from myself and others privately and publicly, I must in all likelihood change sides, and that without the imputation of a feeble or uncharitable disposition, as far as I can be a right judge of my own actions." Again, on the 8th June 1747, the following entry appears:—"This day se'en-night I set out for a meeting of Presbytery, which met at Farr on the perplexed and thorny affairs of one of our few members, who is like to involve himself more and more notwithstanding the many reproofs he gets, and the many resolutions under which he pretends to put himself from time to time." He was libelled by the Synod of 1747, "by reason of his strange conduct in secular affairs, as to which he never gets better though often reprov'd." The Synod, which met in Thurso in the summer of 1748, suspended him for a time. A motion to depose him was lost by a small majority. By an entry, dated 8th July 1750, we see a little further into Mr Skeldoch's affairs—"There are still more traces of his worldly than spiritual industry about his house. Everything goes on with the utmost exactness that concerns the outward man, though he has the least call of any man of my acquaintance so to vex himself or others, and yet though he be now from home upwards of three months few of his people wish for his return. O! may I be more and more reduced as to the things of a present life, rather than be in such an otherwise situation."

Mr Skeldoch died on the 25th June 1753, having been minister of Farr for twenty years. He was succeeded by Mr George Munro, who was ordained 23rd May 1754. He seconded the attempts made by the minister of Tongue to curtail the Communion "occasion," and Mr Macdonald generally calls him the "shadow" of Mr Ross of Tongue. "His failings," says Mr Macdonald in 1761, "are greatly drowned in that one consideration of his shining benevolence."

The scrappy form in which I have presented these notices makes me feel ashamed of the injustice my haste and want of time have done the writer of the Diary. If these notes add a few facts to the history of the places or person they treat of they have

a certain interest, but I trust they have not proved wearisome nor altogether void of interest to any of you.

Mr Campbell, in reading the paper, gave some interesting traditions relative to Mr Skeldoch and Mr Munro, the minister of Farr, and he also quoted the following notes, relative to some of the ministers, referred to in the paper from "*Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*":—

1726—Murdoch Macdonald, A.M., born 3rd May 1696; elected Irish Bursar by the Synod of Fife, 28th September 1720; obtained his degree at St Andrew's University, 9th May 1722; licensed, 15th September 1725; became tutor in the family of Mackay of Rhmenic; presented, 24th August, and ordained 28th September 1726; died, 23rd August 1763, in his 68th year and 37th of his ministry. "A most melodious and powerful singer;" had four sons and seven daughters, with such a family, and a stipend of £44. 8s. 10³/₄d. it is not to be wondered that this pious and good man did not repine under "straitened circumstances" and, "wordly affairs much in disorder."

1754 and 1779—George Munro, minister of Farr, got a church built in 1774; as a man he was distinguished by simplicity of character, frankness, sincerity, benevolence, and hospitality. As a minister, by an ardent zeal for the glory of God and the good of souls. An Israelite, indeed, in whom is no guile.

1762—John Mackay, minister of Tongue. "He was a preacher of the first order, and Lord Reay used to observe "that for preaching, praying, and singing, he could match the Presbytery with any other in Scotland."

1730—Mr Walter Ross, Tongue. "He was a man of fine preaching talents, but whose reserved manners and secluded habits were not calculated to gain upon the rough, frank Highlander."

29TH APRIL 1885.

On this date the following new members were elected:—Dr D. U. Urquhart, Widnes, near Liverpool, Honorary; Serjeant A. Fraser, Kingussie; and William Durie, the Custom-house, Inverness, ordinary. The Secretary thereafter, on behalf of Mr D. Mackinnon, Professor of the Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Edinburgh, read a paper on the *Fernaig Manuscript*. Professor Mackinnon's paper was as follows:—

THE FERNAIG MANUSCRIPT.

The collection of Gaelic poetry, known as the Fernaig Manuscript, was made by Duncan Macrae in the year 1688 and the years immediately following. The MS. consists of two small volumes of paper in pasteboard cover—about eight inches long by three broad. Several of the leaves are loose, although it does not appear that the volumes were ever much used, and one or two are double leaves, folded in. At present the collection contains about 4200 lines. At one time it contained 600 lines additional, for six leaves, closely written upon both sides, have been very neatly cut out. The latest date to be found in it is the year 1693. In the first volume one page is left blank, which the writer evidently meant to fill up at some future time. The second volume contains several blank leaves at the end. Whether the compiler grew weary of his self-imposed task, or whether the material at his disposal was exhausted, or whether sudden death brought his labours to a close, we shall probably never know.

Little is known regarding the history of the Manuscript. In the beginning of the present century it was in the possession of Mr Matheson of Fernaig, father of Sir Alexander Matheson of Lochalsh. In the great edition of Ossian's poems, published in 1807, the late Rev. Donald Macintosh describes the MS. as follows (vol. iii. p. 572):—"Mr Mathison of Feernaig, Ross-shire, has a paper MS. written in the Roman character. The orthography is very bad, like the Dean of Lismore's poetry; it is dated 1688, and consists of songs and hymns by different persons, some by Bishop Carswell, Bishop of the Isles." The Manuscript afterwards disappeared; and when Mr Skene wrote, in 1862, the introduction to the book of the Dean of Lismore (p. xlii.) he stated that it was at the time amissing. It fell somehow into the hands of the late Dr Mackintosh Mackay, who was in Australia when Mr Skene wrote. On the death of Dr Mackay, his trustees handed the little MS. over to Dr Skene, whose property it now is.

I have said that the Manuscript was written by Duncan Macrae. The first volume contains on its first page the following title:—

“Doirligh Loijn Di
Skrijvig Lea Donochig
Mack rah 1688.”

Who this particular Duncan was cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty. There were no doubt many of the name alive

in 1688. It may be safely concluded that the Manuscript was written in the country of the Macraes. The great mass of the poetry, and the accent and idiom of the writer, as I shall afterwards show, belong to the district, while the fact that the Manuscript was found in Fernaig points to the same conclusion. The writer was besides a highly intelligent man, who wrote his native language well, and no mean poet—nearly one-fourth of the contents of the collection being ascribed to the “Skripher.” Now, there were two Duncan Macraes living on the shores of Loch-Duich at the time of the Revolution, whose memories are still preserved in the district, and who might fairly be credited with the compilation of such a document as this.

One of the two is known as Big Duncan of Glenshiel. He composed verses, some of which are still remembered in the glen. But this man was more of a warrior than a poet. Several interesting anecdotes, illustrating his enormous strength, are still fresh in the memory of his clansmen in Kintail and Glenshiel. I remember of having read somewhere that Macrae was once travelling with a friend on business in the Isle of Skye. The two came upon a considerable party of Skyemen engaged in settling a local quarrel by arms. Macrae and his friend, though they had no earthly interest in the matter, at once resolved to take part in the dispute as they would in a game of shinty; and in order to preserve the balance of power unimpaired, they arranged to take opposite sides. When the fight was over, the friends resumed their journey on their own proper business. Duncan Macrae of Glenshiel was Major of the Kintail Regiment, and fell at Sheriffmuir. Tradition records that with one stroke of his terrible sword he cut through both trooper and horse before he fell; and a correspondent informs me that this identical sword is preserved in the Tower of London and shewn still as the Great Highlander’s sword.

The other claimant is Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, the chief of his name. This is a most interesting character. He is remembered in the district by the name of *Donnachadh nam Pìos*. His father was Alexander Macrae of Inverinate, a man of whom little is known; but his grandfather, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae, minister of Gairloch, and afterwards of Kintail, was a man of mark. Mr Farquhar was a student of Edinburgh, and so distinguished in classics and philosophy that it was proposed in 1603 to make him Regent of the College, in succession to James Reid. But Lord Seaforth interposed. His Lordship was more concerned in having a good minister in the west of Ross-shire than a good

Regent in the College of Edinburgh. Mr Farquhar accompanied the Earl of Seaforth to Lewis in 1610, when, if one may credit the family historian, he baptized all under forty years of age and married a large number. The minister accumulated considerable wealth, and added largely to the family consequence and dignity in the locality. He was accused of being a worldly man, caring more for his own secular affairs than for the spiritual welfare of his people. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly a man of great ability and force of character, and, as Bishop Maxwell said with some truth, "lost in the Highlands." When General Monk went through Kintail in 1654 he carried off, we are told, "360, but not the whole, of Mr Farquhar's cows, for which, after the restoration of King Charles II., he was advised to put in his claim; but his love of the change of affairs made him decline it, and at his death he had as many cows as then, and might have had as many more, were it not that they were constantly slaughtered for the use of the family, when he had his grandchildren and their bairns about him." (Genealogy of the MacRas, Camden, South Carolina, 1874, p. 23.)

