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THE CLAN DONALD.

THE CLAN DONALD

BY THE

REV. A. MACDONALD,

MINISTER OF KILLEARNAN,

AND THE

REV. A. MACDONALD,

MINISTER OF KILTARLITY.

VOL. II.

“The sovereignty of the Gael to the Clan Cholla,
It is right to proclaim it.”

Enberness :

THE NORTHERN COUNTIES PUBLISHING COMPANY, LTD.

1900.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM RANDAL, 9TH EARL OF ANTRIM,
THE HEAD OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF SOMERLED,
9TH IN DESCENT FROM SORLEY BUY MACDONALD, LORD OF THE GLENS
AND THE ROUTE, AND 15TH IN DESCENT FROM JOHN MACDONALD OF
ISLA, LORD OF THE ISLES, AND THE PRINCESS MARGARET
OF SCOTLAND,

THIS VOLUME OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CLAN DONALD

IS
DEDICATED
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S CLANSMEN,
THE AUTHORS,

IN TOKEN OF THEIR APPRECIATION OF HIS HIGH CHARACTER, HIS KINDLY
INTEREST IN THEM AND IN THEIR WORK, AND AS AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT
OF WHAT IS DUE TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A CHIVALROUS AND
RENOWNED FAMILY OF THEIR NAME.

PREFACE.

WITH the publication of this volume of the Clan Donald, our first duty is to tender an apology to our Subscribers for the delay that has occurred in its appearance. This, however, has been owing much less, if at all, to lack of effort, than to the large mass of material connected with the various branches of the Clan which had to be sifted and arranged, and the consequent fact that this volume has assumed much greater dimensions than its predecessor, running up as it does to some 800 pages. Seeing that the volume is thus much larger than was originally expected or intended, and that a proportionate amount of time and labour had to be expended upon its publication, we trust that our Subscribers will excuse its belated appearance, and that the general result will not be unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding the bulk of the volume, it has been found impossible, without still more unduly increasing its size, to conclude the historical portion of the work within its limits. We have therefore decided to postpone the historical treatment of the family of Sleat until Volume III. is reached, for the reason that it was the last of the great branches to emerge from the parent stem. The remainder of Volume III. will be devoted to the genealogy of the

Clan, and as the material for this part of the work is already well in hand, we do not anticipate great delay in its completion.

We desire to record our gratitude for the help and sympathy which we have received from several clansmen, and others, who have interested themselves in our work. Among these may be mentioned the Earl of Antrim, Colonel John Mc'Donnell of Kilmore, Glenariff; Hercules H. G. Mc'Donnell, Esq., Roby Place, Dublin; the Hon. William Macdonald, Vancouver; J. R. M. Macdonald, Esq. of Largie; Alexander Macdonald, Esq. of Balranald; Admiral Robertson Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart; Professor Arthur Mc'Donnell of Lochgarry, Oxford; Colonel Martin Martin, R.E., Ostaig, Skye; the late Rev. Rod. Macdonald, minister of South Uist; and Mr Farquhar Beaton, South Uist. Our grateful thanks are due to Lord and Lady Macdonald of the Isles for a continuation of their kindness in giving us access to the valuable papers of the Sleat family. To Macleod of Macleod, who maintains the best traditions of his ancient house, we owe a similar debt of gratitude for access to his family papers at Dunvegan Castle, readily and generously given us. To the kindness of another Highland Chief, MacLaine of Lochbuie, we are indebted for permission to reproduce a charter of the Bailiary of South Tyree to his ancestor, granted by John, Lord of the Isles, and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, in 1492.

Special acknowledgment is due to Allan Macdonald, Esq., LL.D., Glenarm, a worthy scion of the House of Keppoch, for much valuable assistance during the preparation of this volume, given with a readiness and kindness which will always remain a pleasant memory. Above all, we desire to record with sincerest gratitude our obligations to a highly-cultured clanswoman, Miss Josephine M. MacDonell of Keppoch, for much time and labour spent in collecting material for this volume. It owes much to her accurate knowledge of the history of the Clan, of which she is so bright an ornament, and to the enthusiasm and devotion with which she entered with us on our work. We desire to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy extended to us in the course of our researches by Mr Clark, of the Advocates' Library; Mr Maitland Thomson, of the Historical Department, H.M. Register House; and Mr Donaldson, of the Inverness Public Library.

In expressing our obligations to those who have helped us in the preparation of this volume, we desire to record our profound sorrow at the irreparable loss we sustained in the death of Mr Robert Livingston, Manager of the *Northern Chronicle*, whose courtesy and urbanity, as well as business capacity, were an unfailing help, and whose warm and genial friendship we shall never cease to cherish. We are much indebted to Mr R. M. Grant, the new Manager, for the assiduity

and intelligence with which he has co-operated with us during the latter stage of this volume.

Since the chapter on the House of Clanranald was completed, the Chief of that illustrious family has passed away. We regretfully record our profound respect for the memory of this distinguished Clansman, and our grateful appreciation of the valuable aid which he was always so ready to extend.

April, 1900.

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ERRATA.

P. 208, instead of Marquis *read* Earl.

P. 222, „ Grimmish *read* Griminish.

P. 319, „ Dovecotes *read* Dovecots.

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THE CLAN DONALD.

CHAPTER I.

THE MACRUARIES OF GARMORAN AND THE NORTH ISLES.

The Fall of the House of Isla and its Consequences.—The Clan Rory.—Roderick of Bute.—Extensive Possessions of the Family.—Roderick's Invasion of the Isle of Man, and Mission to Norway.—Haco's Expedition.—The Legend of the "Bluidy Stair."—Death of Roderick of Bute.—Allan and Dongal, sons of Roderick, styled Kings in the Norse Sagas.—Allan succeeds his Father in the Lands of Garmoran, and receives in addition the Lands of Uist and others.—Death of Allan.—The MacRuaries and the Scottish War of Independence.—Christina MacRuarie and Bruce.—Part of the MacRuarie Lands resigned by Christina in favour of her brother Roderick.—Ranald MacRuarie and David Bruce.—Grant of Lands to Ranald.—Murder of Ranald.—Allan MacRuarie, brother of Allan, succeeded.—Amie MacRuarie.—The MacRurys of Uist.

WE have traced the history of the main Clan Donald line down to 1545, when its last representative died while striving to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his house. The fall of the Family of Isla, after a long and gallant struggle with the advance of Saxon power and feudal institutions, destroyed the most potent centre of Gaelic influence in Scotland, the social organism that was most conservative of Celtic ideas, customs, and institutions. Still, the downfall of the premier Family of Macdonald did not involve the ruin of the Clan as a

Gaelic organism, or eradicate from its native soil all that was characteristic of Gaelic culture and aspirations. Doubtless, after 1493, when the feudal position and territorial possessions of the Lords of the Isles came to an end, the substitution of the superiority of the Crown for that of the House of Isla led to much anarchy among the Western Clans, and the cadet families of the Isles had to struggle for the maintenance of their position amid the adverse conditions of the time. The vassals of the ancient Lordship of the Isles were compelled, in the interests of self-preservation, to take charters from the Crown as soon as their hereditary superiors became extinct, though there were two, Keppoch and Sleat, that continued to grasp with a firm hand their patrimonial acres, even though lacking those artificial forms of investiture which were a necessary feature of feudal tenure.

In telling the story of the races that sprang from the bosom of the House of Finlaggan, it will appear that the Clan, as a whole, lost some of its historic dignity and lustre after 1493. With the disappearance of the princes of the line of Somerled, who swayed the sceptre and sovereignty of the Gael in Innsegall, the glory of the Clan Donald became to some extent a memory and tradition, which no single family into which the Clan was broken up fully or adequately reflected. It will also, however, be seen that the offshoots, though lacking the magnificence of the "stem of Conn," developed a vigorous and hardy life when transplanted to congenial soil, each in its own way perpetuating important features of the parent type, characterised by much of the robust luxuriance of the tree which had fallen to rise no more. It will also appear in the course of our story

how the devotion of the Island vassals to the House of Macdonald was, in the course of ages and after many struggles, transferred to the Princes of the House of Stewart, a devotion which has enriched the history of Scotland with many a heroic episode, until it received its final illustration in the hapless enterprise of 1745.

We have hitherto concerned ourselves with the history of the Lords of the Isles, and the story of the cadets has only been touched upon in so far as it affected the fortunes of the premier house. Much, therefore, that is of interest and importance remains to be told as to the rise, origin, and history of those powerful families which, hundreds of years prior to the death of Donald Dubh, began to come into prominence, and receive a territorial position under the sheltering *agis* of the Lords of the Isles. We do not, therefore, grasp the thread of our narrative at the close of the period embraced in Volume I. But we propose to take up the story of the cadets of the Isles from the very beginning, each in the order of its historical emergence, and each separately from the others, down to the present time. This method, while presenting the risk of overlapping at those periods during which the Clan Donald took common action, will, on the whole, conduce to greater clearness and order than the attempt to carry on concurrently the history of all the branches. By adopting this course we shall necessarily, but very slightly, anticipate the genealogical discussions which will occupy a part of the concluding volume of this work.

The Clan Rory are not, strictly speaking, a cadet of the Clan Donald, seeing that Roderick of Bute

was a younger brother of Donald of Isla, from whom the Clan Donald take their name. But the history and fortunes of the House of Garmoran are so indissolubly connected with the House of Isla that a record of the one must be incomplete without some account being given of the other. Roderick, the founder of the Family of Garmoran, who was the second son of Reginald of Isla, Lord of the Isles, was born sometime during the latter half of the twelfth century, and, on coming of age, his father bestowed upon him the Island of Bute, and other lands in Kintyre. The lands of Bute and Arran are said to have been bestowed by Malcolm II. on Walter, the first Steward of Scotland.¹ These lands afterwards changed hands several times, and became the subject of fierce contention, on the one hand between the Norwegians and the Scots, and, on the other hand, between the Scots and the descendants of Somerled. Towards the close of the eleventh century, both Bute and Arran were ceded to Magnus, King of Norway, by the Scots. On the marriage of the daughter of Magnus to Godred of Man, these lands were given her as a portion of the marriage dowry. In the middle of the twelfth century they came by conquest into the possession of Somerled. When, on the death of Somerled, his extensive territories were divided amongst his sons, Bute and a part of Arran, with the Lordship of Garmoran, extending from Ardnamurchan to Glenelg, fell to the share of Angus. Reginald of Isla having driven Angus and his three sons out of Bute, they were in the year 1210 killed in a skirmish in Skye by the men of that Island. On the death of Angus Mac Somerled and his sons, Reginald of Isla bestowed Bute, and their

¹ Memoir prefixed to Bute Inventory.

other possessions, on his son Roderick. James, the son of Angus Mac Somerled, however, left a daughter, Jane, who married Alexander, eldest son of Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, and he claimed Bute in right of his wife. Roderick, taking possession of the island, continued to resist this claim, and, aided by the Lord of the Isles, was for a time successful in retaining his hold on it. Besides Bute, and the Lordship of Garmoran in the North, Roderick also possessed lands in North Kintyre, as may be seen from the charter afterwards granted by him to the Abbey of Saddel. The position of Roderick in Argyle and the Isles was now, in point of power and influence, second only to that of the Lord of the Isles himself. Together they formed a combination strong enough to repel the repeated attempts made by Alexander II. and his Scots to conquer the territory of the Gael. The policy of Norway ever since the death of Somerled had been to conciliate the Clan Cholla, and, if possible, prevent any alliance between them and the Scots. Now that the foundations of the Norse kingdom in the Isles were beginning to totter, it was necessary, if the aggressive Scot was to be kept at bay, that the leaders of the Clan Cholla should be drawn into yet closer friendship with their Scandinavian relatives. During the final struggle between the two nations, of which the engagement at Largs was the crowning point, the conduct of the chiefs of the House of Somerled is ample evidence of the strong tie that bound them to their Norse ally. Roderick of Bute had all along been a zealous partisan of the Norse interest in the Isles, and he, at an early stage in his stormy career, developed qualities which somewhat distinguished him from the other leaders

of the Clan Cholla. He clearly inherited the wandering seafaring tendencies of his Scandinavian ancestors in a greater degree than any of his father's house, but, nevertheless, we should be slow to accept the character of sea robber ascribed to him by the Scottish historians. That he was a wild and restless man, even for the age in which he lived, appears to be sufficiently attested by the glimpses we get of him through the thick mist that envelopes the history of that remote time. Not satisfied with the scope for his seafaring energies and wandering proclivities so temptingly offered by the Western seas, he betakes himself across the Irish Channell. Accordingly, in the year 1212, very early in his career, we find him on the Irish Coast at the head of an armament of 76 galleys. Having landed in the Emerald Isle, he, his brother Donald, and Thomas of Galloway, at the head of their band, ravaged and plundered the towns of Derry, Innisowen, and Clanconnell.¹ In the following year, Roderick, in company with Thomas of Galloway, again visited the North of Ireland, and sacrilegiously plundered the churches of that province.² We have no doubt Roderick made ample penance for the atrocious conduct here laid to his charge by the Irish annalists. In any case, he atoned for his sin, probably after many qualms of conscience, by making grants of lands to the Church he had so grievously offended. To the Abbey of Saddel he granted the lands of Torrisdale and Ugadale; and in honour of St Mary and St John, for the service of the Church of St John in Kintyre, he gave five penny lands, three from the same Church of St John, and two

¹ Annals of Ulster.² Ibid.

from the Church of St Mary.¹ In every attempt made by Alexander II. to annex the Norwegian possessions in the Isles to his kingdom, he was strenuously opposed by Roderick of Bute; and so effective was the opposition on the part of Roderick and his brother, the Lord of the Isles, that the Scottish monarch utterly failed in the accomplishment of his object. During the long minority which followed the death of King Alexander, no effort was made to add the Isles to the possessions of the Scottish Crown. Ewin of Lorn had played a conspicuous part in the struggle with the Scottish monarch. To him had recently been committed the administration of Norwegian affairs in the Isles, and the present seemed a favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of the ambitious scheme which he had conceived, and which was neither less nor more than the conquest of the Norwegian Kingdom of Man. He accordingly invaded that island, and succeeded in getting himself proclaimed king, in the face of much opposition on the part of the Manxmen. Haco of Norway being informed of the conduct of the usurper, his erstwhile lieutenant in the Isles, immediately took steps to deprive him of his newly acquired dignity. He appealed to Roderick of Bute, among others, to help him to reduce that hero's relative to obedience. Roderick, throwing all considerations of kinship at once aside, responded to Haco's appeal, and, with his brother Donald, invaded the Isle of Man, at the head of a considerable force. They fell on the forces of Ewin of Lorn, and defeated them with great slaughter, the pseudo king himself escaping with his life to the Highlands.

¹ Clan Donald, vol. I., pp. 564-5.

While Roderick was thus engaged in the service of Haco, advantage was taken of his absence by his Scottish neighbours, who, invading Bute, took possession of it in name of Jane, the heiress of James, the grandson of Somerled, and wife of Alexander, eldest son of the Steward of Scotland. Roderick, on his return from the Manx expedition, finding that he had been forestalled, marshalled all his forces, and made a desperate effort to regain possession of his lost territory, but in this he utterly failed. Betaking himself to his Northern possessions, he soon found scope for his energies in that region. In the North, Scottish interests were represented by Ferchar Macintagart, Earl of Ross. The possessions of the Earl lay along the western seaboard to Glenelg, while to the south lay the Lordship of Garmoran. To the west of the Earldom of Ross lay Skye and the Long Island, which formed part of the Norse possessions, with the Minch separating them from the territory over which Macintagart held sway. The family of Garmoran and the adherents of Norway in the North Isles were much molested and annoyed by the persistent and savage attacks made on them by the Earl of Ross and the Scottish party. The Norse sagas refer to the wanton cruelty and extreme barbarity which characterised the proceedings of Macintagart and his followers in the Isles. Their aggressiveness at length attained to such a height that the chiefs, conspicuous among whom was Roderick of Garmoran, and his sons, Allan and Dougal, were forced to take counsel together with a view to taking united action in so critical an emergency. It was resolved to send a messenger to Norway to represent to Haco the state of matters in the Isles, and the choice fell

on the veteran Roderick, who, nothing loth, took to his galley and sailed for Scandinavia. The result of Roderick's mission was the well-known expedition of Haco to the Isles. From his knowledge of the western seas, it was thought desirable that Roderick should remain at the Court of Haco until such time as the Norse fleet got under weigh for the Western Isles. Early in the year 1263, Haco sent messengers to Orkney to procure pilots for Shetland. From thence one of the messengers, John Langlifeson, proceeded to the Isles and informed Dougal MacRuarie of the elaborate preparations that were being made in Norway for Haco's expedition. It had been rumoured that the Scots contemplated an invasion of the Isles that summer in quest of plunder. Dougal MacRuarie, styled in the Norse sagas King Dougal, in order to ward off the intended Scottish descent, caused the report to be spread abroad that a fleet of forty sail was on its way from Norway to the Isles. At length the fleet appeared, and Dougal, with other Island chiefs, met Haco at Kerrera. Both he and his brother Allan, with their father Roderick, who had accompanied him from Norway, supported Haco throughout his campaign in the Isles. The Norse King gave each of them an important command in his fleet, different divisions of which were sent hither and thither to devastate the country. He sent a squadron of fifty ships under the command of Dougal MacRuarie and Magnus of Man to plunder the lands of Ewin of Lorn. Another division of the fleet sailed up Loch Long. In this region Allan MacRuarie made himself conspicuous by acting as leader of a plundering party who penetrated into the country, doing havoc wherever they went, killing many of the inhabi-

tants, and returning to their ships laden with much spoil. The result of the Norwegian expedition so far had been the re-establishment of Haco's authority in the Isles. The Island of Bute was restored to Roderick, and to Allan and Dougal Haco gave the lands of Ewin of Lorn. He, besides, gave to Dougal "that Castle in Kintyre which
X Guthorme Bockakaly had besieged and taken."

Roderick having now been reinstated in the possession of Bute, was not slow in taking advantage of the opportunity with which fortune favoured him to punish the Stewarts and their Scottish followers. Not satisfied with the surrender of Rothesay Castle, he pursued the retreating garrison, and, according to the Norse account, put nine of them to death. He followed up his pursuit by making a descent on the mainland, which he plundered and wasted with fire and sword for many miles into the heart of the country. The Castle of Rothesay, now represented by a magnificent ruin standing in the centre of the town of that name, of which it forms the chief architectural object, was for at least a hundred years identified with the history of one or other branch of the Clan Cholla. Roderick made it his residence during his occupation of Bute, and if the legend of its "Bluidy Stair," of which the "dark-eyed chief" is the theme, have any foundation in fact, the character of our naval hero must be depicted in much darker hues than we would wish to have it portrayed. In a corner between the main stair and the east gable of the chapel there is an old stair leading to the top of the wall of the Castle which is known by the name of the "Bluidy Stair," the legend of which is best told by quoting at

length the following ballad, being the only evidence of the tragic deed ascribed to our clansman :—

“ Oh, Rothesay’s tower is round about,
And Rothesay’s tower is strang ;
And loud within its merry wa’s
The noise o’ wassail rang.

“ A scald o’ Norway struck the harp,
And a good harper was he ;
For hearts beat mad, and looks grew wild
Wi’ his sang o’ victory.

“ A dark-eyed chief has left the board
Where he sat as lord and liege ;
And he called aloud amidst the crowd
For Thorfinn, his little foot-page.

“ ‘ Go tell the stranger Isabel
That she stir not from the bower
Till darkness dons her blackest dress,
And midnight marks the hour.

“ ‘ And tell the Ladye Isabel
To come when the feast is o’er
And meet upon the chapel stair
The chieftain Rory Mor.’

“ When the feast was o’er, and a’ was hushed
In midnight and in mirk,
A Ladye was seen, like a spirit at e’en,
To pass by the Holy Kirk.

“ She stood at the foot o’ the chapel stair,
And she heard a footstep’s tread ;
For the wild Norse warrior was there,
Who thus to the Ladye said :

“ ‘ I am Rory Mor, the Island Chief,
I’m Roderick, Lord of Bute ;
For the Raven of Norway flies above,
And the Lion of Scotland’s mute.

- “ ‘I hate your kith, fair Ladye,’ he said,
‘I hate your kith and kin ;
And I am sworn to be their foe
Till life be dried within.
- “ ‘Yet kiss me, luvelie Isabel,
And lay your cheek to mine,
Tho’ ye bear the bluid o’ the High Steward,
I’ll woo nae hand but thine.’
- “ ‘Awa, awa, ye rank butcher !’
Said the Ladye Isabel,
‘For beneath your hand my father dear
And my three brave brothers fell.’
- “ ‘It’s I hae conquered them,’ he said,
‘And I will conquer thee ;
For if in love ye winna wed,
My leman ye shall be.’
- “ ‘The stars will drief out their beds o’ blue
Ere you in love I wed ;
I rather would fly to the grave and lie
In the mouldy embrace o’ the dead.
- “ ‘I canna love, I winna love
A murderer for my lord ;
For even yet my father’s bluid
Lies lapper’d on your sword.
- “ ‘And I never will be your base leman
While death to my dagger is true,
For I hate you, Chief, as the foe of my kin,
And the foe of my country, too.’
- “ ‘An eye might be seen wi’ revenge to gleam
Like a shot star in a storm ;
And a heart was felt to writhe as if bit
By the never dying worm.
- “ ‘A struggle was heard on the chapel stair,
And a smothered shriek of pain,
A deaden’d groan, and a fall on the stone,
And all was silent again.

“The morning woke on the Ladye’s bower,
 But no Isabel was there ;
 The morning woke on Rothesay’s tower,
 And bluid was on the stair.”

Roderick’s triumph was of short duration, at least so far as Bute was concerned. On the annexation of the Norwegian possessions in the Isles to Scotland, in 1266, both Bute and Arran were restored to the Stewart family. Bute, however, did not pass finally from the possession of the House of Somerled, for in the year of Bannockburn the Lord of the Isles is referred to as

“Sir Angus of the Isles and Bute als wae.”¹

Roderick, who was compelled to relinquish his hold on Bute, and who was now a very old man, probably died shortly after the Scoto-Norse Treaty of 1266. At all events, we hear of him no more under the new order of things, and we only wonder that his family should have fared so well at the hands of their hereditary enemies. Alexander III., however, even if he had not been bound by the terms of the Scoto-Norse Treaty to conciliate the adherents of Norway, was himself desirous, from motives of State policy, of making concessions to his new subjects.

From the prominence given to Dougal in the Norse sagas, it is inferred that he was the eldest son of Roderick. In 1261 he is mentioned as sole king in the Isles, and faithful to Haco.² Both Allan, his brother, and he are honoured with the title of king, but this distinction could only have meant that they were lords over wide territories, and exercised almost regal jurisdiction within these. Dougal, whether younger or older than Allan, drops out of view

¹ Barbour’s Bruce.

² Chronicle of the Kings of Man.

entirely after the annexation of the Isles to Scotland. The probability is that he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of Alexander III. In any case, his family disappeared during the reign of that monarch from among the territorial families of Argyle and the Isles. Gregory asserts that Dougal died without leaving any issue, but in this he is contradicted by the MS. of 1450, which, corroborated by other authorities, gives Ferchar and Duncan as two sons of Duncan, the son of Dougal, the son of Roderick. The same MS. gives the genealogy of the MacRuarie family back through Allan, from which it should not be inferred that Allan was the eldest son of Roderick. What, however, it proves beyond any doubt is, that the territorial line of the family was carried on by Allan and his successors, and not by Dougal and his successors.

[Allan, therefore, succeeded his father in the lands of Garmoran, which included Knoydart, Moydart, Arisaig, and Morar, and also in his lands in North Kintyre. In all these Alexander III. confirmed him, and added to the already extensive / territory the lands of Barra, Uist, and Harris, with the lesser islands of Eigg and Rum. The grant by Alexander III. of lands in the Long Island, and elsewhere, is borne out by the terms of the charter granted afterwards by Robert Bruce to Roderick, the son of Allan.¹ Allan MacRuarie continued loyal to the Scottish throne during the remainder of his life. From his extensive territorial possessions he became one of the most powerful magnates in the Highlands. In the year 1284, when the Scottish Estates assembled at Scone, and declared Margaret, the Maid of Norway, heiress to the

¹ Clan Donald, vol. I., p. 495.

throne, the name of "Allangus filii Roderici" appears in the list of those present on that occasion. Allan MacRuarie, Angus of Isla, and Alexander of Lorn, were the only Highland Chiefs who attended this Parliament, and all three were of the House of Somerled. Allan MacRuarie, who appears to have died shortly after the meeting at Scone, [⊗] was succeeded in his landed possessions by his daughter Christina, a lady who afterwards played an important part in the history of Scotland. It may seem singular that Christina should have become her father's heiress, in view of the fact that Allan MacRuarie left at last three sons, Roderick, Allan, and Lachlan. It is inferred from the circumstance that Roderick, the eldest of the sons, was passed over in favour of Christina, that he was not a legitimate son of Allan MacRuarie. Whether Roderick MacAllan was or was not feudally legitimate is a point which cannot now be definitely settled one way or the other, but that he was Celtically legitimate is conclusively proved by his succession in due time to the MacRuarie patrimony. In the charter granted to him by Bruce of the MacRuarie lands resigned in his favour by Christina, his sister, there is nothing indicative of a bar sinister, and in such an instrument, drawn out in feudal terms, reference, we think, would have been made to Roderick's illegitimate descent if he had not been Allan MacRuarie's lawful son. The awkward fact, however, of Christina and not Roderick inheriting the MacRuarie lands remains to be explained, and the only feasible explanation seems to be that Roderick was the issue of a hand-fast marriage.

⊗ Alive in 1285 (Black Scrymgeour, G.)

The MacRuaries made themselves conspicuous at a very early stage in the struggle for Scottish independence. In a letter of Alexander of Isla to Edward I., in the year 1292, that chief, who had the year before taken the oath of allegiance to the English King, accused Ranald, the son of Allan, and Duncan, the son of Dougal, of committing excesses in those regions subject to the authority of Edward. Again, in 1297, Alexander of Isla, who had now been appointed by Edward Admiral of the Western Isles, complains bitterly of the insubordination of the Island Chiefs, and invokes the aid of the English King in keeping them under subjection. Alexander of Lorn, who had not yet joined himself to the English interest, seems to have been the principal offender. Instigated by the Lord of Lorn, the MacRuaries invaded Skye and Lewis, the lands of the Earl of Ross, and some others of the Northern Isles, and after committing great ravages in these islands, they burnt all the ships engaged in the English service in the Western seas. The MacRuarie leaders engaged in this insurrection were Roderick, Ranald, and Lachlan, the sons of Allan, and grandsons of Roderick of Bute, whose piratical tendencies they seem in a large measure to have inherited. Roderick, the Chief of the MacRuaries, though often warned of the serious consequences involved in his rebellious proceedings, continued obstinate. Alexander of Isla was at length obliged to adopt coercive measures against his kinsman. These resulted in the acknowledgment by Roderick of the authority of the English King, whom he at the same time promised faithfully to serve. In that state of society in which might is right, promises are mere matters of convenience, and are made to be

broken whenever the favourable opportunity occurs. The men engaged in this struggle were no exception to that rule. They are found now on the one side and now on the other, as self-interest may demand. Roderick MacAllan kept his promise no longer than it was convenient to do so. The MacRuaries again broke out against English rule under his leadership, and perpetrated great atrocities in the islands which were under the sway of the House of Isla.

The outraged islanders were obliged to send messengers to Alexander, complaining of the hardships to which they had been put by the tyrannical proceedings of the MacRuaries. Special mention is made of Lachlan MacRuarie as the prime mover and leader in the depredations committed by the plundering band who had invaded the Southern Isles. Lachlan, it appears, had previously offered homage to the English King, but by his recent conduct he roused the resentment of Edward's representative, the Lord of the Isles, and that chief, taking time by the forelock, soon succeeded in reducing the rebel to obedience. In token of his desire to remain loyal to the Island Lord, Lachlan MacRuarie offered his son as a pledge, the only form of pledge which would seem to have had any binding effect on the islanders of those days. No sooner had Lachlan given his son as a hostage, than his brother Roderick, at the head of Lachlan's forces, and, it is said, at his instigation, raised the flag of revolt. The Lord of the Isles now determined to strike a final blow at the MacRuaries. Collecting his forces, and assisted by his brothers, Angus Og and John Sprangach, he pursued Roderick by sea and land, and at length seizing him and putting him in irons, he threw him into one of his dungeons

on the mainland. How long Roderick MacAllan remained in this situation we know not, but in the year 1301, in a letter by Angus Og, Lord of the Isles, to Edward I., mention is made of Roderick's sons, for whose loyalty Angus holds himself responsible. It appears that Roderick himself still remained in custody, and that Angus Og acted as the guardian of his sons. The MacRuaries appear again on the historical stage in the year 1306. In that year Robert Bruce was crowned in the palace of his ancestors at Scone. After suffering defeat in two pitched battles, he found his way, a lonely fugitive, to Kintyre, where he was loyally received and hospitably entertained by the Lord of the Isles. It was not, perhaps, the friendship of the Lord of the Isles alone that drew the warrior King in this dark hour in his eventful career to the district of Kintyre. That district was to a large extent under the powerful sway of a near relative of his own, on whose support and friendship he confidently relied. The relative in whom the fugitive King put such confidence was none other than his own mother-in-law, Christina of Mar, the heiress of Allan MacRuarie of Garmoran and the North Isles. We are not aware that notice was ever taken of this illustrious alliance formed between the MacRuarie family and the Scottish throne. Christina MacRuarie, by her marriage with Donald, Earl of Mar, became the mother of Bruce's wife, and thus the progenitrix of a long line of sovereigns, the first of whom was her great-grandson Robert II. Surrounded though the King was by such powerful friends as Christina of Mar and the Lord of the Isles, it was not deemed safe for him to remain long in a part of the country so accessible to his enemies as the peninsula of Kintyre.

It was, therefore, resolved to find a place of refuge for him in the lonely Island of Rachrin, on the Irish coast, until such time as a favourable opportunity arrived for a descent on Scotland. There is a tradition to the effect that Christina MacRuarie, in the first instance, found an asylum for her illustrious son-in-law in her own Island of Uist, but that not considering him safe from the pursuit of his enemies in this retreat, the Lord of the Isles conveyed him to Rachrin. The King and his small band of followers passed the winter of 1306-7 in this island, living principally on the bounty of Christina MacRuarie, who kept up a regular communication with her relative.

When Bruce resolved at length on leaving Rachrin, Christina sent her galleys, under the command of her brother Roderick, to convey him and his small garrison to the coast of Arran. From Arran the King found his way to his own country of Carrick. On hearing of his success there, Christina MacRuarie went to him, accompanied by a band of forty warrior clansmen, who enlisted in his service. She likewise brought provisions to the King, and a supply of money, of both of which he stood much in need. She further informed him of the fate of the garrison of Kildrummie, and of Athole, Seton, and others of his supporters. From this time onwards, the MacRuaries, with Christina's brother, Roderick, at their head, followed the banner of Bruce. At Bannockburn they fought under the Chief of Clan Cholla, and shared with him the glory won by the men of Innsegall on that ever memorable field.

Roderick MacRuarie was amply rewarded by Bruce for his loyalty and services. The King

bestowed upon him the lands of Lorn, forfeited by Alexander Macdougall, and half the lands of Lochaber, forfeited by the Comyns.¹ He also bestowed upon him a davach and a half of Moidart, half a davach of Arisaig, the six davach lands of Eigg and Rum, with the patronage of the Church of Kildonan in Eigg, the six davachs and three-quarters of land in Kilpeter, in South Uist, the whole lands of Barra and Harris, all of which were resigned in his favour by Christina MacRuarie, his sister.² The rest of the MacRuarie lands in Garmoran and the North Isles, including North Uist and a part of South Uist, appear to have been granted by Christina at this time, or shortly thereafter, to an Arthur Campbell, whose descendant put in a claim for them in the year 1427.³ There is no record, however, of a Campbell having ever obtained actual possession of these lands.

