

## **The 1746 Dress Act and its the effect on the culture of the Gaidhealtachd**

Over the past few years I have had discussions with many folks online (usually on Facebook groups) about the 'tartan ban', of which there seems to be a general misapprehension. I would like to put that right today by sharing my research with you on the subject.

The Dress Act, part of the Act of Proscription (19 Geo. 2, c.39), came into force in Scotland on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1746. Section 16 of the Act made the wearing of "Highland clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philabeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder-belts, or any part whatever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no tartan or party-coloured plaid of stuff shall be used for Great Coats or upper coats" illegal with the penalty of the first offence six months' imprisonment, or a second offence transportation to the colonies for seven years<sup>i</sup>. Previously, sumptuary laws had been enforced to reinforce social hierarchies, but the Act of Proscription had much different goal; to enable the destruction of the clan system and to bring the Highlands under full control of the British. Unlike the disarming elements of the Act of Proscription which only applied to the Highlands of Scotland, the Dress Act applied to the whole of Scotland. However, as we will see later the law was unfairly applied and did indeed end up only being enforced on the lower classes of society. It was also only applied in some areas, with others being more lenient than others as we shall see later on. The Act was eventually repealed on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1782 with a proclamation issued in English and Gaelic.

Since the 1715 Jacobite uprising, tartan had become firmly associated with the Jacobite army despite the fact that a great number of Jacobite soldiers were not from the Highlands and the wearing of mixed tartans were very common, as can be seen in figure 1. (Scott 2018: 18 & 23)



Figure 1: detail from Morier, David (1745) *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745* (accessed from <https://www.rct.uk/collection/401243/an-incident-in-the-rebellion-of-1745> on 2 December 2018)

David Morier's *An Incident in the Rebellion of 1745* (figure 1) was commissioned by the Duke of Cumberland a few months after the Hanoverian victory at Culloden, clearly as a celebration of his victory. The painting depicts the battle at Culloden and Morier used imprisoned Jacobite soldiers for his models (as well as British soldiers). The painting was given as a gift to Cumberland's father, George II, and remains in the

Royal collection. Along with the blue bonnet and the white cockade, tartan clothing was seen as a part of the Jacobite 'uniform' and this was certainly the perception in England where caricatures portrayed Jacobites as thieving, lice-ridden savages who ate children (Craig, 2017) and ransacked villages, murdered men and dogs, and raped women (figure 2).



Figure 2: detail from Van Duivel, Kind (1745) *The Highland Visitors* (accessed from [www.loc.gov/pictures/item/91727491/](http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/91727491/) on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2018)

Hugh Cheape argues that “tartan and Highland dress, bracketed with weapons, had come to be regarded as an outward and visible manifestation of Jacobitism and continuing loyalty to the Stuart dynasty in exile and, so, political treachery and lawlessness” (Cheape 2010: 449/6575). Pittock confirms that tartan was seen as a uniform rather than an ethnic identifier following the '45, and that tartan was chosen as the uniform of the Jacobites between the uprisings of 1689-1746 (Pittock, 2010: 920-970/6575).

Tartan was frequently parodied in both English satirical portraits of Highlanders and Prince Charles Edward, as well as used in plays on the London stage mocking

Highlanders. A contemporary satirical engraving of the Prince was clearly designed to mock Highland dress (figure 3). Scott supports this by arguing that visitors to the Highlands, whom she refers to as contemporary observers, were made to feel uncomfortable by Highland dress as it subverted 18<sup>th</sup> century norms of the Western European male's attire of an early form of the three-piece suit (Scott, 2018: 27).