Duncan Macrae of Inverinate was the eldest of a numerous family. His father, Alexander, eldest son of Mr Farquhar, was twice married, and left a family of nine sons and four daughters. Two of the sons, John and Donald, were ministers respectively of Dingwall and Kintail. The seventh son, Murdoch, came by a sudden and violent death. He was out shooting

"A' cheud Aoine 'n gheamhradh fhuar,"

and did not return. After a search of fifteen days, his dead body was found at the foot of a large rock in Gleannlic. Two elegies composed in connection with this event are found in one of the very interesting papers contributed by Mr William Mackenzie, the Secretary of the Society, and printed in the Transactions, vol. viii., pp. 102-5. Two verses enumerate all the sons of this family, except Alastair Og, the fourth son. They are found on p. 104 of vol. viii. of the Transactions, and are as follows:—

"S tùirseach do sheachd bràithrean gràidh

Am *parson* ge h-àrd a leugh,

Thug e, ge tuigseach a cheaird,

Aona bharr-tùirs' air càch gu léir.

Bho thùs dhiubh Donnachadh nam Pios,

Gillecriosda, 's an dithis de'n chléir,

Fearachar agus Ailean Donn

Uisdean a bha trom 'n ad dhéigh."

I am satisfied that this *Donnachadh nam Pios* is the compiler of the *Fernaig Manuscript*. One would infer from the first of the verses quoted above, that one of the ministers of the family composed a poem on the occasion. In the *Manuscript* are found verses by a "Perse Eglish, anno 1692," which begin—

"Cill-duich mo thàmh, cha luidhe dhomh sèimh," &c.

The author is the Rev. Donald Macrae, at the time minister of Kintail, or Kilduich, as the parish was then called. (Cf. *Fasti Eccl. Scot.*, v. p. 103.) The cause of the author's disquiet was, however, not personal but political. The first poem attributed to the compiler may very probably have had its origin in this family bereavement. It is headed—I discard the phonetic spelling—

"Laoidh a rinneadh leis a' Sgrìobhair
an àm mulaid,"

and opens as follows:--

"A shaoghail, 's diombuan do mhùirn,
'S maireg a ni tùrn nach fhiach ;
Ged bhìomar an diugh ri ceòl,
'S gearr bhìodh bròn 'g a chur sìos.

Chunn'as, cha'n fhad' o'n uair
Cuirm is ceol is suairceas glan,
Taobh stigh dh' fheasgar an cuairt
Chunn'as sin sluagh ri gal.

'S maireg a ni bun 's an t-saoghal
Bho'n is baoghalach e gach uair,
An ti bu mhiann leinn (an) diugh againn
Sud 's a' mhadainn air bhreith uainn."

Anecdotes without number are still repeated in Kintail and Glenshiel about *Donnachadh nam Pios*, his high character, and especially his great ingenuity and mechanical skill. It is said that when he attended the University of Edinburgh, he devoted a considerable portion of his time to cabinetmaking and engineering. Many stories are still told in the district in proof of Macrae's attainments as a skilled workman. It is said that on one occasion a vessel was dismasted in its passage through Kyle-Rhea. Duncan Macrae spliced together several pieces of wood, and constructed them into a solid and sufficient mast. The grateful captain gave Macrae the famous silver herring, which

remained for generations in the possession of his family, and which possessed the very desirable virtue of attracting herring from far and near to Loch-Duich. For this and similar proofs of mechanical talent, the people of Kintail say that Duncan Macrae obtained the name by which he has always been remembered among them. It has, however, to be observed that *pìos* in Gaelic literature is frequently used for a cup, and especially a silver or valuable cup. In this signification it is often applied as an epithet to individuals, and it would be peculiarly applicable to a man of Macrae's tastes and pursuits. In this Fernaig Manuscript, "Allister M'Curchi," writes:—

“ Ni air mhaireann Eachann òg
Mac [C] ailean nan seòl 's nam *pìos* ;”

and the “Tinkler” would seem to consider entitled to certain ecclesiastical privileges one,

“ 'Bha riamh ag òl á *pìosan*
Gun di-chuimhn' bho aois òig’.”

In the well-known Ossianic ballad, called “Oisean agus an Cléir-each,” we find

“ Iomadh eogad maiseach cruaidh,
Iomadh tuadh, is iomadh gath,
'N cath Rìgh Lochlainn nam *pìos*
Bu lionmhor mae rìgh is flath ;

and Duncan Bàn Macintyre says that in Lord Glenorchy's “talla” would be found

“ Uisge-beath' ann am *pìosan*
A' sìor ghabhail sìos nan deoch-slàinte.”

Macrae, according to the traditions of Kintail, was concerned in bringing the water into the city of Edinburgh. The oak trees still to be seen near the site of the old house of Inverinate are said to have been reared by this enterprising man from acorns which he brought from France.

What is more to the present purpose, Duncan Macrae is believed to have possessed considerable poetic talent, to have composed songs, and to have collected those of others. Captain Matheson of Dornie, who has made a most extensive collection of the poetry of the district, repeated to me several lines attributed to Donnachadh nam Pìos. The lines are found in the

Manuscript, and attributed to a "certain Harper . . . and pretended to be composed by Gillimichell M'Donald, Tinkler":—

"Ged their iad ris na ceardainean
 Gnr gnàth leo bhi ri òl,
 Cha'n 'eil misg no mearan orm
 'G aithris diù mo sgeoil ;
 Ach sud mar tha mo bharail-sa
 Ge h-amaideach mo ghlòir,
 An Rìgh-sa thainig a dh'annas oirn
 Gur feallsa e na cèd."

Tradition reports that John Macdonald—Iain Lom—retreated for safety to Kintail after the Keppoch murders, and according to a correspondent of Mr Mackenzie, the Secretary of the Society, the famous Lochaber bard is credited with the elegies on "Murachadh MacAlastair." Donnachadh nam Pios and Iain Lom were contemporaries. John Macrae, the second son of the family of whom Duncan was the eldest, was laureated at the University and King's College, Aberdeen, on 12th July 1660 (*Fasti Eccl. Scot.* v. p. 298.) Duncan would thus have been born at least as early as 1640. Iain Lom witnessed, as a very young man, the battle of Inverlochy in 1645, so that he would probably have been some twenty years older than Macrae. Both lived till after the Revolution.

The writer of the Fernaig Manuscript was not only a man of high intelligence, he was also deeply religious man. His own compositions, as well as the general character of the collection, prove this. He was an ardent Episcopalian ; a vehement Jacobite. He was also evidently a man of assured social position in the district. Duncan Macrae undoubtedly was all this. He was the head of his name : chief of a subordinate, but an old and warlike, clan. Many of his family were Episcopal clergymen in the district. His grandfather, Mr Farquhar, we have seen, was minister of Gairloch and Kintail. Two sons of Mr Farquhar entered the Church : John became minister of Dingwall and Donald minister of Kintail. Two brothers of Donnachadh nam Pios, also John and Donald to name, were ministers of Dingwall and Kintail in Duncan's own day. The family historian mentions several others who entered the Church. The Clan were followers of the Mackenzies, and in those days were concerned in the management of the Seaforth estates. Duncan's great-grandfather, Christopher Macrae, was constable of Island-Donan : his

father, and afterwards himself, was factor for Seaforth in Kintail. Mackenzie was a zealous Jacobite at this period.

Finally, several of the authors whose productions are recorded in this collection and nowhere else, can be proved near relatives of Duncan Macrae of Inverinate. For example, six poems are attributed to "Fear na Pàirec." Macculloch of Park, near Dingwall, was Macrae's maternal great-grandfather. The Laird of Raasay is the author of some verses. Duncan Macrae was married to the heiress of Raasay. The minister of Kilduich has a long poem in the collection. The minister of Kilduich in 1692 was Macrae's brother. Several other authors were evidently men of note in the district, with whom Macrae of Inverinate was on friendly terms. The Macraes and Mathesons frequently intermarried. Duncan's sister, Mary, was married to Matheson of Fernaig of the day.

On these grounds I have come to the conclusion that Duncan Macrae of Inverinate, still fondly remembered in Kintail by the familiar name of Donnachadh nam Pios, was the compiler of the Fernaig collection of Gaelic Poetry. He was undoubtedly a remarkable man, and a character pleasant to contemplate. I have no reason to doubt that there were many like-minded Highland gentlemen living in those days—cultured, liberal, and pious men; but undoubtedly Duncan Macrae, the engineer and mechanic, the ardent ecclesiastic, the keen though liberal-minded politician, the religious poet, and collector of the literature of his countrymen, is as different from the popular conception of a Highland Chief of the Revolution as can well be conceived. We have it on the testimony of Lord Macaulay that Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel was not only a great warrior, not only "eminently wise in council, eloquent in debate," but also "a patron of literature." It is a high character to attain in that rude age, and from so severe a judge of Highlanders as Lord Macaulay undoubtedly was. Duncan Macrae did not possess the great gifts, physical or mental, of "Eoghan Dubh." With kindly exaggeration the English historian calls Lochiel the "Ulysses of the Highlands." By no figure of speech would we be justified in claiming such a high-sounding title as this for Donnachadh nam Pios. And yet the Highland Chief who, amid the distractions of civil war, and in the scanty intervals of leisure wrested from a useful, honoured, and industrious life, sat down to compose Gaelic verse, and to collect the poems composed by his countrymen and neighbours, is highly deserving of our affection and admiration. Such a man was Duncan Macrae. His end was tragic. His wife was heiress of Raasay; but she, more zealous for the dignity of her own clan than for that

of her husband, secretly conveyed the title-deeds of Raasay to a relative of her own, and deprived the Macraes of the lands. Duncan Macrae prospered notwithstanding. He bought the lands of Affaric from The Chisholm, and went to the east country to complete the titles. His attendant on the occasion possessed an unfortunate gift, known as "*An Eolas Aoin'*," or "*Or na h-Aoine*," by which he could cause the death of any one seen by him crossing a stream upon a Friday. When returning from the east country, with the titles of Affaric, it is said, in his possession, Macrae and his attendant attempted to cross the River Connag at Dorisduan. The river was in flood. The attendant crossed safely; and thinking that his master had also gained the bank, he turned his averted eyes upon him, when the flood carried the Chief to a swirling pool. Strong saplings grew upon the edge of the pool, by the help of which Macrae could swing himself on solid ground; but ever and anon the attendant was constrained to look in his direction, when he instantly dropped into the water. The Chief was drowned, "by which accident," says the family historian, "the family lost much property by the destruction of bonds and other papers he had by him." A pibroch called "*Cumha Dhonnachaidh nam Pios*," was composed upon the occasion, of which the minister of Glen-shiel has only recovered the first two lines:—

'S grianach an là, ho!
Thainig lighe anns an abhuinn, hi!