The lands resigned by Christina in favour of Roderick were to be held by him for the service of a ship of 26 oars, with its complement of men and victuals, for the King's army, and on due warning; but if Roderick, the son of Allan, should have no male heir, then Roderick, the son of Christina, should hold the lands in heritage, on condition that he should give in marriage the daughter or daughters of the said Roderick, his uncle, if he should have any, with a portion of 400 merks sterling; and if, in the course of nature, it should happen that Roderick, the son of Christina, could not succeed to the lands, then the daughter or daughters of Roderick, the son of Allan, should succeed their father in the same, or if he had no surviving heirs, the lands should revert to Christina and her heirs.

¹ Charter lost.

² Charter in *Clan Donald* vol. I. p. 495.

³ Gregory, pp. 34-5.

Roderick MacRuarie had now, by the acquisition of so large a territory, become a man of great power and influence in the Highlands, although a considerable share of the family inheritance still remained with his sister, the Countess of Mar. Roderick, as might have been expected, evinced his gratitude to his royal benefactor by loyally supporting the interests of the Throne, at least for a time. One of his brothers, at the head of a number of Islesmen, joined Edward Bruce, and fought under his banner in Ireland. When the brief but brilliant career of that restless prince came to an end by his death at Dundalk, in 1318, MacRuarie fell fighting by his side. In the Annals of Ulster, under that year it is recorded that "Edward Bruce, the destroyer of Ireland in general, both foreign and Gaidheal, was killed by the foreigners of Ireland by dint of fighting at Dundelgain, and there was killed in his company MacRuadhri, King of Innis Gall." As Roderick, the head of the MacRuarie family, lived for many years after this event, the "King of Innis Gall" referred to by the annalist must have been one or other of his brothers, Ranald or Lachlan, already referred to.

The loyalty of the Chief of the MacRuaries was already on the wane. What the precise nature of his offence was is not recorded. It was no doubt some treasonable compact into which he had entered against the Crown, for his conduct was viewed in so serious a light that in a Parliament held at Scone, on the 28th of March, 1325, Roderick was deprived of all his lands, both mainland and island.¹ From the fact that there is no record of the old MacRuarie

¹ *Fonisfactura Roderici de Ylay facta per Regem et Barones suos in parlamento Sconan 28 Martii 1325.*—*Acta Parl. Scot.*

lands having been bestowed on another, we conclude that Roderick continued to enjoy the undisturbed possession of these during the remainder of his life. The lands of Lorn and Lochaber, bestowed upon him by Bruce, were never restored to the family.

Roderick MacRuarie, who must have died not long after his forfeiture, was succeeded by his son Ranald. His other children, of whom we have any record, were Allan and Amie, the first of whom, and perhaps the latter, afterwards succeeded to the family inheritance. Evidently there was no effort made during the remainder of the reign of Bruce to relieve Ranald MacRuarie from the effects of the Act of Forfeiture passed against his father in the Parliament of 1325. Very naturally, therefore, when the opportunity occurred, Ranald was not slow to use it against the Bruce family. Throughout the long minority which followed the death of the renowned restorer of Scottish liberty in 1329, Ranald MacRuarie threw the whole weight of his influence on the side of England and the Baliol faction. At length, on the return of David Bruce from captivity in 1341, he adopted, with the view of strengthening his position, the wise policy of conciliation towards his Scottish opponents. The King was anxious to concentrate all the forces he could possibly command against England. To win over to his interest the rebellious chieftain of the MacRuaries, he in the year 1342 confirmed to him in the Castle of Urquhart the 10 davoch lands of Kintail, formerly granted to Ranald MacRuarie by William, Earl of Ross.¹ For these lands the King exacted a feu-duty of one penny sterling, to be paid annually at the Feast of

¹ For this Charter, see Appendix.

Pentecost. In the following year, Ranald's loyalty having revived in the interval, the King granted him, for his services to his majesty, a charter of the whole lands of Uist, Barra, Rum, Moidart, Morar, Arisaig, and Knoydart,¹ with the patronage of the several churches within their bounds. Though Eigg and Harris are omitted from this charter, they continued in the possession of the MacRuarie family, as may be seen from the charter to John, Lord of the Isles, of the MacRuarie lands in 1372.²

David II., taking advantage of the absence of Edward III. in France, resolved to invade England in 1346. He accordingly issued a mandate summoning the Scottish barons to meet him at Perth with the purpose of submitting to them his plan of action. Ranald MacRuarie of Garmoran came to this meeting accompanied by a considerable train of followers, and took up his position in the Monastery of Elecho, in the immediate vicinity of the Scottish Capital. William, Earl of Ross, was also among those who had answered the King's summons. That nobleman and Ranald MacRuarie had had a feud, the precise nature of which is not obvious, but very probably over the lands of Kintail, which the Earl had granted to the Lord of Garmoran, and which, as we have seen, the King had confirmed to that chieftain. Ranald, taking shelter under the royal confirmation, would likely enough have refused to render to the Earl the services due by the vassal to the superior. However this may be, the Earl, regardless of the sacredness of the building, broke into the monastery at dead of night, and assassinated Ranald MacRuarie and several of his followers. On realising the heinousness of the double crime of

¹ For this Charter, see Appendix.

² Clan Donald, vol. I., p. 502.

sacrilege and murder which he had committed, and no doubt also fearing the consequences of his act, the conscience-stricken Earl hastened with all possible speed to his Northern home, leaving the fate of the invasion of England to those whom it might concern. The MacRuaries, deprived of their leader, retired in confusion to the Isles.

Ranald MacRuarie, having left no issue, was succeeded by his brother Allan. References are made to Allan MacRuarie in several manuscript histories of the Clan, but there is nothing in these to indicate how long he survived the death of his brother Ranald. Were it not indeed for the charter conveying the MacRuarie lands to John, Lord of the Isles, in 1372, in which they are described as "*terras tricentarum mercarum que fuerunt quondam Alani filii Roderici*," we should be inclined to doubt that Allan MacRuarie ever existed. Allan MacRuarie having died without leaving issue, the male line of Roderick of Bute became extinct, and the succession to the family inheritance is said to have devolved on Amie, the sister of Allan. There is no evidence, however, of Amie having ever been infefted in these lands, or indeed that she survived her brother Allan, if we except the testimony of the *seanachies*, who are unanimous in asserting that she carried the MacRuarie lands to her husband, John, Lord of the Isles. Before the year 1372, John granted a charter of these lands and others to his eldest son, Reginald, which was confirmed in that year by Robert II. Shortly after the latter charter of confirmation, the King granted a charter of the MacRuarie lands to John himself, and his heirs. In these charters there is no reference to Amie MacRuarie, or to the relationship between John and the MacRuarie

family, and they are granted presumably for services rendered, and for the love and favour which the King bears to his son-in-law, the Lord of the Isles. The fact remains, however, that the MacRuarie lands were bestowed on Reginald, the son and heir of Amie MacRuarie, who transmitted the inheritance to the great branch of the family of Macdonald which bears his name.

The position of importance occupied by the family of MacRuarie in the Annals of the Clan Cholla is at once seen if we glance at the charters bestowed upon them by successive sovereigns. From the extensive possessions, therefore, over which they held sway, both on the mainland and in the islands, they stand in territorial significance second only to the family of the Isles itself. The residence of the family on the mainland seems to have been Castle Tirrim, and in Uist the Castle of Borge, in Benbecula. Tradition points to Amie MacRuarie as having built both strongholds, but of this there is no historical confirmation. Though there is no reference to either in the charter granted by David II. to Ranald MacRuarie, in 1344, yet as the MacRuaries must have had a residence on the mainland and in Uist, Castle Tirrim and Castle Borge, both of which are mentioned in Reginald's charter of 1372, are the only strongholds which, with any certainty, can be associated with the family. Possibly also Dunranald, in South Uist, as its name would seem to indicate, may have been a residence of the MacRuaries. This old stronghold, which, if Uist tradition may be relied on, was occupied by the Macdonalds in the seventeenth century, was no doubt built by the Norsemen during their occupation of the Islands. Built without mortar, it is in its architectural style like many

of the ruined forts to be met with elsewhere in the Outer Islands ; and Ranald being a Norse name, Dunranald is as likely to have derived its name from a Scandinavian leader as from a chieftain of the MacRuaries.

It is worthy of notice that though the MacRuarie lands passed into the hands of another branch of the Clan Cholla, the MacRuarie name is still represented by a considerable number of Clansmen in the land of their sires. The MacRurys, as they call themselves, a name which sounds perhaps more Irish than Highland, have been as a sept exclusively confined to the Island of Uist, which, as we have seen, formed part of the MacRuarie territory from the year 1266 until all the MacRuarie lands came into the possession of Reginald Macdonald of the Isles, the son of Amie MacRuarie, prior to 1372. MacRury is, therefore, the oldest clan name in Uist, whether in North or South Uist, and the sept may be estimated numerically at one hundred and fifty in both parishes. So far as can be ascertained, they have not kept pace with the population, and are probably now not more numerous than they were a hundred years ago. Though not many of them have risen to eminence, either in Church or State, or as a sept have succeeded in retrieving the fallen fortunes of their house, they have at least succeeded in preserving the name from being lost to the ages, and they have done nothing to tarnish that name, or the fair fame of MacRuarie of Garmoran and the North Isles.

CHAPTER II.

THE CLAN ALLISTER.



MACALISTER.

Obscurities and Mistakes.—The Descent.—*Alastair Mor*.—Attitude towards Bruce.—Ranald MacAllister in Ireland.—Lowland Branches.—Donald's Descendants in Stirlingshire and Forfarshire.—Godfrey's Descendants in Ayrshire.—Duncan's Descendants.—Hector's Irish Descendants.—Charles MacAllister Stewart of Kintyre and his Descendants.—Battle of Ardnary.—Death of John MacAllister at Knockfergus.—Family of Tarbert.—Archibald MacAllister and the Campbells.—Tutor of Loup Slain.—Raids on Buteshire.—Clan Allister and Dunnyveg.—Gorrie MacAllister and his Feuds.—Quarrel with Ardincaple.—MacAllister of Balnakill.—Meagre Records in 17th Century.—At the Revolution.—In the 18th Century.

THE middle and latter half of the thirteenth century witnessed the origin of a number of clan names in the Highlands, names which, unlike Southern custom, were derived from some outstanding ancestor rather than from the soil on which the tribe took root, this feature strongly marking a funda-

mental distinction between Celtic and Saxon culture. The oldest of all the families that branched off from the main Clan Donald stem—the Clan Allister—is one whose origin, history, and position are involved in much obscurity. Genealogical trees and historical accounts abound; and were authorities estimated by their number rather than their weight, the literature of the subject would leave little to be desired. In the case of this particular clan or sept, the accounts are so conflicting that the chronicler must tread most warily and critically the path of historical research lest he get hopelessly lost in an intricate and bewildering maze. The confusion that undoubtedly exists regarding the Clan Allister has arisen from a variety of causes. In the first place there were two Alexanders, uncle and nephew, separated from one another only by a generation, and each leaving after him a large family of sons. In addition to this, the posterity of neither Alexander is clearly connected with a definite territorial position under the Lordship of the Isles, and in both cases we are lacking the evidence of charters, at anyrate during the earlier generations. Still further, not only is there the absence of that charter evidence, which is always of such solid value in historical research, but there is the additional fact that for nearly two hundred years after the days of their founder, the descendants of neither Alexander developed the organisation of a clan or sept, a condition of things which, if it had existed, would inevitably have created history of some sort. When to all this is added the fact that in each of the pedigrees there is a “Black John,” and the “Descendants of Black John,” it is evident at once that the elements of historical chaos exist in rich

profusion. It must also be admitted that most of those who have attempted to expound the subject have availed themselves to the full of the ambiguities of the problem, and accentuated the difficulties by making confusion worse confounded, and advancing claims and assumptions which the conditions and limitations of time render utterly absurd.

The claim has been made on behalf of the family of Loup¹ that they derive their origin from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and son of Angus Mor, who, perforce, surrendered his position to Angus Og, his younger brother, the steadfast friend of King Robert Bruce. The M'Vurich MS.² lends the weight of its authority to this view with the same amount of accuracy as when it speaks of Alexander as the younger son of Angus Mor, that is, with an incorrectness not often to be detected in the pages of the Clanranald Seanachie. As will appear in the course of this chapter, there is no ground whatever for the view referred to as regards the descent of the Clan Allister. The historian of Sleat propounds an equally unwarranted genealogy for the families of Loup and Tarbert when he traces them to a natural son of Angus Mor, called *Alastair Durach*, or Alexander from Jura. This Seanachie, however, has already been found tripping so often in his genealogies, and is so addicted to the insertion of bars sinister where illegitimacy did not exist, that little importance need be attached to his views in this particular connection.³

There seems no reason to doubt that the Clan Allister are the descendants of "Alastair Mor," son

¹ Burke's Landed Gentry. ² Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 157.

³ Coll. De Reb. Alb., p. 291.

of Donald de Ile, and younger brother of Angus Mor. This Alexander appears on record for the first time as a witness to the charter by his brother, Angus Mor, to the Monastery of Paisley in 1253.¹ As the only brother of the Lord of the Isles of whom we possess any authentic account, he must have been a man of influence and standing in his day, and, according to the custom of his race, he must have received a "gavel" in the division of the family inheritance, but, as already stated, the lack of charters connecting himself and his descendants with either Oirir-ghael or Innse-gall has cast the veil of obscurity over their early history. In the year 1299, when "Alastair Mor" must have been advanced in life, we find him receive honourable mention in the Irish Annals as a man conspicuous among those of his name and time, both in Scotland and Ireland, "for hospitality and excellence."² He appears to have fallen a victim to a feud between the Island family and the MacDougalls, for in 1299 he and many of his followers were slain in battle with Alexander of Lorn. According to the MS. of 1450, Alexander of the Isles had five sons, but which of them was the eldest, or succeeded him as head of the family, is a point not very easy to determine. Generally speaking, the MS. of 1450 details the members of families whose genealogies it gives, in the order of seniority, and following this rule we should infer that Godfrey was the oldest son. It would appear, however, from certain references in the public records, that Donald, the son of Alexander, occupied the leading place among the brothers, and succeeded to whatever position his father previously held. On the 29th December,

¹ *Vide* Clan Donald, vol. I., p. 485. ² Annals of the Four Masters, A.D., 1299.

1291, apparently in the lifetime of Alastair Mor, Donald of the Isles and Alexander, his son, swear fealty to Edward I., and promise that they would bear themselves loyally towards him for the custody of the Isles.¹ A number of years after this submission, in 1314, the relative positions of the brothers become more clearly defined, for at that date Donald of the Isles and Godfrey, his brother, appear among those who were to be received into the peace of the King of England.² The inference from the order of the names clearly is that Donald was the head of the house, and subsequent events tend to confirm the view. It also appears that both these brothers, with probably the rest of the sons of Alexander, had consistently adopted the same attitude of hostility to Bruce, and of friendship towards the English, which was the natural, and became the traditional, policy of the House of Macdonald, a policy for which their cousin, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, had already paid so dear, and which proved, in a future century, the final ruin of the family. This political attitude of the sons of Alexander must inevitably have won for them the resentment of Bruce. Their possessions were probably confiscated, they themselves were banished from their native shores, some seeking a home in Ireland, so often the refuge of persecuted Hebrideans. That some of them settled permanently in that region is clearly shown by the prevalence of the name M'Allister in certain districts of the Province of Ulster.

Although their association with the anti-national party must have been fraught with disaster to the sons of Alastair Mor, there is reason to believe that

¹ Ayloffe's Ancient Charters, 20, Ed. I.

² Rot. Scot., A.D. 1314, Ed. II., p. 121B

the senior family of the race continued to maintain a position in the Highlands at anyrate as late as the closing years of the reign of David Bruce. We have seen that Alexander, the son of Donald, was associated with his father in an act of fealty to Edward I. in 1291. After that his name passes out of history ; but in 1366, Ranald, son of Alexander, appears on the scene as the heir to Clan Alexander, and the designation seems to confirm the opinion that the line of Donald was the senior family of the race. The circumstances in which Ranald steps on the arena necessitate our anticipating to some slight extent the history of the descendants of the deposed Alexander. Some of these had settled in the country of the O'Neills, and the oldest son was appointed to an hereditary military office, which his descendants continued to occupy for ages. Civil war sometimes broke out between different branches of the O'Neills, and in 1366 Donald O'Neill, assisted by the MacDonalds, under the leadership of Charles¹ and his son, Alexander, marched against Neill O'Neill. O'Neill was worsted in the encounter, and a spoil of cattle taken from his people. It was at this crisis that Ranald M'Allister, the son of Alexander, arrived with a band of followers from the Hebrides to assist Neill O'Neill. The common soldiers of both parties met at a certain ford, and Ranald M'Allister sent a message to Charles MacDonald and his son Alexander, the leaders of the Irish forces, asking permission to cross the ford, and this request was made on the ground of Ranald's seniority, as well as of their mutual kinship. The proposal did not meet with a favourable reception, for no sooner was the Hebridean army seen in the

¹ The Irish form of Charles is always "Turlough" or Tirlough.

act of crossing than the opposing host immediately advanced. A stubborn and sanguinary fight ensued, in the course of which Charles MacDonald slew one of Ranald M'Allister's sons, while his own son Alexander was taken prisoner. The instinct of vengeance prompted the Island host to demand the execution of Alexander, but it seems that more humane and generous sentiments animated their leader's breast, for he is said to have rejected his followers' counsel, on the ground that he did not wish to be deprived of his son and kinsman in one day.¹ From this notice in the Irish Annals, we gather that the Clan Allister of the senior branch were still settled in some part either of the Western Highlands or Islands, and must in a measure have recovered from the depressed fortunes which followed their anti-national attitude in the early part of the fourteenth century. Beyond this we cannot with any certainty decide the particular region to which they belonged, and, although Ranald appears to have had other sons to carry on the ancestral line besides him who was killed in Ireland, after 1366 he and his descendants, as a Highland family, retire into unbroken obscurity for several generations. If the peninsula of Kintyre was the home and nursery of the race—and it seems impossible to associate the Clan Allister as a Highland sept with any other region—the current of their history runs underground for upwards of a hundred years, and their annals during that period are buried in the depths of an oblivion from which it seems impossible to rescue them.

So far as we can trace the Clan Allister other than the senior line before and after 1366, it is clear that a marked change has passed over them as a

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. III., pp. 633-43.

branch of the great Clan Cholla. Many of the scions of this house appear to have migrated beyond the Highland line into the less eventful regions where Saxon culture prevailed, where they entered the peaceful walks of civic and rural life, and where the surname of MacAllister became metamorphosed into the less romantic, the more "douce" and prosaic name of Alexander. While following their fortunes, we enter a less turbulent and more reposeful phase of life. Quitting the mountain side, the fluttering pennon and the wild note of the *piobmhor*, with all the associations of feud and foray, we pursue the even tenor of our way among industrious burgesses and solid landholders. Almost all the families of the name of Alexander scattered throughout various regions in the Lowlands have sprung from the same ancestral source as those who have preserved the more Celtic designation of MacAllister; but at an early period they seem to have been wafted by some force of circumstances out of the current of Gaelic history, and in the midst of a new environment developed characteristics differing at anyrate in outward form from those of the parent stock.

Descendants of Donald, son of Alastair Mor, appear to have settled in the county of Stirling somewhat early in the fourteenth century. The first of whom we have record is Gilbert, the son of Donald, who received a charter for lands in that region in 1330,¹ and although the lands are not specially defined, when we find in another connection that, in the reign of David Bruce, Gilbert de Insula² received a charter of the mill and lands of

¹ Exchequer Rolls, vol. 1., p. 296, "Carta Gilberti filii Donaldi." According to the 1450 MS., Donald had a son, Gilbert.

² Robertson's Index.

Glorat, in the parish of Campsie, we naturally conclude that both allusions are to the same individual. We also find that during this century members of the same race obtained a footing in the county of Forfar. In the reign of David II. and c. 1367,¹ "John de Isles" received a charter for the reversion of the barony of Lundie, in the Sherifffdom of Forfar, after the decease of Jean, Countess of Strathdearn, while the identity of that individual with John, the son of "Gilbert de Insulis,"² who was baillie of Forfar in 1377, seems a highly probable conclusion. To this early settlement of the members of the House of *Alastair Mor* in Forfarshire do we owe the numerous families named Alexander to be met with both there and in the shires of Kincardine and Aberdeen. Their annals do not seem to be sufficiently striking to demand detailed treatment in the history of Clan Donald.

Of the descendants of Godfrey, the second son of *Alastair Mor*, we are unable to say anything definite. According to the MS. of 1450, Godfrey had a son Somerled, who also had a son Gilbert, but beyond these names there is almost nothing in the records to guide us as to their place of settlement either in the Highlands or Lowlands. In 1372 we find an individual named John, the son of Gilbert, occupying the lands of Corsbie,³ described as in Ayr, but in the modern county of Wigtown; and when in the following century we find families of MacAlexander springing up in the adjoining districts of Straiton and Colmonell, as well as in other parts of Ayrshire, we are tempted to think that this John, the son of Gilbert, was both the descendant of

¹ Robertson's Index. ² Exchequer Rolls, vol. II., *ad tempus*.

³ Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot., vol. 1306-1424, p. 85, No. 296.

Godfrey of the Isles and the progenitor of the many MacAlexanders belonging to that region, and undoubtedly of the race of *Alastair Mor*.

Duncan, the third son of *Alastair Mor*, possessed lands in the parish of Glenorchy, for it is on record that in or about 1343, David II. granted to Alexander MacNaughtane all the lands which in that parish belonged to the deceased John, the son of Duncan, the son of Alexander of Yle.¹ After this the deep pall of obscurity which envelopes the early history of this family again descends, and we are left in utter ignorance of the progeny of this branch of the Clan Allister. That descendants of Duncan still continued in that region is to be inferred from the tradition that when Campbell of Glenorchy invaded Caithness in 1672, and fought with Sinclair of Keiss at Artimarlach, near Wick, he was followed by a number of Alexanders, some of whom obtained a settlement in that district, and whose descendants may still be there.² If John, the son of *Alastair Mor*, left any descendants, nothing is known of them. According to the MS. of 1450, Hector, the youngest son of *Alastair Mor*, had two sons, Charles and Lachlan, of whom history has nothing further to say. According to McVurich, Hector had another son, whom he styles *Siothach an Dornan*, who settled in Ireland, and from whom is descended the sept designated the Clan Sheehy of Munster.³ We find this tribe in 1552 fighting in the army of O'Neill, and described as Gallowglasses, that is, fighting men of the stranger septs, but the Irish Annals describe them as belonging to the

¹ Robertson's Index, p. 48, No. 5.

² The House of Alexander, vol. II., p. 1.

³ Reliquiæ Celtiæ, vol. II., p. 157.

Province of Leinster.¹ According to M'Vurich, the Clan Domhnuill Renna and MacWilliam of the Province of Connaught were likewise descended from *Alastair Mor*²; but however interesting it would be to investigate the history of the various branches of the Clan Allister that undoubtedly took root in Irish soil, such an enquiry would meanwhile occupy space somewhat disproportionate to the importance of the subject.

We have thus endeavoured to trace the history of the different sons of *Alastair Mor* and their descendants, so far as this is indicated by the records of the fourteenth century. We have seen that Ranald, the son of Alexander, and heir to the Clan Alexander, crossed from the Hebrides in 1367 to take part in Irish warfare. We do not find that this Clan was indigenous to any region of the Western Highlands except the peninsula of Kintyre, and although it did not, in the strictly accurate sense, form part of the Hebrides, it was traditionally reckoned one of the Southern Isles; and there is little reason to doubt that this Ranald had his residence in the quarter in which the Clan Allister at a later date are found largely to abound. After his appearance in 1367 there is a blank of over a hundred years in the annals of the Kintyre branch, for it is not until 1481 that the light either of history or tradition again falls upon them. In that year James III. bestowed upon John, Lord of the Isles, a considerable grant of land in Kintyre, in life-rent, all of which had been confiscated by the Crown in 1476, when the Earldom of Ross was forfeited.³ Among the various lands enumerated are

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1522, p. 1353.

² *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 157. ³ *Clan Donald*, vol. I., Appendix, p. 559.

the lands of "Lowb." In 1481 Charles M'Allister was appointed by James III. to the Stewarty of Kintyre, and at the same time received a charter for a considerable grant of lands in that part of the ancient patrimony of the Clan Cholla. Charles must have been a man of some hereditary standing in the district prior to this appointment, and it is probable that his ancestors during the unrecorded generations occupied the position of unchartered freeholders under the Lords of the Isles. The Stewarty of Kintyre was a life appointment, and the sphere of its jurisdiction extended from Sanuych towards the west, and above the water of Sanys from the west part of the same. The lands, which were also a life-grant and bestowed for faithful service, consisted in all of 40 merklands, and are detailed as follows :—4 merklands of Machqubarrymore of Dunaverty, 2 merklands of the two Ramcollis, 2 merklands of Edyne, 1 merkland of Knockstippilmore, 1 merkland of Keranbeg, 2 merklands of Glennomudlach, 5 merks of Kildovy, 5 merklands of Polmulyn, 1 merkland of Salkauch, 3 merklands of Glennahervy, 2 merklands of Feach-aig, 20 shilling lands of Corpany, the half merkland of Barfarnay, 2 merklands of Kilnichell, 4 merklands de la Crag, to be held in feu farm.¹ These lands are situated some in North and some in South Kintyre, but there is no mention among them of the lands of Loup, to which Charles probably possessed a sufficient title already, and which no doubt belonged to the family from a very early period. Loup is situated to the north of West Loch Tarbert, and the name is derived from the Gaelic word *lùb*, whose English equivalent is "loop," and which

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot., vol. A.D. 1306-1424, No. 1480.

signifies a curve or bend, this being the configuration of the shore which bounded the ancient patrimony of the Clan Allister

Charles M'Allister, baillie of Kintyre, was succeeded in the representation of the family by his son John, of whose existence, however, we possess only the faint record contained in his son's patronymic, when he is styled Angus John Dowson of the "Lowb." This Angus also passes out of history with a mere mention among a number of other Argyllshire chieftains to whom a special protection was given by the Duke of Albany in 1515, and who are referred to as "familiaris and servitors" of Colin, Earl of Argyll, this protection to last during the Governor's will.¹ Angus John Dowson was succeeded by Alexander M'Allister, of whom we learn that on the 23rd July, 1529, he found himself, along with other notables from the same region, in a somewhat awkward scrape. He had been involved with the Macleans and the Macdonalds South, in the invasion of the Campbell territories of Roseneath, Lennox, and Craignish, in that year, and was put to the horn for inability to find acceptable security for his future behaviour. Lowland men were usually enlisted for these friendly offices, but on this occasion none seemed willing to incur the risk either in the case of the chief of Loup or the rest of his *confreves*. Upon this, the King called upon the Justice-Clerk to receive James MacConnell, the son of Alexander, Lord of Dunnyveg, "to relax them from our horne."²

The islands of Arran and Bute are within a short sail of Kintyre, and during the fifteenth and six-

¹ Pitcairn, Mar. 7, Sec. Sig., vol. V., fo. 45.

² Justiciary Records *ad tempus*.

teenth centuries members of the Clan Allister obtained settlements in both. In 1506 Donald M'Allister received a grant of the King's lands in Bute, consisting of half the lands of Longilwenach, and in time the sept seems to have become fairly numerous in both islands. Though the chiefs of Clan Allister never owned property in Buteshire, members of the clan in that quarter would have owned the authority of the patriarchal head. This connection was occasionally a source of trouble to the Chief of Loup. For example, in 1535-6, James, son and apparent heir of Ninian Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, and a landowner there, raised an action before the Lords of Council and Session against Alexander M'Allister of the Loupe, who was decerned to desist from molesting Stewart in the three merklands of Corretrave, or Corregrave, in the Isle of Arran.¹ On the 16th August, 1540, Alexander M'Allister of Loup received a remission for treasonably abiding from the army of Salloway, an offence which he shared with many of the Highland chiefs of the time.

For upwards of a generation nothing worthy of record seems to have transpired in the Scottish annals regarding the Clan Allister of Kintyre. During the remainder of the sixteenth century they seem to have cultivated the friendship and protection of the three powerful houses under whose shadow they flourished: the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg, and the houses of Argyll and Hamilton. They were not Crown vassals, but held their possessions of Dunnyveg and Argyll, the one being the dominant influence in the south, and the other in the north of Kintyre. Not

¹ Act. Dom. Con., 9th July, 1535, and Mar. 9th, 1536.

being a clan of the first importance, they were not sufficiently powerful to rely upon their own resources amid the turbulent conditions of that age, and there is evidence that so far as their organisation as a Celtic family was concerned, they sheltered themselves, especially after 1493, under the wing of the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg. During the period in question, 1540-72, there is evidence that if the Clan Allister did not seek an outlet for their energies in their native Argyll, they appear to have done so in the North of Ireland, then in its usual chronic state of disorder and dispeace. The Western Islesmen often fought in Ulster on the side of Sorley Buy, and the Clan Allister, there is reason to believe, gave him their most strenuous support. In 1568 Sorley triumphed over the English Government all along the line, and succeeded in occupying almost all the garrisons on the coasts of Antrim. It was not the case, however, that he was unopposed or that there was no campaigning in Ulster for the next two years, as is stated by an eminent authority on Clan Donald history.¹ On the 19th February, 1569, a sanguinary engagement was fought between Owen M'Gillespick, who seems to have commanded a detachment of Sorley's Scottish troops—or "redd-shanks," as they were called. The Irish Annals are silent on the subject, and we are unable, either to give the battle a local habitation and a name, or to determine exactly with whom the victory lay; but the State Papers² of the time leave no doubt as to its having been fought, and a number of the Clan Allister—Randal, Donough, Gillespick, and others, described as Scottish Captains of the Clan Allister

¹ Hill's Macdonalds of Antrim, p. 148.

² Calendar of Irish State Papers, vol. XXVII., No. 29, p. 402.

—having been slain. A few years after this, probably in the winter of 1571-2, another engagement took place before Knockfergus, in which, according to the only available authority, a body of Scottish Highlanders were defeated by Cheston, captain of the English forces. This fight was still more disastrous to the Clan Allister, for “Owen Mc Owen duffe¹ Mc Alastrain, called the Lord of Loop,” was slain.² This was probably the son of the last named Alexander, and the record which chronicles the event of his death gives him the high eulogium that he was “one amongst them more esteemed than Sorley Buy.” This John,³ who was slain in 1572, was succeeded in the representation of the family by his son Alexander, who, in 1573, obtained a charter from the Earl of Argyll, and about the same time his name appears on the roll of those who, by Act of Parliament, were called upon to deliver hostages in security for their peaceable behaviour. In 1580 a bond was entered into between Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg and Godfrey M^cAllister beg Vc Allister, called *Sliocht Iain Owir Vic Allister*, which illustrates the position of dependence which this tribe occupied in relation to the powerful *Clann Iain Mhoir*.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century we find springing into existence a new branch of the Clan Allister of Kintyre, namely, the family of Tarbert, and from the time of its first appearance on the historical arena it bulks fully more largely in the vision of the historical enquirer than the older line of Loup. The lands owned by this family

¹ Mc Owen duffe is the family patronymic.

² Calendar of the Irish State Papers, vol. XXXV., No. 23, viii.

³ Owen or Eoin was but another form of John.

appear to have lain by the shores of East Loch Tarbert and immediately adjoining the estate in the possession of the main branch ; while the heads of the house became hereditary constables of Tarbert Castle, which was built, or at anyrate repaired and fortified, by Robert Bruce, as an expression of the national sovereignty amid the power of the Island Lords. In 1580, Charles M'Allister comes into view as Constable of Tarbert, for on the 8th May of that year Alexander M'Allister, perpetual Vicar of the Parish Church of Kilcalmonell, in Knapdale, granted in fee-farm as well as life-rent to this same Charles, his cousin, and to his heirs and assignees, the two merklands of old extent called Balleneile, &c., in the lordship of Knapdale and the sheriffdom of Tarbert.¹ In the instrument of gift Charles is described as Constable of Tarbert, thus holding an official position under the Scottish Crown. The charter given at Tarbert was confirmed at Holyrood on the 5th September following. A family of some consequence, connected with the House of Loup, seems to have had some kind of holding at Bar towards the close of the sixteenth century, for on the 27th March, 1588, "Joannes alias Ewyn Bane M'Ane M'Alexander in Bar" is among those to whom James VI. gave a Commission of Justiciary against Allan M'Conill Dow, chief of the Clan Cameron, and others, who had incurred the displeasure of the Government.²

As already observed, the Clan Allister were vassals of Argyll for, at anyrate, a portion of their lands ; but this did not prevent the occurrence of feuds and the outbreak of hostilities between themselves and

¹ Chron. and Mem. Regis. Mag. Sig., vol. 1580-1593, No. 13.