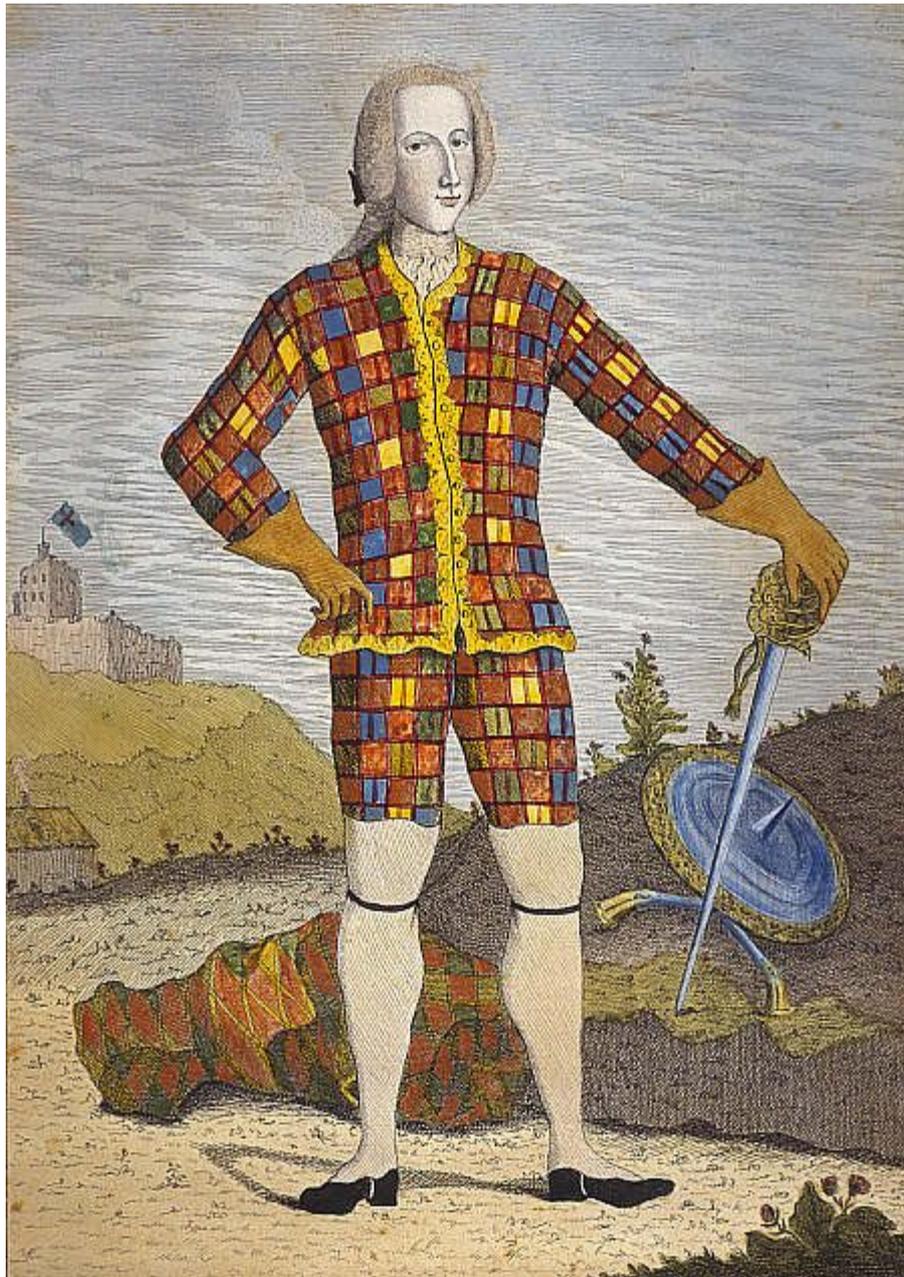


Figure 3: G Will (c.1750) *Prince Charles Edward Stuart, 1720 - 1788. Eldest son of Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, after a painting by British artist Wassdail (1745)* (accessed from <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/53691420531480710/>. Description at <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/37917/prince-charles-edward-stuart-1720-1788-eldest-son-prince-james-francis-edward-stuart>)

Although tartan was included in the Act of Proscription because it was seen as the uniform of militarised minor cultural group by the dominant culture, it was also a form of dress which was at odds with the rest of the country/Western Europe. However, the reason behind the ban on the 'Highland garb' only applying to males and not females is clearly down to its identification as a military uniform.

Bishop Robert Forbes compiled *Lyon In Mourning* between 1747 and 1775, which was eventually published in 1895 by the Scottish History Society. His aim was to record the 1745 Jacobite uprising from first-hand accounts and also to document what happened afterwards. The second volume of *Lyon in Mourning* contains an astonishing story from Edinburgh, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1746, about a raid on tartan dresses ordered by the Justice Clerk and Lord Albemarle, who was an aide to the Duke of Cumberland and appointed as the general in charge of restoring order in Scotland (Forbes, 1895, ii: 111). Lord Albemarle was angered that the ladies of Edinburgh had gathered to have a ball in Prince Charles Edward's honour on his birthday and perhaps the 'raid on the tartan dresses' was more about suppressing celebration of the Prince rather than tartan *per se*. The rumours of a ball were an elaborate joke designed to mock the British government. However, an unfortunate Mrs Jean Rollo was arrested for wearing a tartan dress but was later dismissed. She is the only woman known to have been arrested for wearing tartan during the period, however, there are cases of men being imprisoned. There is no reference to anyone ever being transported.

There are quite a few songs written about the Act (which can all reasonably be assumed to have been written in the latter part of 1746/in 1747). Perhaps the most

cherished Gaelic song from this period was written by Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair (Alexander MacDonald); *Am Breacan Uallach* (*The Proud Plaid*). MacDonald was the Gaelic tutor of Prince Charles Edward during the '45 and was also an officer in the Jacobite army. It is therefore unsurprising that he would be a very vocal critic of the Dress Act. His twenty-six-verse song *Am Breacan Uallach*, (full lyrics and translation in Appendix 1) starts with a romantic, nostalgic description of Highland dress. He talks in the first three verses about how much he enjoyed wearing Highland dress before turning to how practical the clothing was for a soldier in verses 4 and 5. Verse nine talks about how admired Highland dress was by ladies, particularly at weddings and MacDonald continues with discussing the practicalities and the beauty of Highland dress before, at line 60, expressing his anger: “Cha Rìgh am fear a chuir as duit” (No King was he who thee forbade). The next two verses deal with how the Gaels have only been made stronger and refer to the Prince before the incredibly beautiful 19<sup>th</sup> verse which likens the Gaels’ relationship with the Prince to that of a firmly waulked cloth. Verse 22 directly discusses the Act of Proscription, stating that the Act hasn’t changed anything, and the Gaels are still loyal to their Prince, a quality that they got from their fathers (verse 23). Verse 25 directly addresses the Prince, wishing him well, before the final verse 26 addresses the Duke of Cumberland and states that he will end up in hell. It is clear that in this song MacDonald has drawn together the full range of emotions that were felt by the Gaels at that period in time; nostalgia for a past that clearly was not going to return, pride in the Gaelic way of life, anger at the British (and particularly the Duke of Cumberland) and a longing for the Prince to return.