Captain Matheson has been able to trace the following stanzas of an elegy composed to Macrae's memory, it is said, by his wife, Janet Macleod of Raasay:—

"Na'n iomradh sibh, 'illean,
Sheinneadh mise dhuibh iorram,
Air mo laimh cha b'e binneas,
Bu bheus dhi;

Tighinn a nuas Caolas Scalpa,
'S ann a chuala mi naigheachd,
B'e mo dhiubhail mar thachair,
'S b'e 'm beud e;

Gu robh Donnachadh mo chridhe
'Ga ghiùlan le lighe,
Fear mor meannach, tighearnail,
Beusach."

Apart from the interest which attaches to the particular document and its enlightened compiler, the value of the Fernaig Manuscript in the history of Gaelic Literature is very great, for two reasons :—

I. It is written phonetically, and it thus enables us to obtain a reliable key not only to the diction and idiom of the writer, but to his very pronunciation and accent.

II. It is a genuine collection of the popular literature of the Highlands, from the works of several individuals residing in districts of the country widely apart, and living at different periods of time.

All languages are written on a system approaching more or less closely to one of two types—the phonetic type, and what may be called the etymologic type. The phonetic type was the original one ; but when once a language is reduced to writing, the written form lags behind the spoken sound, in the inevitable change to which both finally succumb. Thus we have literary languages presenting a system of orthography widely diverging from the current pronunciation of the day. We attempt to pronounce Latin and Greek more or less as we find them spelled ; but we know that the Romans and Greeks pronounced their own language quite differently from what we do. The correct pronunciation of English can only be acquired through a long and painful exercise of the tongue and memory by those who learn the language from books ; yet we know that English orthography once fairly represented the *phonēsis* of the dialect which forms the basis of the literary speech. The Celtic tongues are peculiar in these two respects, that most of the consonants alter their sound according to the character of the neighbouring vowel in the same word ; and that the initial sound of a word is very frequently altered through the influence of the final sound of the preceding word. To the first peculiarity is due, as Dr Stewart observed long ago, the orthographical law which obtains in Gaelic and Irish technically known as “*Leathan ri leathan, is caol ri caol*”—a law which demands that the first vowel of a syllable must be of the same character with the last vowel of the preceding syllable: *féumail* but *féineil*; *dallag* but *caileag*; *canaidh* but *càinidh*—where the terminal syllable assumes or discards a vowel, according as it contains or does not contain a vowel of the same order with the vowel immediately preceding. The change caused on the initial sound of a Celtic word through the influence of the terminal sound of the preceding word appears in one or other of two forms, known respectively as *Aspiration* and *Eclipsis*. *A mac* is *her son* but *his son* is a *mhac*. In certain parts

of Skye and Lewis *an duine, an dé* are pronounced *a nuine, a né*; while probably over the whole Highlands the *c* in the phrase *an ceart uair*, when pronounced quickly, becomes *g*, *an-geart-uair*, or as written in the Fernaig MS., and as pronounced in Tiree, "*in gest ouhre.*" A few examples of a phonetic process, directly the opposite of *Eclipsis*, has been observed in Armorica, and named by Zeuss *Provection*. Instead of the initial sound being replaced by a weaker sound of the same order, as in *eclipsis*, the sound is hardened through the influence of the preceding sound. We have in Gaelic almost an analogous case in *do mhàthair* but *t'athair*; *tainig* = *do* + *anic*, where the *d* in certain situations becomes *t*. On account of these peculiarities, the Celtic dialects differ far more in form than in sound or meaning, when they are written on different orthographical systems. As matter of fact, the Welsh dialects and Manx are all written phonetically, while Irish and Gaelic adhere more to the etymologic system. The one system represents more or less accurately the pronunciation of the day; the other preserves the form of the word. Each system has its advantages and disadvantages; and I need hardly add that each system is only partially carried out. No language is written on a purely phonetic system; no language can be so, for no people pronounce alike; while on the other hand the basis of the orthography of all languages is phonetic, and no change in the pronunciation, however great, is able entirely to obliterate the evidence of the fact.

The publication and extensive circulation of the New Testament in the latter half of last century has so far stereotyped our Gaelic orthography. But it is notorious that before that event, Highlanders in writing their own language asserted their right to spell as they pleased in the most unsparing fashion. From a scientific standpoint we ought to be grateful to them for their impatience, or ignorance, of orthographical laws. The *West Highland Tales* derive no small share of their great literary and philological importance from the fact that the pronunciation as well as the idiom of the various reciters is reproduced. Irish orthography is artificial in the extreme. The orthographical law now so rigidly adhered to was of old frequently disregarded, where there was no phonetic principle to warrant its application; and I am inclined to think that the reason for its universal adoption in Middle Irish was that the grammarians of the day mistook a phonetic law of wide but not unlimited application for a purely mechanical rule. Our Gaelic MSS. are almost all written in the Irish character; and the Irish orthography is pretty closely adhered to, but not by any means invariably so. In the entries on the Book of Deer, as well

as in the Zeussian MSS., and in the Book of Armagh, the law of "Leathan ri leathan, &c.," is ignored. It is frequently transgressed in all the Manuscripts I have examined, while further concessions to the phonetic principle are repeatedly met with. Thus, in a beautiful song composed on the Earl of Argyle after 1680, and written down by a very competent scribe before 1690, I find "dhuasgil" for "dh' fhuasgail," and even "ghuar" for "dhubhar"—(Adv. Lib. MS. xxxvi.) :—

"Mar ghuar do bheus tra nóin."

As is well known the Dean of Lismore's MS. is a further departure from the Irish orthography, and a nearer approach to a purely phonetic system. The Dean writes :—

"Sai la guss in dei oy nach vaga mai finn
Chanaka rem rai sai boo zar lym."

The same ballad is found in MS. xlviii. in the Advocates' Library, written by one of the M'Vurrichs, bards of Clanranald, men who received a literary training. M'Vurrich writes :—

"Se la gus an de, [o] nach faca me Fionn
Ni fhaca re mo re, se budh faide leam."

There are only two words different of these 19 ; but only two of the 17 words that are common to the two MSS. are spelled in the same way. The Rev. Dr Maclauchlan, commenting on a Gaelic song found in Lochaber and written phonetically (Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 367), suggests that a phonetic system of writing Gaelic may have prevailed over the central and eastern Highlands, where the Irish influence was less felt or unknown. The orthography of the Fernaig MS. so far supports Dr Maclauchlan's view. The orthography of the MS. is a combination of the Irish and a phonetic system. The writer uses all the letters of the English alphabet, a special character (printed *y* in the specimen of Macrae's orthography given below), for *th* (sometimes for *h*) ; and several of the contractions common in MSS. of the period. There are certain rules which he rarely transgresses ; but his page presents the widest and apparently the most capricious divergencies in orthography. "Fear na Páirce," is the author of six poems in the collection, and the name occurs six times. Now "Fear," a word of four letters, is on each occasion spelled in a different way :—

"Ferr ; flyerr ; fherr ; ffeherr ; feher ; fferr."

This is, of course, an extreme case; but even here there is a sort of method in the madness which undoubtedly exists.

As a specimen of Macrae's orthography I give, *verbatim et literatim*, five beautiful verses addressed by "Donochig M'Ryrie" to Seaforth, on the death of his son.—

5 rein di reinig leish ī Donochigs er
vaiss vick vigyk kennich.

"Trein ī maighk hug ir leoin
Cha veyeir ir toir er gi braigh
Shjn ga di hroggi feaghk
Eashin iss mo nairt no kaigh.

Viick keynnj doinighe di vaighk
Da neyer iss moir nairt iss bry
Eg ro vaid dheijghk di chuirp
Ver shea ghuit gho no tri.

Di zhoj Abram ī vaighk
Si noibyird fo smaighk Vick Dhe
Ffúerh ea graisin vo mj rj
Agell rijst eg ī fein.

Er i vroin shin kuirss smaighk
Doinyi Dhe zuitt maighk i rijst
Ga roih shin gúih leat
Cha chúyj zuitt strep ri Chrjst.