² The Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 167.

the Clan Campbell, with whom the region of North Kintyre even in those days was literally swarming. Donald Campbell of Kilmore and Dougal, his son, were particularly aggressive and unruly, and gave much trouble to the family of Tarbert, whose estates lay in their immediate neighbourhood. Matters came to such a height that on the 9th February, 1589, Sir James Campbell of Ardkinlas had to sign a bond of caution for his obstreperous and lawless kinsmen, for Donald £1000, and for Dougal 100 merks, to secure freedom from hurt to Archibald M'Allister, apparent of Tarbert, his tenants and servants.¹

We have seen that the Clan Allister sought the friendship and protection of the great territorial houses in their vicinity, and in further evidence of this, we find in 1590 that professions of fealty, dependence, and service were rendered by the Clan Allister to Lord John Hamilton, while shortly thereafter a similar bond was given by the Tutor of Loup and others of his clan to the same superior.² The Clan Allister in Kintyre were in no way dependent upon the Hamiltons, but those of them who had settled in Arran and Bute occupied the position of a stranger sept, and such a bond was needful in a region where the heads of the House of Hamilton were Lords of the soil. In 1591 Godfrey M'Allister of Loup received a charter from the Earl of Argyll. On the 1st October, 1596, "Gorrie M'Aichan Ve Allaster of the Lowpe," along with others, attests a letter of renunciation by Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg in favour of Sir James, his son, by which he proposed to surrender to him all his lands, possessions, and rights.³

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. V., p. 321. ² Misc. of the Maitland Club, vol. IV., p. 123.

³ Reg. P.C., vol. V., 321.

In 1598 a serious quarrel arose between Gorrie M'Allister of Loup, who had now attained his majority, and Charles M'Allister, who had been his tutor and guardian during the period of his non-age. Of the causes that led to this difference betwixt the kinsmen, we are left in ignorance, but the consequence was a domestic tragedy. The Tutor of Loup fell beneath the sword of Godfrey, and the sons of the slain M'Allister, apprehensive of a similar fate, fled to Askomull House, the Kintyre residence of Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg, the tribal superior of their sept.¹ The laird of Loup, who received the countenance and aid of Sir James, younger of Dunnyveg, surrounded the house at Askomull with several hundred armed men, but the M'Allisters refused to surrender. The incidents that followed do not concern the history of the Clan Allister, nor do the subsequent relations between Gorrie and his kinsmen transpire in the records of the age.

During the next few years the annals of the Clan Allister of Kintyre are enlivened by outbreaks of lawlessness. In 1600, Hector M'Allister, probably the heir of Tarbert, was in ward in Edinburgh, no doubt in consequence of the irregularities that were committed by the Clan during that year, and which now demand our attention. The authorities, doubtful of the sufficiency of the King's prison to hold Hector with absolute security, accepted of a bond of caution from Aula M'Caule of Ardincaple for 1000 mërks that the prisoner would keep ward until it was his Majesty's pleasure to relieve him.² It was this year, while John Montgomery of Skel-

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials ad tempus*.

² Reg. P.C., vol. VI., p. 655.

morlie was in the Lowlands, that his house and lands of Knockransay, in Arran, were invaded and captured by the Clan Allister, his wife and children taken prisoners, and his furniture and gear of various sorts, amounting in value to £12,000 Scots, seized by the marauders.¹ On seeking redress from the Clan Allister, Montgomery caused Alexander, the son of the late Tutor of Loup, and leader of the raid, to be given up to him in security for reparation of his loss and for the good order of the Clan pending his obtaining satisfaction. This measure for the vindication of Montgomery's rights was, however, so fenced round with restrictions and precautions that the advantage he derived therefrom was more apparent than real. Montgomery was compelled to give a bond for £40,000 in security for the delivery of Alexander M'Allister to Angus M'Conill and to Archibald M'Conill, his natural son, and this security not being regarded as sufficient, he also had to pledge his lands in Arran for the payment of this large sum. Some time having elapsed without Alexander's surrender to the authorities to be dealt with, John, Marquis of Hamilton, feudal superior of Arran, procured letters of horning against Montgomery of Skelmorlie, and was on the eve of denouncing him for his apparent disobedience in failing to bring the wrong-doer to justice, and charged him under the pain of rebellion to do so without delay. Montgomery now occupies the anomalous position of being the aggrieved party in the case, and at the same time the object of a formidable legal prosecution by this potentate of the West. He excused himself on the ground that the time allowed for the letters of horning was too brief,

¹ *Idem*, pp. 303, 341, 701.

in respect that the distance of the complainer's house from the seat of justice was twenty miles of sea, and from the mainland to the coast sixty or eighty miles, his Majesty being at the time resident in the town of Perth. It was therefore impossible for the complainer, being in the Lowlands at the time, either to deliver up the said Allister or to seek remedy at Court within so short a time, the charge having been made at his house at Knockransay. If he delivered Allister to the Marquis he would be in danger not only of forfeiting the penalty of £40,000, but also the lands in security, and thus losing all chance of remedy. The said Clan Allister, he further averred, were "sic unhappie peple and of sic force as the complainer is unable to resist," and he feared that they would, under pretence of said bond, put themselves into possession of his lands to the utter "wrak" of his tenants and servants. He, however, concluded his complaint by saying he had found caution to enter the said Allister, if it should be found that he ought to do so. The cautioner was Hugh Montgomery, baillie of the regality of Kilwinning, who pledged himself for £1000 that Montgomery of Skelmorlie would enter Allister M'Allister before either of the Justices of the Privy Council, on the 10th November following, if ordered to do so, and also to pay, within forty days, to the Treasurer, £100 for his escheat, or else obtain nullity of the horning used against him for not having delivered the said Allister to John, Marquis of Hamilton, conform to the charge executed against him. This band was subscribed on the 21st September, 1601. We have no information as to the punishment inflicted upon Allister for his violence in the isle of Arran. Whether moderate or severe,

it did not prove remedial, for in the course of a few years the same turbulent chieftain became involved in a broil, fraught with results of a far more serious nature than the invasion of Bute seems to have entailed.

Allister MacAllister was not the only scion of the Clan who cast covetous glances upon the fertile fields and well-stocked homesteads of Bute. In 1603, Archibald MacAllister, heir-apparent of Tarbert, took part in another invasion of that long-suffering and devoted island. This time, however, the MacAllisters were not alone concerned. Chieftains from North Kintyre, including Campbell of Auchinbreck, were parties to the attack, and alas! the hereditary champion of law, order, and nationality, the great Earl of Argyll, stoops from his lofty rectitude, and is found, not overtly, but covertly aiding, abetting in, and instigating a vulgar "herschipp." A force of 1200 men, all supplied with arms, "hagbutts and pistolettes," set sail for Bute. On their arrival they proceeded first to damage the property of a widow lady, named Marion Stewart, and to harry her lands of Wester Kames. Thence they passed on to the lands of Ninian Stewart, Sheriff of the County, where all sorts of atrocities and spoliations were committed. The depredators e/ being vassals of Argyll, that nobleman was, according to law, accountable to the Council for their behaviour, and when he and they were summoned to appear, and failed to do so, all of them—the Earl, Archibald MacAllister, and the other delinquents—were ordered to be denounced as the King's rebels. With the denunciation, apparently inoperative so far as punishing the guilty was concerned, this episode appears to have closed.¹ Two years after

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. VI., p. 517.

this—13th June, 1605—an order was issued by the Privy Council to Archibald MacAllister of Loup, and John MacAllister, Tutor of Loup, to exhibit their infeftments and rentals, as well as to find sureties for the payment of his Majesty's rents, under the pain of having the titles declared null and void, and being denounced as rebels. Loup appears to have been one of the few who attended, and we find that he got titles from Argyll for his lands of Loup and others during that year.¹

So far as the public records of the age can indicate, the history of the Clan Allister of Kintyre is a blank for the nine years following 1605. In 1614, however, Alexander MacAllister, the hero of the Knockransay raid, appears once more upon the scene as an actor in a much more portentous drama, and one that was big with the destinies of the mighty *Clann Iain Mhoir*. Alexander left Kintyre ostensibly to aid in carrying out the policy of his feudal superior, Argyll, and take part in the capture of the castle of Dunnyveg, in the King's name; but no sooner did he arrive at the seat of war in Isla than he quickly threw in his lot with Angus Og, the leader of the insurgent host.² Donald MacAllister, the Tutor of Loup, appears among the friends who, with Angus Og, drew up terms of settlement with the Bishop of Argyll, the King's representative in the island; and although Alexander, whose loyalty so rapidly thawed as soon as he trod the ancestral region, does not appear as a party to the bond; yet his share in the rebellion is shewn in the evidence he gave before the Council, in 1615, for the vindication of Angus Og. As he

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., vol. VII., p. 59.

² Denmylne MS. *ad tempus*, Book of Isla.

took part in the treasonable hostilities, so he shared in the punishment inflicted on the rebels. While awaiting his trial in the Tolbooth prison in Edinburgh, the Lords of Council made provision for his "interteynment and charges," to the amount of ten shillings per day, while a kinsman of his, Angus MacEachan MacAllister, apparently his social inferior, received five shillings daily.¹ Other members of the Clan Allister—Ronald Oig MacAllister, Soirle MacAllister, Angus MacAchane MacAllister, and Donald MacAllister Wrik—were charged with complicity in the taking of Dunnyveg.² Alexander MacAllister, the principal member of the Clan involved in these unfortunate proceedings, became the victim of the same tragic fate which became the portion of Angus Og. Both were found guilty of treason, and hanged for having resisted the Royal forces by the defence of that historic fortress.

In 1617, the MacAllister family of Bar, to whom reference has already been made as having some position in the tribe, though apparently not of a territorial character, again comes into view. During that year, Donald MacAllister in Bar appears among those to whom, with the Earl of Argyll, a commission was given for the pursuit and apprehension of Allan Cameron of Lochiel and a number of clansmen and associates, who were at the horn for armed convention and slaughter, and various acts of lawlessness.³ In 1618, we find the Laird of Loup among those who appeared before the Council with proposals as to keeping the peace within Argyll, while, in 1623, MacAllister of Loup is on the Commission of Justices of the Peace in Argyllshire.

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. X., pp. 330-331. ² *Ibid.*, p. 733.

³ Reg. P.C., vol. XI., p. 205.

Since 1614 the annals of the Clan Allister of Kintyre have been tranquil and uneventful, but in 1623 the spell seems to be broken, and the records begin to display considerable animation. Godfrey MacAllister, who was at this date the active head of the house of Tarbert, though his father was still alive, was apparently a man of position, energy, and enterprise, though the latter qualities were not always devoted to the pursuit of the arts of peace. His forays were conducted on quite an extensive scale, and he was at feud with a number of the landowners of Renfrew and Ayr, whose estates lay upon the shores of that waterway which witnessed the last battle fought by the great Somerled. To these shores Godfrey of Tarbert's birlinns and lymfiaddas were wont to sail with warlike intent, and that chieftain could number among his foes Sir Archibald Stewart of Castlemilk, John Shaw of Greenock, Ferlie of that Ilk, John Crawford of Kilbirnie, John Brenshaw of Bishoptown, and James Crawford of Flatterton. Godfrey was evidently able to hold his own against this array of Lowland barons, and the offices of the Government had to be called into requisition. On the 7th September, 1623, a bond of caution had to be signed on Godfrey's behalf by John Lamont of Auchagill in £1000, pledging that Godfrey is not to molest these Lowland lieges or their families, and the bond is registered by Mr James King, advocate, on the 11th of the same month.¹ It appears, however, that the redoubtable chief of Tarbert was not always the aggressor. On the very day on which this bond of caution was registered, Joseph Millar, advocate, registers two bonds of caution for his protection, one

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. XIII., p. 350

by Archibald MacVicar of Blairrowne in £1000 for Malcolm MacNaughtane of Stronseir, and another by John Dunlop in Kirkmichael, Stirling, for £500 on behalf of Dougall Campbell in Knockdarow, securing that both would abstain from molesting Godfrey MacAllister, fiar of Tarbert, and his servants. Both bonds were dated at Inveraray on the 24th September, 1623.¹ It must, however, be admitted that Godfrey of Tarbert, notwithstanding Government interference, managed to keep the social atmosphere far and near in a somewhat electrical condition. His feuds were not to be calculated by units, but by groups. On the 5th November of this same year he has to find caution both for himself and Ronald Roy MacAllister for 3000 and 500 merks respectively not to molest Walter MacAulay of Ardincaple, Malcolm MacNaughtane of Stronseir, Robert Colhoun, fiar of Cumstrodone, and Dougal Campbell in Mamoir, nor their families, and that Godfrey would pay 40 merks and the said Ronald £10 for their escheat to the Treasurer. The bond of caution granted by Andrew M'Keachane of Kilblane contained a clause of relief by Godfrey in favour of the granter.²

Before we part with this turbulent chief, born out of due time and seemingly fitted by nature to shine in a more elementary state of society than the seventeenth century, there remains to be recounted the story of a serious quarrel that broke out between himself and Walter Macaulay of Ardincaple. The Government having adopted a policy of reform for the Western Highlands, sought to make the herring of Lochfyne, still the king of that finny *genus*, an instrument of civilisation. The Admiral of the Western Seas, with his deputies, protected the

¹ Vol. XIII., p. 365.

² *Ibid.*, p. 376.

fishermen of those waters in the pursuit of a calling not always popular among a race in a state of social transition. Macaulay of Ardincaple had apparently been ousted from the deputy admiralship in favour of Godfrey MacAllister of Tarbert. In the record of the dispute Godfrey is called "Admiral Depute," while Ardincaple receives the title of "pretended Admiral." This disagreement was injurious to the industry which the Government sought to protect. The "slayers of herrings" were, as might be expected, greatly embarrassed by this dual control. Sometimes they were summoned to the courts of the real, sometimes to those of the pretended Admiral, while fines for absence were imposed sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other. Otherwise the fishers were molested and harrassed. The real and pretended Admiral were, in the usual form, bound down to keep the peace, and on the 1st October, 1623, Mr Matthew Forsyth, advocate, as procurator for the cautioners, registers a bond of caution by Hector MacNeill of Kilmichell and John Lamont of Achagyll in 3000 merks for Gorrie MacAllister, fiar of Tarbert, Admiral Depute of the West Seas; and in 1000 merks each for Hector MacAllister of Glenranloch, brother of the said Gorrie; Ewen MacGillespick Vc Kenneth, officer to the said Gorrie; John Stewart, his baillie substitute; and James Bruce, notary, his clerk of court, not to molest Walter Macaulay of Ardincaple, pretended Admiral Depute of the said West Seas, and his family. As often happens regarding Highland quarrels and delinquencies, the records leave us enquiring wonderingly, and failing to answer the question, how this matter was settled, if it was settled at all.

After 1624 the annals of the Clan Allister of Kintyre are few and meagre. On the 5th December, 1627, Gorrie MacAllister, heir apparent of Tarbert, who seems now to have fallen upon peaceful times, granted a bond in favour of Archibald, his father, whereby he disposed to him certain lands in the parish of Glassary. This was done for the security of the said Archibald, as cautioner for the granter in a contract with Hector MacAllister and Margaret Campbell, his spouse.¹ In 1631 the same Archibald MacAllister, of Tarbert visited his distinguished clansman, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, at Menstry, and was with him elected a burgess of Stirling on 10th August of that year.² It is said that during this visit MacAllister acknowledged the Earl as his chief; but though there seems to be some ground for the statement in the records of the Lyon Court, we should suppose that the Laird of Loup, the real head of the clan, would have something to say to such a proceeding. On 9th May, 1636, Archibald MacAllister granted an obligation to Sir Dougal Campbell, Bart. of Auchinbrek, for eleven bolls teind meal, Gorrie, his son, being a witness.³ Meantime the records have been very silent as to the history of the main family, and even when the head of the house is referred to identification is rendered doubly difficult from the fact that the Christian name is often omitted. For a long period up to 1657 little can be gathered regarding the family of Loup, and even this year there is only the slight fact to be chronicled that Gorrie MacAllister of Loup appears at Inverary as signatory to a bond of obligation by Donald Makronald,

¹ Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. 474. ² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 147.

³ Reg. of Deeds, vol. 498.

Captain of Clanranald, yr., to George Campbell of that burgh.¹ In 1661 Gorrie MacAllister of Loup is apparently no more, for Hector MacAllister of Loup is a commissioner in the shire of Argyll for regulating, ordering, and lifting the annuity of £40,000 granted to His Majesty by the estates of the realm.² Two years later the heads both of Loup and Tarbert were Justices of Peace in their districts, appointed under the Act of Parliament.³ In 1667, when an Act of the Convention of the Estates was passed voting a sum of money to the King, Ranald MacAllister, Captain of Tarbert, was commissioner for Argyll.⁴

We find no further notice of the Clan Allister until 1689. By that time the great bloodless Revolution was an accomplished fact, and the son of the late Earl of Argyll, whose titles and possessions, as well as his life, had been forfeited, was borne back from William's Court at the Hague on the wave of the new tide that was flowing in the affairs of State. The presence of this potentate in Scotland is witnessed in a display of loyalty shown by the chief of Loup towards the powers that were. A French vessel which had sailed from Ireland seems to have touched at some port in Kintyre, and was taken possession of by MacAllister and Angus Campbell of Kilberry. She was stated to contain some passengers of quality whose identity is not divulged. The two local magnates already mentioned put her under a guard of thirty men, and wrote Argyll, who was attending the Convention of Estates, asking for instructions as to how to dispose of the ship. The Convention issued orders that a

¹ Clanranald Papers.

² Act. Parl. Scot., p. 92,

³ Act. Parl. Scot., *ad tempus*.

⁴ Act. Parl. Scot., *ad tempus*.

sufficient crew should be placed on board to take the ship to Glasgow, and, if necessity should arise, to press seamen into the service, and that as much of the loading should be disposed of as would liquidate the expense of taking her from Kintyre to her destination.¹ It would appear that the Laird of Loup's loyalty was short-lived, for there is evidence that the Clan Allister, probably under the leadership of their chief, shared with their co-patriots in the brilliant victory of Killiecrankie.²

From 1689 to 1704 we lose sight of the Clan Allister, and the fact that the heads of the family do not appear as acting in any public capacity in their district, either as Justices or Commissioners of Supply, is an indication that the shadow of the Revolution rested on them, along with all loyal adherents of the House of Stewart. In 1704, however, during the first Parliament of Queen Anne, we find Alexander MacAllister of Loup, and Archibald MacAllister of Tarbert, as Commissioners of Supply for Argyll, shewing that under the reign of a member of the historic House, suspicions of disloyalty were removed.³ In 1705, we find Archibald MacAllister of Tarbert promoting the commercial interests of his property by an Act which passed the Scottish Parliament, ordaining four yearly and a weekly market to be held at the town of East Tarbert. Each of the quarterly fairs was to last for two days, and the weekly market was to be held every Tuesday.⁴ In 1706, we find that Tarbert has ceased to belong to the Clan Allister, and has passed into the possession of a Maclean.⁵

¹ Act Scot. Par. 1687, p. 77.

² Leven and Melville's Papers, p. 38.

³ Act. Scot. Par., 1689, p. 77.

⁴ Idem, A.D. 1689, p. 77.

⁵ Act. Parl. Scot. *ad tempus*.

Alexander MacAllister of Loup, who flourished at and after the Revolution, was succeeded by his son, Godfrey. He had another son, Duncan, who went to Holland, and settled there in 1717, and *his* son, Robert, rose to the rank of a general in the Dutch service, and commanded the Scots brigade.¹ His descendants are still in that country. Since the time of Godfrey, last mentioned, son has succeeded father in unbroken and uneventful possession. Many years ago this family severed its immemorial connection with the peninsula of Kintyre, when Colonel Somerville MacAllister, grandfather of the present head of Loup, Charles MacAllister, Esq. of Kennox, sold his Highland estates.

Though the MacAllisters of Tarbert seem to have parted with this ancient patrimony about 1706, they survived territorially as lairds of Balnakill and Ardpatrick. Both with Loup and Tarbert is connected the present family of Glenbarr, but the various ramifications can more fitly be discussed under the genealogical portion of this work. The arms, as shown in the letterpress, illustrate the connection of the family with the Clan Donald, while the motto, "*Per mare per terras*," exhibits their common descent with all the cadets of the Isles.

¹ Burke's History of the Commoners of Great Britain.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLS OF STIRLING.



ALEXANDER.

Descent of the Family.—Loss of Gaelic Character.—Vassals of Argyll.—Changes of Tenure.—Menstry made a Barony of Argyll.—Tutor of Menstry.—Birthplace of William Alexander, poet and statesman.—His Education.—Entrance into public life.—Becomes a Courtier.—Receives Knighthood.—Elegy on Prince Henry.—Master of Requests.—Colonizing Scheme.—Buys Tillicoultry.—Knights of Nova Scotia.—Young Sir William made Deputy Lieutenant.—Keeper of the Signet.—Charter for making Largs a Barony and Free Port.—Gets Land in Ulster.—Charters for Menstry and Tullibody.—Crisis in the Colony.—New Honours.—Lord Alexander and the Coinage.—His Psalter.—Visits Tarbert.—Matriculates Arms.—New House of Menstry.—His Death.—Character.—His Sons.—2nd Earl.—3rd Earl.—4th Earl.—5th and last Earl.—Failure of Heirs.

THE Alexanders of Menstry, though sharing the same ancestry as the Clan Allister of Kintyre, are not easily connected with any of the sons of Alastair Mor. The genealogical tree, formulated in the interests of a claimant to the Earldom of Stir-

ling, traced this family to Duncan, the son of Alexander, whose lands in the Parish of Glenorchy passed out of the family on the death of John, son of Duncan, about the middle of the fourteenth century. From this view we are inclined to dissent. Early in the fourteenth century, Gilbert, the son of Donald, the son of Alastair Mor, received a charter for lands in Stirlingshire, lands which further evidence identifies as Glorat, in the Parish of Campsie. They are probably the descendants of this Gilbert de Insula whom we find, not far from this region, settled on the lands of Menstry early in the sixteenth century.

The lands of Menstry belong to the Clackmannanshire portion of the old Parish of Logie, and the modern village of the name lies nearly four and a-half miles to the north-east of the town of Stirling. It stands 75 feet above sea level, at the southern base of the Ochil Hills, and the beauty of the landscape has been justly admired. It is celebrated in an ancient ballad of the district, ascribed to a miller's wife whom the fairies are blamed for having spirited away :—

“O Alva woods are bonny,
Tillycoultry woods are fair ;
But when I think of the bonny braes of Menstrie,
It makes my heart aye sair.”

During the generations of which nothing is recorded, and amid a new environment, the descendants of *Gilbert de Insula* became weaned from their Gaelic proclivities and traditions, were transformed in fact into plodding prosaic Southerners, and in token of their departure from the ways of their Celtic forefathers, they dropped the *Mac* from their surname and become plain Alexanders. The first of

the Alexanders of Menstry upon whom the light of history is shed is Thomas, who appears in 1505 as one of the sixteen arbiters connected with the division of 40 acres in Clackmannanshire, about which a dispute had arisen between the Abbot of Cambuskenneth and Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan.¹ William Alexander, another member of the family, occupied a holding on the estate of Tullibody in 1518, and with that property as well as with Menstry, the race was long afterwards associated. They occupied the position of smaller barons, and held their lands of the great Crown vassals, whom we find extending their power and possessions into these Southern regions as well as into Highland territories, the politic family of Argyll.²

Andrew Alexander, who succeeded his father Thomas, had a charter from the Earl of Argyll of the lands of Menstry, dated 8th April, 1526, granted to himself and Catherine Graham, his spouse, in liferent, and in fee to their son Alexander.³ Not till now do they appear to have been chartered land owners, a fact that may probably account for the obscurity of their earlier annals. Andrew was succeeded, in terms of the charter just referred to, by his son Alexander in 1527; but the Earl of Argyll, who displayed considerable vacillation as to the terms upon which his vassals were to hold the lands of Menstry, took sasine of them in February of the same year upon their having been surrendered by Alexander.⁴ Again, two years later, Alexander was appointed baillie on the Earl

¹ Chartulary of Cambuskenneth Abbey, p. 86.

² Act. Dom. Con., vol. XXX., fol. 39.

³ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 8. ⁴ *Ibid.*

of Argyll's Clackmannanshire estates, and in the sasine wherein the appointment is chronicled he is described "*honorabilis vir Alexander Alshynder de Menstry.*" In 1530 the Earl of Argyll again changes the Alexanders' tenure, for on the 20th April of that year James V., at Stirling, confirms, first a charter of fee-farm made by Lord Archibald Campbell and his father, the Earl, to Alexander Alsynder and Elizabeth Douglas, his spouse, and the longer liver of them, in liferent, and Andrew Alsynder, their son and heir apparent, in fee of their five pound land of old extent called the Mains of Menstry, in the sheriffdom of Clackmannan. Secondly, the King confirms a charter by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, to his beloved servitor, Alexander Alsynder of Menstry, of the five merkland of Dunsletter, which the late Andrew Alsynder, his father, and Catherine Grahame, his mother, formerly alienated, lying in the lordship of Menteith and sheriffdom of Perth, to be held of the said Earl and his successors in fee and heritage for ever for the annual payment of one penny.¹

In 1541 the lands of Menstry were raised into a barony in a sasine granted by James V. in favour of Archibald, Earl of Argyll.² On 30th October, 1542, Alexander of Menstry acted as attorney to the Earl of Argyll in another sasine of the barony of Menstry. Alexander died in 1565, and his will not having been produced, his executors were summoned before the Commissary Court at Edinburgh to answer for neglect. It appeared, however, from the evidence of William Alexander, his heir and successor, that before his

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., liber. XIII., 19.

² House of Alexander, vol. I., pp. 12, 13.

death his father had made testament and constituted him his executor, and hence he contended that no datives should be given.¹ This William Alexander succeeded his father, but nothing further is recorded of him. His younger brother James received from John, Earl of Mar, a charter of an annual rent of 100 merks Scots "furth of the land of Glencarse in the barony of Alloway and shire of Clackmannan," which charter was confirmed under the great seal,² where he is designed "James Alexander in Menstry." On 9th November, 1586, he is, in another instrument, described as a merchant burgess of Stirling.³ When Alexander Alexander, who succeeded his father William, died in 1580, he, in his will of 5th February, entrusted his children to the care of this James, his uncle, who was thereafter and consequently known as "Tutor of Menstry." The net estate of Alexander Alexander amounted to £437 15s 6d. In the guardianship of Alexander's children, John Alexander of Pitgogar and Elizabeth Alexander were associated with their grand-uncle James.⁴

So far we have followed the uneventful course of the Alexander family, a history, so far as it has gone, containing much that was commonplace, and certainly not suggesting any connection with the Celtic potentates who for centuries were rivals of the Scottish Kings. All of a sudden, however, there is a break in the monotonous detail of charter and sasine, of testament and succession, of gear and moveables, and we come upon a commanding personality, towering in intellectual stature above the

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., pp. 12, 13.

² Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. XXX., No. 292.

³ Reg. of Deeds, vol. XXI., 201 C.

⁴ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 28.

rest of his race, and by his ambition, boldness, and love of enterprise, reminding us that, despite the altered conditions, we are telling the story of the Clan Donald. The career of the first Earl of Stirling demands somewhat detailed notice.

William Alexander, the future statesman and poet, was born in the manor house of Menstry, in or about the year 1567.¹ His upbringing and tuition



OLD HOUSE OF MENSTRIE.

from the age of fourteen devolved, as we have seen, upon his grand-uncle, James Alexander, who had been nominated "tutor to the bairns." James resided in Stirling, and we may safely assume that William lived with him, and received the rudiments of his education in the Grammar School of that town, under the supervision of Thomas Buchanan, nephew of the celebrated George, and rector of the institution during these years. He afterwards attended the University of Leyden.² Beyond these meagre facts, nothing is known of his early manhood, and the first incident connected with his life that remains on public record is his infetment in the

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 28.

² Hawthorndean MS.

five pound land of the Mains of Menstry, in 1597, by Archibald, Earl of Argyll. The precept of sasine is dated the 18th March, 1597-8. From Archibald, Earl of Argyll, he subsequently received the lands and barony of Menstry for the yearly payment of 24 bolls of wheat, 6 score bolls malt, 52 bolls oatmeal, and 23 bolls oats, together with 4 dozen "sufficient capons, and 2 dozen hens, and 30 unclipped lambs, with 100 merks of money, and 40 merks at the entry of an heir in place of the duplicand of the feu duty."¹ It may finally be noted with regard to his tenure of the ancestral soil, that on the 24th September, 1607, a charter was granted him, under the great seal, of the minerals and metals of every kind with the lands and barony of Menstry, one-tenth of the proceeds being payable to the sovereign.²

William Alexander's entrance into public life dates from his introduction to the Scottish Court by the Earl of Argyll, the hereditary patron of his house, upon which he was appointed tutor to Prince Henry, the heir apparent to the throne. On the union of the Crowns in 1603, Alexander followed James to England, and was enrolled as one of the thirty-two gentlemen extraordinary of Prince Henry's private chamber. His gifts as a poet, his culture as a scholar, and his high intellectual endowments, strongly commended him to King James, who plumed himself upon his classical learning, and over whose unstable and vacillating mind the able courtier exercised a unique and life-long ascendancy. In 1607, Sir William Erskine of Balgonie, commonly called Parson of Campsie, received a Royal warrant

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. XLIV., 84.

² Ibid., lib. XLV., 78.

for an Exchequer pension of £200 a year to be shared with his son-in-law, William Alexander, and it was stipulated that after Erskine's death half the amount should continue to be payable to the poet.¹ In 1608, William Alexander, and his relative, Walter Alexander, a member of the Prince's household, received authority to uplift all arrears of taxes due to the Crown from the first year of the reign of Edward VI. up to the thirtieth year of Elizabeth, amounting to £12,000, a sum on which they were to receive a commission of one half; but what benefits, if any, they derived from this permission history does not record.² About 1609 William Alexander received the honour of knighthood from the King. There is no distinct record of the date; but on the 20th May of that year we find him for the first time described as Knight, and it is probable that this mark of Royal favour was conferred but a short time before then.³ The death of Prince Henry, the heir to the throne of Britain, on 6th November, 1612, at the early age of eighteen, plunged the nation into mourning, and Sir William Alexander's elegaic poem on the life cut short in its early prime worthily commemorates the sad event. In token of appreciation James appointed the poet to the same position in Prince Charles' household as he occupied in that of the late Prince.⁴

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, the silver mines of Scotland held out fair prospects of being profitably wrought, and in 1613 the King granted, among others, to Sir William Alexander, who had begun to develop a talent for speculation,

¹ Docquet Book of Exchequer. ² Records of the Privy Seal, *ad tempus*.

³ Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. I. 185, fol. 134.

⁴ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 45.

the working of the silver mine at Hilderston, on condition of a royalty being paid of one-tenth of the refined ore.¹ Eventually these mining operations proved unprofitable, and apparently a loss to all concerned. In 1614 the King appointed Sir William to the post of Master of Requests, an office in which he was expected to prevent his less fortunate countrymen from making too great demands upon the Royal bounty. In the days which followed the union of the Crowns, many Scots of long lineage but short purses followed James' fortunes to his great English capital, and Sir William's new office would not likely be a sinecure.²

The project with which Sir William Alexander's name is chiefly connected is his scheme for the establishment of an American colony under the name of New Scotland. Already had the foundation of the great Republic of the West been laid in the famous patent of 1620, by which forty English subjects, incorporated as a Council, "for planting, ruling, and governing New England," acquired lands extending from the 40th to the 48th degree of latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The English Colonists having found on their north frontier certain other Colonists differing from themselves both in religion and in race, complications appear to have arisen which demanded the Royal attention, and as to which King James consulted his favourite countryman. Sir William Alexander believed in this he saw an opportunity for advancing a large scheme of public utility, as well as for promoting his own private fortunes. He therefore secured the Royal consent for his establishment of a

¹ Acta Sec. Con., 17th Mar. 1613.

² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 49.

new Scottish Colony in Canadian territory, and the Company of New Plymouth having surrendered their rights, he procured a grant of the vast district known since then as Nova Scotia, consisting of the lands lying east of the St Croix, and south of the St Lawrence. The patent for acquiring this large territory was enacted on the 10th September, 1621, and on the 29th of the same month a charter passed under the Great Seal appointing Sir William Alexander hereditary Lieutenant of the new Colony.¹ Into the details of this scheme and the adverse fortunes it encountered we cannot enter with much detail.

In the circumstances of the age, with its defective transport and difficulties of communication, the scheme was too ambitious and far-reaching to meet with success in the near future, though it eventually added to the British Crown one of its best and most prized possessions. It was an enterprise to charm the fancy of the brilliant Scotsman, whose impulsive Celtic spirit and visionary poetic nature saw things through a golden halo, in which difficulties vanished and triumph was assured. The dream, which in a later age seized on the imagination of a greater Scot and a mightier bard, that of founding a territorial family on a large scale, worked also on Sir William Alexander's mind, and, anticipating prosperity in his colonizing scheme, he added to his small family estate of Menstry by purchasing the adjacent property of Tillicoultry, borrowing the purchase money from Walter Cowan, a wealthy citizen of Stirling.² When loss and disaster attended the initial stages of his Colonial enterprise, he adopted a system of

¹ The House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 62.

² Register of Deeds, vol. 347

providing finances which already possessed the prestige of the Royal example. James VI., who was not unfrequently in the unkingly position of being out at elbows, had established a system of selling titles, with the view of replenishing an exhausted treasury. English owners of land had become baronets of Ulster with immense advantage to the revenue; and now Sir William Alexander, adopting the same methods, obtained the Royal consent, with that of the Lords of Council, to the establishment of a baronetcy of Nova Scotia among Scottish landowners, the fees of enrolment and the purchase money to go towards the expenses of the colony.¹ The death of James VI., in 1625, somewhat retarded the progress of events; but on the accession of Charles I. a Charter of Novodamus passed the Great Seal on the 12th July of that year, confirming Sir William Alexander and his heirs in the office of Lieutenant of Nova Scotia.² This charter contained additional clauses regarding the new order of baronets, restricting the number to one hundred and fifty, and promising that the former grant would be confirmed by Parliament. All who paid a hundred and fifty pounds for six thousand acres were to receive the honour of a knight baronetcy, while the King, by letter to the Scottish Privy Council, of date 19th July, 1625, fixed the amount of land that was granted to the new baronets at "thrie myles in breadth, and six in lenth, of landis within New Scotland, for their several proportions." When a technical difficulty arose as to the infeftment of the newly made baronets in their freshly acquired territories without their own

¹ Reg. Sec. Con., Royal Letters.

² Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. LI., 23.

presence on the spot, recourse was had to a curious legal fiction. The soil of the Castle Hill of Edinburgh was, by a Royal mandate, converted into that of Nova Scotia, and there they were invested with their dignities, and took actual and corporeal possession of their lands.

Meantime, Sir William Alexander continued to advance in royal favour. The Earl of Melrose having been removed from the office of Chief Secretary for Scotland, Sir William was promoted to the vacant post. The colonising scheme had not hitherto been attended with success so far as its practical working was concerned, and early in 1627 preparations were made for a new expedition to Nova Scotia. On the eve of its departure alarming rumours were brought to Britain as to claims actively pressed by French Canadian settlers to a territory which embraced the whole of the region in which New Scotland was situated.¹ This was not to be wondered at, seeing that the region in question belonged to the French, if priority of discovery and occupation constituted a preferable claim. The English Government, however, acted with energy. In an engagement which ensued the French suffered a serious defeat, and the Scottish settlers were meanwhile left masters of the situation.² The news of the victory gave a new impetus to the colonial enterprise; fourteen new patents of baronetcy were recorded, new vessels were chartered, and Sir William Alexander's eldest son was appointed to accompany the fleet as his father's deputy-lieutenant.³ It was found on their arrival at Port

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 100.

² Haliburton's Nova Scotia, vol. I., p. 43.

³ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 101.

Royal, the headquarters and stronghold of the colony, that a number of English adventurers were seeking to gain a footing there, and the difficulties arising from their pretensions necessitated the return of young Sir William to Britain in the following year. The result was the frustration of the Englishmen's design, the confirmation of the original grant, and an increase of the powers of the promoters to settle colonies in those regions of the new world.

While Sir William Alexander's colonial ambition now seemed likely to be satisfied, his private fortunes bade fair to be prosperous. In 1627 he was appointed Keeper of the Signet, while his office of Scottish Secretary was enhanced by an addition of £500 by the commutation of certain perquisites which belonged to his predecessors.¹ About this time he resolved to establish a shipping port upon the West of Scotland, and for this purpose obtained a royal charter of the lands of Largs, with permission to erect them into a barony and to construct a free port and haven for the advancement of trade and commerce.² On the 14th January, 1627, he received Irish citizenship, and following the example of several Ayrshire landowners who had sought to improve their shattered fortunes by acquiring lands in the province of Ulster, he obtained a grant of 1000 acres in the County of Armagh.³ The Scottish Secretary also enlarged his family estate at home. In 1628 he obtained from Archibald, Lord of Lorne, a new charter for Menstry by which the lands and barony were granted him and his spouse on an annual payment of £80 Scots. By another charter

¹ House of Alexandria, vol. I., p. 106.

² Reg. Mag. Sig., LII. 223.
Records of the Rolls Ireland, vol. V., p. 107.

Earl of Stirling to Viscount Stormont.

Y^r friend the my dear good Lord
as I have much obliged been looking
to you (as) for more so I have sent earnest
the most of my efforts for you as you
may perhaps be by the letter which I sent
previously for I have to express what
either by effort they by profession
I think my self was much obliged to you
to favour in making your way for William
quarry baronet but it is this to do me
a greater deal of pains if you do not
it not by other means some of the
of life to turn after him, or by making
him to give place into some of the
I have the most of them all not come in
a while I refer to you to do better
and be assured that in doing this
may tend to your good there is no more
and a true affection more than for
that I am
— to your
W^m Alexander
23 of November

under the great seal he received the lands and barony of Tullibody, bounding the lands of Menstry on the south east.¹

In 1629-30, a crisis arose in the history of the Colony with which Sir William's fortunes were so closely identified. Great Britain had been at war with France, but when peace was concluded Port Royal was ceded to the latter Kingdom, and with it the extensive district upon which the Scottish nobleman had staked his fortune. He was promised £6000, and £10,000 was actually voted in recompense for his losses in connection with what was really a national enterprise, but neither he nor his successors ever actually received payment. In view of the vast expenses he incurred on behalf of a Colony, first promoted but afterwards abandoned by the Crown, the increasing embarrassments of his private affairs is not perhaps to be wondered at. The King, amid all changes of fortune, continued to pour upon him the highest honours. On the 4th September, 1630, Sir William Alexander was elevated to the state and dignity of Viscount of Stirling and Lord Alexander of Tullibody.² The same year Lord Stirling visited Scotland, and sold for £12,000 Scots the lands and port of Largs. Charles I. cannot be absolved from gross inconsistency in his relations with Lord Stirling and the Colony of Nova Scotia; but probably his increasing domestic difficulties prevented his taking a firm stand at the risk of a rupture with France.³ Down to the very last he declared his purpose to maintain the Colony, while almost in the same breath with this declaration, Lord Stirling was charged in a Royal missive

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., LII., 151-222.

² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 127. ³ Ibid., 142.

to abandon it. Two other projects with which Lord Stirling's name is associated, and through which he incurred much odium in his latter years, may be referred to in passing. One was the scheme by which he obtained the Royal authority for coining copper farthings, and afterwards penny, twopenny, and fourpenny pieces, the carrying out of which involved a debased coinage.¹ The other project was an attempt to impose upon the Churches of England and Scotland a metrical translation of the Psalms executed by Lord Stirling himself.² The Church critics objected to some of the poet's phrases, such as the description of the moon as "pale lady of the night," and of the sun as "Lord of light," such expressions being too suggestive of classic myth for the orthodox national establishments. The most fatal objection, however, was that the offending volume was being introduced by the strong arm of the Royal prerogative, the opposition to which was already heard in dangerous mutterings which heralded the violent storm of political revolution.

In 1631, Viscount Stirling was visited at Menstry by Archibald MacAllister of Tarbert, who, on that occasion, acknowledged his Chiefship over the Clan Allister. Whatever other significance such a proceeding possessed, it seems to confirm our view that the Alexanders of Menstry were, like the Clan Allister of Kintyre, descended from *Alastair Mor's* eldest son. Lord Stirling and MacAllister of Tarbert were both elected burgesses of Stirling on the 10th of August of that year.³ It was about this time that Lord Stirling matriculated arms. The Royal letter instructing the Lyon King-at-Arms

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 141.

² *Ibid.*, 142.

³ Stirling Burgh Records.



WILLIAM, EARL OF STIRLING.

ordered “to marshall his Coate Armour, allowing it to him, quartered with the armes of Clan Allaster, who hath acknowledged him for chief of the familie.” The coat of arms granted to Lord Stirling, combined with the motto, is a clear acknowledgment by him of his Clan Donald descent, and confirms the statements of the genealogists. It is thus described in the MS. in the Lyon Office :—“Alexander Erle off Stirline Lord Alexander of Canada, &c., Bairyeth quarterlie—First parted per pale arg. and sable a chiveron with a croisant in bass counterchanged for his paternall coat. Secondlie, or, a lumfad raes in croce sable betwixt thrie croce croset gules by the name of M^c——; the thrid as the second; the fourt as the first. Over all ane Inscutcheon with the armes of Nova Scotia, viz., arg. a crose azur with the armes of Scotland; aboue the schield his comitall crounet; upon the same, his helme and mantle guls doubled ermine. For his creist, on a wreath arg. sable, a bever proper. For supporters a Savaidge and a Marmaid, combe in hand. His Motto, *Per Mare per terras.*”

It will be seen from the foregoing description that Lord Stirling had just been raised to the Peerage, under the title of Earl of Stirling. He had already rebuilt or enlarged the old house of Menstry; but now, in the town of Stirling, whence he derived his new title, his son, Anthony, who had studied architecture, designed a handsome and commodious residence, commanding a view of historic scenes, and abounding in patriotic memories. The following year (1634) the Earl of Stirling further augmented his family possessions, receiving under the Great Seal a charter of the lands and town of Tillicoultry. These were erected into a burgh of

barony, to be held of the King, on the annual payment of £55 Scots.¹

The latter years of the Earl's life were clouded by domestic sorrow, his oldest son, Lord Alexander, and his second son, Sir Anthony, dying in 1637-38.² On the 12th February, 1640, the Earl of Stirling passed away, and his remains were buried in the family vault of his own town. His character as a public man was in his own day severely aspersed; no one, indeed, has ever been more adversely criti-



NEW HOUSE OF MENSTRIE.

cised in his public relations. Yet it appears to us that there is no incident in his life unworthy of an honourable name. His errors were those of a lofty ambition, "the last infirmity of noble minds," and if he displayed imprudence in his financial transactions it was under the influence of no sordid desire, but to extend to a new continent the power and prestige of his native land. As a poet and as a private gentleman he was esteemed beyond most, and when clouds of obloquy gathered round him in life's evening,

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. liv. LIV., No. 268. Tillicoultry had been purchased long before, and along with other lands now acquired is erected into a barony.

² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 172.

Drummond of Hawthornden remained his devoted friend to the last. Even Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, who employed his caustic pen with unfavourable comments upon some of the Earl's projects, addressed to him the following epigram shortly before he (Sir Thomas) died :—

“ In the universal list of all the spirits
That either live or are set down in story,
No tyme or place can show us one who merits
But you alone of the best poets the glorie
That ever was in State affairs employed,
And best statesman that ever was a poet.”

The Earl of Stirling seems to have been haunted by the apprehension that the honours he had acquired might pass out of the line of his direct descendants to some collateral branch. With the view of preventing such a contingency, he surrendered his titles of Baronet of Nova Scotia, Lord Alexander of Tullibody, Viscount of Canada, and Earl of Stirling into the King's hands shortly before he died. Thereupon the King, by a charter under the Great Seal, of date 7th December, 1639, granted these titles *de novo* to the heirs male, and failing them to the eldest heirs female. Yet notwithstanding several sons having been born to him, and numerous descendants of later generations having arisen in the male line, by a singular fatality his titles became extinct in less than a century after his death.

Lord Alexander, the Earl's oldest son, did not succeed his father, having pre-deceased him by about a year, yet some reference to his short but promising career must be made. He received his higher education in the University of Glasgow,

which he entered in 1618, his name appearing in the Register as *Gulielmus Alexander haeres Dom. de Menstrie*. In 1628 he received the honour of knighthood, and was appointed by his father governor of New Scotland.¹ On the 28th March of that year he received liberty to proceed with four ships to Newfoundland, the river of Canada, and New Scotland, for settling Colonists in these parts.² He returned from Canada in autumn, and on the 25th December, Christmas day, "after his return from the sea voyage gave to the pair of Stirling fiftie aucht pundis money."³ On 11th May, 1630, Sir William Alexander received a Royal patent for thirty-one years "for the sole trade in all and singular the regions, countries, dominions and all places adjoining, for beaver skins and wool and all other skins of wild beasts."⁴ When his father was created Earl of Stirling, he assumed the courtesy title of Lord Alexander. He was sworn a member of the Privy Council of Scotland in November, 1634, and on the 20th December Royal letters were issued at Hampstead appointing him an extraordinary Lord of Session in succession to his father. On 22nd April, 1635, he received a grant from the Council of New England "of all that part of the mainland in New England from St Croix adjoining New Scotland along the sea coast to Pemo quid and

¹ Young Sir William had a seal designed for his special use by authority of the Privy Council. It was to display "A shippe with all her ornaments and apparrelling, the mayne saile onelie displayed with the armes of New Scotland, bearing a Saltoire with ane scutcheon of the ancient armes of Scotland, and upon the head of the said shippe carcing ane unicorne sitand, and ane savage man standing upone the sterne, both bearing St Androes Crose." The seal was to bear the legend "Sigillum Gulielmi Alexandri Militis Magni Admiralli Novi Scotiae."

² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 102.

³ Stirling Kirk Session Records.

⁴ Colonial Papers, p. 165.

so up the river to the Kuibequi to be henceforth called the County of Canada, also Long Island called the Isle of Stirling.¹ It is said that the hardships which he endured from the rigours of an American winter as his father's deputy in Nova Scotia injured his constitution and sowed the germs of his premature death, which took place at London, 18th May, 1638.

Anthony, the second son of the Earl of Stirling, was, like his older brother, a young man of talent and culture. He also received his education at the College of St Mungo, having been registered as a student in March, 1623. By letter addressed to the Privy Council, in July, 1626, Charles I. gave him leave to "proceed for three years on foreign travel, the better to qualify him for the gaining of languages and for otherwise doing his Majestie and his countrie service."² It appears that while on the Continent Anthony devoted himself to the study of architecture, and on his return, in 1628, he was, on the King's advice, appointed Master of Works conjointly with James Murray of Kilbaberton. In October, 1630, he was admitted an honorary burgess of Stirling,³ and five years later he was knighted at Whitehall. During these years he had held the office of Joint Master of the King's Works and Buildings in Scotland; but the Scottish Lodge of Free Masons had opposed his nomination, on the ground that the office belonged by rights to their hereditary Grand Master, Sir William St Clair of Roslin, and, acting on this objection, the Commissioners of Exchequer delayed to give effect to the Royal warrant for his appointment, as well as the

¹ Colonial Papers, p. 204.

² House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 228.

³ Stirling Burgh Records.

payment of his salary.¹ Before effect could be given to the various Royal letters securing him in the emoluments of the office, Sir Anthony died on the 17th September, 1637, and his remains were laid to rest in the family vault in Stirling.²

Henry Alexander, third son of the Earl of Stirling, was educated, like his two elder brothers, in the University of Glasgow. Henry followed mercantile pursuits, and on the 13th October, 1634, received letters patent under the Great Seal, along with Patrick Maule of Panmure, James Maxwell of Inverwick, and Sir Thomas Thomson of Duddingston, Kt., granting them a monopoly for thirty years of exporting goods from Scotland to America. On 21st April, 1636, the same privilege was extended so as to include Africa. Like his brothers, he also received the honour of being made a burgess of Stirling on the 9th November, 1636, and about the same time was appointed Agent of the Convention of Royal Burghs.³

When the first Earl of Stirling died in 1639, his heir, Sir William Alexander, had pre-deceased him by about a year. Sir William left an infant son, William, who succeeded his grandfather as second Earl of Stirling, but he seems to have survived only a few months, and was succeeded by his uncle, Henry Alexander, to whom reference has just been made, as third Earl of Stirling in May, 1640.⁴ This position he held for ten uneventful years, when he died in 1650, leaving an only son Henry, who succeeded him as fourth Earl of Stirling. The fourth Earl of Stirling was a child at his father's death,

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., pp. 229-30.

² Balfour's Annals, vol. II., p. 251.

³ Stirling Burgh Records.

⁴ House of Alexander, vol I., p. 238.

and was evidently under guardians in 1661. In that year his guardians submitted to the Privy Council a memorandum bearing upon the youthful Earl's hereditary claim upon the country of Nova Scotia, and in view of the sum of £10,000 voted to the first Earl never having been paid, praying the King to continue to the present Earl the grant of the Colony for which his grandfather had sacrificed his fortune. It does not appear that the prayer of the request was granted.¹ Henry, fourth Earl of Stirling, died in February, 1690, and his remains were on the 11th of that month interred in the family burial place at Binfield. In his will, dated 13th June, 1683, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 27th May, 1691, he named as his executors Robert Lee, Esquire, and his "dear sister Dame Jane Alexander," to whom he bequeathed "goods, plate, jewells, and personall estate wheresoever and whatsoever, in trust, that they shall sell and dispose of the same to pay debts and divide surplusage amongst all my children except the eldest, Lord Alexander."² He left a large family of sons and daughters, the eldest son, Henry, succeeding him as fifth Earl of Stirling. He was born on 7th November, 1664, and led a life of privacy and retirement, taking no part in public affairs. In the autumn of 1733 he waited on the King and Queen at Court in his 69th year, not having previously paid his respects to royalty since 1691. He was introduced by Sir Robert Walpole, and was graciously received.³ He died, without issue, on the 4th December, 1739,⁴ and with him the Earls of

¹ House of Alexander, vol. I., p. 238, ² Ibid., p. 243.

³ Caledonian Mercury, 2nd October, 1733.

⁴ Tombstone inscription in Binfield Church.

Stirling, though their patent of nobility could be transmitted through all legal heirs, became extinct. Since his time more than one claimant to the dormant honour has appeared, but none has been able to satisfy the House of Lords as to the unimpeachable validity of his claim, nor is it likely that any of the old line, though morally sure of his descent, will be successful in placing his right of succession genealogically beyond dispute.

The various estates of the first Earl of Stirling were disposed of after his death for the satisfaction of his creditors, while the Stirling mansion, which was never occupied by any of his successors, passed into possession of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, in 1666. In 1764, it was sold on behalf of John, fourth Duke of Argyll, and about the beginning of the present century it was transferred to the War Department, being used as a military hospital. The name of the first Earl of Stirling will always be remembered in connection with the colony of Nova Scotia. Though ceded to the French in the reign of Charles II., in 1763 it finally came into the undisputed possession of Great Britain, and since that time has been a favourite field of emigration for the many scions of the Clan Donald who have been forced, by adverse fortune, to leave the country of their sires.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DESCENDANTS OF ALASTAIR OG.

THE CLAN DONALD OF ULSTER.



MACDONALD OF ULSTER.

Alastair Og and his Sons.—Their Place in Irish History.—O'Neill's Galloglaachs.—Cnoc 'na Cluith.—Somerled.—Turlough Mor.—Meagre but Sanguinary Annals of the Fifteenth Century.—Wars of O'Neill and O'Donnell.—Gillespie MacDonald O'Neill's *Nuncio*.—Agreement with Lord Deputy.—O'Neill's continued Disloyalty.—Rupture with Macdonald.—Submission to Government.—Reconciliation with O'Neill.—Disappearance from History.

ALASTAIR OG, the oldest son of Angus Mor of Isla, and so called to distinguish him from his uncle *Alastair Mor*, succeeded his father in the lordship of the Isles in or about 1295. Before his father's death he is associated with him in some of the more important public acts of his latter days. He was

present at the meeting in favour of the elder Bruce and against the succession of the Maid of Norway held at Turnberry in September, 1286. Again, in 1291, Alexander, who in consequence of his father's great age, is the active representative of the family, offers the oath of allegiance to the English King, who by this time has wearied of supporting the pretensions of any of the candidates, and makes no secret of his intention to make Scotland an English province.¹ On 11th July, 1292, there is a safeguard given to himself and his father and merchants for purposes of commerce in Ireland, and similar letters of protection are given him, probably for the same purpose, in April of that year.² From this time forward Alexander continued to give a steady, consistent, and avowed support to the pretensions of Edward I., while his hostility to the cause of Scottish Independence was correspondingly keen and inflexible. In proof of the confidence which the English monarch reposed in his influence and ability, he appointed him High Admiral of the Western Seas, while he also made him baillie of the extensive region of Kintyre. The difficulties which Alexander encountered in reducing the Highlands and Islands to subjection have been already narrated. In 1297 the Steward of Scotland, encouraged by the success which attended the arms of the heroic Wallace at the battle of Stirling, endeavoured to make head against the English power in the island of Bute, and fortified Rothesay Castle, the hereditary palace of the High Steward, which belonged to the ancient barony of Ascog. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, attacked the Steward in

¹ Clan Donald, vol. I., p. 84.

² Calendar of Irish State Papers, *ad tempus*.

his stronghold, captured the castle, and detained the Steward prisoner. It is thus clear that *Alastair Og* was one of the most strenuous as well as ablest of the Scottish supporters of Edward I. All the more was the vengeance of Robert Bruce directed against himself and his family when the Independence of Scotland became an accomplished fact. Alexander's fate is somewhat veiled in obscurity, though we think there seems no reason for seriously questioning the tradition that he was taken by Bruce in the capture of Castle Swen, and imprisoned in Dundonald, where he soon afterwards died.

According to the MS. of 1450, *Alastair Og* left six sons, Black John, Reginald, Somerled, Angus, Godfrey, and Charles, and the same authority gives the names of other descendants of the third and fourth generations. They, like the sons of *Alastair Mor*, inherited a legacy of vengeance at the hands of the deliverer of Scotland, and none of them seems to have possessed an inch of land where their father exercised almost regal sway. The younger brother, Angus Og, Lord of Kintyre and Bute, was fortunate enough to espouse the winning side, and became both feudally and Celtically the Lord of the Isles, while the sons of Alexander, driven from their native soil, had to seek refuge in another land.

When the light of history falls upon the sons of Alexander after their father's downfall, we find them in a land with which the Clan Cholla never ceased to be familiar since the days of the early Dalriadic settlements, namely, the province of Ulster, or "Uladh," as it was known to the ancient Irish chroniclers. There is a good deal of difficulty in giving a clear account of the history of this race, important though it be as the senior family of the

whole House of Macdonald. This difficulty partly arises from the scattered and meagre references in the Irish Annals, though to them we are indebted for most valuable information ; and partly from the confusion which exists among the genealogists, all with the exception of the MS. of 1450, which must always be the sheet anchor of our genealogical faith. For these reasons it is not always easy to disentangle *Alastair Og's* descendants from certain other Clan Donald septs which crop up in Irish history before and after the period when his sons crossed to the province of Ulster.

The Irish Annals¹ inform us that as early as 1253 a race of Macdonalds occupied the barony of Clan Kelly, in the east of Fermanagh, in Ulster, and that these traced their name and origin to Donald, son of Colgan, son of Caellach, son of Tuathal, son of Daimlin, son of Cairbre, son of Damh Airgid, the common ancestor of Maguire, Macmahon, and other chiefs of Oriel. This family is now extinct in the male line, the last representative having died in Scotland about 1840 in a humble rank of life. Little is known of its history beyond fragmentary notices in the Annals, though its position was not unimportant among the ancient Irish septs. This passing reference is made to it to prevent its being confused with the Clan Donald of Innse-Gall, from whom this sept is racially to be carefully distinguished. According to the Clanranald seanachie and the historian of Sleat, some of the sons of *Alastair Mor* who went to Ireland left septs behind them who went by the surname of Macdonald. This fact, if it could be verified, would have to be borne in mind in

¹ Annals of Ulster, vol. IV., p. 1253.

our history of *Alastair Og's* descendants. The descendants of John Mor Tanistear, who in the sixteenth century became the dominant power in the north of Ireland, dwarfed all other Clan Donald septs of that region, and are easy distinguishable, as a rule, from the subject of the present chapter.

There is reason to believe that all the sons of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, settled in various parts of Ireland. In these regions they became Captains or Constables of Galloglachs, and it is in this capacity that we find them referred to both in the Irish Annals and the public records of the sixteenth century. These Galloglachs, incorrectly styled "gallowglasses," were the most redoubtable type of foot-soldier known in Irish history. They were distinguished from the "Kerns," who were more lightly clad and armed. The "galloglachs" were picked men, chosen for their superior size and strength. Harnessed in shirts of mail studded with iron nails and rings, they carried long swords and broad battle-axes called "sparres," with edges so keen that at one blow they cleft helmet and skull. Each Galloglach was attended by a boy, who carried three darts, thrown by the warrior before he came to actual grips with the foe. These were the most formidable element among the Irish irregular armies, and on them especially did the fate of battles depend.¹ They were called Galloglachs because they were not natives of the land for whose chief they fought, but soldiers of fortune, or mercenaries, sometimes from distant parts of Ireland, but oftener still from Scotland.² We find

¹ Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol I., p. 34. Irish State Papers, Henry VIII., p. 448.

² This explanation seems justified by the derivation of the word from *gall*, stranger, and *oglach*, hero.

the name almost exclusively applied to fighting men of the stranger septs that during these troubled centuries were wont to cross from the Highlands and Islands and establish themselves in Ireland, under the pressure of danger at home. Whether these domiciled Highlanders were superior to the native levies in size and daring or not, they seemed to have formed the great mass of the picked soldiers in the armies of the Irish chiefs.

The hired soldiers were also called "bonaghts" from the manner of their maintenance. The Irish provincial rulers had an ancient custom of quartering



SIXTEENTH CENTURY REPRESENTATIONS OF IRISH GALLOGLACHS.

their hired soldiers on the inferior chiefs, who provided "coyn and livery" for men and horses. In later times, instead of the soldiers being directly quartered, the obligants gave the supplies, paid partly in money and partly delivered as victuals. This system was much condemned by the English Government, and abolished by Act of Parliament; but what was evil in the Irish chiefs was seen to possess great advantages when they were deprived of the right, and Irish contemporary records contain numerous references to the Galloglachs in the service of the English sovereigns, and the exactions imposed for their support.

During the 14th and 15th centuries Ireland was nominally a province of England, but the actual power exercised in administration was of the most shadowy description; the native chiefs were a law unto themselves, and anarchy such as the Highlands never knew, even at the most lawless periods, seems to have prevailed. The suppression of the ancient system of the 12th century was not followed by any effective rule on the part of the conquerors, and results ensued which succeeding ages have hardly quite ameliorated. It was amid such a condition of things that Black John, the oldest of the sons of Alastair Og, and his five brothers settled, some in the Province of Ulster, and the rest in Connaught, Munster, Leinster, and probably other parts of Ireland. Ulster was one of the five semi-independent provinces or *Cuigeamhs*, each ruled by an hereditary King, into which Ireland was of old divided. These large regions were further sub-divided into smaller territories, governed by *Orrighs* or *Urriaghts*, who held lands and power of the greater potentates. The ancient Celtic rulers of Ulster were the O'Neills, and although from a very early period—as early as the close of the 12th century—the Anglo-Norman invaders made many efforts to accomplish the conquest of that province, and even received the title, Earls of Ulster, the greater part continued in possession of the native chieftains until the beginning of the 17th century. The Hy Neills or Nelidians or O'Neills, as they were variously called, were descended from King Neill of the nine hostages—*Niall Naoighiullach*—and were divided into two branches, the North and South O'Neills. Of the North O'Neills, one was Eugenius, the progenitor

of the Kinell Eoguin or Tironians, the ancestor of the illustrious family of O'Neill, who were Princes and Earls of Tyrone.¹ We are not directly told that Black John, Alexander's oldest son, was O'Neill's Constable of Galloglachs, but it is clear that the office was held by his son, and became hereditary among his descendants. As the Constables of Ulster, and Urriaghts under O'Neill, the *Clan Eoin duibh*, as they are styled in the MS. of 1450, though deprived of their ancestral honours in the Scottish Isles, did not vanish into the unknown. They held no ignoble position, though they suffered loss of property, power, and prestige, and they played a leading part in the long story of strife and bloodshed which runs like a crimson streak through the annals of Ulster for several hundreds of years.

The hereditary Constables of the O'Neills had their seat at *Cnoc-na-Cluith*, the hill of sport, a town land in the barony of Dungannon and County of Tyrone.² There, very probably, Alexander's oldest son, who variously appears in the Annals as John Duv, Eon Duff, and Owen Duv, had his residence. Of him the Annalists say little directly, though his son Somerled is frequently referred to as the son of John Duv. Black John met his end in 1349, having been slain by Manus, son of Eochy Macmahon, lord of Oriel,³ a fate too common in the sanguinary chronicles of that age and country.⁴

¹ O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*.

² *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. V., p. 1365. *Vide* also *Clanranald Book in Reliquie Celtice*, vol. II., p. 159.

³ The region anciently known as "Oriel" consisted of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan.

⁴ *Annals of Four Masters*, vol. III., p. 595.

Black John was succeeded in the representation of the family by Somerled, who is referred to in the Annals as "heir to the lordship of Innse-Gall and High Constable of Ulster." Somerled had good reason to beware of the Macmahon family, one of whom had slain his father, yet a friendship seems to have sprung up between himself and Brian, son of Hugh Macmahon, lord of Oriel, which ended in a matrimonial alliance. Somerled was already espoused to the daughter of O'Reilly, one of the Orrighs of Ulster, but Macmahon, apparently desirous of a closer connection between the High Constable and himself, prevailed upon him to do what was no uncommon practice in those far-off times, that is, to repudiate his wife and substitute his own daughter for her. Judging by the sequel, the friendship must have been a hollow one on the part of Brian Macmahon. The Annals are not quite at one as to the precise character of the subsequent events, but the prevailing trend of the records seems sufficiently clear. Somerled MacDonald fell a victim to his father-in-law's treachery.¹ Brian Macmahon invited the High Constable to a feast, at which the potations were prolonged and deep. Sounds of revelry echoed through the halls of Oriel, and MacDonald, as he quaffed the festive cup, had no suspicion of his impending fate. A dispute having arisen in the course of the *symposium*, Brian threw his arms around Somerled—probably overcome by the fumes of the wine cup—and caused him to be bound in fetters, cast into a neighbouring lake and drowned. In the Chronicles which record the deed, Somerled is spoken of as the son of "Eon Dubh, son of Alexander, heir to Innse-Gall. Alex-

¹ Annals of Ulster, vol. IV., p. 629.

ander, the father to Eon Dubh, was son to Angus More, son of Donnell, son of Ranald, son of Somairle."¹ This took place in 1365, and the atrocious deed perpetrated under the guise of hospitality roused the deepest ire of the O'Neills, as well as of the numerous kinsmen of the murdered chief. It was a theme for the tragic muse, and one Irish bard laments the death of Somerled in these strains:—"This is the lake wherein was put an innocent one, Somerled of the sharp-pointed spears, 'mid merriment, and noise, and laughter. For it was wine 'neath which he was submerged." The Chronicler who quotes this song of lamentation himself indulges in regretful sentiments:—"Woe the world and the land and water wherein was submerged the noble and well-born offspring—to wit, one who was to be king of Innse-gall, namely, the son of John the Black Son of Alexander."² The O'Neills joined their forces to avenge this deed of guilt, and with them John, the son of Somerled, and Charles Mor, his uncle, and all their levies, and Neil Mag Murchadh Mor Mag Mathgamna, mother's brother to Macdonald and half King of Orgialla,³ all rallied to the mission of revenge. They marched towards Bathulach, Macmahon's stronghold, but word having previously arrived there of the advancing host, the garrison dispersed without striking a blow. The army of retribution marched in pursuit and overtook the men of Oriel at the river Earn, routed them, and took a rich spoil, while Macmahon was banished from his territories, and

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. III., p. 629. Also Annals of Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 33.