Although Gaels understood the requirement to give up their arms, they did not accept the requirement to give up a costume in which they had considerable pride (Dunbar,

1981: 51). He further states that: “This was an imposition of personal shame and they reacted with indignation – particularly the clans which had been loyal to the Government.” (Dunbar, 1981: 51). This indignation is evident in Rob Don MacKay’s *Oran nan Casagan Dubha* (Song of the Black Coats). Rob Donn, who was uneducated and illiterate, was a great storyteller and songwriter from Sutherland who did not fight in the '45 although he was a supporter of the British government. In his song, he issues a strong critique of the Act of Proscription and also of the British government/King George II. He was summoned to appear before the authorities for sedition after the publication of the song (Campbell 1933:234). In the second verse of the song, MacKay directly addresses King George II by asking if he wanted to mock his supporters in Scotland to ‘double their bondage’ (by introducing the Dress Act). Verses 11 and 12 are particularly striking; Rob Donn is appealing directly to the Prince to return and in verse 13 he says that he is ready to fight for the Prince. In the final few lines, MacKay appeals directly to God to make a judgment.

Although marginalised, Gaelic women did have an opinion on the Dress Act which is reflected in Margaret Campbell’s poem *An t-Éideadh Gaidhealach / The Highland Dress* (attached as Appendix 3). Campbell’s poem, which must have been written sometime between April and August 1746 (line 10), and although she shares the same indignation as the male poets and songwriters, she discusses the Dress Act from a female perspective. The Dress Act did not apply to women, so the poet is writing on behalf of her community. The seventh verse talks about how men will no longer be able to show off their fine legs as they will be required to wear woollen stockings. She refers to how men will no longer be attractive to women and that it will be the King who

loses out in the end as he will not be able to tax dyestuffs (as opposed to discussing loyalty).

It is probable that a large number of men were arrested for wearing tartan in the few years following the enforcement of the Act of Proscription, but only a few are recorded in the literature on Highland dress, most comprehensively by Dunbar (1962 and 1981). Dunbar states that he could not find any evidence of the Act before enforced before 1748, but an Army order of December 1748 changed the situation. Highlanders who were under suspicion of being rebels were made to swear an oath and anyone caught wearing tartan should be taken to the nearest magistrate, in the tartan clothing, for trial. In his *History of Highland Dress*, Dunbar discusses four different trials where men were arrested and imprisoned for wearing tartan; two Highlanders were arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh in August and September 1749 for wearing philabegs, Oronoce – a black servant (slave?) of the Laird of Appin- was arrested and imprisoned for wearing tartan livery, and a farmer named John MacKay from Strathnaver in Sutherland who was arrested for wearing a plaid and tartan coat and in front of a magistrate within two hours of arriving in Inverness in October 1751 (Dunbar: 1962: 6-7). In his defence MacKay stated that he had never heard of the Act of Proscription, as he lived in a remote part of the country and was only in Inverness to attend a market. Hugh Cheape quotes a report from a Captain Hughes of General Pulteney's Regiment dated 15<sup>th</sup> October 1749: "Duncan Campbell and his son, inhabitants of Glen Falloch, were apprehended in Highland Cloaths by the moving Parole and are confined in the Tollbooth of Killin" (Cheape 1995: 32). Cheape adds that there were many similar arrests but that soldiers enforcing the Act sometimes struggled to know whether the law was being broken (Cheape 1995: 33).

The policing of the Act was not equally enforced across the whole of Scotland. Grant and Cheape discuss how the districts of Rannoch, Glencoe, Lochaber, Glengarry, Knoydart, Glenmoriston and Laggan in Badenoch had been chosen by the British in 1747 for 'thorough supervision and disarmament', but that local magistrates and justices of the peace were as lenient as possible and accepted excuses for why the men had been found in Highland dress such as they were wearing women's plaids, a plaid had been overdyeed or a kilt sewn up the centre was actually a pair of trews (Grant and Cheape 1997:206)

In 1755, the Forfeited Estates Commission ordered a census to be taken on the estates it managed on behalf of the king<sup>ii</sup>. Factors of the estates were asked a large number of questions to report upon, including 'Whether the laws prohibiting the Highland dress have taken full effect in that Estate'. The reports back to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates on the whole stated that the 'laws prohibiting the Highland dress' had taken full effect with the exception of the barony of Colgach in the parish of Lochbroom<sup>iii</sup>. The Government seems to have been reassured by the responses of their factors as by 1760 there were no longer any prosecutions for wearing Highland dress due to patrols being stopped and the proscription being relaxed (Dunbar 1962: 8).

The Dress Act never applied to two groups of men: the military and the gentry. The use of tartan by the British military is a fascinating subject which is too broad a subject to discuss here, except to mention that it was rather ingenious to allow Highland regiments that fought in the Seven Years War in North America to wear a tartan

uniform when it was still banned in the Highlands. For example, the Fraser's Highlanders regiment was formed in 1757 to fight in North America and their uniform included diced tartan hose, a traditional plaid and blue woollen bonnet (which all could arguably be described as 'traditional' Highland dress) along with a short redcoat (see figure 4 below).