Hug Dhe zuitt vrrimb is smaighk
Er gigh maighk ha foyid fein
Rish ī nanvjjn koúmbis ī choir
No leg leoin lea dhúin trein
Trein ī maighk etc."

There is here considerable irregularity, *ghuit* and *zhuit*; *doinighe*, *zhoni*, *doinyi*; *shea* and *ea*; but there is nothing in the orthography to prevent the comprehension of the meaning, almost on the first perusal, by an intelligent reader. There are also a few peculiarities of the writer—e.g., *Dhe*—the only form in which the word is used in the MS.; irregularities in aspiration, *dheijghk*, *Chrjst*, *dhuin*; the use of *v* for *u* in *vrrimb*. The characteristic of Macrae's orthography undoubtedly is the perfect representation it gives of the most peculiar features of the pronunciation of Gaelic in Kintail at the present day. Take the above passage—*bho* is of

course common to the North as against the *o* of South Argyll—*trog* (hroggi) for *tog* is also heard over a wide district. *Gh* and *dh* are pretty much alike in sound, and consequently often interchanged in our orthography, as *gho* above for *dho* (a). But Kintail provides the strongest example of the conversion of the aspirated *d* into unaspirated *g* of all places known to me—*reiniġ* for *rinneadh*; *Donochig* for *Donnachadh*. *M* passes easily into *b*: the Jews are a notorious example; so any one of ourselves is when we have cold in the head, or becomes if only we hold the nose and pronounce *m*. I know of no place in the Highlands where *b* is added to *m* as persistently as in Kintail: *urrimb*, *koumb*s for *urram*, *cum-sa*. Throughout the MS. one of course finds more perfect examples. The pronunciation and idiom of the North-west are apparent in every line—*cumhann* and that class are invariably *cuhig*, *fuitig*, &c.; *chon* for *than*; *dar* for *an nair*; *éistneachd* for *éisdeachd*; *sivill* for *saoghal*, &c., &c. After a careful examination of the orthography in connection with the admirable rhythm, I am convinced that the pronunciation of the Kintail men and women of to-day is exactly that of their fathers and mothers 200 years ago.

The same may be said of the diction and idiom. A few uncommon words are found; but some of these survive as provincial terms. Strange idioms occur in the poems attributed to Carsewell, Sir John Stewart, and several of the religious pieces; but when one comes to the political songs of the day and district, the idiom is exactly that of to-day. Instances of *Eclipsis*, a feature of Scottish Gaelic which our grammarians unfortunately overlooked, are met with in the MS. as they are met with in the mouths of the people still.

I proceed to give further specimens of the contents of the MS. On a loose slip of paper is—

“A phrophesie made before the situatioune of Invernes” which is not very legible or intelligible. The last line gives the pronunciation of “Tom-na-hiuraich” as far back at least as 1688—

“I dig M'Pethaig i mach
Lea laijn agas lea luthrich
Tuitti ni Ghayle ma saigh
Ma voirlumb toim ni hurich.”

Thirty-six lines are given as the composition of “Oishen M'Phyn.” These lines were recited in Kintail with hardly any change in 1866, and appear in “Leabhar na Féinne” p. 106. The same verses were sent with a translation to the *Inverness Courier* by

“Nether-Lochaber,” and from thence copied to *The Gael* in September 1872. 36 lines, attributed in the MS. to Bishop Carsewell, are found in the Dean of Lismore’s MS., attributed to Donnachadh Og (pp. 118-9 of Gaelic Text.) 16 lines being—

“Ni. x. Phatrj aind ī meetterrighk dain”

are printed in Reid’s *Bibl. Scot. Celt.*, p. 177, as an extract from Calvin’s Catechism. So far as I have able been to discover no further portion of the contents of the MS. has hitherto been printed. There are some admirable didactic verses entitled—

“Pairt de Chomhairle Mhic Eachain Ic Fhearachair do
Mhac-an-tòisich, a dhalta,”

which bear a strong resemblance, one or two being almost identical, to—

“Comhairlean duine ghlic d’a Mhac”

printed at p. 394 of Nicolson’s Proverbs.

Several of the authors of the poems are well-known men ; others again are quite unknown ; while some of the poems are anonymous. Bishop Carsewell is credited with 28 lines besides the 36 wrongly attributed to him. Sir John Stewart of Appin, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century, and whose “Faoidis” or Confession is printed in Calvin’s Catechism (Reid, p. 173), is the reputed author of 84 lines. “Allister Monro, feher teiggisk va aind Stranaphir” is the author of 108 lines. He died before Dec. 22, 1653 (*Fasti Eccl. Scot.* v. p. 346.) The writer is the acknowledged author of 12 poems, in all 1028 lines. His brother, the Rev. Donald Macrae, has 120 lines. His great-grandfather, Fear na Pàirce, wrote 6 poems, in all 336 lines. “Gillicallum Gairph M’Illichallum” has 16 lines. He is of course Laird of Raasay. “Murchig Maighk Vick Curchi” is the author of 6 short poems, containing in all 184 lines. He is no doubt “Murchadh Mor Mac Mhic Mhurchaidh, fear Eichildi,” who was factor for Seaforth in Lewis ; and who composed two poems published in Ranald Macdonald’s Collection. (Ed. 1776, pp. 23, 185.) This Murdoch was no mean poet. In the MS. he appears as a political and religious writer. He shows keen observation of nature, and has a ready command of happy diction and appropriate metaphor. In a “Krossanighk” or “Dialectic poem,” composed “san àm a reiceadh Rìgh Tearlach, anno 1648,” the poet moralizes on the unequal apportionment of happiness and misery in the world :—

“ Mar dhuilleach nan geug,
No coip tuinn air fairg’;
Mar bhun blas breig,
Mar bleum sruth ri carraig.

Mar dhealt romh nòin,
No sneachd ’n am gréin,
’S minic saoi fo dhòruinn,
Is daoì fo mhòran péin.”

None of this author’s poems in Macrae’s Collection approaches in poetical merit the pieces attributed to him in Macdonald’s Collection, and especially that admirable lyric in which he describes his life in Lewis (R. Macdonald p. 185):—

“Tha mise fo ghruaim,
’S gun mì ’n caidreamh a’ chuain,
Cha chaidil mi uair air chòir.”

The

“Loth philleagach bhreun,
Fo phillean ’s fo shréin,
Aon ghille ’n a déigh le lòd,”

which carries him on land, is a contemptible creature in comparison with his—

“ làir
Air linne nam bàrc,”

whose admirable qualities are forcibly described :—

“Iubhrach shocrach a’ chuain,
Dha ’n cliu toiseach dol suas,
Bhiodh giubhas dosrach nam buadh fo sheòl.

Ruith chuip air a clàr,
’S i druideadh fo sàil,
Bu chruit leinn a gàir fo sheòl.

Cha’n iarradh i moll,
No fodar no pronn,
Ach sadadh nan tonn r’a sròin.

B’e sud m’aighir ’s mo mhiann,
Ge do ghlasaich mo chiabh,
’S cha b’e slat agus srian ’n am dhòrn.

His life ashore in Lewis was equally attractive—

“’Nuair a ghabhte’ gu tàmh
Ann an cala-phort sèimh
Cha b’fhallan bho m’ laimhs’ an ròn ;

and no wonder though the Bard sends the following passionate "Soraidh" across the "Cuan-sgìth," as he elsewhere calls the Minch :—

" Fhìr a dh' imicheas 'n iar,
Bho nach cinnteach mo thriall,
Bi 'g innseadh gur bliadhn' gach lòn.

Beir an t-soraidh so nunn,
Air fad chuan an fhuinn,
Far am faighte' na suinn ag òl.

Gu eilean an fhéidh,
'S gu eirear an éisg,
Far nach paigheamaid féich air lòn.

Gu comunn mo rùin,
Nach cromadh an t-sùil,
'N àm tromachadh dhuinn am pòit."

"Allister M'Curchi" was probably a local bard still remembered by the name of "MacMhurchaidh 'ic Iain Ruaidh." Four poems are ascribed to him, three of which are religious. The fourth is somewhat the reverse. Here the poet represents himself as in early life a sailor, a jolly bachelor, and a general favourite in society. His patrons are now gone, and his company is despised, so he will turn a religious man, apparently because he cannot make better of it :—

"Tuirseach dhuinn ri port,
Cha'n iognadh mo dhos bhi liath;
Thug mo chridhe troidh air ais,
Mar Oisean an déigh na Fiann.

Ni air mhaireann Cailean ùr,
B' allail a chliu is e òg,
Ged a ghabh se ruinn fearg,
Ghiorraich e gu dearbh mo lòn.

Ni air mhaireann Ruairi Gearr,
A chumadh spairn ris gach neach,
Laoch nach geilleadh ach 's a' chòir,
B'eibhinn leis slòigh is creach.

Smaoineamand air ceannard an Tuir,
 Bho'u d'fhuaras muirn is mi òg ;
 B'eibhinn leis seobhag is cù,
 B'annsa leis a chliu na 'n t-òr.

Tomadh caraid a chaidh bh'uam,
 Bho faighinn-se cùirt is lòn ;

Ged tharladh mi nochd gun chuirn,
 Mo dheoch is e bùrn ri òl.