² Annals of Ulster, vol. I., p. 519.

³ The two reguli of Oriel—both Macmahons—were at enmity, and the one gives his services here for the punishment of the other.

his wife and daughters were made prisoners by the allied host.¹

After the death of Somerled in 1365, the succession to the captaincy of O'Neill's Galloglachs seems rather obscure, and it is difficult to say without clearer *data* whether it was according to the feudal law of primogeniture or the Celtic law of tanistry, which latter appears to have prevailed in Ireland longer than it did in the Highlands of Scotland. Somerled left a son John, who, as we have seen, took part in the campaign against Macmahon, and of whom we hear in 1366 as suffering defeat along with his Galloglachs at the hands of Teige, son of Manus O'Connor.² It seems probable that John, the son of Somerled, was slain in this encounter with Teige O'Connor, for his name appears no more in the Annals, and although the O'Neills were for years thereafter engaged in active warfare, we find Charles Mor—apparently the youngest son of *Alastair Og*—and his son Alexander, acting as constables of O'Neill's Galloglachs. It would be unsafe on that account to conclude that the progeny of Black John became extinct on the death of his grandson in battle, for the MS. of 1450 speaks of the *Clann Eoin duibh*, son of Alastair, son of Angus Mor, etc., which seems to suggest the existence of representatives of Black John at a period contemporary with the compiler of that fragment. One thing, however, is clear, that when war arose in 1366 between Donald O'Neill and Neill O'Neill, Charles Mor and his son Alexander were leaders of O'Neill's Galloglachs. The battle fought on this occasion by the Clan Donald of Ulster on the

¹ Four Masters, vol. III., p. 629. Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 33.

² Four Masters, vol. III., p. 633.

one hand, and the heir of Clan Alexander from Scotland on the other, has been described in a former chapter. It seems to have been indecisive in its results. Alexander, the son of Charles Mor MacDonald, was taken prisoner, and owed his life to the magnanimous clemency of the chief from Innsegall, and as subsequent events elucidate, his captivity must have been of short duration.¹

Two years after this—in 1368—we find that the feud created by the murder of Somerled, the son of John Dubh, is still unhealed. Still animated by a thirst for vengeance, Neill O'Neill, King of Uladh and of Kinel Owen, whose Constable Somerled had been, marched at the head of an army into Oriel to attack Brian Macmahon. Charles Mor MacDonald has by this time either died or become unfit by age for military duties, and Alexander, his son—also described as *Alastair Og*—is Constable of O'Neill's Galloglachs. Negotiations were opened between O'Neill and Macmahon, in the course of which the latter agreed to cede half his territory to O'Neill's son, as well as to give him other precious gifts as *éiric* or ransom for the death of MacDonald. On these favourable terms O'Neill consented to make peace.

Meanwhile the Captains of O'Neill's host, eager for the fray, and not waiting the issue of the conference, took the law into their own hands. Alexander Og MacDonald and the son of Murchadh Macmahon, king of the other half of Oriel, marched without O'Neill's permission, at the head of three battalions of Kernes, to attack Macmahon's position. A fierce conflict ensued, but the issue was disastrous

¹ Annals of Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 33. Also Annals of the Four Masters vol. III., p. 633.

to the aggressors. Alexander MacDonald, Captain of O'Neill's Galloglachs, and many others were slain.¹ One of the chroniclers who records Alexander's death seems to settle the question of his position among the descendants of *Alastair Og*, for he styles him "Alastair Og, son of Toirbhelblach Mac Domhnaill, and heir of Clan Domhnaill."² It seems clear that the succession to the senior family of the Clan Donald and to the Captaincy of O'Neill's Galloglachs went on concurrently, and that both have now passed from John Dubh's descendants to those of his brother, Charles Mor.

At this stage we are left for upwards of two generations without a ray of light at all upon the history of the MacDonalds of Ulster. The Annals completely fail us until well on in the fifteenth century. All that is necessary to say meanwhile as to this belt of darkness is, in the first place, that we are safe in concluding that the succession went on as before in the Captaincy of O'Neill's Galloglachs, the descendants of Alastair Og holding the position hereditarily as heretofore; and, in the second place, that another line of his descendants settled in a neighbouring province and made history, a line which we shall afterwards consider, and of whose descent there is an almost unbroken record down to the present day.

The glimpses that we obtain of the Clan Donald of Ulster during the fifteenth century are few and intermittent. In 1435 there was war, no infrequent occurrence, between the North O'Neill's, or the Kinel Owen, and those of the South. Brian Og O'Neill and Naghtan O'Donnell made war on

¹ Four Masters, vol. III., p. 643.

² Loch Ce, vol. I., p. 39.

O'Neill of the Kinel Owen, and on his sons Henry and Owen, and had dislodged O'Neill from his camp. The expressive language of the Annalist as reproduced by the translator we shall quote *verbatim*.:—"Now O'Neill and his sons and MacDonald Galloglach felt shame and disgrace at their expulsion from the position in which they were fortified, and the resolution they adopted at the request and solicitation of Henry O'Neill was, that they should attack the camp and use their boldest exertion to retake it. Henry's exciting exhortation had great effect upon the minds of the youths, and they attacked the camp vigorously, silently, and fiercely. Henry being the foremost in the van, MacDonald Galloglach and M'Sweeny Fanad then came to an engagement, in which heroes were mangled and slaughtered between them on both sides, and such was the confusion that prevailed, owing to the darkness of the night and the closeness of the combatants to each other, that friend could not be distinguished from foe. Sparks of fire flashed from the helmets of the heroes and the armour of the champions." In the course of this severe engagement, Hugh O'Neill and Brian O'Neill came to a personal encounter, in the course of which the latter was severely wounded. Upon this Brian and Naghtan withdrew from the field, leaving behind them their Galloglachs, who bore the brunt of every battle, and were the last to quit the field. M'Sweeny, leader of the Galloglach, seeing his two superiors giving up the fight, ordered his warriors to retire, while single-handed he covered their retreat. This movement was not unobserved by O'Neill and his Galloglach, who went immediately in pursuit, and

overtaking the retreating host at Slievetruiim, he attacked and made them prisoners.¹

We have already seen that the headquarters of O'Neill's Constables were in the townland of Dunganon, on the borders of Armagh and Tyrone. They were thus within measurable distance of the English Pale, so called since the period of the conquest of Ireland, and consisting of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, all within the Province of Leinster. This district was known as the English Pale, from the fact of its occupancy by English settlers, who, although they originally held a much wider area, became in time congested into the region already named. The next time the Constables of O'Neill appear upon the scene is in 1452, when the Kinel Owen and their MacDonald Galloglachs have a brush with the English of Feadhna in Louth. O'Neill led his army southward, and was joined by Macguire. The invaders began by harrying the country and carrying a prey to their camp, but the inhabitants, mustering an armed band, followed them in force. In the battle which was fought, Sorley Mor and his warriors displayed their wonted courage and determination, but in the end they were overwhelmed, and the MacDonald Captain and many of his bravest heroes were slain.²

During the remainder of the fifteenth century we find in the Irish Annals but few traces of the Ulster Clan Donald. Once more, however, we find them, and it is 1493, engaged as of old at the fierce game of war. This year the O'Neills are at strife, not, however, with the South O'Neills, as we often find

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. IV., p. 903.

² Ibid, p. 977.

them, but among themselves. The two brothers, Donald and Henry Og, sons of Henry, son of Owen, have quarrelled, and civil war breaks out within the Kinell Owen. We cannot say whose side the Clan Donald Galloglach espoused, but in the battle that was fought Ranald the Constable and his three sons were slain.¹

As we pass the threshold of the sixteenth century, we come upon more frequent traces of Alastair Og's descendants than have been visible during the fifteenth, though we are still lacking a genealogical thread to bind the generations into a complete unity. In 1501 a war arose between the descendants of Hugh Roe and those of Redmond, tribes that occupied a part of Oriel. Macmahon, who came to the rescue of Hugh Roe's descendants, drove the others over the frontier into the country of the North O'Neills. The chief of O'Neill took the part of the Redmondites against their foes, but in the course of a sanguinary and fatal fight, MacDonald Galloglach—John, son of Colla—was killed.² In 1503 we find on record the rare case of a MacDonald Constable of O'Neill dying apparently in bed; the natural death was evidently one of violence. Randall More, son of Gillespick, who was son of MacDonald, Constable of the Scotsmen of Ireland, died in Duibhthrian.³ In 1505 history again records the normal mode of exit from the Irish stage of life when MacDonald Galloglach—Colla, son of Colla, O'Neill's Constable—was slain at Armagh by Gillespick, son of Sorley Roe MacDonald.⁴ For a number of years after this, there is greater fulness in the records regarding

¹ The Four Masters, vol. IV., p. 1203.

² The Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1261.

³ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1271. ⁴ Ibid., p. 1285.

O'Neil's hereditary Constables, while the Irish State Papers and other sources of historical knowledge soon become available. Much of the Celtic history of Ireland is suggestive of the history of our Scottish Highland Clans, and, as in other respects, so in regard to these *creachs*, or forays, are we reminded that the two social systems were originally one, as well as resembled each other in their historical development. An irruption of this nature took place in 1514, when Hugh, son of Donald O'Neill—of the South O'Neills—and Con, son of Niall, in *Cluain Dobheill*, invaded the territory of John, son of Con, and burned John's town. O'Neill, the northern chief of the name, and hereditary earl of Tyrone, along with MacDonald and his Galloglachs, took up arms against the aggressors, pursued and routed them, and took possession of their prey, among the rest thirty horses being captured. It is said that five of the descendants of Art O'Neill were slain in this encounter.¹

In 1522 we come upon the commencement of a great war, lasting for years, between the O'Neills of the North and O'Donnell, the powerful chief of Donegal. We have no light on the cause of the quarrel, but preparations on a large scale were made by both the potentates. O'Neill assembled the forces of Kinel Owen, his own immediate following, with the Galloglachs under the leadership of Donald Og MacDonald, their Captain. Besides these he had numerous allies among the chieftains of Ulster. The Clan Magennis and Reillys from Oriel, the people of Fermanagh, and a large expeditionary force from Scotland, these with many others, rallied to his support. With this large force O'Neill

¹ Ibid, p. 1329.

invaded Donegal, took the castles of Belatha Lenagh, Bun Drobhais, and Ben Leci, penetrated to Tyrconnel, and destroyed the country. This career of plunder and victory was suddenly checked. Under the darkness of night, while O'Neill and his army rested, as they thought securely, with their booty, keeping neither watch nor ward, all of a sudden O'Donnell attacked the camp, and inflicted on the unwary force a terrible reverse. Nine hundred men fell upon the field, and among them was Donald Og MacDonald and many of his brave Galloglachs.¹

The following year, 1523, the clouds of war are still darkening the Ulster sky, and O'Neill must have longed to avenge the discomfiture he lately sustained. It is, however, by O'Donnell that the first move is made in the spring, when we learn of his encamping in Glen Finne. He invaded Tyrone, the land of the O'Neills, and ravaged and burnt the whole country, from Belfast, Coille-nag-Curritin, to Dungannon. In the barony of Dungannon lay *Cnoc-na-Cluith*, the residence and town of the MacDonalds, which suffered severely from the devastating course of the invaders. We are informed by the Annalist that *Cnoc-na-Cluith* was burnt and a beautiful herb garden destroyed by O'Donnell's forces. We have here an interesting side light on the social condition of O'Neill's Constables, showing that savage warfare did not absorb their energies, but that they possessed, at anyrate, some elementary conceptions of the ways of civilized life.² O'Donnell continued to ravage, plunder, and destroy cattle, but towards the end of the year there was peace between himself and O'Neill. The hollowness of this peace became apparent in 1524, when O'Donnell again

¹ Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1353. Loch Ce, vol. I., p. 237.

² Annals of the Four Masters, vol V., p. 1365.

burst into Tyrone with fire and sword ; but as there is nothing in the Annals to indicate the share of O'Neill's Clan Donald Captain in the campaign, we do not purpose to enter into details. Suffice it to say that the destructive series of invasions was terminated, and that a durable peace was compacted between these turbulent northern chiefs.¹

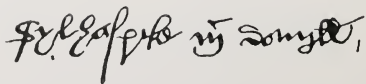
From 1524 to 1525 there is only one record bearing upon the Clan Donald of Ulster, and it tells us that in 1530 MacDonald Galloglach—Colla, son of Colla—Constable of Sir Eoghan O'Neill, died.² Five years after this we find Colla's probable successor, Gillespick MacDonald, engaged in important negotiations, and there is altogether in this portion of the records a richer vein of historical ore than our researches have yet produced. In 1535 there is evidence that Con, or, as he is more pompously designated, Lord Conatius O'Neill of the Kinel Owen, has come to a rupture with the English authorities in Ireland, who at this time are displaying a certain amount of spasmodic activity. O'Neill sent Gillespick MacDonald, the principal captain of his nation, as he is described, as his chief *nuncio*, with powers to conclude a peace with Sir William Skeffington, Lord Lieutenant Deputy, and on the 11th June, at Maynooth, several articles of agreement were formulated. The main provisions of agreement were—*First* :—That O'Neill would in future behave as a faithful English subject and serve the King against all his enemies. *Second* :—That for the arrangement of all damages and injuries done to the lieges, and all disputes with the Lord Lieutenant's Deputy and Lords, O'Neill would come on the 16th of July next to the presence of

¹ Ibid. Loch Ce, vol. I., p. 247.

² Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 273.

the Deputy and Council. For his security in thus appearing, there was to remain in the hands of Gillespie, Master Anthony Collie, son of the Lord Deputy, and two other men to be chosen by O'Neill, excepting Matthew and Thomas Skeffington, sons of the Lord Deputy—Matthew on account of his being in charge of the Castle of Maynooth, and Thomas by reason of his tender age. *Third* :—Conatius was to receive his usual stipend or subsidy, which, owing to his rebellion, had been withdrawn, and all persons coming from his county with merchandise during this peace should have free ingress and regress in O'Neill's country. *Fourth* :—Gillespie promises that if O'Neill does not fulfil these articles, he will aid the Lord Deputy with all his adherents against Conatius.¹

On the 25th of July of the same year, an indenture is formed at Drogheda on the lines of the foregoing treaty. Further provisions were added to the effect that O'Neill was to have restitution of all goods taken from him or his friends from the time peace was made by MacDonald, and that in all controversies Gillespie MacDonald with Lord M'Gwyre were to arbitrate. The final umpire in cases of disagreement was to be Lord M'Gwyre. All the parties took corporal oath upon the Indenture, and the document bears along with the rest the signature of



On the 17th August next the articles are concluded, and O'Neill agrees to surrender himself and

¹ The Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 67.

his lands to the King, and become a good and loyal subject.¹ Treaties, like other kinds of undertakings, are sometimes more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and we find in September, 1537, two years after the articles of agreement were confirmed, that the relations between O'Neill and the Deputy and Council had in the interval become strained, though matters were again beginning to assume a more hopeful complexion. The Chancellor, Bishop of Meath, and Chief Justice, were appointed to interview O'Neill, and their report upon the conference was favourable. The Ulster chief was apparently most reasonable, and willing to abide the order of the King's Council and of M'Quyr and MacDonald Galloglach—the two latter still occupying the *role* of arbiters.²

In 1542 there is evidence upon the records that O'Neill has been backsliding into the old paths of disloyalty, and that much rancour and dispeace exist between himself and his hereditary Constable, MacDonald, as well as other members of the O'Neill connection. It seems clear that the Chief of Tyrone, despite promises and professions, is at heart a rebel, and a bitter enemy to the English power, while his Constable of Galloglachs has incurred his displeasure by his apparent willingness to conciliate the foreigner. The rupture culminated in an event which an Irish chronicle thus records, the entry being under A.D. 1542 :—"The son of O'Neill (Felim Ceach the son of Con son of Con) was killed by one cast of a javelin by M'Donnell Galloglach."³ The exact date of this fatal incident is given neither in the Annals nor in the public records of the time ; but the State

¹ The Carew Papers, *ad tempus*. ² *Id.*, p. 127.

³ The Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1467.

Papers leave no doubt as to the fact that Felim, who was O'Neill's eldest son, was the aggressor, that Captain MacDonald acted in self defence, and that the issue of the combat, while it aggravated the enmity between the parties, was by no means its only cause.¹

In May of this year both MacDonald and O'Neill gave in their submission to the King, the former on the 18th and the latter on the 21st of that month. MacDonald's promise of loyalty has been preserved *verbatim*, and may be quoted here in its integrity as an interesting *memento* of the descendant of *Alastair Og*:—

"Firste I the said M'Donell do recognise and accept the Kinge's Majestie to be my souverayne lorde and kinge and him onlie and his successors will I serve and obeye and adhering unto his maiestie will take his parte againste all men of the worlde as his maieste loyall and obedyente subiect oughte to do and fro henceforth persecut all disobediente and rebelle unto his maiestie to the uttermoste of my power.

"*Item* I will adnishillate and relinquishe the usurped authoritie of the Byshoppe of Roume, his adherente and abettour expell extirpate and diminish with the maiste pollicie and industrie that I can and onlie accepte nomynate and repute the Kinge maiestie aforesaid my most drad souverayne lords to be in earth ondiately under Christ of the Church of England and also Irelande the supreme hed.

"*Item* I the said M'Donell humbly beseech the Kinge Matie to assign unto me and my followers his maiesties lands and also the Grene castell and the Mourne which now lyeth waaste and unoccupied for the which I hynde myself and my said followers to sarve his Matie at all tymes when he shall have nede in Ulster with 120 sparres well harneysed and at all such tyme as his Matie shall have nede in any place of this his realme. I will sarve his Matie with 80 sparres well harneysed for 14 daies or 3 weekes as the occasion shall arrive at my owne coste and charge, and I humbly beseech his Majestie that in case any such nede shalbe

¹ Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 188.

that no galoglas shalbe hired that such galoglas as I shall bring about the said number may be hired afore other straingers and at all tymes required for one or 7 daies I will sarve nobly all my powar on my owne cost.

"*Item* I the saide M'Donell have putte in my pledge called Reynaldo M'Donell unto the hands of the Lorde Depute as well for performance of the promisses in case it pleast the Kinge Matie so to admytte the same as also have taken a corporall oath from henceforth to be sworne and faithfull subiecte to the Kinge Maieste in the house of the Lorde Depute and Counsell in his handes be hereinto scribed and in farder witness of the thing I have to the one pte of this submission sette my hand and seale the 18th of May in the xxxiv. yere of the rayne of the saide most dread souverayne lorde Kynge henrie the eight by the grace of God Kynge of England france and Ireland Defender of ye faith and in earth omediately under Christe of the Church of England and also of Ireland the supreme hed."¹

The Council had taken advantage of the bitter relations between Conatius O'Neill and his Captain to secure the foregoing submission. It must, however, be clear to any one who remembers the Treaty of 1535, and MacDonald's promise to forsake O'Neill and adhere to the Government in the event of the former failing in his undertakings, that there was now no other course left to O'Neill's Constable to follow. On the submission of MacDonald being received, it was ordained that he should put in his pledge, that he should remain wherever the Council meanwhile should appoint, and that he should give his countenance neither to nor against O'Neill until further decision should be arrived at.² The Council was, apparently, very desirous to secure the allegiance of MacDonald and his Galloglachs as a military force, whose services in time of war would be of the first importance. The defection of this body of men

¹ State Papers, vol. X., No. 60, I.

² Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 188.

under their Captain was regarded as the severest blow that O'Neill had yet received, these having been his most powerful support in his conflicts with neighbouring chiefs.¹ On the 22nd May, four days after MacDonald's submission, Lord O'Neill also came before the Council primed with accusations against Captain MacDonald, as well as others of his own race and nation. O'Neill was not a *persona grata* with the Council, and his statement was not very seriously regarded. It was apparent, however, that no reconciliation between himself and MacDonald was meanwhile possible, and arrangements were made for the evacuation by the MacDonalds of the lands in Tyrone which they held of him as their superior.² It was recommended by the Council that, in terms of Captain MacDonald's submission, he and his people should receive possession of the unoccupied lands of Mourne in South Down, along with a stronghold called Grene Castle, in the same district, situated to the north of the entrance of Carlingford Bay.

Edwardes mdey
 Philip p. of Louth
 Gerardus d'Armagh
 William d'Armagh
 John d'Armagh
 Thomas d'Armagh

¹ State Papers, vol. III., p. 383 *et seq.*

² Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 188.

It was also decided that the MacDonalds should receive the grains and crops then growing on the lands which they had to abandon. In the event of O'Neill and the MacDonalds eventually burying the hatchet, the latter were to surrender the territory they now occupied by the King's favour. The orders of Council were confirmed by Henry VIII. He stipulated, however, that the MacDonalds should make and maintain roads through their new territory to render that mountain land more accessible, and themselves more within reach of the arm of the Irish Executive.¹ It thus appears that the MacDonalds, through this quarrel with O'Neill, were compelled to quit the lands of *Cnoc-na-Cluith*, which they had held for about 200 years, and take up their quarters in another region on the border of the English Pale. The arrangement appears to have lasted for a time, but did not become permanent. Apparently the MacDonalds and their Galloglachs acted temporarily as a military force under English auspices, but there is evidence that the breach between the O'Neills and themselves was eventually healed, that they went back in time to their old allegiance, and resumed their occupancy of the lands with which they were hereditarily connected.

For the next few years there seems little to indicate the tendency of events among the Clan Donald of Ulster, or what relations existed between themselves and the O'Neills. In 1548 we find them under English control, as is shown in a letter from the Lord Deputy Bellingham to Sir Thomas Cusake. That letter is to the intent that he has

¹ Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 188.

ordered MacDonald to bring with him 40 spearmen, which of course included their 40 attendants, who carried among them the usual complement of 120 spears or javelins.¹ In September of this same year MacDonald went as confidential messenger from the Lord Deputy to Bellingham—the former stating in quaint phrase that “he sent his mind” by his messenger, though the nature of the business is not on record.² On the 20th June of the following year we learn that O'Neill and MacDonald are still at variance. It appears that the Council had ordered the restitution of two horses to MacDonald by O'Neill, from which one would suspect that the Irish chief was still bound to supply his *quondam* Constable with the sinews and accoutrements of war, though the latter was now in the service of the Government. The Lord Primate and others of the Council, on receiving this complaint, found that an order to this effect had previously been given, and that it should now be implemented.³ O'Neill, on the other hand, has a complaint against MacDonald. The latter had probably before the rupture of their friendship entered into one of those bonds or covenants once so common in Scotland, and usually described as bonds of manrent. Among the Irish Gaels it would appear that the party specially benefitted by the contract had to pay a sum of money to the superior. So it must have been in the case of MacDonald and O'Neill, the complaint by the latter being that the last MacDonald had entered into this bond of friendship whereby he was bound to pay a sum of £40. It had not been paid,

¹ State Papers, vol. I., p. 84. ² Ibid, p. 89.

³ Carew Papers, vol. I., p. 215.

O'Neill contended, either by MacDonald or his successor. It appears from the deliberations of the Council that the last MacDonald, no doubt for sufficient reasons, had already been exonerated from the payment of this sum, and it was decided that his successor should not be burdened with it.¹ From the State records of 1548 we find that Gillespick MacDonald, who was O'Neill's *nuncio* in 1535, and an important intermediary between that powerful chief and the English Government in many negotiations of the time, had died since 1542, and been succeeded in the representation of the family by his brother Arthur. From this and other casual indications we learn that in all probability the law of Tanistry still obtained in the succession of the Clan Donald of Ulster.

After 1548 the references to O'Neill's Constables wax very rare, both in the Annals and the State Papers of the period. From the meagre notices extant we gather indications that the MacDonalds were reconciled to the Ulster Chief before they finally passed out of the region of historic knowledge. In 1551 the MacDonalds of Ulster are found making common cause with O'Neill against the English, and inflicting upon them a signal defeat,² while in 1560, in an enumeration of the lords under O'Neill, reference is made to MacDonald, Constable of his Scots and Galloglachs. We further find that, in 1567 O'Neill is at war with O'Donnell, and suffers a severe defeat, while among the many slain in his army is enumerated, as one of the most distinguished, MacDonald Galloglach, Constable of O'Neill.⁴ In

¹ Carew MSS., *ad tempus*.

² Four Masters. ³ Carew Papers *ad tempus*

⁴ State Papers *ad tempus*.

1571 MacDonald is still in his hereditary office. Turlough Lynach, who succeeded his father, Shane O'Neill, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, begs that her Majesty will allow him the rule of his tribe and pre-eminence of the Urraghs at a time when the Government was seeking to destroy utterly the ancient system of Irish society. Among other Urraghs is mentioned MacDonald Galloglach.¹ That same year a treaty of concord and peace was drawn up between Turlough and the Queen's Commissioners—Justices Dowdall and the Dean of Armagh—at Drumgarrow, and it was provided, among other stipulations, that Arthur MacDonald should remain in the peace of the Lord Deputy.² In 1573 we find Turlough Lynach O'Neill demanding that Art MacDonald, who is still his Constable, should give up all his lands in Tyrone, but the reasons for such a demand are not detailed.³ We learn from the State Papers of 1575 that the MacDonalds were not then dispossessed, for in an estimate of their military strength it is stated that "all these do inhabit between the Blackwater and the English Pale." We are also informed that Art M'Neill could bring into the field 20 horsemen and 300 Galloglachs.

After these years the Clan Donald of Ulster, as an historical family, pass into obscurity. Early in the seventeenth century the system of hired soldiers which prevailed for ages among the Irish chiefs, and was afterwards adopted by the Government, was abolished by law, and the captains superannuated. Before this fate overtook them, the heads of the Clan Donald in Ulster appear to have become

¹ State Papers vol. XXXII., p. 445.

² Carew Papers. ³ Carew Papers.

extinct. In other regions, such as in the Province of Leinster, we find these military functionaries receiving monetary compensation for their official demise, but the Constables of O'Neill's Galloglachs vanish from the page of history, and "leave not a wrack behind."

CHAPTER V.

ALASTAIR OG'S DESCENDANTS—THE CLAN DONALD OF CONNAUGHT AND LEINSTER.



TYNEKILL.

Descent of Connaught Branch.—O'Connor's Galloglachs.—Marcus MacDonald.—His Death in 1397.—Descendants of Marcus.—Mistakes of Genealogists.—Settlement in Leinster.—Family of Tynekill.—Charles, Son of Marcus.—John Carragh and Descendants.—Death of Turlough.—Genealogical Links.—Colla MacDonald of Tynekill.—Hugh Boy and his Rebellions.—Fergus of Tynekill.—James Macdonald and the Great Rebellion.—Forfeiture of Tynekill.—Charles Fergus.—Settlement at Coolavin.—The Peacockstown Family.—Modern Family of Tynekill.

IN the last chapter we expounded the view that the sons of Alastair Og settled not only in Ulster but in other Irish provinces, and served the great Irish chiefs as leaders of their Galloglachs. We gather from the traditional historian of Sleat—whose somewhat nebulous lucubrations have to be carefully

scrutinized—that the descendants of Alastair Og, Lord of the Isles, established nine septs in Connaught, Munster, and Leinster. It is an undoubted fact that this branch of the Clan Donald did disperse themselves over large tracts of Ireland, but it seems difficult, sometimes impossible, to trace an historical or genealogical order through the scant materials that history places at our disposal. We are able, however, to state with some confidence that an examination of existing records, though much surrounded with obscurity, produces the satisfactory result of bringing the history of Alastair Og's descendants down to the present generation. The Province of Munster refuses to yield up its secrets regarding the Clan Donald, who, according to the *Sleat Seanachie*, settled in that region, and we shall, in the remainder of this chapter, direct our attention to the Clan Donald of Connaught and Leinster.

There seems sufficient evidence to show that the Clan Donald of Connaught occupied the same position in that region as the Clan Donald of Tyrone did under the reguli of Ulster, but as the Connaught sept appears to have placed its prowess at the disposal of several chiefs of that region, the difficulty of placing them with distinctness before the reader's view is rendered considerably greater than in the case of the Ulster branch.

From a survey of the historic evidence at our command, we are able to advance the hypothesis, which we hope in the sequel to substantiate, that the Clan Donald of Connaught and Leinster are descended from Somerled, the son of Alastair Og. This Somerled the *Sleat Seanachie* alludes to as a progenitor of the Clan Donald septs in Connaught, and though he places him in a wrong genealogical

connection, we recognize the historical element that is embedded in much that is confused and perplexing. Fortunately the identity of Somerled is vouched by our best genealogical authority, the MS. of 1450, in which he is distinctly referred to as the son of Alastair Og. Of the history of this Somerled we know absolutely nothing, but distinct traces of his descendants are to be found in the provinces in which, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, they acquired settlements as Captains of Galloglachs. Towards the end of the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth centuries, we find the Clan Donald of Connaught co-operating with two of the clans that were prominent in the Annals of that region. The first and most important of these was the tribe of O'Connor. This great Irish sept was of the royal lineage of Ireland, and descended from Roderick O'Connor, who was King, and abdicated at the time of the conquest, in the reign of Henry II. Like the O'Neills in Ulster, they continued to be semi-independent kings in the district which in ancient times owned their sway, keeping a sort of standing army of Kernes and Galloglachs for the defence of their country, as well as for purposes of aggression. It is probable that Somerled, son of Alastair Og, was Constable of O'Connor's Galloglachs, though of this we have no certain knowledge; but we have evidence that four of his sons acted successively in that capacity, and that all of them met their death upon the field of battle.

Somerled, the son of Alastair Og, was succeeded in the representation of the family by his son Donald, but of him there is nothing recorded beyond the tragic fate which overtook so many of his devoted house. In 1367, Magnus O'Connor was at

war, we are not told with whom, but not improbably with O'Connor Don, kindred in lineage but at frequent strife, and in too great proximity to be at peace. This year Magnus endured a severe defeat at Traigh Eathuill-int-sair. His Galloglachs, to the number of 150, were slain, and at their head fell Donald, son of Somerled, and Donald Og his son.¹ After this the command of O'Connor's Galloglachs fell to the second son of Somerled, *Somairle Og* he is named in the Irish Annals. We find him in 1377 suffering a defeat, and getting slain with many others by some unmentioned foe.² He was apparently succeeded as O'Connor's captain by a third son of Somerled, named Donald Og—this epithet being applied, we suppose, to distinguish him from his oldest brother Donald. The sole record of his history is that which chronicles his death in 1388. In this year Donald O'Connor made an incursion into the Lowlands of Connaught, devastating the country and burning Ard-an-Choillin and the island Loch Currigin. Donald Og MacDonald, Constable of O'Connor's Galloglachs, was slain on this excursion.³ On the death of Donald, Marcus, the fourth son of Somerled, took the command of O'Connor's Galloglachs. This succession of one brother to another, though most probably there were other surviving sons, is another instance of the law of Tanistry operating among the Irish Clan Donald. Marcus MacDonald held the command of the Galloglachs of O'Connor for nine years. In 1397, hostilities broke out in the Province of Connaught, and on this occasion we are not left in doubt as to

¹ Annals of Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 35.