Figure 4: contemporary sketch of the Fraser's Highlanders uniform during the Seven Years War (accessed from [https://i2.wp.com/www.military-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/WAS\\_Highlander\\_1745\\_web-185x300.jpg?resize=250%2C405](https://i2.wp.com/www.military-history.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/WAS_Highlander_1745_web-185x300.jpg?resize=250%2C405) on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2018)

During the period of proscription, a large number of the gentry had portraits of themselves painted wearing tartan. John Campbell, who was the main cashier at the Royal Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh, curiously had a portrait of himself painted by William Mossman in 1749 (figure 5). Although Campbell's political affiliation is not known, it seems likely to assume that he may have been a supporter of the Jacobites due his aiding them to trade RBS bank notes for gold during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh in 1745<sup>iv</sup>. In the portrait, not only is Campbell wearing Highland dress but he is also fully armed. This therefore begs the question as to whether this portrait

was intended to challenge the authority of the British government, perhaps particularly in relation to fiscal policy (the RBS bank note being very visible).



*Figure 5: Mossman, William (1749) John Campbell of the Bank (accessed from <https://www.rbs.com/heritage/people/john-campbell.html> on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2018)*

With the exception of Flora MacDonald, most people painted wearing tartan during the period of proscription were wealthy men such as John Campbell. A beautiful portrait of a young Helen Murray of Ochetyre exists, which was painted about 1750 and is the only known painting of a girl wearing tartan clothing during the period (MacDonald, 2014). One more portrait of children wearing tartan exists. In her book *Damn Rebel Bitches*, Maggie Craig discusses Lady MacDonald of Sleat, who had her sons, Sir James (hand on rifle) and Sir Alexander (holding golf club), painted wearing Highland

dress in 1750 (figure 6). Craig states that: “the painting is unsigned because the artist was committing a criminal offence, as were the boys for wearing tartan and their mother for choosing to dress them in the Highland style.” (Craig, 1997: 3266/3416). This is not entirely accurate; there was no law against painting a portrait of someone wearing tartan, nor was there a law against a mother dressing her children in tartan. In fact, the only people officially in defiance of the Act were the boys themselves. The boys’ father, Macdonald of Macdonald, did not fight in the ’45 although it was known that their mother was from a Jacobite-supporting family. The notes on the painting on the National Galleries of Scotland website states that: “The Government was apparently keen to shield the Macdonald boys from disruptive Highland influence and both were sent to be schooled in England”; could the ‘disruptive Highland influence’ be their mother?



Figure 6: Unknown (abt. 1749) Sir James MacDonald and Sir Alexander MacDonald (accessed from <https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/3087/sir-james-macdonald-1741-1766-and-sir-alexander-macdonald-17441745-1795>)

From the beginning of the 1760s there clearly was a shift in thinking about whether the Highlands still represented a threat to status quo. As mentioned above, regular military patrols were no longer active after 1760. Tartan was clearly being marketed and sold again; advertisements from the newspapers at the time in Edinburgh providing proof such as the following from the Caledonian Mercury in 1761 (the first advertisement to be found for plaids or tartans anywhere else in Scotland is Aberdeen on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1782, two weeks before the repeal of the Act). The Highlanders who once fought *against* the British government were now successfully fighting *for* the British in North America and they were no longer seen as a threat.

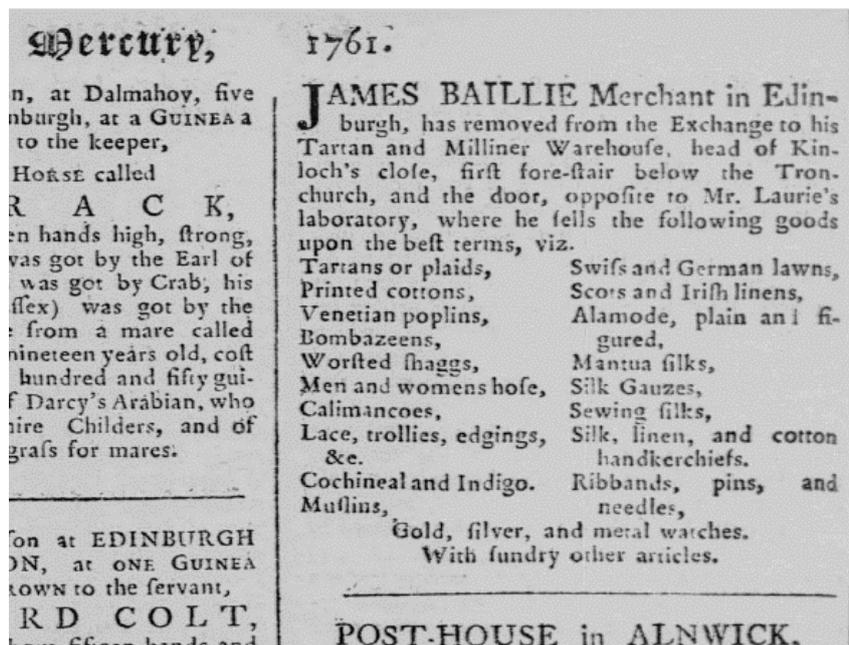


Figure 7: Advertisement by James Baillie, Merchant in Edinburgh, in the Caledonian Mercury (Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> June 1761). Accessed from <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000045/17610613/009/0004> on 9<sup>th</sup> December 2018)

The Act of Proscription was eventually repealed on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1782, thanks to the efforts of the Highland Society of London, (given royal assent by George III on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1782) with a printed declaration issued in both Gaelic and English afterwards.