Do bhi osnaich de mo dheoin,
 Gun chosnadh air muir no tìr,
 Do na chrann cha tugas fonn,
 B'annsa long agus fion.

Faigheamar leabhar bàn,
 'S an gleidheamar gach là tuigs,
 Gach uair gu'm biomar ag osnaich,
 Ochadoin is mi fo thùirs'."

“Alister M'Cuistan” and “Donochig M'Ryrie” are both evidently natives of the district. “Ioin M'Kenzie” has two elegies “Err baise Chennich Oig, anno 16—,” and “Err baiss Ioan nj Comrj 168 —.” He certainly belongs to the west of Ross-shire, and was probably himself of the Applecross family. One poem bears the following curious title—“An song made be an certain Harper, on ye attempt of some offic'rs yt for fear quat their commissions in K. W. Service, and pretended to be composed be on Gillimichell M'Donald, tinkler, as follows.” “Gillimichell's ansr to ye ford luns” is a long poem of 240 lines, and is the last in the MS. The Harper might no doubt be Roderick Morrison, “An Clarsair Dall,” who would be nearly 50 years of age at this time. But a verse of the poem has been recovered in the district, and attributed to Macrae, the writer of the MS.; and I am not without suspicion that the Harper and Tinkler are introduced to conceal the true author. K. W. is of course King William. Some of the poems, and these among the best, *e.g.* “An address to the Highland Gentlemen who fought at Killiecrankie,” are anonymous. Two are avowedly translations: “Couh Ioan Vreittin, or Jock Breittans complent, Irished to the toon qu the king coms home in peace again. June 1693 :” “Another Irished by the same author called the true Protestants complent, anno 1693.” I have not been able to discover the name of either author or translator of

these two ballads. Two authors are simply designated as "Gillebride" and "Donnachadh Mòr," while another is described as "a sincere royalist."

From the above summary of the contents of the MS., it will be seen that while the bulk of the poetry is contributed by natives of the district, the collection includes the productions of Carsewell in South Argyll and Mr Munro in the north of Sutherland, while it contains verses dating back to at least the beginning of the sixteenth century, as well as several composed in the last decade of the seventeenth. It thus provides us with specimens of the popular poetry of the West and North Highlands for 200 years.

The poems are in the main Political and Religious, with a few which might be called Ethical, or, preferably, Didactic. There is hardly a song. There is no love song or drinking song; nor does either wine or woman figure very prominently in the MS. Of what I have called the Ethical poems, that addressed to young Mackintosh is certainly the best. It is only an extract, and Macrae left a blank page in order to insert the remainder some other day, which unfortunately never came. In order to be "great and good," his foster father counsels Mackintosh as follows:—

"Biodh toiseach ri ràite riut,
Ma tharlas dhuit bhì 'n tigh an òil;
Gur minic thainig bho dhibh,
Gloir a b'fhearr a stigh gu mòr.

'N àm comhairle bì gu mìn,
Na tabhair i ach gu mall;
Far an bì thu bì gu beachd,
Na bì aca bhos is thall.

Bi foighidneach ris an aire,
Na caith cealg air duine bochd;
Fear conais na bì da réir,
Na dean teum d'a faighear lochd.

Bi gu mòr bì gu maith,
Mu ghabhail rath na bì gun réim;
Thoir do chomhairle ma seach,
Air gach neach a bhios 'n a feum.

Air an t-saoghal na dean sannt,
Tuig nach bì thu ann ach uair;
'S nach 'eil de t'aimsir a bhos,
Ach tionndadh na bois mu'n cuairt.

A mhiorachd leig ma seach,
Tuig nach buidhinu i 'neach àgh ;
Ge h-uircasbhuidh air do mhiann,
Bi furachar air riarach chàich.

Air do charaid na gabh àm,
Na lean e gu teann 'n a leum ;
Aon ni dhiomolas tu 'chàch,
Ionann sud gu bràth na dean.

Na bi ro mhòr na bi beag,
Ri fath dhaoin' na caith do chuid ;
A laoich mheannaich na dean trod,
Na h-ob ma 's a h-éigin duit."

The religious poems, which comprise about one-half of the whole, are creditable performances ; but they do not attain to very high poetical merit. They might be described as short sermons in verse, put into this form for the religious instruction of the people. There is no great variety in the versification. In one alone, attributed to Carsewell, is the accent of polysyllabic words allowed to fall on the final syllable—a common feature in Irish versification, but one which has disappeared from Gaelic poetry :—

“ Bho'n is eigin duit dol am fád,
Feuch a'd dheigh is feuch romhád ;
Feuch fothad is fos do chiónn,
Feuch gach taobh m'ad thimchióll.

The Rev. Alex. Munro shows considerable dexterity in stringing Hebrew names and Scripture incidents into melodious verse :

“ Sadrach, Mesach, Abednego,
Do dhealbhaibh bréig' nach isl'eadh,
Dhion 's an àmhuinn bha gu gràineil,
Triuir's 'n aireamh t' fhìrinn.

The same author shows a leaning towards a phase of teaching which is characteristic of us still—

“ Claon toil m' fheol', mo bheatha, 's m' òig',
Saoghal fòs, 's na deamhnaidh,
Stri gu calma, sior chlaoidh m' anma,
Chaidh gu damnadh siorruidh."

The doctrine of these writers, whether Reformed or unre-

formed, Episcopalian or Catholic, is not different from what we hear now, though the mode of expression is to us often strange. Our heathen ancestors, it would appear, had pretty definite conceptions of Heaven, while Hell seems to have been more of a negative idea. We have genuine Gaelic names—*Dia*, *neamh*, *flaitheanas*, *tighearna*, referring to the one, while on the other hand *diabhl*, *deamhan*, and *ifrinn* are all Latin. This would imply that our ancestors' idea of hell was negative and vague—the bad, the cowardly did not attain to the good place; or that their hell was so entirely different from that taught in our Christianity that the old names had to be discarded, if they ever existed. One can hardly adduce Macpherson's Ossian as evidence of the beliefs of our remote ancestors, but the view I have indicated seems to be contained in the remarkable passage which opens the third Book of "Cath Loduinn"—

"Tha mo shealladh air linnte dh'aom ;
 Cha'n fhaicear ach caol na bh'ann,
 Mar dhearrsa na gealaich tha faoin,
 Air linne tha claon 's a' ghleann ;
 An so dh'eireas dealan a' chòmhraig ;
 An sin thuineas gun sòlas, neo-thréin ;
 Cha chuir iad an gnìomhan air chòmhlha
 Air aimsir tha mòthar 'n an déigh.

The writers of the religious poems, like many other teachers of religion and morals, consider that hate and fear are more powerful incentives to correct conduct than love and hope. They dwell more upon the terrors of the Law than upon the promises of the Gospel; they are more detailed in their descriptions of the place of woe than of the place of bliss. As with David Mackellar, a religious poet of the middle of last century, hell is described as a place of cold as well as heat. Macrae says of the wicked, in a poem on "Latha a' Bhreathanais," which may not have been unknown to Dugald Buchanan,

"Imichidh iad so gu truagh,
 Dh'ifrinn fhuair 'm bi fuachd is teas ;

and "Fear na Pàirce" puts the same ideas in even sharper contrast—

"Dh'ifrinn fhuair 'm bi teinte lasrach."

Satan is described as "fear gun iochd," "aingal soluis," "fear

bhuairleadh an t-saoghail." The more common term is "abharsair," again a Latin word—*adversarius* ; and Munro speaks of

"Beul làidir breugach Shatain."

His "clergy" as well as his "angels" dwell with him in the place of torment :—

"Far am bi 'n t-abharsair am péin,
Aingle 's a chléir air fad."

In the poem on the "Day of Judgment," above referred to, Macrae has a glowing description of the joy that awaits the just—

"Eibhneas e nach faca suil ;
Eibhneas e nach cuala cluas ;
Eibhneas e nach teid air chùl ;
Dhoibh-san d'an toircar mar dhuais."

The name of the Deity is indeclinable. It is invariably written Dhé. Not infrequently He is addressed as "*Sibh*," *you*, the German *Sie*, instead of *thú*, the invariable practice in our day. The Saviour is "Iosa," "Criost," "Mac Dhé," "Mac Mhuire," "Mac Oigh nan Gràs." The influence of the warlike character and habits of the people upon their language and metaphor is strikingly illustrated in the epithets these Ross-shire poets of two hundred years ago applied to the Supreme Being. "A Dhé churanta làidir," "cuir-sa gu treun as mo leth." Allister M'Curchi is not satisfied in applying the epithet "Captain" to the Saviour, but adds

"Ceannard sluaigh le 'm pillear tòir" ;

and in the verses formerly quoted (page 322) the poet says that the heir of Seaforth cannot be rescued when Death heads the foray—

"Sin ged a thogadh feachd,
Esan a's mò neart na càch."

In one poem only is a distinctly controversial attitude taken up. The poem is more political than religious ; and besides it is one of the translated ballads. The writer is an Episcopalian. He has no sympathy with Catholics in their prayers for the dead or in the worship of images ; while he denounces the dogma of the real presence in language more vigorous than elegant :—

"Nach mor am *blasbheum* ri éisdeachd
Dha 'n tì leughas gu mion e,
Corp th' air deas laimh mo Dhé-sa
Chur gu déisneach 'n ar mionach."