² Annals of the Four Masters, vol IV., p. 669.

³ Annals of Loch Ce, vol. II., p. 35.

the combatants, for the O'Connor Roe and the O'Connor Don, both of whose territories were in Roscommon, were at deadly feud. Marcus MacDonald was commander of the Galloglachs under O'Connor Roe. M'Donough, a neighbouring chief of Sligo, went to the assistance of O'Connor Don, but was defeated with great slaughter. Thereupon O'Connor Don and M'Donough raised another army with the view of attacking and defeating O'Connor Roe. Dougall, one of the sons of Marcus, along with Felim, a son of Cathal Og O'Connor, visited Donegal to solicit the aid of O'Donnell in resisting the combined forces. The O'Donnell and the other chiefs of Tirconnell came to the assistance of the sons of Cathal Og O'Connor, and MacDonald, helping them to vanquish their foes and waste their country with fire and sword, and compelling them to give hostages in security for their behaviour in the future. Unfortunately for the O'Connors Roe and MacDonalds, the campaign did not take end here. The sons of Cathal Og, the people of Durnin, and MacDonald, Captain of Galloglachs, with their allies, were desirous of turning their victory to account by seizing part of their enemies' lands. Marching to Carberry, and halting at Lissadill, in the country of the O'Donoughs, they set themselves to the task of spoliation and division. While thus engaged, the jealousies that tend to beget strife among confederates attacked them. Those who were united in battle quarrelled over the spoils of victory, and disunion proved their ruin. O'Donnell, the Chief of Donegal, appeared upon the scene with a small force of cavalry to settle the dispute, to be followed by a number of Irish clans, who assembled in the interests of the defeated O'Connor Don and M'Donough. The

cavalry of the sons of Cathal Og O'Connor advanced towards them on the way to Sligo. An arm of the sea was on their left hand, the stream of Bun Brenoige was on the right. A fierce and sanguinary battle ensued, of which the details have not been clearly recorded; but which was fraught with disaster to the sons of Cathal Og, and in which Marcus MacDonald, O'Connor's Captain, and his son Dougall, were left dead upon the field with a large number of Galloglachs.¹

After the death of Marcus Macdonald, the last surviving son of Somerled, son of Alastair Og, of whom we have any account, his position as head of the house and as Captain of O'Connor's chosen warriors appears to have been taken by his son *Somhairle Buidhe*. Somerled, however, did not long survive his father. Brian O'Connor made a raid into Tir Oilella in 1398, the year following the death of Marcus, and was accompanied by Somerled; but having been left by their own people with only a few companions, they were unexpectedly attacked by a superior force of the enemy, and the MacDonald Captain was slain at Choc-in-Crona, thus carrying out the fatal weird which so persistently followed his heroic race.²

At this point we lose sight of the Clan Donald of Connaught as Galloglachs of the O'Connor chiefs, although it is probable that the alliance never altogether ceased until the Irish Celtic system received its death-blow early in the seventeenth century. When the sixteenth century is far spent, the Annals and State Records again bring them into notice, but the references are so few, and the individuals who make history are so difficult to connect organically

¹ The Four Masters, vol. IV., p. 753.

² Ibid.

with the past or future of the race to which they belong, that the mere enumeration of names and dates could not be regarded as serving any useful purpose. Towards the end of the sixteenth century there also appear for the first time in the annals and records a branch of the Clan Donald of Connaught in Mayo, who are described as hereditary leaders of Galloglachs with the Burkes of that region. The same difficulty emerges in this connection also of constructing a clear and connected narrative, and we are constrained, so far as historical purposes are concerned, to part meanwhile with the Clan Donald of Mayo, merely reminding our readers in the passing that they, like the Captains of O'Connor's Galloglachs, are to be reckoned among the descendants of Alastair Og.

We now return to the historical link which, in our opinion, connects the Clan Donald of Connaught with the sept or septs which flourished in the Province of Leinster. The descent of this branch has on all hands been admitted to be derivable from the Family of the Isles, but there is less unanimity as to the particular chief of this extensive confederacy to whom it owes its origin. Irish genealogists of repute have traced them, with some show of reason, either to Angus Og or to his son, John of Isla. The deposed Alexander, Lord of the Isles, Angus Og's older brother, seems to have passed so completely beyond the ken of Irish and Highland Seanachies that his posterity has been almost entirely ignored in all attempts to write the history of the Clan. We have, however, satisfied ourselves that Alastair Og's descendants established septs in Connaught, and now we are about to show that the Clan Donald of Leinster are an offshoot of the same tribe.

We have seen how Marcus MacDonald was slain in battle in 1397, he being the last of the sons of Somerled of whom we possess any historical record. Irish and Scottish genealogists have expressed a variety of views as to the descent of this Marcus. It may be desirable at this stage to refer to a valuable compilation¹ prepared by members of the Family of Tynekill, a branch of the Leinster MacDonalds, and to which the present writers are indebted for useful and valuable information. The authors of this interesting pamphlet have followed the most approved Irish and Highland authorities in the development of their genealogical system, and have rightly deduced their origin from Marcus, to whom we have repeatedly referred. In estimating the descent of Marcus they have very naturally followed such authorities as Mac Firis, who in turn has adopted the views of M'Vurich, the Seanachie of the Clanranald family. It must, however, be borne in mind that the M'Vurich history, while supremely valuable and trustworthy from about the beginning of the fifteenth century as to the genealogy of the Clan, is somewhat confused and misleading on the more remote periods. In regard to our present subject, the Clanranald history is particularly unfortunate. It makes Angus Og the oldest son and heir of Angus Mor, and, as we have already observed, Alexander becomes a younger son, and the progenitor of the Clan Allister. The actual devolution of the family position upon the line of Angus Og makes Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and his posterity drop almost entirely out of sight. Not altogether, for Marcus seems to have come under M'Vurich's notice as an Irish MacDonald of Scottish descent, and

¹ Notes, Historical and Personal.

nearly connected with the Island dynasty. Knowing nothing of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, M'Vurich not unnaturally makes Marcus the grandson of his brother, Angus Og, and the son of John of Isla. M'Vurich, however, in imparting information about Marcus, shows that he has unconsciously got an inkling, but only an inkling, of the truth. He tells us that Marcus was the progenitor of the MacDonalds of Cnoc-na-Cluith in Tyrone.¹ But the Irish Annals place the fact entirely beyond dispute that the MacDonalds of Cnoc-na-Cluith were descendants of Alastair Og, the deposed Lord of the Isles; and although it is not strictly correct to say that Marcus belonged to that branch of his descendants, yet it is true in the sense that he belonged to a line collateral with the hereditary Constables of O'Neill, who certainly resided at Cnoc-na-Cluith, and were the lineal descendants of Alastair Og. Finally, the true position of Marcus is confirmed by an entry in the genealogies of the Books of Ballymote and Leccan, which is couched in the following terms—" *Marcus Mac Somairle mic Alexander mic Angus Mor.*"

Having thus, we hope, determined the position of Marcus among the descendants of Alastair Og, we now proceed to trace the history of the race which sprang from him. We are not aware that Dougall, the son of Marcus, who was slain when his father fell in 1397, or Somairle Buy, his other son, who was killed in battle the following year, left any progeny. It is pretty well authenticated, however, that the representation of the family was continued by Charles, another son of Marcus, whose name is

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 159.

on record in some of the Irish Annals.¹ This Charles, or Toirdhealbhach, as the name appears in Irish Gaelic, is found, not like his father, in connection with the O'Connors, but as a Captain of Galloglachs under O'Kelly of the Maine, a region on the borders of Leitrim and Cavan. In 1419 we find O'Kelly and MacDiarmid of Magh Luirg collecting their hosts and making a raid into the district of Clanrickard. O'Kelly was accompanied by Charles MacDonald, the son of Marcus, as commander of his Galloglachs. M'William Burke, the chief of Clanrickard, met them with a large army at the mouth of Ath Lighen, gave battle and defeated his opponents with great slaughter. Charles MacDonald and his son escaped from the battle, and their connection with the O'Kellys appears to come to an end.² It was probably soon after this that Charles, the son of Marcus, and his son John Carragh, migrated to Queen's County, in the Province of Leinster, in all probability accompanied by a goodly number of their tribe. Judging by the condition of things in Ireland during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this settlement of the Clan Donald in Leinster is not hard to understand. The conquest of Ireland by England gave the latter country little administrative power over its internal affairs, and for a very long time anarchy was the chief result. The invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce, seconded by his brother King Robert, spread ruin and desolation throughout a great part of Leinster, extensive districts of that province having become depopulated and cleared of the English settlers. During the fifteenth century England was

¹ Editorial Note by O'Donovan to *Four Masters*, vol V., p. 1641.

² *Annals of Loch Ce*, vol. II., p. 149.

too much engrossed in the settlement of matters between the rival Roses to look after the government of Ireland, and though perfunctory efforts were made to establish law and order in the reign of Richard II., these efforts were not sufficiently sustained to produce a lasting benefit. These conditions rendered it easy for a strong and united sept to seize with impunity upon lands whose legal owners had either disappeared or were unable to vindicate their rights by physical force. Therefore, although we possess no detailed record of the manner in which the MacDonald migration from Connaught to Leinster was actually carried out, we can well understand how the political and social conditions of the time rendered such a movement not only possible but easy.

These settlers soon acquired a considerable tract of country at the base of those mountains of Leix and Wicklow, which form part of the boundary of the English Pale, their lands in Wicklow being known for ages as the Clan Donald country. It is quite probable that the inhabitants of the English Pale acquiesced in these Clan Donald settlements in their immediate neighbourhood upon conditions which were in harmony with the spirit of the times, as well as with the warlike character of the immigrants. The Government was unable to protect the English settlers in the occupancy or ownership of their lands, and the owners were compelled, in the interests of self-preservation, to maintain jointly a military force. Hemmed in on all sides, except the west, by turbulent and warlike tribes, this was the only possible method of saving themselves from extinction. The position taken up by Charles MacDonald and his son John Carragh thus became

defined by the necessities of their English neighbours. They became Constables of the Pale, or, to use a designation well known in Scottish history, wardens of the marches, and were thus permitted to appropriate the extensive tract of country with which they were connected as proprietors for upwards of two hundred years.

We learn from the Annals and public records that three Clan Donald septs occupied the territory referred to, but it is not easy to determine their mutual relationship. It has been stated that these three Clan Donald septs of Leinster were all descended from Charles, the son of Marcus, and although the evidence in proof of the statement is not particularly distinct in regard to two of them, we are not disposed to question its accuracy. At what particular period they began to develop separate tribal organisations is not particularly clear. Whatever may have been the genealogical position of the Clan Donald of Rahin and Wicklow,¹ it is quite clear that the MacDonalds of Tynekill, apparently the most important of the three, were descended from Charles, the son of Marcus. The ruined keep of the castle from which these Captains of Galloglachs guarded their own extensive domains, as well as the possessions of the English settlers, still stands in a state of comparative preservation. The surroundings of the ancient pile exemplify the character which gave it the name of Tynekill—the house of the wood—for a few “aged patriarchs” survive of the primeval forest, “venerable companions of the aged keep.”² The architectural type of this interesting

¹ The history of these two septs is too meagre to be dealt with satisfactorily in this portion of the work.

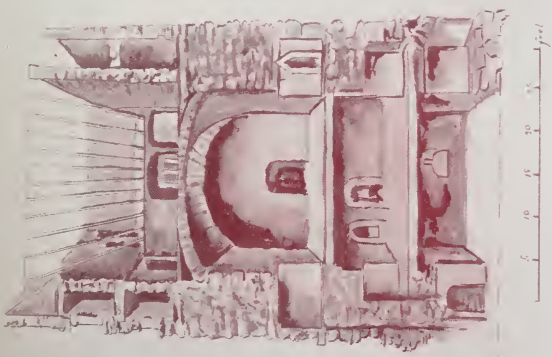
² Glimpses of the M'Donnells, by Sir E. Burrows, Bart.

relic of the past points to the middle of the fifteenth century as being approximately the period of its erection, and helps the antiquarian to calculate, if not the date of the MacDonald immigration, at any rate the period of their advancement into property and position in Leinster. The groined ceiling and the finished execution of the ornamented portions presents a striking contrast to the rude fortresses which prevail in the district. Through an aperture in the wall, covered by a flag, a concealed dungeon was discovered, which the surrounding Irish peasantry called the "murtherin hole." The walls are of great thickness, 8 feet 8 inches at the base, and contain "curious recesses and passages, besides a winding stone stair to the summit still complete."¹ The possession of so formidable and elaborately constructed a fortress is suggestive of power, wealth, and station on the part of its owners, though it is by no means unlikely that in view of the position of the Clan Donald on the borders of the English Pale, the English authorities may have partially borne the burden of its construction. The ruined fort of Tynekill no longer knows the race that erstwhile guarded its gates and manned its battlements; yet still it can recall to the mind of the historic student a day when, after the fashion of their sires of the princely House of Isla, the MacDonalds of Tynekill passed their time with antique chivalry and feudal splendour—

"Sest thou yon grey gleaming hall,
Where the deep yew shadows fall,
Voices that have left the earth long ago
Still are murmuring round its hearth, soft and low."

¹ Glimpses of the M'Donnells, by Sir E. Burrows, Bart.

TYNEKILL CASTLE.



Charles, the son of Marcus, the first of the Clan Donald of Leinster, died, according to some of the Irish Annals, in 1435, and was succeeded by his son, John Carragh, who is described by the Annalists as "the best Captain of the English."¹ This John Carragh was fighting in Offally in 1466.² This was the *Ui-Failghe* of early Irish history, the designation of an extensive territory in Leinster extending into the King's and Queen's counties and also into *Kildare*. John Carragh is said to have been slain in that year, and was succeeded by his son, Turlough Og, or young Charles, so called to distinguish him from his grandfather, Charles, the son of Marcus. Although this latter Charles was, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the head of the House of Tynekill, there is little light upon his life and times derivable from the records of the age. We do not find any trace of him until the early years of the sixteenth century, when the Clan Donald of Leinster were at war with the Burkes of Mayo. The issues of the contest were disastrous to the Clan Donald, for in 1503 they were overtaken by a great and terrible overthrow, in which most of their Galloglachs were slain, and Turlough Og, their Captain, fell upon the field of battle.³

After the death of Turlough Og in 1503, there is some obscurity as to the succession of the line of Tynekill, but after a careful examination of the authorities we have concluded that he was succeeded by John, who was succeeded by Turlough, who was in turn succeeded by Colla or Calvagh. Of the history of the two former there is very little on

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1641, Editorial Note.

² Annals of Dudley Ffibre.

³ Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. II., p. 34.

record, and their position is only arrived at by a comparison of apparently conflicting authorities. We find a trace of John, son of Turlough Og, however, several years after his father's death. In 1514, Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, was at war with the O'Moores, an ancient sept of Wexford, and destroyed their Castle of Ciulentragh. The Earl had the assistance of the MacDonalds of Tynekill, who on this occasion lost their chief, the *Annals of Loch Ce* recording the fatality in these terms:—"The son of Toirdhelbhach Og MacDomhnaill, Constable of Galloglasses, was killed by the Laighes."¹ The Clan Donald of Tynekill seem to have been much associated with the Fitzgeralds whenever there was fighting to be done; and in 1522 we find them following the Earl of Kildare to the assistance of O'Neill in his struggle with O'Donnell. O'Neill suffered a severe defeat, and many of the MacDonald Galloglachs of Leinster were slain.² As we have seen, John, the son of Turlough Og, was succeeded by another Turlough, but of this latter we can say nothing beyond the fact that he carried on the representation of the family. After this last Turlough, however, we come into a region of well-authenticated fact, and the position of the family of Tynekill and the functions of the Captains of Galloglachs become more or less clearly defined in the public records of the time. In 1562 Queen Elizabeth gave Coll or Calvagh MacDonald, the then representative of the family, a grant of the town and lands of Tynekill, amounting to 998 acres, though this was only a small fraction of the estates which were afterwards enjoyed by his descendants.³ For this grant Coll

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. II., p. 219.

² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³ *Notes Historical and Personal*, p. 9.

was bound to pay a Crown rent of £12 9s 0d—a considerable cess in those days—and also to maintain 12 Galloglachs for military service. He was also empowered to hold at Tynekill a Court Baron and Leet as of the Manor of Tynekill, and a weekly market and fair on two days annually, viz., on the 21st and 22nd September.¹ We also learn that on the same date Hugh Boy, his oldest son and heir, received a patent of the land of Acregar, amounting to 320 acres, for which he paid a Crown rent of £3 18s 0d, and was bound to keep 4 Galloglachs.² Coll MacDonald and his son were the first to be installed formally as Galloglachs under the English Crown, and they were expected upon sufficient warning to attend upon the Governor of Ireland or his Deputy, and “to go upon any Irishmen bordering upon the foresaid countrie.” It is hardly to be supposed that 16 foot soldiers, though heavily armed, would fully represent the military strength of the Tynekill MacDonalds. This must be regarded as the *minimum* number required by the conditions of their tenure from the Crown, though 16 Galloglachs are to be considered as equivalent to a much larger force of the more slenderly equipped Irish kernes, being the grenadiers, so to speak, of the armed bands.

In 1570 we find Calvagh MacDonald of Tynekill acting in the capacity of Constable of Her Majesty's Galloglachs, and on 21st June of that year he is, along with his two sons, Hugh Boy and Alexander, at the head of their forces, supporting Burke, Earl of Clanricard, at the siege of Shrule, in Mayo.³ It appears that Coll⁴ was slain during these offensive

¹ Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. II., p. 34. ² Ibid.

³ The Four Masters, vol. V., p. 1641.

⁴ Coll is the equivalent of the Irish Calvagh.

operations. Hugh Boy, or, as he was also styled, Hugh Roe, succeeded his father as head of Tynekill and Captain of Her Majesty's Galloglachs. Notwithstanding his connection with the English as commander of one of their frontier garrisons, the flame of his loyalty burned with a very flickering gleam, for the public records bear frequent testimony to his insubordination and subsequent pardon. In the interval between his father's death, in 1570, and the year 1575, his rebellious attitude towards the English power is borne out by the fact that in the latter year he received a pardon, though we are not informed of the precise nature of his offence.¹ Shortly afterwards his loyalty again faded like a summer cloud, for in 1577 Tynekill was forfeited, and granted by the Crown to Bernard Fitzpatrick, a clear indication of wavering allegiance on the part of the redoubtable Hugh Boy, but here again we are somewhat in the dark as to the character of the Chieftain's guilt.² The same year his younger brother, Alexander, was slain before Galway, possibly in connection with the disturbances which resulted in Hugh Boy's forfeiture.³ It was one thing, however, to alienate Tynekill on parchment and quite another to oust Hugh Boy, whose grip of the ancestral acres and his powerful fortress was not to be lightly removed, and it is clear from the history of the troubled years that filled up the last generation of the sixteenth century, that the MacDonald Chief survived unscathed all the political complications through which he passed. That so great an offender against the Elizabethan authority in Ireland should have escaped with his head, is a

¹ Notes, Historical and Personal, p. 13. ² *Ibid.*

³ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. II., p. 34.

fact that testifies to the exceeding languor of the executive, as well as to the formidable character of the delinquent.

During the time of Hugh Boy of Tynekill, he, with the other Clan Donald Captains of Leinster, experienced a variety of changes wrought by the English power in the feudal position of the Irish Galloglachs. In 1578, shortly after his many pardons, Hugh Boy received a new indenture to serve as a Captain of one of Her Majesty's three septs of Galloglachs. This new indenture marked a change in the military position of the Clan Donald of Leinster, and the departure thus made implied the need for strengthening the Queen's forces upon the borders of the English Pale. By the new agreement they covenanted to serve Her Majesty with 90 Galloglachs, that is 30 for each sept, a much larger band than was stipulated for in the indenture of 1562.¹ It is probable that a further grant of land was given in lieu of the fresh responsibilities incurred by the Clan Donald of Leinster, but of this there is no direct evidence.

In 1579 the Clan Donald Captains received a summons from the Lord Deputy and Council to put themselves in readiness for war.² Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, and his brothers, representing an ancient family in Munster, were at that time in rebellion against the English, and had been proclaimed traitors. The MacDonald warriors of Leinster were charged to appear at the rendezvous at Carrigh, by the 25th November following, when the Earl of Ormond was to take command of all the Queen's forces in the field, to punish the rebellious Desmonds. This outbreak on the part of the six-

¹ Carew Papers, vol. III., p. 168.

² Ibid.

teenth Earl of Desmond appears to have come to no settlement until as late as 1584, in which year he, with 38 Captains and 747 of his following, were put to the sword as traitors. The fact that Desmond was Ormond's stepfather won him no mercy at the victor's hands.

In the eleventh Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, the system of coyne and livery by which from distant times Irish Galloglachs were wont to be maintained, was abolished and commuted for an annual payment in money. Though the Clan Donald Galloglachs of Leinster were, latterly, in the employment of the English Government, the ancient system of provision for their upkeep was continued in force until 1598. In 1598 a new indenture was formulated between the Lord Deputy and the Clan Donald Captains in terms that were highly flattering to the loyalty of *Siol Chnuim* to the English Crown, this particular form of loyalty not having always been conspicuous by its presence in that illustrious race. It was stated that because of "that auntient continual fydeltie loyalty and true service of the cept, gent, sept of the syde Clan Donald always borne and done towards Her Majestie and her most worthy progenitors, the bonaght, touren, deadpayes and blackmail heretofore bared shall be commuted into a yearly pension of £300 to H.M. Exchequer."¹ Their duties were to be unchanged. They were to undertake no service against the Queen, but were to do in her service all that was expected of Galloglachs, such as assaulting the castles and fortresses of the disloyal, and taking such other duties in the field as the circumstances of the time might demand.

¹ Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. II., p. 34.

Not long after the eulogium upon the “auntient continual fydelitie” of the Clan Donald of Leinster, there is much reason to fear that Hugh Boy of Tynekill, with the other MacDonald Captains, quitted for a season the prudent paths of loyalty. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill was threatening to overwhelm the English power in Ireland. After the death of Shane O'Neill, his kinsman Hugh, son of the Baron of Dungannon, assumed the title of Earl of Tyrone with the consent of the English Government. In 1597, however, he assumed a much more ancient, and distinctly more dangerous designation, namely, the O'Neill. It was one of those cases in which there is much in a name. We who know the devotion of the Western Clans of Scotland to the very title Lord of the Isles, and how dangerous this sentimental attachment often proved to the State, can understand the motives of policy which banned as unlawful a title like O'Neill, round which clustered so many traditional glories. O'Neill was a name to conjure with in the North of Ireland, and therefore must be suppressed. Thus it was that Hugh O'Neill, in assuming the immemorial title, was guilty of an act of rebellion. But he went further. The assumption of the dignity was but a symbol of active resistance to the power of the alien. He unfurled his banner and gathered round him not only those of his own name and lineage, but the minor septs who owed him vassalage and sympathised with resistance to England, such as the Magennisses, Macmahons, and MacDonalds. The Clan Donald of Leinster took action along with the O'Moores, a neighbouring sept, on the side of the Earl of Tyrone. Tyrone was victorious in various

engagements, and the Earl of Essex was despatched to Ireland by Queen Elizabeth to cope with the formidable rising and have the chance of rehabilitating a somewhat shattered reputation, but he was only successful in taking a fresh step in the downward path of disgrace. The insurrection was quelled by his successor, and Hugh Boy MacDonald of Tynekill, who had been an actor in the drama of rebellion, was not forsaken by his former luck, and was fortunate in obtaining a free pardon.

In October, 1604, a further change was produced in the position of the Leinster Captains of Galloglachs. It was decided by the Lord Deputy and Council that the office of Captain of Galloglachs, and the fees—£100 per sept—connected therewith, as settled by Sir Henry Sidney in 1598, should cease with the death of the present patentees, as it was doubtless felt that the “fydelitie” once lauded had proved not too reliable when the day of temptation came round.¹ In 1608 it appears that a further modification of the emoluments was contemplated by the Lord Deputy and Council. They proposed to compound for the annual pension of £300 to the three septs by payment of a capital sum of £400 in “silver harps,” and a payment of 12d a day during life to each of the three Captains. To all appearance this proposal fell through, as did also another in 1611² to reduce the £300 to £227, and it seems quite clear that when Hugh Boy MacDonald of Tynekill died, in 1618, the indenture of 1598 was still in force. In the Inquisition after his death, Hugh Boy is described as Lord of the Manor of Tynekill, Ballycrassel, and other lands more minutely detailed, as well as of the lands of Acregar, 1310

¹ Calendar of Irish State Papers *ad tempus*.

² *Ibid.*

acres being the extent as estimated by the Government.¹

Hugh Boy MacDonald was succeeded as Lord of Tynekill and Captain of Her Majesty's Galloglachs by his son Fergus. Unlike his father, the loyalty of Fergus appears to have suffered no eclipse. Whether it was that his lot was cast in quieter times, or that he was himself of a more tranquil nature, sure it is that Fergus manufactured no history, and left no rebellious footprints on the pathway of these nineteen years. During his time the crown rent was raised from £12 9s 6d to £13 19s 6d, while he was bound to keep twelve Galloglachs at Tynekill, and two horsemen but no Galloglachs for Acregar.² It is noticeable that the number of Galloglachs to be kept is much less than it was in 1578, when it was fixed at 30, while the position of Tynekill as a barony, after the fashion of a Highland lordship before 1745, was continued as settled in the days of his grandfather.

Fergus of Tynekill died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son James, upon whom a double portion of the restless spirit of his grandfather appears to have descended. He was a youth of twenty, and married, when he became Lord of Tynekill. Shortly after his succession he received a new patent of the Manor of Tynekill and the other lands possessed by his ancestors.³ The extent is still stated at 998 acres for the chief manor, but it is noticeable that Acregar is put down at 647 acres, as distinguished from the old figures, which were 312. There is evidence here of loose reckoning on the part of the Government, which evidently made

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. II., p. 34.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Notes Historical and Personal.*

no survey of the lands in question, and while 998 acres may have been a correct estimate of the extent of Tynekill proper, that figure must have largely underestimated the real extent of the territories actually possessed for generations. It was not the business of the grantees to limit the elasticity of the Government calculations as to the area of these family possessions, and we quite agree with the opinion that the 30 townlands confirmed to James, the son of Fergus, in 1637, and probably owned by his ancestors for generations, must have amounted to considerably over 10,000 acres.

Four years after the accession of James Macdonald of Tynekill, he became involved in those terrible political complications which darken the middle of the seventeenth century. The history of Ireland during the Great Rebellion has been written with much picturesqueness of detail by the eminent modern writer who elevated Henry VIII. to the rank of a great historical hero. Unfortunately for the value of his conclusions, his preconceived views of Irish character and history mar the cogency of his main historical induction.¹ The depositions upon which his general estimate is based constitute, no doubt, a dreadful indictment against a nation, but these depositions were brought forward entirely from the prosecutor's side, and the dark shadows of the picture might be considerably relieved could the rebels have said with effect, *audi alteram partem*. That racial hatred, religious rancour, and the despair induced by the fear of national extinction played a chief and tragic part in the movement which resulted in the confederacy of Irish Catholics cannot be gainsaid. If excesses and brutalities were com-

¹ J. A. Froude in *The English in Ireland*,

mitted in the less civilised regions, these can be explained if they cannot be condoned. It was the uprising of a race and of a creed against what was believed to be an attempt to introduce by force the new religion, and to rob the ancient families of their ancestral acres. Hungry English courtiers were casting greedy eyes upon the soil of Ireland, and the domestic troubles which for a season rent the English power in twain prevented the King from holding the scales of justice impartially among his Irish subjects.

In 1641, when the Great Rebellion broke out, James MacDonald of Tynekill, though only 24 years of age, became a colonel of the Confederated Catholics, and cut a conspicuous figure in the transactions of that calamitous time. By a proclamation issued by the Lords Justices on February 8th, 1641, James's lands were confiscated for his rebellious conduct, while a free pardon with £400 were offered to anyone who would bring his head to the Government. In this proclamation he was specially identified as "James Mac Fergus Mac Donnell."¹ He was visited at Tynekill by the Marquis of Antrim in 1642, and the Marquis, who certainly took no part in the rebellion, but tried to moderate its effects, came under such suspicion through his intercourse with so noted a rebel that in after years it took him all his time to re-establish his character for loyalty to the satisfaction of the Government.² Colonel James's name is in the list of leaders of the General Assembly of the Irish Confederation, printed at Waterford in 1644. He is also mentioned in a memorandum of the available

¹ Historical and Personal Notes, p. 14.

² Hill's Macdonalds of Antrim, pp. 327-8.

forces as having 1000 men, 200 of whom were armed. Towards the end of the rebellion his attitude proves him to have been one of the most stubborn and determined in his resistance to the English power. In 1648, the more moderate members of the Catholic Confederation, who seem to have been in the majority, and to have finally prevailed, proposed to come to terms with Ormond the Lord Deputy. Against this conciliatory policy several of the leaders signed a protest, and among those who thus preferred to fight to the bitter end was Colonel James MacDonald of Tynekill. James seems to have escaped the capital penalty of rebellion, but there is a singular lack of evidence as to his life after the turbulent events of his early days. Mr Hill, the historian of Antrim, hazards the view that the family went northwards, and dwelt for a time in Antrim, a conjecture based upon the fact that the last title to the estates of Tynekill granted to James in 1637 was deposited in Glenarm Castle.¹ The forfeiture of the estate was never withdrawn; but from an inquisition of 1679, April 17th, it appears that under a decree of 1664, May 15th, Margaret, the wife of James, was allowed to retain her dowry rights upon the land.² Col. James' death would probably have taken place shortly before the latter date.

This closes the history of the Tynekill family as a territorial family in Queen's County; but the history of the race does not cease with the loss of the patrimonial acres, and we fortunately do not lose the historical thread after the inheritance of their fathers passes out of their hands. It was probably

¹ The MacDonalds of Antrim, p. 327.

² Historical and Personal Notes. (The rest of this chapter is mainly taken from these notes).

after the death of James that the family embraced the Protestant faith, to which they have since his time been consistently attached. As already seen, his widow was protected in the enjoyment of her dowry by the Government that forfeited her husband's property, and it was probably through pressure from the powers that were that she was induced to join the dominant church.

James of Tynekill was succeeded in the representation of his family by his son Fergus Charles. Of his early life we know absolutely nothing, though, as already hinted, it may probably have been led under the protection of the Earl of Antrim. In 1690 Charles Fergus migrated to Wicklow, and took upon lease the farm of Coolavin, a townland in that county. Its extent is 398 acres 3 roods 10 poles. It is situated half-a-mile north of Newrath Bridge, lying between the Dublin Road and the Broad Hough or long tidal water that runs for three or four miles close along the shore and next the railway from Wicklow. The family occupied this holding for 67 years.

Fergus Charles was succeeded by his son Charles. The latter left Coolavin in 1746, and migrated to County Meath, where he entered on the possession of another holding named Baytown, in the Barony of Dunboyne. Upwards of 100 years had elapsed since the forfeiture of Tynekill, but before quitting his home in Wicklow, Charles is said to have cherished the hope that, by application to the Crown, the family estates might be restored. With this expectation he is said to have visited London in 1739, where he was received with such courtesy by the King that, in token of his loyalty to this representative of the Guelph dynasty, he named his

youngest son George. No material success appears to have rewarded his efforts, either for the restoration of Tynekill or for obtaining compensation in lieu thereof. Charles Macdonald of Baytown died on 7th May, 1767, and was buried at Kilbride. He left a large family of sons and daughters, and his oldest son, Francis, succeeded him in the larger portion of Baytown, his son, Cornelius, occupying the smaller share, the whole consisting of 352 acres. It appears that, although Francis left a family of four sons, the male representation of the family in his line became extinct in the second generation, and we have to look for the transmission of the main line of Tynekill to Richard, the second son of Charles, and his posterity.