In summary, the ten years following the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden were incredibly difficult times for the Gaels. Their traditional way of life was almost systematically eradicated thanks to the heavy-handed efforts of the Duke of Cumberland and the British state. Highland society was turned upside down by the removal of clan chiefs – who had traditionally been able to call men on their estates to fight- as hereditary proprietors of estates and turned them into British landlords concerned primarily with making money. The speaking of Gaelic – frequently referred to as Erse or the Irish language- was discouraged in favour of English and it is fair to claim that the dominant British culture aimed to reduce at best, or eradicate at worst, Gaelic culture. Although the Dress Act sought a removal of tartan as a signifier of a separate Gaelic identity, it was only temporary in its nature.

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Appendix 1: Lyrics and translation of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (1746/7) *Am breacan uallach*. Transcribed from *Highland Songs of the '45* (John Lorne Campbell)

*Seist:*

*Hé clò dubh*

*Hó clò dubh*

*Hé clò dubh*

*B'fhearr am breacan*

*Chorus*

*Hey, the black cloth*

*Ho, the black cloth*

*Hey, the black cloth*

*The plaid was better*

1. Phearr liom breacan uallach

Mu m'ghuailibh, 's a chur fo m'achlais

Na ge do gheibhinn còta

De'n chlò as fearr thig a Sasgunn

More I loved the proud plaid

Beneath my arms & round my shoulders

Than any coat I could get

Though of the finest cloth from England

2. Mo laochan féin an t-éidadh

A dh'fheumadh an crios da ghlasadh

Cuaicheineachadh éilidh

D'éis éirigh gu dol air astar

My favourite is the clothing

Which needs the girdle for its fastening

The plaid in folds a-flowing

When I arose to make my journey

3. Eileadh cruinn nan cuaichean,

Gur buadhail an t-earradh gaisgich;

Shiubhlainn leat na fuarain

Feadh fhuar-bheann; 's by gghasd' air faich' thù. When I arose to make my journey.

The neat plaid of the drooping folds

That was a fitting dress for heroes

In thee I'd walk the streamlets

10

4. Fìor-chulaidh an t-soighdeir,

'S neo-ghloceil ri h-uchd na caismeachd,

'S ciatach 'san *adhbhàns* thù,

Fo shranraich nam pìob 's nam bratach

True dress of the soldier

Practical, when sounds the war-cry

Graceful in the advance thou art

When bagpipes sound & banners flutter

5. Cha mhios' anns an dol sìos thù,

'N uair sgrìobar a duille claisich ;

Fìor-earradh na ruaige,

Thou'rt splendid too, when comes the charge

And swords are drawn from scabbards

The finest garb to set the rout

Gu luas a chur anns na casaibh!	And in the feet put swiftness	20
6. Bu mhaith go sealg an fhéidh thù; 'N am éirigh do'n ghréin air creachann, Us dh'fhalbhainn leat gu lòthmhor Dì-Dòmhnach a'dol do'n chlachan.	Thou wast good to hunt the deer in When the sun arose o'er the hillside And I would go lightly in thee Sunday morning churchwards	
7. Laighinn leat gu ciorbail, 'S mar earbaig gum briosgainn grad leat, Na b'ullamh' air m'armachd Na dearganach 's mosgaid ghlagach.	Closely wrapped I'd lie in thee And like the roedeer spring up quickly Far readier to wield my arms Than the red coat with his clattering musket.	
8. 'N am coilich a bhith dùrdan Air stùcan am maidinn dhealta, Bu ghasda t'fheum 'sa chùis sin Seach mùtan de thrusdar casaig.	When the black-cock's murmuring On a knoll in th' dewy morning	30
9. Shiubhlainn leat a phòsadh, 'S bharr feòrnein cha fhroisinn dealta; B'ì siod an t-suanach bhoidheach, An òg-bhean bu mhór a tlachd dhith.	'Twas finer then to use thee Than any dirty ragged black coat.  In thee I'd go to weddings And never brush the dewy grass, That was the handsome garment That dearly loved the bride to see.	
10. B'aigeanach 'sa choill' thù, Dam choibhreachd le d'bhlaiths 's le t'fhsagadh O chathadh us o chrion-chur, Gun dìonadh to mì ri frasachd.	In woodlands thou was splendid To give me covering and warmth From driven snow or Scots mist Or showers thou wast my guard.	40
11. Air 'uachdar gura sgiamhach A laigheadh an sgiath air a breacadh, 'S claidheamh air chrìos ciatach, Air fhiaradh os cionn do phleata.	Above thee, truly beautiful Would lie the carved shield And the sword, on handsome belt Aslant thy pleated folds.	

12. 'S deas a thigeadh cuilbhear  
Gu suilbheara leat fo 'n asgail  
'S a dh'aindeoin uisg' us urchaid,  
No tuil-bheum gum biodh aiur fasgadh.

Well with thee would go my gun  
Lightly beneath my arm  
Thou wast my full protection  
From rain and storm and every ill.