Still he is willing to acknowledge the Pope as “Ard-Easbuig ;” and will not go the length of denying baptismal regeneration. He points out that there is no branch of the church

“Gun a cron fein bhi ’n a h-achlais,”

as is manifest from the example of the Presbyterian branch,

“Nach géill do Rìghrean no dh’ Easbuig.”

With commendable charity, while he prays to be freed

“Bho bhraighliom ’s bho bhreugan
Phresbiterian is Shagairt,”

he admits that his own party is not without reproach :

“Tha ar cuid annainn féin deth,
Mo chreach léir sin e thachairt ;
Ach ’s truagh nach b’airidh gu léir dhuinn
’S a bhi réidh air a’ cheartas.”

Several of the writers are very frank and detailed in the confession of their sins ; but perhaps they do not expect to be understood in a strictly literal and personal sense. For example, Macrae himself writes :

“Och ! ochoin ! a Dhé,
Truagh mo sgeul, O Rìgh !
Cha do thréig mi ’n t-olc,
Ach na thréig an t-olc mi.
Cha d’thréig an t-olc mi,
Ach na thréig mo neart,” &c.

“Donnachadh Mòr,” whose effusions are appropriately entitled “Breisleach Dhonnachaidh Mhòir,” would perhaps prefer that we should regard him as using the language of hyperbole, if he be not actually “raving,” when out of a very copious vocabulary he describes himself as “laddron,” “meirleach,” “sionnach,” with several “aggravating” adjectives attached to each of these picturesque substantives. Besides

“Minic do bha mi milleadh òg-bhan
Bristeadh pòsd’ is pòiteireachd.”

“Gnàth dhomh cealg is peacadh mairbh
Farmad fearg d’am mhòr losgadh.” &c. &c.

Perhaps the most interesting of the religious poems is one by the compiler on keeping the Sabbath. It is entitled :

“ Crosdhanachd de ghne chomhludair eadar a’ Cholumm ’s an t-Anam, a rinneadh leis an Sgrìobhair.”

The dialogue opens as follows :—

A’ Cholumm—Chualas guth air mhadainn

’S mi ’m chadal a’m’ ònar,

An t-Anam—Cha’n i chòir a th’agad

Bhi luidhe fada Di-dònaich ;

and is maintained with great spirit. The soul accuses the body of many misdeeds, and especially of the sin of Sabbath breaking. The body retorts with some humour :—

“ ’S ann’s cosmhuil thusa nis

Ri fear misg is carrain.

Gur truagh an deireadh comuinn duit

Bhi soillearach’ mo dhò-bheairt,”

and sensibly adds, in reply to the main charge—

Na seòladh tu dhomhsa

Mar is còir dhomh chleachdadh ;

Cha bhristinn a le m’ dhò-bheairt,

De mo dheoin a feasda.

This gives the author the opportunity he seeks; and he explains his views upon keeping holy the Sabbath day as follows :—

“ Dhuisgeadh tu ’s a’ mhaduinn,
Bhiodh t’aighe saor o fhuathas ;

Ann an àm dhuit éirigh,

B’ fheumail dhuit do chaisrig ;

Ann an ainm na Trianaid,

’N do chrìochnaicheadh do bhaisteadh.

’Nuair chuireadh tu ort t’aodach,

Mar “ beihoile ” do fhear aitim ;

Rach’ tu air do ghlùinibh,

Dheanadh tùirs’ a leth do pheacaidh.

Ghuidheadh tu Dia 'n t-athair
 A leth a mhic Iosa,
 E dheonachadh maitheanais,
 Ann ad shath is t' uile ghniomharr'.

Shiubhladh tu gun seacharan,
 Ma sheachnadh e àm dhuit,
 Dh' éisdeachd tuille teagaisg
 Ann an eaglais do chill sgìre.

An sin a' gabhail rathaid duit,
 Na labhair ach an fhìrinn ;
 Bi dearbhta gu faigh thu ann
 Do radharc luach do shaothair.

Ach na bi-sa dichuimhneach,
 Ma chìtear leat na bochdan,
 Air ni thoirt an iasad dhaibh,
 Mar dh' orduich Crìosd is ostail.

'N uair theid thu steach do'n eaglais,
 Air 'n fhear-theagaisg bi cuimhneach ;
 Na biodh t' inntinn mearanach,
 Thoir aire air gach ni chluinn thu.

Dar thig thu mach an deighidh so,
 Mar a rogha leat bhi t' ònar,
 Taobh-sa 'n comunn 'leihoile,'
 Na taghail luchd na pòite.

Bi furanach cairdeach,
 Ris na bràithribh cearta ;
 Na gabh fiamh no nàire
 Ced dhean thu càch a sheachnadh.

Siubhail rìs gun seacharan,
 Dhachaidh dh' ionns' do theaghlaich ;
 Gach ni chualas leatsa,
 Aithris dhaibh is mèraich.

These precepts seem to me well adapted to the circumstances of a country where the parishes are as large as counties, where churches are far apart, and roads are few ; and the picture which Macrae so vividly draws of a Sunday in Ross-shire 200 years ago, is, in its lights and shadows, true to the life in many a Highland parish to-day.

The political ballads are perhaps the most valuable part of the collection. They constitute about one-half of the total contents of the Manuscript. They have a decided ecclesiastical as well as political bias; for the authors, who are all Episcopalian as well as Jacobite, identify, not without cause, Presbyterianism in Scotland with the Government of the Revolution. But the various writers show not only an intelligent comprehension of the political situation, but also a most commendable tolerance towards their political opponents, whether ecclesiastical or civil. The ballads are upon the whole pure in tone; they are written in very vigorous language; there is great variety in the versification; and the ring of the verse is simply perfect. The idiom is pure and the diction copious; but technical terms, political, military, and ecclesiastical, are freely borrowed from English. We have graphic pictures of the state of the country; and references to local celebrities of the day which are very interesting. The clan system is in full vigour; and the poet seems to excel himself when his Chief is the theme of praise. In Kintail the name that overshadows all others is Mackenzie. He is "Seaforth," once indeed to meet the exigencies of rhyme "Forth-sea," but more commonly "Mac Coinnich." The minister of Kilduich thus speaks of the Seaforth of the day—

"Bu mhaith Coinneach nam buadh tha mi 'g ionndrainn uam,
'S e nach ceileadh a chruas 's a' chùirt ud;
Sàr Iarla 'n Taobh-tuath dh' fhàg deurail mo ghruaidh,
'S mor iarguin aig uaisle dhùthch' air;"

and another, addressing the chief, says proudly—

"'S gur h-e b' fhasan riamh dha t' aitim
Bhi tapaidh 's an rìoghachd,
Falbh mar ghaisgich, feileadh breacain,
Fo bhrataich nan rìghrean."

Other men of note in their day and district are frequently referred to—

"Aonghas nan Gleann a bha inbheil 's an Fhraing."

Again—

"B' ann duibh Maighstear Ailean agus Alastair fearail
Le iomadh ceann baile 'n a gheard."

Og Ghearrloch bho thuath le armuinn gun ghruaim"

is called upon to join the chief. The following gives a vivid picture of the unsettled state of the country in the years following the Revolution:—

“ Chaidh ceartas air chùl duinn,
 Leis na cùrsannan th’ ac’-sa ;
 Gradh, creideamh, is dùil mhaith,
 Chaidh an triuir sin air seachran.
 Ni ’bhàrr tha ’g ar ciùrradh,
 Airgiod smùid agus sesse ;
 Cha lugha ar cùram
 Ma dhùblar oirnn feachda.

Beairt eile mar chàs oirnn
 Dh’ fhàs a’ mheirle cho fasant’ ;
 Fear ri spuilledh na ròidibh,
 Goid bhò agus chapull ;
 ’S ged gheibht’ fear còrr dhiubh
 Dheanadh sgeoil dhomh chionn taisgeil,
 Ni na h-uachdarain tòir air
 Cho cheart ’s is beò e ’n a chraiceann.

’S ged chuir Uilleam a nall orr’
 Comandair a chasg so ;

Cha’n urrainn e cheannsachadh,
 Antlachd Loch-Arcaig ;
 ’S na mairt a ghoidear leo ’s t-samhradh
 ’S iad ’s lòn geamhraidh dha chaipin-s’.

Those who have taken the part of William and Mary in the national quarrel are denounced in unsparing terms. They are traitors ; and traitors will be traitors still—

“ Caochlaidh iad mar chaochlas sruth
 Seumas an dé, ’m Prionnsa ’n diugh.”

As for William and Mary, these Highland bards exhaust all the vocabulary and imagery at their command in painting their guilt. Mary is the daughter of the banished King ; William is his son-in-law and his nephew. The revolt of Absalom against David is a parallel case ; and these deserve Absalom’s doom. Again—

“ Fhuair Achitophel àite
 Ann am Mairi ’cheart rìreadh.”