Richard MacDonald was born at Coolavin in 1729. Being a younger son, he did not settle down at Baytown as his father's successor, but removed to Peacockstown, in County Meath, where he resided for a considerable number of years. Peacockstown is situated on the Dublin road to Ratoak, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of that city. It consists of 254 acres, 1 rood, 34 poles. In its near neighbourhood was Kilrue House, then the residence of Mr George Lowther, M.P., at one time the father of the Irish House of Commons, and with whom the MacDonald family were on terms of great intimacy. Through Mr Lowther's Parliamentary influence, Robert, the second son of Mr Richard MacDonald of Peacockstown, received a Revenue appointment in the city of Cork. In 1797 Richard MacDonald appears to have left Peacockstown for Cork, where he lived in the house of his son Robert until his death in 1805. Charles MacDonald, Richard's oldest son, died without issue, having survived his father

by only a year, and, consequently, the representation of the family of Tynekill devolved upon Robert MacDonald, already referred to as an official in connection with the Revenue Department in Cork. Robert is said to have been in his earlier days a man of substantial means, and contemplated retirement from business, but his latter years were clouded by financial adversity, owing to the fall in prices accompanying the close of the Peninsular War. He died on 23rd February, 1821.

We have seen that since the Tynekill family lost their estates in the Great Rebellion they pursued the even tenor of their way, secluded from the storm of war which in past ages beat upon their sires, and therefore their annals have been somewhat uneventful and obscure. We are not, however, to suppose that the energy and enterprise of the race became extinct or even dormant. Among the progeny of Robert MacDonald of the second and third generations, the characteristics which gave lustre to the line of *Alastair Og* are displayed in new fields of interest, not only upon the path of martial glory, but in the varied spheres of academic and political renown. Robert MacDonald was succeeded as head of the Tynekill branch by his oldest son, Richard, whose distinguished career is so intimately associated with the university of his country's capital. Richard MacDonald entered Trinity College, Dublin, at an early age, and became a Fellow of that institution in 1808, just as he had completed his twenty-first year. In 1813 he received the degree of LL.D., and commenced to study for the bar. He seems to have completed his legal studies, and to have qualified, if not practised, as a barrister; but, whether the profession proved uncongenial or not, his legal career soon terminated, and he took holy

orders. Though a Protestant in religion, and an upholder of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, his attitude on political questions was broad and generous. In token of this, we find him in 1814 signing a petition in favour of Catholic Emancipation, and there is evidence that, notwithstanding political differences, he was a fast friend of the celebrated Daniel O'Connell, whose acquaintance he had formed in the course of his legal pursuits. On the 24th January, 1852, the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, appointed him to the honourable post of Provost of Trinity College, an office which he held as long as he lived. He died in the Provost's official residence on the 24th January, 1867, in his 80th year, and such was the esteem in which he was held in Dublin, that his obsequies were publicly observed by his fellow-citizens when his remains were consigned to their last resting-place in the vault of Trinity Chapel. Robert, the oldest son of the Rev. Richard MacDonald, Provost of Trinity College, after a distinguished University course, died at Sorrento Cottage on 21st June, 1833, and was buried at Bray. He thus pre-deceased his father by many years, and upon the Provost's death, in 1867, the representation of the family devolved upon the second son, Richard Graves MacDonald.

This distinguished scion of the race of *Alastair Og* was born in 1814, at 26 Harcourt Street, Dublin. After graduating at Trinity College, and taking a legal course, he was called in 1838 to the Irish, and in 1842 to the English Bar. His career as a barrister was destined to be brief, and it was his lot to achieve distinction in other and more eventful fields. In 1843, while still under thirty years of

age, he received the appointment of Chief-Justice of Gambia Settlement, a dependency of the Colony of Sierra Leone. While at home on furlough in 1846, Daniel O'Connell, his father's former friend, appealed to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Benjamin Hawes, for an extension of his leave, on the ground of the tediousness of his homeward voyage, and the pestiferous nature of the climate of Gambia. In the course of O'Connell's letter to the Colonial Secretary, he speaks of MacDonald as "a gentleman of great talent, considerable energy, and perseverance." That the warm advocacy of his cause by the Irish political veteran was not unacceptable in high quarters, may be gathered from the fact that Richard MacDonald returned to Gambia the following year in the capacity of Governor of the Settlement. This post he filled for about five years, after which he was for a short time Governor of St Lucia and St Vincent. His capacity for rule was notably appreciated by the British Government, when in 1854 he was appointed Governor of South Australia. In 1855 he was in Britain, and on the 28th November of that year was knighted by the Queen in Buckingham Palace, in recognition of his distinguished services in Her Majesty's Colonial Empire. His tenure of Office as Governor of South Australia was signalized by an event of great importance in the history of that Colony, namely, the charter of its Constitution as a free, self-governing dependency, which bears the date, 27th October, 1856. Sir Richard gave his name to the MacDonald Range of Mountains, 23 deg. S. Latitude, and to the MacDonald Port and District, 37 deg. S. Latitude, while Lake Blanche and Cape Blanche derived their names from Lady Macdonald.

In 1864 Sir Richard was Governor of Nova Scotia, but, owing to the changes which followed the confederation of the British Provinces into the Dominion of Canada, he resigned. In 1866 he became Governor of Hong Kong, an appointment which he held till 1872, when he finally retired from public life. There is an element of poetical justice in the fact that this descendant of James MacDonald of Tynekill, who strove with might and main to ruin the power of England in the 17th century, should, with no less strength of purpose, and with greater success, have done so much in the 19th century to rule and consolidate the Empire of our Queen. He died at Hyeres, a town in the south of France, on February 5th, 1881.

Sir Richard Graves MacDonald having died without issue, the representation of the family devolved upon Hercules Henry Graves MacDonald, the present head of the House of Tynekill, who was born in Lower Baggot Street on January 3, 1819. He entered Trinity College in 1835, where he won a large share of the academic distinction which reflected honour on so many of the modern family of Tynekill. During his university course he gained several gold medals, winning special honours in Classics, Mathematics, Ethics, and Logic. In 1842 he was called to the Irish Bar, and in 1846 to the English Bar at Lincoln's Inn. In 1853 he was appointed Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy, Dublin, and on the 11th October, 1854, he became Secretary to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, an appointment which he held until his retirement from professional and public life in 1885. His patriotic interest in his native land was shown in 1864, when he visited the

principal towns in Europe for the Dublin International Exhibition, which took place the following year. The head of Tynekill is a man of large sympathies and cultured tastes. He was among the founders of the University Choral Society in 1836, and in 1856 he took part in reorganising the Royal Irish Academy of Music, of which he was Honorary Secretary for twenty years. In 1864 he joined in founding the Strollers' Club, and from 1885 to 1895 arranged and edited their collections of ninety-seven male part songs. He is thus seen to have interests wider than the mere narrow groove of business and professional life, and has proved himself resolute in upholding the traditions of a land ever famed for song and minstrelsy. He possesses in a large degree the kindly warmth of the Celtic nature, a virtue which has always blossomed luxuriantly on Irish soil, and he is second to none in his loyalty to the great traditions of his race and name. He has attained already to a patriarchal age; but we hope his days may yet be long in the land which has for so many ages been the home of his heroic ancestry.

Other members of Provost MacDonald's family have attained to military distinction. Two of these died in the flower of their youth, and in the service of their Queen and country. The heroism of these two descendants of Alastair Og is enshrined on a tablet erected to their memory in Monkstown Church, County Dublin, which may be appropriately quoted here: "Sacred to the memory of two gallant brothers, the beloved sons of the Rev. Richard MacDonnell, Provost, T.C.D. Charles Eustace MacDonnell, Capt. and Brevet-Major in H.M. 29th Regiment. He served in the campaigns

of the Sutledge and the Punjab, and fought in the battles of Ferozeshah, Sabraon, Chillianwallah, Goojerat. His health sank from the effects of continued active service under the sun of India, and from a severe wound received in storming the entrenched camp at Sobraon. He expired at Chat-ham August 5, 1853, aged 29 years.

“Frederick James MacDonnell, of the 14th Bengal Native Infantry. After the mutiny of that regiment he was attached to the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and rose to be second in command of that corps. Having distinguished himself in twenty engagements, he was killed in a charge of cavalry at Korsee, near Lucknow, March 23, 1858, aged 25 years.”

The commanding officer, reporting to the Provost of Trinity the death of his gallant son, Frederick James, concludes his letter with this encomium: “The service never lost a more gallant soldier; no regiment a more zealous and efficient officer. He was beloved and admired for his many good qualities.” *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*

The youngest son of the Provost is Arthur Robert MacDonald, Major-General, R.E., and J.P., County Nairn. General MacDonald entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, in 1851, and was gazetted R.E. in 1854. In 1861 he served in the Abyssinian Expedition under Sir Robert Napier, for which he received the rank of Brevet-Major. He commanded the Bombay Sappers in the action of Aroga and the capture of Magdala, and was mentioned in the official despatch as having rendered valuable and important services. He retired in 1884 with the rank of Major-General. Though the modern representatives of Alastair Og have shone

in the arts of peace, the flame of martial ardour burns as brightly still as it did in the breasts of Hugh Boy and James of Tynekill. The Clan Donald of former times sent more of its sons to the field of battle than to the peaceful arena of ecclesiastical life ; but times are changed, and we are changed with them. Two of the sons of the late Provost attained to distinction in their father's vocation—the Rev. Ronald MacDonald, D.D., who died in 1889, and the Rev. John Cotter MacDonald, D.D., who still survives. The latter has filled a variety of positions in the Episcopal Church of Ireland, and in 1891 was appointed Proctor to the Convocation of Canterbury, an office which he still holds. In 1896 he published the “ Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Magee,” one of the most brilliant orators of an eloquent nation, a work that has been received with much public favour.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MACDONALDS OF ARDNAMURCHAN.



The Early History of Ardnamurchan.—John Sprangach, son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan.—Charter by David II. to Angus Macdonald of Ardnamurchan.—Alexander of Ardnamurchan at Harlaw.—John of Ardnamurchan and the Frasers of Lovat.—John at Inverlochy.—For his Services receives a Gift of Lands from Alexander, Lord of the Isles.—Charter of Lands in Islay to John Brayach.—His Support of the Royal Authority.—MacIain and the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg.—MacIain and Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh.—Quarrel over Lands of Sunart with Clanranald.—Quarrel with the Macleans.—MacIain at Flodden.—Quarrel with Alexander of Isla.—Invasion of Ardnamurchan and Death of MacIain and his Sons.—The MacIains and the Campbells.—James Macdonald of Dunnyveg receives a Crown Charter of Ardnamurchan.—MacIain at Blarleine.—MacIain and the Second Rebellion of Donald Dubh.—Quarrel with the Macleans.—The Marriage of MacIain to the Dowager Lady of Dowart and its consequences.—MacIain and the Rebellion of Tyrone.—MacIain Murdered at Sunart by his Uncle

Donald.—Macleans defeated by the Camerons and MacIains at Morven.—The MacIains and the Campbells.—Mr Donald Campbell obtains a lease of Ardnamurchan from Argyle.—His cruel conduct.—Invasion of Ardnamurchan by Young Clanranald.—The Clan Iain rebel, break loose, and take to piracy.—The MacIains of Ruthven.

THE lands of Ardnamurchan may be said, with great probability, to have formed part of the original mainland patrimony of the Clan Cholla. It is in this district, or, at all events, in that of which it formed a part, that we find Somerled appearing, according to the Seanachies, and accomplishing his first victory over the Norsemen. We find it referred to as far back as the time of Adamnan, Abbot of Iona in the 7th century, who, in his life of St Columba, describes his great predecessor as having on one occasion made a journey through it — *per asperum et saxosam regionem quae dicitur Ardamuirchol*.¹ When the district of Lorn was erected into a Sheriffdom by King John Baliol in 1292, it included the lands of *Ardenmuirich*.² This is the first reference we find to the lands of Ardnamurchan in any public record, but it is not said who the possessor then was. There appears to be no doubt that these lands formed part of Garmoran, the patrimony given to Angus MacSomerled of Bute, on whose death, and that of his sons, they passed over to Roderick, the son of Reginald. But they did not remain long in the possession of the Macruaries. About the middle of the 13th century the lands appear to have formed part of the Lordship of Lorn, and to have been thus for a brief period in the possession of the MacDougals. But King Alexander III. stripped John

¹ Adom. Vit. Columbae.

² Acts of the Parl. of Scotland.

of Lorn of Ardnamurchan and other lands, he having made himself obnoxious to that monarch. According to the History of Clanranald, these were bestowed on Angus Mor Macdonald, Lord of the Isles; but whether that chief got possession of the lands or not it appears that in 1309, when Robert I. granted a charter of Ardnamurchan with other lands to Angus Og, it formed part of the forfeited estates of the Lord of Lorn. The lands of Ardnamurchan extended to 80 marklands, and the lands of Sunart to 30 marklands, while both together consisted of 87,753 Scotch acres. Though there is no record of the conveyance, it would appear that Angus Og bestowed both the lands of Ardnamurchan and Sunart on his brother John, the third son of Angus Mor, who comes prominently before us as a partisan of the Baliols during the struggle between that family and the Bruces for the crown. This John has always been recognised by the Seanachies as the progenitor of the family of Ardnamurchan, though the origin of that family as a territorial House is considerably obscured owing to the absence of any reference to its earlier heads in authentic historical records. Almost all the Seanachies of the Clan Donald, however, trace the descent of the family of Ardnamurchan to John, the third son of Angus Mor, referred to by them as Eoin Sprangach. Both the MS. of 1450 and the Munro MS. of 1549, than which on the early genealogy of the Macdonalds there are no better authorities, agree in tracing the family from John Sprangach, the latter authority making the MacIains of Ardnamurchan the fourth House of the Clan Donald. Reference, perhaps, ought also to be made to the assertion, relative to the origin of this family, of

Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat Seanachie, whose MS. has been frequently quoted in this work. That Seanachie refers to a Somerled, said to have been the eldest son of the Great Somerled, as the ancestor of the MacIains, whence it is alleged that that family on more than one occasion claimed precedence of the other branches of the House of Somerled. There appears to be no doubt as to the identity of a Somerled who was either son or grandson of the first Somerled, but more probably a grandson. This Somerled, who appears to have been a man of high rank in the Isles, lost his life in the commencement of the Expedition of Olave the Black, owing to a quarrel that broke out between the Norwegians proper and the Norwegians that composed Olave's army. This, probably, is the Somerled referred to by Hugh Macdonald as the progenitor of the MacIains; but, as he is unsupported by any other genealogist, and as he manifestly confounds the alleged descendants of the second Somerled with the Macruaries, whose existence as a separate family seems to have been unknown to him, there need be no hesitation in accepting the authority of the MSS. of 1450 and 1549, and rejecting that of the Seanachie of Sleat.

There is a Clan tradition, supported by more than one manuscript history, to the effect that prior to the MacIain possession of Ardnamurchan that region was under the sway of a Norwegian noble, whose character is depicted in the very darkest hues. This individual made himself so obnoxious to the inhabitants by his tyrannical proceedings and evil conduct generally, that they rose in a body against him and put him to death. A messenger was sent to Isla to the Lord of the Isles

seeking protection against the probable vengeance of the friends of the slain Norseman. The Island Lord at once responded by sending his third son, John, with a considerable following, to take possession of Ardnamurchan.

Whatever truth there may be in this story, there need be no doubt that the first of the family of MacIain who occupied Ardnamurchan was Eoin Sprangach, or John the Bold, who, like the other sons of Angus Mor, played a prominent part in the stirring drama of the time in which he lived. Very early in the contest between Baliol and the elder Bruce, John Sprangach, who with his brother Alexander espoused the cause of the former competitor, took a leading part in carrying on the negotiations between him and the King of England. Finally, on Baliol establishing his claim to the satisfaction of the English King, John Sprangach was rewarded by the former with a grant of the lands of Whitsum, which was afterwards confirmed by Edward I.¹ On the accession of Bruce, the same lands were gifted to a Roger Pringle, and they are referred to in the charter of conveyance as having formerly been in the possession of *Johannis del Yle militis*.²

In the Ragman Roll, in which are recorded the original instruments of submission and fealty by Baliol, with the clergy, nobles, and community of Scotland, to Edward I., we find among the signatories the name of "Johan del Ile." Immediately after the resignation in this manner by John Baliol of the Kingdom of Scotland, its people and their homage to Edward, John Sprangach was advanced

¹ Rex Anglia confirmavit Chartam Johannis Regis Scotie factam Johannis de Insulis.—Ayloff's Calendar of Ancient Charters.

² Registrum Roberti Primi.

to high preferment by the English King, while similar honours were bestowed on his brother, the Lord of the Isles. While Alexander was appointed High Admiral of the Isles, John Sprangach was advanced to the dignity of Baron of the Exchequer of England.¹ From his high position in England, he was employed by Edward in the Scottish Expedition.² In the year 1300 his name appears among the magnates sworn in Parliament to treat of affairs in Scotland.³ In the year 1305 he receives the appointment of Justice of the Lothian, with a salary of 60 merks yearly while in office.⁴ In the following year he was commanded with others by Edward to enquire how many of the levies from Cumberland and Westmoreland, who were to muster at Carlisle to proceed to Scotland to crush the Bruce rebellion, had deserted, that they might be punished.⁵ From these and other references to the records which might be quoted, it appears that John Sprangach possessed no mean share of the undaunted spirit and bold activity which characterised the conduct of his ancestors, and in him we have a worthy progenitor of a family destined to play a not unimportant part in the history of the Highlands. After the accession of Robert Bruce to the Scottish crown, we hear no more of John Sprangach, and there is nothing to indicate whether he was reconciled to that monarch; but in the year 1341, on the restoration of David II., John, Lord of the Isles, having forfeited the royal favour through his support of the Baliol party, was deprived of Isla and other

¹ Calendar of documents relating to Scotland in Public Record Office.

² *Ibid.*, Memoranda Roll.

³ Palgrave's Documents, &c.

⁴ Liberate Roll.

⁵ Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland.

lands, and these were granted by the King to Angus, the son of John Sprangach. The charter conveying these lands to Angus is in the following terms :—

“David &c. Sciatis nos dedisse &c. Angusio filio Joahnnis de Insulis consanguineo nostris dilecto et fideli pro servitio suo nobis fideliter impendendo Totam insulam quae vocatur Yla Totam terram de Kintyre, Insulam de Gychay. Insulam de Colynsay 24 unciat : terrarum quae dicuntur Morvarne-duas unciatas terrae in Mule quae dicuntur Morynis cum pertinen &c. Tenen &c. de nobis et successoribus nostris &c. faciendo servitia de predictis terris cum pertinen tam per mare quam per terram debita et consueta &c. &c.”¹

In this charter there is no mention of Ardnamurchan, unless indeed it be included in Morven, which is hardly likely. Ardnamurchan was, as already stated, bestowed by royal charter on Angus Og, Lord of the Isles, in 1309, and as Angus, the son of John Sprangach, must have held it, if at all, under the Island Lord, it is difficult to see why, now that he has gained the favour of his sovereign and received from him a charter of so many lands, Ardnamurchan should be omitted. But John, Lord of the Isles, having espoused the cause of Edward Baliol, received from him in 1335 a charter of several lands, which included both Morven and Ardnamurchan ; and if Angus, the son of John Sprangach, possessed Ardnamurchan under John, it is somewhat singular that it should have been omitted in his own charter of 1341. No infeftment, however, was made in respect of the lands granted to Angus under this charter, owing to the strenuous resistance offered by the Lord of the Isles. King David, being now desirous of securing the services of the Island Lord against England, granted him in

¹ Haddington's Collections.

1343 a charter of all the lands he formerly granted to Angus of Ardnamurchan, save those of Kintyre alone. These same lands of Kintyre were afterwards surrendered by John MacIain of Ardnamurchan in 1499, as appears from the charter to him by King James IV. in that year, and it seems, therefore, that they continued to be held by the family under the charter of 1341 by David II. If this be so, the inference appears to be that Angus, the son of John Sprangach, possessed Ardnamurchan in 1341, and after, under the Lord of the Isles. At all events, it seems quite clear that by whatever tenure the MacIains held Ardnamurchan from 1341 down to the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1493, it was not upon a crown charter. Of Angus of Ardnamurchan, who was a contemporary of the Good John of Isla, we hear no more, though we may infer from the contents of the charter of 1341 that he was a man of considerable importance in the Highlands. With the single exception of the charter, and in the genealogies of the Clan, we meet his name nowhere in the annals of his time.

The records, so far as we had access to them, throw hardly any light at all on the history of this family from the time of Angus, the second of the line, down to the close of the 15th century, when the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, and the consequent fall of the Lordship itself, marked the beginning of a struggle between the Scottish State and the West Highlanders which lasted long enough to furnish ample material for the historian. As vassals of the Lords of the Isles, the MacIains of Ardnamurchan followed the banner of these chiefs, and continued to support them in all their contentions. The history of the minor is merged in that

of the larger family, and this no doubt accounts for the meagre references we find to the family of MacIain during its early history. It was when the families of the Isles came into conflict with the State that they began to be the makers of history. While they were allowed to live peaceably under the Celtic System, little was known of their history beyond the Highland line, or in the archives of the Scottish State.

When Donald, Lord of the Isles, raised his banner and sent round the *Cranntara* in the beginning of the year 1411, Alexander, the son of Angus of Ardnamurchan, responded to the call to arms and followed his chief to the bloody field of Harlaw. Alexander, who must have been a very old man when the battle of Harlaw was fought, either fell in that conflict or died shortly thereafter, when he was succeeded by his son, John. In the year 1420, we find this chieftain with the Bishop of Ross, and others, witnessing the resignation by William the Grahame of the Barony of Kerdale, at the Chanonry of Ross.¹ When MacIain of Ardnamurchan again comes before us, it is in a very different attitude. The extraordinary events connected with the King's visit to Inverness in 1427 have already been dwelt upon in this work. Into the conflict between the King and Alexander, Lord of the Isles, following these events the chieftain of Ardnamurchan threw himself with all his energy, and incurred, as the price of his loyalty to his own chief, the unbounded wrath of the chief of the Frasers, who supported the Government. Fraser of Lovat had all along opposed the claims of the Lord of the Isles to the Earldom of Ross, and on

¹ Diplomatum Collectio. Adv. Lib. MS., James V.

the defeat of that potentate by the royal forces in Lochaber, he set himself vigorously to burning and pillaging everywhere along the Macdonald territory till he came to Ardnamurchan. Here he was met by MacIain and other Macdonalds, and, according to the Morar MS., the Frasers were driven back with great slaughter. When Donald Balloch Macdonald, in the absence of his chief, raised the standard of revolt against the Scottish Government in 1431, MacIain of Ardnamurchan and his men contributed their share to the defeat of the royal forces at Inverlochy. For his services on this occasion the Lord of the Isles, on his release from Tantallon Castle, bestowed on MacIain the quarter land of Baletharsauche, the eighth part of the lands of Teiremachacan, and the six cow lands of Proyayg, with their pertinents, all lying in the Island of Isla, with the bailiary of that island.¹ Donald Balloch still further rewarded MacIain by a gift of certain lands in Jura.² On the succession of John of Isla to the Lordship of the Isles and Earldom of Ross, John MacIain of Ardnamurchan became one of his councillors, and in the year 1463 his name appears as a witness to a charter by that nobleman. Shortly thereafter his son, Alexander, appears also as one of the Council of the Lord of the Isles, and witnesses a charter granted by the Island Lord to his brother, Celestine of Lochalsh, in 1467. On this occasion he signs as Alexander, the son of John, Lord of Ardnamurchan. He still further appears as one of the Council of the Isles in 1469, when the Earl of Ross granted a charter of lands in Skye and Uist to his brother Hugh, and his heirs male by Fynvola, daughter of Alexander MacIain. In a

¹ Book of Islay, p. 33.

² Ibid.

charter, dated at Edinburgh on the 22nd December, 1478, of the lands of Kynedward, and others, by John, Lord of the Isles, to Alexander Lesly, the name of "Alexander McCane of Ardnamercho" appears as a witness. Alexander MacIain evidently was a man of considerable influence and power. The family now held, besides Ardnamurchan and Sunart, lands in Kintyre, Isla, and Jura; but, as we shall soon see, it had not yet attained the zenith of its greatness in the Highlands. Alexander MacIain appears to have died some time before the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, when he was succeeded by his nephew, John Brayach, so called by the Sleat Seanachie, who asserts that he was a natural son of MacIain, and that he seized the lands of Ardnamurchan to the prejudice of his cousins, sons of his uncle, Donald Roy, to whom he acted in the capacity of tutor.¹ In a charter, however, granted by James IV. to John MacIain in 1506, he is referred to as "grandson and heir of John, the son of Alexander, the son of John of Ardnamurchan," and the inference is that he succeeded as the lawful heir of his uncle, Alexander. At all events, as he is never called Macallister, the presumption is that he was nephew and not son of the last possessor. Hugh Macdonald describes him as a bold, intrepid man, and not altogether sound in his mind. In the different parts he played during his somewhat stormy career he certainly does not impress us as having been wanting in either soundness of body or mind, but, on the contrary, he appears, judged by the standard of his time, to have been no less famed for his statesmanlike qualities than for his personal prowess. He was one of the first of the vassals of

¹ Hugh Macdonald's MS.

the Isles to make his submission to James IV. on the forfeiture of the Island Lord in 1493. The turmoil caused by that event made the King hasten with all speed to the Highlands, and, at Dunstaffnage, he, on the 18th of August in that year, received the submission of John MacIain of Ardnamurchan, Sir John of Dunnyveg, John Cathanach, his son, and Alexander of Lochalsh. Of these, the only chieftain who made any show of loyalty was MacIain, as after events amply prove. For his loyalty and services the King, on the 4th of June, 1494, granted him a charter of lands in Isla and Morven, with the bailiary of Isla, formerly held by him of the Lord of the Isles.¹ From this time onwards, MacIain uniformly supported the Government, and opposed the designs of the Islesmen; but he paid the penalty of his loyalty and zeal for the royal cause by rousing the resentment of the adherents of the fallen Island family, and, accordingly, he suffered severely from their depredations. The chieftain of Dunnyveg, though he submitted to the King at Dunstaffnage, as we have seen, came away from the royal presence evidently no more loyal than he had entered it. Between him and the chieftain of Ardnamurchan there was no love lost. There had indeed been a long-standing feud between them over Sunart and lands in Isla possessed by MacIain. It was natural that Sir John of Dunnyveg should lay claim to MacIain's lands in Isla, but it does not appear that he had any right, legally or morally, in respect of the lands of Sunart. On whichever side right lay, the dispute was ended in a manner unsuspected, at least by Sir John of Dunnyveg. That chieftain, having incurred the

¹ The Book of Islay, p. 27.

royal wrath for his conduct at Dunaverty, was summoned to answer for his treason, and, having failed to appear, was denounced rebel. Now had come MacIain's opportunity, and he was not slow to use it. Going to Isla in the guise of friendship, he treacherously apprehended Sir John of Dunnyveg, John Cathanach, his son, and their accomplices, and, delivering them up to the King, they were immediately brought to trial and executed. Besides the public grounds on which MacIain may have taken this step, he was no doubt to some extent actuated more by the love of gain than the desire for revenge. By handing over to doom the rebel of Dunnyveg he removed a powerful enemy from his path, and one by the disappearance of whom from the scene of strife he hoped to possess his lands of Sunart and Isla in peace. According to Hugh Macdonald, MacIain acted at the instigation of Argyle and Glencairn; but, however that may be, his conduct, judged by the standard even of the Middle Ages, is in the highest degree reprehensible.

The next exploit of MacIain brings him before us in a yet darker light. This was the putting to death of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh at Orinsay, not long after the execution of the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg. Sir Alexander was then, it is said, in open rebellion, or at least meditating a rebellion against the crown. Smarting from the defeat at Drumchatt, he betook himself to the Southern Isles, expecting no doubt that the adherents of the House of Isla would rally round him; but in this he was disappointed. His movements were watched by the adherents of the Government, among whom, after Argyle, MacIain may be said to have been the most important.

Whether the plot to assassinate Sir Alexander was hatched by the Government or was the conception of MacIain himself, the latter at all events was the direct instrument in bringing about the foul deed. The assassination of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, instead of having a quietening influence on the disaffected Islesmen, only roused them to more vigorous action against the Government, and MacIain himself, if possible, became the object of greater hatred than ever. In these circumstances the King found it necessary to take steps to protect MacIain from the fury of his neighbours. We find, accordingly, that in October, 1496, MacIain and the chiefs of Dowart, Muidart, Lochiel, and Keppoch gave mutual pledges, in presence of the Earl of Argyle, that the one should not suffer damage or injury from the other under a penalty of £500 each.

Notwithstanding pledges, which when given by the Highland chiefs of those days were generally given to be broken, MacIain found himself about the beginning of the year 1498 involved in a serious quarrel with Allan MacRuarie of Clanranald, one of those who had pledged himself to Argyle, and one of the bravest and most distinguished of the chiefs of that time. Allan MacRuarie — who, according to MacVuirich, had married MacIain's daughter — demanded possession of the lands of Sunart, which he alleged he had taken on lease from the late Sir John of Dunnyveg. What legal title, if any, the different claimants to the lands of Sunart possessed we are entirely ignorant of, but it is probable that none of them had so good a right as MacIain himself. The dispute between him and the Chief of Clanranald was referred to the King's own decision, which, as might have been expected, was

given in favour of MacIain, and to avoid further dispute as to the right of possession, the King gave him a charter of these lands.

The King's present policy was to crush the Macdonald families, and the more effectually to do this and to strengthen his Government in the Highlands, he began to divide the lands of the Lordship of the Isles among favourites of his own, who were most likely to remain loyal to him. In this respect none fared so well as John MacIain of Ardnamurchan. In 1499 he received two royal charters—one of the lands of Ardnamurchan and the Castle of Mingary, the other of 20 mark lands in Sunart, 10 mark lands in Jura, and many lands in Isla, all extending to 200 mark lands.¹ The latter charter bears to have been granted expressly for MacIain's good service done to the King in taking and delivering Sir John of the Isles and Glens, John Cathanach his son, and their accomplices, and also for the surrender and renunciation of the 23 mark lands of Mid-Kintyre with the office of the Stewarty of the same, and of the 84 mark lands in Mid-Kintyre which he held in fee.

John MacIain of Ardnamurchan had now become by far the most powerful chieftain of the Clan Donald, and the most effective instrument in the hands of the King for their destruction. From the time he received his first grant of lands in 1494 to the end of James's reign he was in constant communication with that monarch, the King making frequent visits to Castle Mingary and holding courts there. Frequent references are also made in the records of the time to payments made to messengers carrying letters to MacIain from the King.²

¹ "The Book of Islay," p. 30, and Argyle Charter Chest.

² The High Treasurer's Accounts, James III. and IV.



MINGARRY CASTLE, ARDNAMURCHAN.