13. Bu mhaith anns an oidhch' thù,  
Mo loinn thù mar aodach-leapa;  
B'fhèarr liom na 'm beat-lìn thù –  
As priseile mhìn tha 'n Glaschu.

Thou wast fine at night time  
My choice thou was as bed clothes; 50  
Better than the finest sheets  
Of costly linen in Glasgow.

14. 'S baganta, grin, bòidheach,  
Air banais us air mòd am breacan;  
Suas an éileadh-sguaibe,  
'S dealg-gualainn a' cur air fasdaidh.

Tidy, pretty, handsome  
For wedding or for mod the tartan  
Up the flowing plaid  
With shoulder pin to fasten it!

15. Bu mhaith an là 's an oidhch' thù,  
Bha loinn ort am beinn 's an cladach;  
Bu mhaith am feachd 's an sìth thù -  
**Cha Rìgh am fear a chuir as duit.**

Thou art good by day or night time  
And comely upon hill or sea shore  
In hosting or in peace time  
**No King was he who thee forbade. 60**

16. Shaoil leis gun do mhaolaich so  
Faobhar nan Gàidheal tapaidh,  
Ach 's ann a chuir e géir' orr',  
Na's beurra na deud na h-ealtainn'.

He thought that thus he'd blunted  
The keenness of the Gaels so valiant  
But he has only made them  
Still sharper than the edge of [a] razor

17. D'fhàg e iad làn mì-ruin,  
Cho ciocrasach ri coin acrach;  
Cha chaisg doeach an ìotadh,  
Ge b'fhion è, ach fìor-fhuill Shagsuinn.

He's left them full of malice  
As ravenous as dogs-a-starving  
No draught can quench their thirst now  
Of any wine, save England's life-blood.

18. Ged spion sibh an cridhe asainn,  
'S ar braillean sìos a shracadh

Though you tear our hearts out  
And rend apart our bosoms 70

Cha toir sibh asainn Teàrlach  
Gu bràth gus an téid ar tachdadh.

Never shall you take Prince Charles  
From us, till we're a-dying.

19.R'ar n-anam tha e fuaighte  
Teann-luaidhte cho cruaidh ri glasan,  
'S uainn cha n-fhaodar 'fhuasgladh,  
Gu 'm buainear am fear ud asainn.

To our souls he's woven  
Firmly waulked, and tightly locked  
Ne'er can he be loosened  
From us till he is cut away.

20.Cleas na mna-siùbhla  
Gheibh tuillinn mu m' beir l a h-asad,  
An ionad a bhith 'n diùmb ris,  
Gun dùbail d'a fear a lasan.

Just as the wife in travail  
Suffers ere her child's delivered  
Yet instead of turning from him  
Her passion for her spouse is doubled. 80

21.Ged chuir sibh oirnne buarach  
Thiugh-luaidhte, gu'rfalbh a bhacadh,  
Ruithidh sinn cho luath  
'S na's buaine na féidh a'ghlasraich.

Though on us you've put fetters  
Tightly-fixed to stop us moving  
Yet will we run as swiftly  
More tireless than the deer on hillside.

22.Thà sinn 'san t-sean-nàdur  
*A bhà sinn roimh am an achda,*  
Am pearsanna 's an inntinn,  
'S 'nar rioghalachd, cha téid lagadh.

We're still of our old nature  
*As were we ere the Act was passed*  
Alike in mind and persons  
And loyalty, we will not weaken.

23.'S i 'n fhuil bha 'n cuisil' ar sinnsreadh,  
'S an innsginn a bha 'nan aigne,  
A dh'fhàg dhuinne mar dhilib,  
Bhith rioghail – O, 's sin ar paidir!

Our blood is still our fathers'  
And ours the valour of their hearts 90  
The inheritance they left us  
Loyalty – that is our creed.

24.Mallachd air gach seòrsa  
Nach deònaicheadh fòs falbh leatsa,  
Cia dhiubh bhiodh aca comhdach  
No comhrùisgt;, lom gu 'n craicionn.

Cursed be every person  
Who's still unwilling to rise for thee  
Whether he has clothing  
Or though he be stark naked.

25. Mo chion an t-òg feardha  
Thar fairge chaidh uainn air astar;  
Dùrachd bhlàth do dhùthcha  
'S an urnuigh gun lean do phearsa.

My darling the young hero  
Who left us to go o'er the sea  
Thy country's warmest wishes  
And prayers will follow thee.

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26. 'S ged fhuair sibh làmh-an-uachdar  
Aon uair oirnn le seòrsa tapaig,  
An donas blàr ro 'bheò-san  
Nì'm Feòladair tuilleadh tapaidh.

And though you overcame us  
Once through a kind of mishap  
In devil a battle in his lifetime  
Shall again the Butcher conquer.

## Appendix 2: Oran nan Casagan Dubha

Rob Donn

1. AMH Dhe leinn, a dhaoine,  
C'ui me chaochail sibh fasan,  
'S nach eil agaibh de shaorsa  
Fiu an aodaich a chleachd sibh?  
'S 1 mo bharrail mu'n eige  
Tha 'n aghaidh f eilidh us asain  
Gu bheil caraid aig Tearlach  
Ann am Parlamaid Shasuinn

2. Faire, faire, Rìgh Deorsa !  
An ann an spors air do  
Deanamh achdach an ura  
Gu bhith du blachadh 'n?  
Ach o'n 's balaich gun uails'  
'S fhearr am bualadh no 'n caomhnadh,  
'S bidh n1 's lagha 'gad  
'N uair thig a leithid a ris oirnn.