It is an insult to the nobles of Britain that insignificant Orange should provide a Sovereign for them :—

“ Cha lugha mhasladh do mhaithibh Shasuinn
Iad bhì cur as daibh féin le 'n deoin ;
Chaill iad beairteas ris gu frasach
Is luingeas mharsanda na's leoir.”

Other Christian Kings are called upon, in a passionate lyric composed in the year 1692, to interfere in this dynastic struggle and to restore the rightful King to Britain :—

“ Rinn iad Banrigh dhaibh mar sgàile
De Mhairi 's a' mhulad-sa,
Is rìgh d'a céile ann an *style*
Bho nach oighrich Willie.”

The Monarchs of Europe are told that if such deeds are justified no crowned head is safe. The Scottish nobles are adjured by their patriotism, their religion, and their loyalty to lay aside their differences and unite in restoring the exiled James to his throne and much needed rest to the country. At the time the political outlook is gloomy. The anonymous author of the “Address to the Highland Gentlemen who fought at Killiecrankie,” has preserved in his own Gaelic accent the cry of the English soldiers for quarter in that short and sharp struggle :—

“ Bu lìonmhor 's an uair ud
Curaidh gluasad 's e leointe,
Cinn, aid, agus gruagan,
Fìr gun chluasan gun chòmhradh ;
Cha chluinnt' ann a dh' eubh
Ach ‘ *Alleise*’, agus ‘ *Vo is me* ;
Quarters for Jesus’
Bu Bheurla dhaibh 'n còmhnuidh.”

This author most forcibly and accurately describes the political situation as it appeared to the Highland politician of that day—

“ Ach 's mor m' iomaguin 's mo smaointean
Thaobh gach cùis a ta 'g éirigh,
Gu'm bì Breatann dheth ciùrrt,'
Fuil bhrùit' ann an Eirinn ;
Gu'm bì bristeadh a' chnaimh,
Eadar Mairi is Seumas ;
'S gu'm bì 'n smior aig an Fhrangaich,
Mu'n ceannsaich sibh chéile.”

But the good time will come when right will triumph over might; and it is the duty of all patriots to work and pray for its speedy arrival. The waiters upon Providence, whom Macrae treats with great contempt, will be left out in the cold—

“Iomadh tighearna 's post',
Nach eòl domhsa n(o)is chur an dàn,
Tha 'n trath-sa gu moiteil,
Le phràbar gu bosdail a'd phàirt ;
'S ann diubh sin Cuilfhodair,
Granndaich, is Rosaich a' chàil.”

Those who took a more active part on William's side will be treated very much according to their rank and zeal in his cause. By similes, sometimes more forcible than delicate, their utter collapse is vividly portrayed :

“Bi'dh cinneadh Mhic Aoidh 's am mnathan 'g an caoidh
Bi'dh Iarla sin Chat 's e miamhail gu ceart,
'S e triall tarsainn as do *New land*.”

The “Tinkler” accuses Argyle of aiming at the crown—

“Cleas Mhic Cailein fhiar-shuilich,
Bha 'g iarraidh thun a' chrùin.”

When things are righted, this Highland Chief will be the first to be called to account—

“Gheibh Mac Cailein air thùs dhiubh,
Dh' aindeoin a chùirte
'N galar bu dùthchasach dha.”

According to Macrae, treachery and disloyalty were hereditary in the house of Argyle—

“B'e dhùthchas bho sheanair,
Bhi daonnan ri mealladh gach tì ;
'S cha b' fhearr e thaobh athar,
Ged bu mhor a mhaitheas bho 'righ ;

but “The Maiden” will prove an effective remedy for this family disease :

“Le maighdeann sgoraidheach sgathail
'S ged thuit e cha'n athais dha i.”

Altogether the Fernaig Manuscript appears to me to be an important contribution to our stock of Gaelic Literature. The political and religious intelligence, the devout and tolerant spirit, the strong sense and literary power displayed by the various writers in rude and turbulent times, are creditable to our people, while the enlightened compiler is a Highland Chief of whom not only the Macraes, but all his countrymen may well be proud.

6TH MAY 1885.

On this date Canon Thoyts, Tain, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper contributed by Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., on unpublished letters of Lord Lovat, between 1739 and 1743. Mr Mackintosh's paper was as follows :—

SOME LETTERS OF SIMON LORD LOVAT,
1739-1743.

No matter that turns up in connection with Simon Lord Lovat ever fails of being interesting. At present the North is moved by the appearance of a claimant to the Scottish Lovat Peerage and Estates, whose success would add a hundred-fold to the romance and interest attaching to Lord Lovat's career.

The letters after given show Simon at his best, being written after he had succeeded in assuring his position to the title and estates, and when it would seem his hitherto chequered life would be thereafter one of repose and prosperity. They nearly all concern social and domestic affairs, and are in this respect valuable, indicating his real character by and through daily life and transactions. The most pregnant public allusion is contained in the letter to Mackintosh in December 1743, and shows that Lord Lovat was in close communication with the Stuarts, and hoped for an immediate landing.

Taking the letters in their order, I make a few comments. They are chiefly addressed to Mr Duncan Fraser, a well-to-do merchant of Inverness, elder brother of Simon Fraser, sometime Commissary at Gibraltar, who purchased the estate of Borlum, calling it Ness Castle, father of the well-known and respected Marjory, Lady Saltoun.

The first letter is dated 20th May 1739, and his Lordship's kindness of heart is shown by his determination to right the lady whose cattle were stolen, and which were promised to be restored through Barrisdale, one of the captains of the watch, known as Coll Ban. Mrs Mackenzie had just lost her only brother, the Rev. William Baillie, minister of the third charge of Inverness, son of the well-known Rev. Robert Baillie, of Inverness. Lord Lovat's correctness in his affairs, is shown by his laying down the rule of settlement of accounts, taking place monthly. The Governor of Inverness Castle referred to, was no doubt Grant, who was accused in 1745 of somewhat hastily surrendering the Castle to Prince Charles.—

Dear Cousin,—I gave you the trouble of a line yesterday, but received no answer. I hope this will find you and your people in good health, and I assure you and them of my kind humble service. You was yesterday busy at the melancholy occasion of the burial of my dear friend, Mr William Baillie, which gives me great grief and concern. I beg you go from me, and wait of his sister, Mrs Mackenzie, and give her my most humble duty, and tell her that I have not fortitude to write to her upon her brother's death, but that I beg to know how she is, and that she may expect my friendship more than ever, and when the tribute that she must pay to nature is over, that I will expect to see her. In the meantime you may let her know that Barrisdale is my very good friend, and that he has actually a party in pursuit of the thieves that stole her cattle, and acquaints me that he does not doubt of success, so that I make not the least doubt of recovering her payment of her cattle.

Let me know if you have recovered all my things out of the Pledger, and when I may send for them. The bag of hops may be kept in a good place in town, where you will think it safe from being spoiled, for we have no good place for it in this house. I entreat you may remember what I told you at parting, that we may clear accounts once a month, and then there will be no difficulty about vouchers for payment. Thomas Houston is to be out here to-morrow morning. I have desired him to wait upon the Governor, and to make him my compliments. If you have heard anything about his diet for Edinburgh, I entreat you to let me know it.

I likewise entreat you may know as of yourself, what day the President comes to Bunchruive and Achnagairn, and goes through this country to Brahan, and if he dines at Bunchruive or Achnagairn, and what day he goes south, that my posts may

be in good order as he passes. I shall long to hear from you. If there is any news in town, I hope you will send them, and I am, with sincere esteem, dear Duncan,

Your affectionate cousin and faithful slave,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 20th May 1739.

The next letter is dated 12th June 1739, and in part refers to Lord Lovat's son, Alexander, who died at Dunmaglass in 1760, unmarried, a General in the Dutch service. At this time he was but a child, his father, however, describing him as having a large head. Notice may also be taken of his Lordship's patriotic intention to purchase a picture of Sir William Wallace, because, as he says, "he always loved to preserve the glory and honour of old and ancient families," though his desire was thwarted by Mr Evan Baillie of Abriachan (brother to Hugh Baillie of Dochfour), his Lordship's bailie and cashier, who probably knew that money could ill be spared. —

Dear Cousin Duncan,—I have sent the bearer, John Young, General of our Taylors, to take off clothes for my little boy Sandie, so I entreat you go with him to any shop where you can get it most reasonable, and be so kind as to see him cut off as much good, strong druggot, as will make the child a coat, waistcoat, and breeches, with lining and all other furniture conform. I hope his periwig is now ready, that you bespoke, and a little hat for him. It must not be very little for he has a good large head of his age. Be so kind as let me know the prices of everything, and what you bought out of other shops, that I may send you in the money immediately. If Mr Donald buys any books, and that you pay the money for them, I shall send you in that at the same time.

I am very glad that the Governor is so well. I shall have the honour to write to him to-morrow, and though he should go to Culloden before I go into town, I will certainly pay my respects to him there, as I would do at Inverness, if he will allow me. I just now got your letter, and I give you a thousand thanks for sending him the salmond in my name; it gives me greater pleasure than twenty times the value of it, for I cannot express the honour and value I have for my dearest Governor.

Pray tell Evan Baillie that it was merely for the insinuations that he made to me in his letter, that I yielded my resolutions of purchasing Sir William Wallace's picture, for I always loved to preserve the glory and honour of old and antient families. Pray show this to Evan when he comes home.

I offer you, and your father and mother, and all the family, my kind humble service. I hope your mother will remember what I recommended to her in the Roup. Forgive all this trouble, and believe that I am, very sincerely, dear Duncan,

Your affectionate and faithful slave,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 12th June 1739.

The third letter is dated 1st June 1740, and shows what a good style Simon kept up. Four-and-twenty guests from different quarters was a large assembly, and contradicts the statement that his house and menage were mean.—

Dear Cousin Duncan,—I received this evening your letter. I am glad that you are well after your great fatigue of drinking, &c.

I have sent in John Forbes with money to pay Lachlan Mackintosh's hogshead of wine, and to see if there be any provisions had for me in town, for I am to have a throng company with me to-morrow. I believe I will have twenty-four covers, for I am to have strangers from several corners. I have ordered John Forbes to cause send in horses for all Lachlan Mackintosh's wine, and for six dozen of the Spanish wine, and for what provisions can be had. I offer you and your worthy mother my affectionate humble service, and I wish your honest father, and my friend William, a safe return home, and I am with a sincere friendship and regard, dear Duncan,

Your affectionate cousin and faithful slave,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 1st June 1740.

The seal is almost entire. Small deer head, surmounted with coronet, around "Je suis prest."

The fourth letter is dated 23rd June, same month, and is interesting as showing that there was an upper dining-room at Beaufort, and that east winds ran on till midsummer. This circumstance is important, for the prevalence of east winds about Inverness has been supposed to be a comparatively modern evil. Most old people now-a-days will affirm that in their younger days the prevailing winds were from the south-west, and the summers earlier.—

Dear Cousin Duncan,—I hope this will find you and your honest father and mother, and my friend William, and all the

family in perfect health, and I sincerely assure you and them of my kindest respects and humble service.

I have sent in the bearer for my post letters, which I entreat you despatch as soon as possible, with any other news you have in town. I got so much cold by going out yesterday, with the easterly winds, and by dining in the High Dining-Room, that I had the ague all night, and I am just now going to take a vomit.

I hope you have delivered my commission to Mr Grant. I shall long to hear from you. And I am, with a sincere esteem and regard, dear Cousin Duncan,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 23rd June 1740.

Send 1s. 6d. more of farthings per bearer.

The fifth letter is the scroll of one from Duncan Fraser, to Lord Lovat, within which the letters were found wrapped up. It is without date, but the reference to Mr Speaker Onslow's re-election for the third time, fixes it to have been written in December 1741; also the reference to the numbers prayed for in church, shows that it was written on a Sunday. It will be observed that though Mr Fraser gives gossip, which he knew would please his lordship, yet he knows, though so familiarly treated in the letters, his own position, and addresses Lord Lovat with every respect. I cannot throw light on the identity of the Doctor and Miss Stewart who are mentioned; and the reference to the Duke of Hamilton, through an undecipherable word, is obscure.

No date (December 1741?)

My Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordship's. Am concerned you passed last night so ill. But hope the doctor will remove all such, as well as recover your legs, and continue your good spirits, which with your perfect health and happiness I sincerely pray.

The King's speech is here enclosed as in a Tuesday's *Evening Courant*. The Speaker is a third time placed in his chair.

I saw Miss Stewart last night at the Modists (Modistes?) and told her my surprise at her departure from your Lordship's, upon the doctor's appearance, to which she made the same answer your Lordship wrote me of the other, which I would fain take to be ominous. Considering they will probably meet at your Lordship's ere the ensuing merry days are over, when I persuade myself your Lordship will not miss to egg the proper parties pro-

ceeding, so as to make him quit making one of the number of your country bachelors.

I am concerned for the sad melancholy ——* of D. Hamilton. We had 63 prayed for, this day.

The sixth letter, dated 7th February 1742, is highly amusing, and shows the unhappy position of his Lordship, when the youth Maclean who shaved him, ran off. He complains that though he has 18 to 20 men servants, no one was qualified to shave him.—

My Dear Cousin Duncan,—I hope this will find you and your honest father and mother, and all the family in perfect health, and I sincerely assure you and them of my affectionate humble service.

That lazy, light-headed rascall, John Maclean, has behaved so insolently and impertinently for this long while past, that I was determined to keep him no longer than till Whitsunday next in my family. But some capricious whim having seized him, he left my service this day without the least provocation, and I am resolved that he shall never put a razor on my face again. I have wrote to Edinburgh myself, and my secretary has wrote to Aberdeen to get me a riding footman that can shave and dress, but as I have not among eighteen or twenty men servants any one that can shave me till I get a new servant, I entreat, my dear cousin Duncan, that you will find out some boy in Inverness that will come out with the bearer, or to-morrow evening, and if he pleases me I will keep him till I get another servant, and if he is inclined to stay with me, I will perhaps engage him to serve me as riding footman. I don't think you can miss to find some lad that will be fit for my purpose amongst your barbers in town, and I shall pay him thankfully for his pains.

If you will be so kind as to do me the favour to come out here to see me on Tuesday, I will send in my own pad early on Tuesday morning for you, and you will bring my post letters along with you. But if the day be as bad as this day is, I must delay the pleasure of seeing till a better day. William, Culmiln's son, who came in to see me an hour ago, says that this is the worst day that came this winter. Jenny, and the Chamberlain and his wife, and Mr Baillie, and Gortuleg, who are all here, joins with me in making you our affectionate compliments. And I am, without reserve, my dear Duncan,

Your most affectionate cousin and faithful slave,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 6th and 7th February 1742.

* Word illegible.

The seventh and last, dated 21st November 1743, is addressed to the Laird of Mackintosh, and the politeness of the courier is here seen to its full. It is sad to think that so soon after its date, such trouble fell on his Lordship and the Earl of Cromarty. At this time, 1743, Simon states there was nothing but "mirth and affection," and that the Earl and Doctor Fraser "were enough to make a hundred rejoice if they were in company."—

My Dear Laird of Mackintosh,—It gave me vast joy to know by Invercauld and Dunie that you and the worthy Lady Mackintosh, and dear Miss Farquharson, are in perfect health. I pray God it may long continue. There is no man on earth wishes it better, and I humbly beg leave to assure you and the good Lady Mackintosh and Miss Farquharson of my most affectionate, humble duty, best respects, and good wishes, in which my son joins me.

I owe my dear Lady Mackintosh ten million of thanks for doing me the honour to engage her lovely brother, the young Laird of Invercauld, to see me in this little hut. His visit has given me vast pleasure, and I have enjoined my son to live in great friendship with him all his life. He will make the prettiest gentleman that ever was called Farquharson, which I wish from the bottom of my heart. I was so lucky as to have here the Earl of Cromarty, and Lord Macleod, his son, and his governor, and Dr Fraser, when Invercauld came here. They are all still here, except Lord Macleod, who is gone to Edinburgh to his colleges. I never saw more delightful company than they have been and continue so. The Earl and Dr Fraser are enough to make a hundred rejoice if they were in company. There was nothing but mirth and affection among us. Dunie will do me justice that I drank your health and the good Lady Mackintoshes, as a family health, every day, and when the toast went round Lady Mackintosh and Miss Farquharson were not forgot.

I am sorry that young Invercauld is so pressed with time, that he could not stay two or three weeks to make up a thorough acquaintance with my son, that they might contract such a friendship as would last all their days after I am dead and gone. But I hope after this their acquaintance won't be to make whatever they meet.

I beg my dear Laird of Mackintosh that you may do me the honour to let me hear from you once every week or ten days, that I may know how you and the good Lady Mackintosh and Miss Farquharson do. You have only to send your letters to Duncan Fraser's by any person that comes to Inverness, and I will send

my letter to him for you, so that we may correspond without your having the trouble of sending a servant to Beaufort, or my sending one to Moyhall, unless some extraordinary thing happen.

We expect great news by this post. If I have anything extraordinary, I will acquaint you. I pray God preserve our friends, and restore the liberties of our country, and I am, with a most uncommon esteem, attachment, and respect, my dear Laird of Mackintosh, your most obedient and most faithful, humble servant, and most affectionate cousin,

(Signed) LOVAT.

Beaufort, 21st November 1743.

Altogether, these letters show Simon to have been kindly, hospitable, and charitable; for it must be presumed that the lot of farthings he wished, were intended for wandering beggars—a class he used to converse with when he met them.

I have the good fortune of possessing several other letters from Lord Lovat; also a volume, "Crawfurd's Officers of State," which was in his library, with his book-plate, wherein part of his designation is "Governour of Inverness." It has also on an early blank page, a long holograph note in Latin. Books with his plate are rare, as the Castle and whole contents were utterly destroyed by fire by the Hanoverian troops immediately after the Battle of Culloden.

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 Macgregor, John, C.E., 100 Castle Street, Inverness

DECEASED MEMBERS.

Ewen Macpherson of Cluny Macpherson, C.B., died January 11.
1885

Murray, William, late chief constable of Inverness-shire, died
November 1884

Rev. John Macpherson, F.C., Lairg

Mrs Mary Ferguson, Trevandrum, Travancore, died August 1884

LIST
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