3. Ma gheobh do namhaid 's do charaid  
An aon pheanas an  
'S iad a dh'cirich 'nad  
Rinn an raghainn a  
Oir tha caraid maith cuil ac'  
A rinn tubh ris na dh 'earb ris,  
'Sa' chuid nach d'imich do'n Fhraing leis  
Fhuair iad *pension* 'n uair dh'fhalbh e.

4. Cha robh oifigeach Gaidhealach  
Eadar seairdsean us coirneil,  
Nach do chaill a *chommiss-ion*  
'N uair chaidh 'm briseadh le firneart ;  
A mheud 's a f huair sibh an uiridh,  
Ged bu diombuan r'a ol e,  
Bheir sibh 'm bliadhn' air ath-philleadh  
Air son uinneagan leosain.

5. Cha robh bliadhna 'na taic so  
Neach a sheasadh mar sgoilear  
Gun *chommission* Rìgh Breatuinn  
Gu bhith 'na chaithean air onoir;  
Chaidh na ficheadan as diubh  
Nach do leasaich sud *dolar*,  
Ach an sgitirsaigeadh dhachaidh  
Mar chu a dh'easbhuidh a choilear

## Song to the Black Coats

Rob Donn MacKay

God be with us, my friends,  
Why have you changed fashions,  
Have you not e'en the freedom  
To wear your own clothing?  
From the cry 'gainst the tartan  
And the hose, I am thinking  
That a friend of Prince Charles is  
In the Parliament of England.

Beware now, King George,  
Do'st thou mock thy supporters,  
Making new regulations  
To double their bondage?  
But since they're churls without honour,  
Better strike them than spare them,  
And fewer will serve thee  
When the like again happens.

If thy Scots friends and foemen  
Are to share the same hardships,  
Then those who rose up against you  
the choice that was; For they've a good  
friend behind them  
Who has helped his supporters,  
And those who went not to France with him  
Got pensions when he left.

There was no Highland officer  
From sergeant to colonel,  
Who lost not his commission  
On their wrongful disbanding;  
What last year you were given,  
Though in drink it went quickly,  
You'll repay the next twelve months  
In the tax on glass windows.

But a year back from now  
One was not held a scholar,  
Without King's Commission  
To be a captain with honour;  
They're dismissed now in scores  
Not the richer by a dollar  
But chased off to their homes  
Like a dog with no collar.

6. Ach ma dh'aontaich sibh rìreadh  
Ri ur sior-dhol am muthadh,  
Ged a bha sibh cho rioghail,  
Chaidh ur cisean am muthad;  
'S maith an airidh gum faicte  
Dream cho tais ruibh a' cumha,  
Bhith tilgeadh dhibh ur cuid bhreacan  
'S a' gobhail chasagan dubha.

7. Och, mo thruaighe sin, Albainn !  
'S tur a dhearbhadh sibh ur reuson,  
Gur h-i 'n rainn bh' ann ur n-inntinn  
An rud a mhill air gach gleus sibh !  
Leugh an Gobhannent san:nt anns  
Gach neach theannaidh ris fein dhibh,  
'S thug iad baoight do ur gionaich  
Gu'r □ur fo mhionach a cheile.

8. Ghlac na Sasunnaich fath oirbh  
Gus ur fagail na's laige,  
Chum 's nach bithte 'gur cunntadh  
'Nur luchd-coimhstdh na's faide;  
Ach 'n uair bhios sibh a dh'easbhuidh  
Ur n-airm 's ur n-acfhuinnean sraide,  
Gheobh sibh searsaigeadh mionaich,  
Us bidh ur peanas na's graide.

9. Tha mi faicinn ur truaighe  
Mar ni nach cualas a shamhuil,  
'Chuid as fearr de ur seabhaig  
Bhith air slabhruidh aig clamhan;  
Ach ma tha sibh 'nur leomhainn,  
Pillibh 'n doruinn-s' 'na teamhair,  
'8 deanaibh 'n deudach a thrusadh  
Mu'n teid nr b1rnan a cheangal.

10. 'N uair thig bagradh an namhad  
Gus an ait' anns do phill e,  
'S ann bu mhaith liom, a chairdean,  
Sibh bhith 'n aireamh na buidhne  
D'am biodh spiorad cho  
'S gum biodh an sar' ud 'nan cuimhne;  
Gus ur pilleadh 'san abhainn  
Oir tha i raimhibh na's duimhne.

11. Nis, a Thearlaich oig Stiubhart,  
Riut tha duil aig gach fine,  
Chaidh a chothachadh cruin dhuit,  
'S leig an duthaich 'na teine;

But if you agree truly  
To your growing decadence,  
Though you once were so regal,  
Your tributes have increased;  
Well such cowards do merit  
To be seen a-lamenting,  
Casting off your plaids from you  
And to black coats a-taking.

Woe is me for thee, Scotland,  
How thy reason is proved,  
That the part thou hast chosen  
Has been thy full ruin !  
Greed the Government's read  
In you all who've turned to it,  
And a bait they have given  
To set you in conflict.

The English have taken  
Their chance to afflict you,  
That you may not be counted  
As warriors longer ;  
But when you are lacking  
Your arms and equipment,  
You'll receive thorough searching,  
And punishment quicker.

I am watching your trouble  
As something unheard of,  
The best part of your falcons  
Are to kites now enchained;  
But, if you are lions  
Retaliate quickly,  
And make your teeth ready  
Ere your mouths have been muzzled.

When the enemy's threatening  
Comes again where it turned back,  
Then 'tis my desire, comrades,  
You will be 'midst the number  
Who've so Highland a spirit  
That that wrong they'll remember;  
Till you turn in the river  
For it's deeper before you.

Now, young Prince Charles Stewart,  
Thou 'rt the hope of all clansmen,  
Who battled to crown thee  
And set fire to the country;

Tha mar nathraichean falaicht'  
A chaill an earradh an uiridh,  
Ach tha 'g ath-ghleusadh an gathan  
G' eirigh latha do thighinn.

12.'S iomadh neach a tha guidhe  
Ri do thighinn, a Thearlaich,  
Gus an eireadh na cuinghean  
Dhe na bhuidhean'.n tha 'n eiginn;  
A tha cantuinn 'nan cridhe,  
Ged robh an tioghaidh 'ga bhreugadh,  
'Lan do bheatha gu t'fhaicinn  
A dh'ionnsaigh Bhreatuinn us Eireann.'

13.'S iomadh oganach aimsicht'  
Tha an am so 'na chadal,  
Eadar braighe Srath-Chluainidh  
Agus bruachau  
Rachadh 'n cuisibh mhic t'athar,  
'S a chrùn 's a chathair r'an tagradh,  
'S a dh'ath-philleadh na ceathairn'  
A dhioladh latha Chuil-ladair.

14.Ach, a chairdean na cuirte,  
Nach eil a' chuis a' cur feirg' oirbh,  
No 'n do dh'fhosgail Ur suilean  
Gus a' chuis a bhith searbh dhuibh?  
Bidh ur duais mar a' ghabhar  
A theid a bhleoghainn gu tarbha.ch,  
'S a bhith 'r fuadach 'san f haghair  
Us ruaig nan gadhar r'a h-earball.

15.Ma's e 'm pea.each as mutha  
'S coir a chumhachd a chlaoidheadh,  
Nach e Seumas an Seachdamh  
Dhearbh bhith seasmhach 'na inntinn ?  
C'uim' an diteadh sibh 'n onoir  
No bhiodh sibh moladh na daoidheachd?  
'S gur h-e 'dhluitheachd d'a chreideamh  
A thug do choigrich an rioghachd.

16.Fhuair sinn Rtgh a Hanobhar  
Sparradh oirnne le h-achd e;  
Tha againn Prionnsa 'na aghaidh,  
Us neart an lag ha 'ga bhacadh ;  
O Bhith tha shuas 'nad bhritheamh,  
Gun chron 'san dithis nach fhac' thuMur  
h-e th' ann, cuir air adhairt  
An t-aon as lagha 'm bi 'pheacadh.

They are like hidden serpents  
That last year lost their venom,  
But their fangs are preparing  
To rise the day of thy coming.

Many a one now is praying  
For thy coming, Prince Charlie,  
That the yoke may he raised  
From the forces in hardship;  
Who still say in their hearts,  
Though their tongues may deny it,  
'Welcome, when we see thee  
Back to Britain and Ireland.'

There is many a young hero  
Who now lies in slumber,  
"Twixt the braes of Strath Cluny  
And the banks of Lochaber,  
Who would go in thy cause  
To claim crown and throne for thee,  
And would bring back the kerns  
To revenge for Culloden.

But, ye friends of the Court,  
Is your wrath not awakened?  
Or are your eyes open  
To your humiliation ?  
Your reward's like the she-goat's  
That will be milked to dryness,  
And chased away in the autumn  
With the cur-pack behind her.

If it be the worse sinner  
Whose power should be shaken,  
as it not James the Seventh  
Who proved his mind steadfast ?  
How could you condemn honour  
Or give praises to folly?  
'Twas his faith to his creed  
That gave strangers the kingdom.  
An Act has thrust on us

A King from Hanover,  
A Prince we have 'gainst him  
Whom the law is forbidding;  
O God above who shall judge us,  
And hast seen all their failings,  
Wilt thou then put forward  
Whichever's least sinning

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<sup>i</sup> The full text of the Act as well as the repeal proclamation can be accessed at <http://www.tartansauthority.com/tartan/the-growth-of-tartan/the-act-of-proscription-1747/>

<sup>ii</sup> These original reports are archived in the National Archives of Scotland, but some of the details were reproduced in SRO (1973) *Reports on the annexed estates, 1755-1769 : from the records of forfeited estates preserved in the Scottish Record Office* HMSO

<sup>iii</sup> “the Highland Dress and Disarming Acts have taken effect here, tho’ perhaps not so fully as on the other parts of this estate, for many corners of this barony lye so remote & divided from each other that very probably some fellows may presume to transgress where they can do it with impunity as there is no troops quartered among them, but the factor is hopefull that they are now more upon their guard as he has published repeated advertisements of their danger” (SRO 1973: 40)

<sup>iv</sup> There are further details of John Campbell’s life and career on the RBS website: <https://www.rbs.com/heritage/people/john-campbell.html>