When Donald Dubh emerged from his forced seclusion in 1501, and raised the flag of rebellion, MacIain ranged himself on the side of the Government, and rendered conspicuous service in the course of that insurrection. On the rebellion being suppressed, the King, on the 25th of November, 1505, for the faithful and willing service rendered him by his "dear John Makkane of Ardnamurchane," confirmed him in all the lands formerly granted to him, with the houses and fortalices of Castle Mingary in Ardnamurchan, and Dunnyveg in Isla, and in the bailiary of that Island. Shortly after this, a quarrel arose between MacIain and Lachlan Maclean of Dowart respecting lands in Isla, in which it appears John Maclean of Lochbuy took part on the side of his kinsman, Lachlan Maclean. On the 8th of October, 1496, the King granted certain lands in Isla to Lachlan Maclean, believing him to be loyal, but, as after events proved, the Lord of Dowart sadly disappointed his sovereign. MacIain, who possessed the larger share of Isla, and held the office of bailie of that island, irritated Maclean by officiously interfering with his rights of proprietary. The differences between the parties had at length become so serious that the King himself had to interfere, and at his suggestion they agreed to submit these to his Majesty's Commissioners—David, Bishop of Argyle; John, Bishop of the Isles; and Archibald, Earl of Argyle. The Commissioners met at Dunadd on the 12th of June, 1506, and before them appeared MacIain, Dowart, and Lochbuy. John MacIain, "for himself, his kin, frendis, servandis, and all that he may lett, specialie assouerit Lachlane M'Gillan of Dowart, his kin, frendis, servandis, familiaris, and all that dependis

opoun him, that thai salbe harmeles and scaithles in thair persons, landis, rentis, guidis, and possessions in tyme tocum ony maner of uthirwayis na law will but fraud or gile." Lachlan Maclean of Dowart and John Maclean of Lochbuy gave their "bodelie aith the haly evangelist tuichit" that they would abstain from molesting MacIain, and the three chieftains, having exhibited their writs, were allowed to depart in peace.¹ Not long after the meeting at Dunadd, the King showered yet further favours on MacIain. In a charter, dated at Edinburgh on the 19th of November, 1506, he bestowed upon him, in addition to the numerous lands already granted to him, certain other lands in Isla, "which lands belonged hereditarily to him by the heritable infeftment made to his grandfather by the late Alexander, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, and also the lands in Jura which belonged hereditarily to the said John through the late Donald of the Isles, Lord of Deniewag and Glynis." These lands had come into the possession of the sovereign by reason of "the forfeiture of the late John, formerly Lord of the Isles, and also by reason of the forfeiture of the late John of the Isles and of Dunewag, knight, heir of the foresaid deceased Donald, his father."²

MacIain, like most of the other Highlanders, was in the Scottish army at Flodden, and his name, as well as that of Maclean of Dowart, appears in the old English Gazette of the battle as among the slain. It is certain, however, that both these chiefs survived the action, and that while the latter soon after his return headed a rebellion in the Isles, the former was no less active in suppressing it by all the

¹ Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. XII., p. 709.

² "The Book of Islay," p. 33.

means in his power. On the death of the King at Flodden, the Clan Iain Mhoir, now that the great enemy of their house was no longer in the way, ventured once more out of their retirement into the arena of Scottish political warfare. Alexander, the head of that house, who held no lands in Scotland during the reign of James IV., was a chieftain endowed with much energy and ability, and he no sooner set foot on his native heath than the old feud between his family and MacIain was revived. Reference has already been made in another part of this work to the relentless vengeance with which MacIain pursued Alexander and the rest of the Clan Iain Mhoir after the execution of Sir John, and his son, John Cathanach. He had taken possession of their lands in Isla, and, according to MacVuirich and Hugh Macdonald, he did not rest satisfied with this, for he followed Alexander to Ireland with the object of taking his life. MacIain found himself surrounded by many enemies after the death of King James, but none was so determined as the heir of Dunnyveg. Hugh Macdonald relates in his MS. how MacIain sent his sons to Ireland to expel Alexander of Dunnyveg from the Antrim glens, and how finally Alexander came into possession of the House of Dunnyveg and his patrimony in Isla.

“As to John Brayach in Islay, he had two sons, Donald and Somerled, by Argyle’s daughter, who were lusty young strong men, the eldest of whom one day overthrew in wrestling all his father’s train. At last the father said he would try him himself. The son answered that his father was old and he young and in his full strength, therefore it was not decent for him to throw down his father. But the old father would by no means be persuaded from wrestling with his son; so engaging he was thrown down by the son. The old fellow said—‘You naughty boy, you would sooner act my tragedy than expel Alexander John

Cathanaach's son from the Glens of Ireland.' Immediately upon this a levy of men was made and sent with the two sons of John Brayach to Ireland. When they landed Alexander was in Glenseich with 140 men, and seeing them land thought it best to encounter them without delay. So immediately he led on to the attack. When MacIain's sons saw him and his men advance they asked their own men (seeing Alexander's party so small) whether they believed he had a mind to fight. The men answered in the affirmative, and the Smith of Islay said that few as they were in number they would be a venomous thorn in their side that day, and that he for his own part would rather be on their side than on the side of the MacEans. MacEan said it was much better for them to want any man who thought so at heart than have him in their company. The Smith, singling himself from the rest, asked if any other that pleased to follow him should be hindered. MacEan said they would not. Upon this 50 men more separated themselves from the company, and following the Smith made straight for Alexander. The attack immediately commenced on both sides. The MacEans were routed, the most of whom, with MacEan's two sons, were killed.

"That very night Alexander took the enemy's boats, with which he transported over his own men to Islay, and went, accompanied by one man, for intelligence; and falling in with MacNiven, Constable of Dunivaig, who not knowing Alexander asked him whence he came. Alexander answered, from Ireland. MacNiven enquired of him if he knew what had become of that unfortunate man Alexander Mac John Chathanach since the MacEans went to Ireland, and whether he was alive or not. Alexander answered that he was alive, and asked what was his concern for that man. MacNiven told him he was Constable of Dunivaig, and would deliver up the Castle to him, and likewise that John Brayach was in the Inch of Lochgorm.

"Without loss of time Alexander surprises the Castle of Dunivaig, and goes straight forward to Lochgorm, where he besieges MacEan in the Island, who at length surrenders on condition that he should give up Islay and quit all his rights thereof to Alexander, and that Alexander should marry John Brayach's daughter. This being agreed to, John Brayach left Islay, and Alexander married his daughter."¹

The events connected with the claim made by Sir Donald of Lochalsh to the Lordship of the Isles

¹ Hugh Macdonald's unpublished MS.

at this time, and the part acted by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, have already been detailed in the first volume of this work. MacIain, by his unscrupulous loyalty, had drawn upon himself the vengeance of nearly all the Western Clans, and the protection afforded him by the Regent and Council was not a sufficient safeguard against so many powerful enemies.¹ Early in the year 1515 "great heirschippis" were made on his lands in Isla, of which he complained to the Regent and Council, but, though summoned, the raiders failed to appear to answer for their conduct. It appears that MacIain's own tenants in Isla had not been loyal to him, for we find a letter directed under the Privy Seal ordering them "to rise and support him in whatever actions he may be engaged, under full penalty." We have no evidence of any such support having been rendered by the men of Isla; and MacIain, it would appear, had to rely upon his own immediate followers on the mainland. His enemies made this the next point of attack. The Macdonalds of Dunnyveg, Sir Donald of Lochalsh, the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay, formed a combination too powerful for MacIain to hold out against very long. They invaded the district of Ardnamurchan, wasted it with fire and sword, and sacked MacIain's Castle of Mingary. MacIain and his men retreated before this formidable host, but they were pursued to a place called Creag-an-Airgid, in Morven, where a sanguinary engagement took place between the opposing parties. Here MacIain, his two sons, John Sunartach and Angus, and many of his followers, were slain. The death of MacIain and his two sons

¹ Special protection to John Mackane and others to endure for the Governor's Will—March 7, 1515. Pitcairn's Crim. T.

is given on the authority of the Sleat Seanachie, and in this he is confirmed by so accurate a chronicler as MacVuirich, who, however, adds a third son of MacIain to the list of the slain. The date of MacIain's death is not quite certain, but he appears to have been alive in March, 1517, for in that year Colin, Earl of Argyle, appointed him lieutenant of the lands of Ardnamurchan for three years, or longer, according to the Regent's pleasure, and it is certain that he was dead before the 18th of August, 1519. With John MacIain departed the glory of the MacIains of Ardnamurchan. He was buried with befitting pomp and ceremony in the sacred Isle of the West, where his grave is marked by a beautifully sculptured stone, on which are cut the arms of the family of Macdonald of the Isles. The MacIain gravestone in Iona was, according to the inscription, placed there by Malcolm Macduffie of Colonsay in memory of John MacIain, and his sister, Mariota MacIain, Malcolm's wife. The inscription is in the following terms:—"Hic jacet Johannes Macecain dom[inu]s de Ardnamurchan et Mariota Ma[cc]eain soror eius sponsa Malcolmni Macduffie de Duneuin in Colonse hanc lapidem emit suo fratri."

John MacIain left a son and heir, Alexander, who was a minor at the time of his father's death. On the 18th August, 1519, a letter was directed under the Privy Seal to Colin, Earl of Argyle, of the gift of the ward, nonentries, and relief of all lands that pertained to the late John MacIain of Ardnamurchan, with the offices, baleries, castles, fortalices, and the keeping of the House of Dunnyveg, together with the marriage of Alexander MacIain, son and apparent heir of the late John,

How Argyle acted in the capacity of guardian to young MacIain we can gather only vaguely from after events. We know that the policy of that nobleman ever since his appointment as lieutenant of the Isles was to extend the influence of his house, and that all other interests were sacrificed to the attainment of this one grand object. The MacIains with their vast estates were now entirely in his power, and the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg, though their chief had now become a factor in Highland politics, had not yet been restored to their rights. In these circumstances, Argyle was not slow to use his opportunity. In a bond of gossipry between Sir John Campbell of Calder, Argyle's brother, and Alexander Macdonald of Dunnyveg, on May 17th, 1520, the latter, after making a slavish promise to the former that he would be a "cuming man and servand hymself and all the brance of the Clandonyll he is cuming of," received from Sir John, as the reward of his servility, 45 mark lands in Isla, for the space of five years. It was further agreed between the parties that "gif sabe that ony of the Clanayn or ony other that pertenys to the said Sir Johne that dreddis the sayd Alexander, or ony that perteynis to hym, that the sayd Alexander sall gif thame securityte, after the sycht of the said Sir Johne." This is the first appearance made by a Campbell of Calder as the possessor of lands in Islay, which had now become a bone at which every hungry dog gnawed. Sir John Campbell, however, had no legal title whatever, except that derived from Argyle, who held the lands in trust for the minor, MacIain. But, as we see, Calder himself assumes the part of guardian to young MacIain, and, although on his own account

he gives no pledge to protect him and his family, he makes it a stipulation that the Chieftain of Dunnyveg, whom they dread, "sall gif thame securityte." It is needless to say that the Chieftain of Dunnyveg never intended to fulfil one single item of the servile promises he so solemnly made with his hand on the pen. If he but once got possession of even one acre of his native Isla he cared not how, and once at least in the long island story a Campbell is outwitted in the game of political intrigue by a Macdonald. We now see the strong forces against which MacIain has to contend. Though he held a charter, as his father's heir, of the larger part of Islay, it is certain that he never got possession of his lands in that island. His possession of Ardnamurchan, and other lands, appears to have been no more than merely nominal. How old he was when his father died is a matter of uncertainty. He appears to have been but a mere child, and the probability is that he died before attaining his majority. However that may be, advantage was taken of his youth for their own purposes by those who coveted his patrimony. There need be no doubt that the purpose of Argyle was to divide the possessions of the House of Ardnamurchan, both mainland and island, between himself and his brother Calder, but in this he was not altogether successful. That young MacIain himself was not on friendly terms with the Campbells is proved by his presence at the head of his men fighting against them in the quarrel provoked by the murder of Lachlan Catanach Maclean of Dowart. We hear no more of the young Chieftain of Ardnamurchan, and he must have been dead before the year 1538; for in that year Mariot

MacIain, his sister, and wife of Robert Robertson of Struan, was served heiress to her father in the lands possessed by him at his death. Two years later Mariot, with consent of her husband, resigned these lands in favour of the Earl of Argyle, but the King the following year paid the sum of £5000 to the Earl for resigning *ad perpetuam remanentiam* the same lands. In 1543, Queen Mary granted to Argyle the lands of Ardnamurchan and others for the space of twelve years. This last transaction seems afterwards to have been thought irregular, and in the year 1550 Argyle, in virtue of the old resignation in his favour by Mariot MacIain, the heiress, received a Crown charter of the 80 mark lands of Ardnamurchan, which he immediately bestowed on his brother-in-law, James Macdonald of Dunnyveg and the Glens, to be held under the Earls of Argyle. In the same year Queen Mary confirmed the lands of Ardnamurchan to James Macdonald, for which he afterwards paid on his infeftment the sum of 1000 marks to Argyle. Henceforth the superiority of Ardnamurchan remained nominally with the Argyle family, although it was many years before their title was completed by possession, the MacIains continuing to hold the estate as if it had been a male fief of the Crown. The fact that they continued to possess the lands of Ardnamurchan, notwithstanding the charters to Argyle and James Macdonald, is proved by several references to them in the public records as “of Ardnamurchan.” The only feasible explanation of this state of matters is that considerable indulgence must have been extended to the MacIains by all parties, for otherwise it is difficult to see how they could have kept their hold against so strong a

combination as the Campbells and the Macdonalds of Dumyveg. The conduct of the Government in depriving the MacIains of their just and lawful rights at this time is somewhat difficult to explain. The loyalty of the family during the troublous times that followed the fall of the Lordship of the Isles seems to have been entirely forgotten, when it should have stood them in good stead. As no reason is given for so harsh a treatment we can only venture the surmise that the family of the MacIain who succeeded to the chieftainship in 1538 must have made themselves obnoxious by their opposition to the Government.

On the death of young MacIain in 1538, or shortly before that time, he was succeeded as head of the family by his cousin, described in record as "Alexander MacDonald VcIain of Ardnamurchan." In 1544 this chieftain, eager to engage in any conflict that might cause annoyance to the Government, joined John Moydertach in his rebellious proceedings, and fought under his standard at Blarleine, where so many of the Frasers with their chief, Lord Lovat, and his eldest son, were slain. For the assistance given by him on this occasion to the Chief of Clanranald, a respite was granted him by Government in 1548, and also for his being absent from the royal army summoned to meet at Fala Muir in 1547, previous to the battle of Pinkie.¹

In the following year after Blarleine, the unfortunate Donald Dubh again, for the second time, emerged from his forced seclusion, and summoned the men of the Isles to his standard. Alexander MacIain was among the first to join him, and his importance may be measured by his elevation to

¹ Privy Seal, vol. XXII., f. 27.

the position of one of the Council of the Island claimant. He also was one of the eighteen Commissioners appointed by Donald Dubh to treat with Henry VIII. of England. We thus see that Alexander MacIain played an important part during that stirring time. In a rental of the Bishopric of the Isles and Abbacy of Iona of the year 1561, we find that MacIain held the lands of Gargadeill, in Ardnamurchan, as tenant of the Abbot of Iona, while he possessed the Isle of Muck, as tenant of the Bishop of the Isles.

The successor of Alexander MacIain of Ardnamurchan was his son John, who, in supporting the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg in their feuds with the Macleans, incurred the resentment of Lachlan Maclean of Dowart. In 1585, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat became involved in a serious quarrel with Lachlan Mor of Dowart, the story of which remains to be told more appropriately in another part of this work. In the quarrel between these chieftains, which afterwards became one of considerable magnitude, and involved all the Macleans and Macdonalds, north and south, MacIain of Ardnamurchan very naturally ranged himself on the side of the Macdonalds. In the course of the feud, according to a Maclean tradition, John MacIain went to Isla and falsely represented to Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg that Lachlan Maclean, who had been kept prisoner for some time by him, had on his return to Dowart executed two Macdonald hostages. On hearing this, Angus Macdonald retaliated by ordering forthwith the execution of John Dubh Maclean of Morven, Lachlan Mor's uncle, who had been detained on the latter's release. Macdonald had no sooner returned home than Allan of Ard-

tornish, the son of John Dubh Maclean, mustered his followers, and invaded Ardnamurchan, to avenge his father's death. Several sanguinary skirmishes seem to have taken place, and, if the Maclean Seanachies are to be believed, peace was purchased by the marriage of MacIain's daughter, Una, and Allan Maclean, to whom certain lands were given in name of dowry. The quarrel between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg proceeded apace, and in the year 1587 certain charges are made against MacIain, and others, the Council meantime prohibiting him from gathering his men in arms. In the same year his name is found in the Roll of Chiefs, and the Clan Iain are found in the Roll of Clans, sent down in the Act of Parliament commonly called the General Bond.¹ These indicate the position of MacIain and his Clan in the history of the Highlands at this time, and it seems to have been one of considerable importance, despite the absence of Crown charters.

MacIain was mainly instrumental, as we have seen, in bringing about the death of John Dubh Maclean of Morven, and, though the latter's son had already been reconciled to the Chieftain of Ardnamurchan, his Chief, Lachlan Mor Maclean of Dowart, was not in a mood either to forget or forgive. Besides, MacIain had continued to give strenuous support to Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg against Lachlan Mor. On this account the Chief of Dowart considered how best he could bring about MacIain's destruction, now that a favourable opportunity had come consequent on the cessation of hostilities between him and Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg. Maclean was aware that MacIain had formerly been

¹ Acta Parl., vol. III., p. 466.

a suitor for the hand of the Dowager Lady of Dowart, and, though he gave his consent to the alliance, it was only that it might serve as a pretext for the accomplishment of a deeply-laid plot against MacIain's life. The Lady of Dowart, who was a daughter of the Earl of Argyle, was rich, and MacIain, apart from any tender feeling he may have entertained towards her, was no doubt ambitious of possessing her wealth. The lady herself seems not to have been indifferent to the charms of her gallant wooer. When all had been got ready for the celebration of the nuptials, MacIain proceeded to the bride's residence, accompanied by a train befitting the occasion. What took place afterwards can be learned from a statement made by MacIain in a complaint made by him to the Privy Council, which, though it differs from the Maclean traditionary version of the affair, is, from its having been put on record, no doubt an accurate account of what took place. MacIain states that Maclean, having long meditated his destruction, and finding himself unable to succeed by force, resorted to craft and policy for the attainment of his object. He therefore gave MacIain to understand that he bore a singular goodwill and favour towards him, and was desirous of his friendship, offering for the better maintenance of amity between them in time coming to give him his mother, Janet Campbell, in marriage. This project being approved of by MacIain, he, at Maclean's earnest desire and request, repaired to Torloisk in Mull, where, after a conference, the marriage was agreed upon and solemnised without delay by the "accustomed forme and ordour of the countrey, the banquet made, good countenance

and entertainment shewn by all parties, and at nycht the said John MacIain was conveyed by the said Lachlan Maclean by the hand to his mother's own chamber and bed purposely to cover his mischief, and that the said John MacIain and his friends might be careless of their own safety as indeed they departed immediately to take their night's rest in any other house or barn nearest to the place where John MacIain himself was looking for no harm or injury from any one and least of all from the said Lachlan Maclean or any of his people in respect of his former behaviour, nevertheless immediately after they had fallen asleep said Lachlan and his complices armed with haberschois swerdis and durkis entered per force within the said house or barne and in most cruel and barbarous manner without pity or compassion unmercifully slew the said John MacIain's friends being therein to the number of 13 persons, gentlemen besides others; and not satisfied therewith immediately thereafter repaired to the chamber where the said John MacIain was lying and with equal cruelty pursued him and would have bereft him of his life were it not his own better defence and the lamentable crying out and suit of the said Lachlan's mother, for whose sake at last they spared the said John's life, detaining his mother notwithstanding ever since with Alester MacIain and Angus MacIain his page in close captivity; putting his person to daily torture and pains and will no ways put their prisoners until they be compelled."¹

The picture presented in the foregoing melancholy narrative is no doubt only too true of the state of society in the Highlands of the 16th century,

¹ MacIain's Complaint to Privy Council, June 18, 1578.

and perhaps it may not be any mitigation of the barbarous conduct of Lachlan Mor Maclean to say that the tragedy of Torloisk might have been committed anywhere in the Scotland of that period, even by other than a Highland Chief. Many instances could be given of yet greater barbarity by the Douglasses and others in the south of Scotland, and the men of Mull, therefore, were no worse in their day and generation than the men of Lothian or Tweeddale. Lachlan Maclean was summoned to appear personally before the Privy Council, and ordered to produce the persons of his prisoners. He failed to appear, and was in consequence denounced rebel. He, however, appears to have at once given MacIain his liberty. The imprisonment of MacIain, and the treatment he and his train had received at the hands of Maclean, elicited the sympathy and support of the Clan Ranald. The Chief of Dowart, realising his danger, made elaborate preparations against any possible invasion by the MacIains and the Clan Ranald. He entered into an agreement with the Captain of the "Florida," and stipulated for a hundred marines from that ship in return for the provisions supplied to the Spaniards by Maclean. With these Spanish marines and his own immediate followers, and not waiting to be attacked, he invaded the Islands of Rum, Cana, Eigg, and Muck, which belonged to the Clan Iain and Clan Ranald. Having ravaged and plundered these islands, and killed many of the inhabitants, Maclean and his men made a descent on the district of Ardnamurchan, and laid siege to the Castle of Mingary. Here he was met by the Macdonald chieftains, who defeated him with great slaughter, and compelled him with his Spanish contingent to

seek the shelter of Dowart Castle. Shortly thereafter both Maclean and MacIain, as well as those engaged with them, received a remission from Government for all slaughters, fire-raising, oppressions, and other crimes, committed against one another. Hostilities between the contending Clans being now suspended, peace reigned for a brief space over the Western Isles. The policy of the Crown, however, did not favour a continuation of this state of matters. The King was in sore need of money, and as the fines imposed on the Highland Chiefs often proved a welcome source of revenue, the policy of the impecunious James was to set them by the ears. When he failed in this he adopted other means. In the year 1592 he issued a decree commanding the Chiefs to find surety for the payment of the rents of their lands. Failing to obey the royal decree, they were put to the horn. John Og MacIain was among the number, and whether or not he found the security demanded by the King, the latter, with advice of his Council, ordered him to be released from the horn for "ony cause bygone." This being the first reference we find in record to John Og MacIain, it appears that his father died shortly after the campaign against the Macleans, or some time in the year 1591. John Og inherited in a large measure the spirit of his sire, and he seemed determined to revive the feud between his family and Maclean of Dowart. Lachlan Mor for English gold espoused the cause of Elizabeth of England against the Irish rebel Tyrone.¹ Both Elizabeth and Tyrone looked to the Western Isles for assist-

¹ Maclean, in a letter to Bowes, the Ambassador of the English Queen, dated at Duart, December 20, 1595, complains that the thousand crowns promised him had not been paid by Elizabeth.—Record Office, London,

ance. The most powerful of the Island Chiefs, such as Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, Rorie Mor Macleod, and Clanranald, ranged themselves on the side of Tyrone. John Og MacIain of Ardnamurchan followed the banner of Donald of Clanranald, who commanded a division of the Islesmen. On their way to join the rest of the Islesmen they landed in Mull under cover of night, but Lachlan Mor, who watched their movements, by a "bauld onset and prattie feit of weir," took them prisoners, and threw Clanranald and MacIain, "the maist doubtlit and able men in the Isles," into a dungeon.¹ Lachlan Mor being called upon by the King to answer for his conduct, Clanranald and MacIain were released. Shortly thereafter we find John Og MacIain witnessing a tack, by Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, of the lands of Reisiboll in Sunart, in favour of the Minister of Islandfinan. The lands of Sunart had been, as we have seen, for a long time a bone of contention between the families of Dunnyveg and Ardnamurchan, and from the fact that neither had a legal title, it is somewhat singular to find the chieftains parties to a transaction which in law could not be binding. By his signing as a witness, MacIain would seem to acquiesce in the disposition of lands by another which he formerly claimed as his own.

In 1595, John Og MacIain is offered as a surety for Alexander Macranald of Keppoch in a contract between the latter and the Earl of Argyle.² And as still further evidence of his importance in the sphere of Highland politics, we find about the same time in a bond of caution by Lachlan Maclean of

¹ Letter Achinross to Nicholson, in Public Record Office.

² Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, p. 200.

Dowart reference made to MacIain as one of the principal men of the Isles. There are also indications of an early renewal of the feud between the Macdonalds and the Macleans. This was brought about unexpectedly in the course of the following year by an unfortunate incident which resulted in the death of John Og MacIain. MacIain, it appears, had been betrothed to Lochiel's daughter. His uncle Donald and he had not been on amicable terms for some time past owing to differences which had arisen between them regarding the possession of Sunart, to which Donald laid claim. Donald was, besides, presumptive heir to his nephew, and would, therefore, in the event of the latter dying without issue, succeed him as head of the family of Ardnamurchan. While preparations were being made for the celebration of the marriage of the young chieftain, and as he was returning from a visit to Lochiel, accompanied by a small retinue, he was attacked and slain by his uncle, who was lying in wait for him at a place in Sunart called ever since *Faoghail Dhomhnuill Chonulluich*. On the news of young MacIain's death reaching the ears of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, he vowed vengeance on the murderer, who immediately after committing the crime took refuge in Mull, and put himself under the protection of Lachlan Mor of Dowart. Lachlan Mor was ready on the slightest pretext to invade the territory of any of his neighbours. Donald MacIain had, therefore, no difficulty in persuading him to help him against the Camerons, and the adherents of the late chieftain of Ardnamurchan. Lochiel had already pursued him to the Sound of Mull. Seeing the Camerons in a defiant attitude on the opposite shore from Dowart was a spectacle

which the proud spirit of Lachlan Mor could not long brook. He accordingly collected a force of 220 men, and sent his eldest son, Hector, and Donald MacIain, at their head to the mainland. The Camerons and the MacIains met them in Morven at a place ever since called *Leachd-nan-Saighead*, where a sanguinary conflict followed, which resulted in the total defeat of the Macleans, and the death of Donald MacIain. The local traditionary account of the death of Donald MacIain is to the effect that one of the Clan Cameron, observing him "uplifting his helmet, instantly bent his bow, took aim, and drove his arrow into MacIain's head, pinioning his hand, which at that time was passing over his forehead, to his skull. He fell, but for a moment regaining his strength he arose and expressed a desire, it is feared a treacherous one, to deliver his sword to Lochiel. But the last spark of life was fast expiring. He clenched the huge weapon, and, in the ire of death, transfixed it to the hilt in the opposite bank, and fell on it to rise no more."¹

On the death of Donald MacIain, John Mac-Allister Vc Iain succeeded as head of the family, but his succession to the lands of Ardnamurchan was disputed by the Earl of Argyle. The Clan Iain being weakened by intestine broils, Argyle seized his opportunity to enforce the deed of conveyance granted in favour of the fourth Earl by the heiress, Mariot MacIain. Argyle accordingly forced MacIain into a contract whereby he became bound to exhibit to the Earl his writs of the 80 marklands of Ardnamurchan. He also bound himself to resign the same lands to the Earl, who agreed to feu them

¹ Dr John Macleod in New Stat. Acct. of Morven.

out again to MacIain, and certain heirs mentioned in the contract, to be held of the Earl for the payment of 13s 4d of feu-duty. The Earl further promised faithfully to protect MacIain in the possession of these lands. We have not been able to ascertain whether this contract was ever fulfilled by either party, but judging by the tradition of the country, which is, however, very vague, it would appear that MacIain delivered up his old title-deeds and did not receive the promised charter in return. There is also a tradition to the effect that the title-deeds came into the possession of Argyle by his having found them with a burgess of Edinburgh, with whom MacIain left them as a pledge for a debt incurred in educating his son. Be this as it may, the old charter of 1499 granted to John MacIain for apprehending the Macdonalds of Dunmyveg is now in the Argyle charter chest.

The departure of King James from his native Scotland to take possession of the English Crown, and the turmoil which followed and continued for some time, no doubt prevented Argyle, who was busy elsewhere extending his influence and possessions in the name of law and order, from taking actual possession of Ardnamurchan. The history of the Ardnamurchan family from this juncture is one long and desperate struggle, in which they succeeded for a time in holding their own against several branches of the Clan Campbell. In 1605 MacIain, with many other Island Chiefs, was summoned to exhibit his title deeds to Lord Scone, Comptroller of Scotland, at Lochkilkerran, in Kintyre, and at the same time to find surety for the regular payment of his Majesty's rents and duties for the lands possessed by him, under the

penalty of having his title deeds declared null, and of being prosecuted with fire and sword. From all this it would appear that the authority of the Argyle family had not been established in Ardnamurchan, and that the Clan Iain still possessed that territory, though illegally, upon the old charters. Though elaborate preparations were made to compel the Island Chiefs to wait on Lord Scone, none put in an appearance at Lochkilkerran. MacIain had probably no title deeds to exhibit; but he, at all events, ignored the summons, and he seems to have incurred no penalty as the price of his disobedience. The intermedial policy of ruling the Isles by means of lieutenants, whose aims were not, to say the least, disinterested, was one the foolishness of which did not all at once dawn on the Scottish Executive Government. Lord Ochiltree was appointed lieutenant in 1608, and held court at Aros, in Mull, in that year. MacIain of Ardnamurchan wisely avoided falling into the trap which was so skillfully and successfully laid for the other Chiefs. Lord Ochiltree, however, on his return from his expedition, reported to the Privy Council "anent the House of Ardnamurchan that he held the bond of James Campbell of Lawers that it should be delivered whenever required under a penalty of £10,000." Whether James Campbell was acting for Argyle, or what his connection with Ardnamurchan at this time was, does not appear. Shortly thereafter, on the 14th of November, 1609, the Lords of the Privy Council ordered MacIain to be summoned before them, for a certain day, to "underly such order as shall be taken with him touching his obedience to his Majesty, under the pain of rebellion." There is no evidence that Mac-

Iain ever answered the summons, and the probability is that he was dead before the day appointed for his personal appearance before the Council. John MacIain left a son, Alexander, who was a minor at the time of his father's death. In the year 1611 we find, from the Register of the Privy Seal, that the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan were led by Donald MacIain, uncle of the minor, who is referred to as Tutor of Ardnamurchan. The year 1612 was marked by unwonted tranquility in the region of Argyle. Taking advantage of this lull, and no doubt also of the minority of the young chieftain of the MacIains, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, made one more effort to establish his authority in the district of Ardnamurchan. Accordingly, he early in that year granted a commission to Mr Donald Campbell of Barbreck, "to take and receive the Castle and place of Meigarie and upon our expences to put keepers thereinto," with power to summon before him all the tenants and indwellers in Ardnamurchan, and generally to manage that territory, both in fixing the rents to be paid, in collecting them with regularity, and in punishing by expulsion the refractory tenants. From the tenor of this commission, it is clear that Ardnamurchan was then in a very convulsed state, arising doubtless from the hostility of the old family to Argyle. The commissioner, Mr Donald Campbell, originally a churchman, and afterwards, by the force of his talents, both in civil and military affairs, the person most trusted by Argyle and the Campbells against the refractory Islanders, was a natural son of John Campbell of Calder, who fell a victim to a remarkable conspiracy, in which several of his own name and many other Highlanders were concerned in 1591.

Mr Donald Campbell, then or soon after, Dean of Lismore, first distinguished himself by the inveteracy with which he pursued those who had any share in his father's murder. He soon became a favourite councillor of the young Earl of Argyle, to whom the late Calder had been a guardian, and who had narrowly escaped a similar fate, the conspirators having resolved to take his life, though at the critical moment they wanted nerve to execute their intention. Argyle could not have selected a person better qualified to repress or punish the Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan than Mr Donald Campbell, who was a man of uncommon ability, a brave and skilful soldier, but reputed to be of a stern and even cruel disposition, and little disposed to conciliate those he was appointed to govern by the mildness of his measures. In return for his services as Commissioner, Mr Donald Campbell received from Argyle a lease of the lands of Ardnamurchan. The Clan Iain, who had not yet been expelled from the district, complained bitterly of the severity of the churchman's rule, and though the astute man kept within legal bounds, he so exasperated them by his harsh dealings that they broke out into open rebellion against his authority. The lessee was obliged to appeal to the Privy Council, who compelled Donald MacIain, Tutor of Ardnamurchan, to give a bond for himself as taking burden for Alexander MacIain of Ardnamurchan, his nephew, and for all persons for whom his nephew was by law obliged to answer, that they should keep good rule in the country and obey the laws. Donald MacIain further gave a pledge that he would make his appearance before the Council on the 10th July annually to render his obedience, and oftener as he

should be charged, upon 60 days' warning. The penalty for non-fulfilment of every point of this bond was fixed at 2000 merks. Donald MacIain's bond, as far as that individual was concerned, was a mere matter of convenience. Between the Privy Council on the one hand, and the Campbells on the other, the Tutor of Ardnamurchan found himself in a situation that whether he pleased either or both the result would be much the same. If he is to be extricated from the difficulties of his position, he must look for help to a third party; and now there appeared for him a gleam of hope. Sir James Macdonald of Dumnyveg had just escaped from his long confinement in Edinburgh Castle, and betaken himself to the Highlands. He had found his way in the first place to Lochaber, from whence he proceeded to Skye, and on his way to Isla he was joined by the MacIains of Ardnamurchan. Sir James was received with great enthusiasm by the Clan Donald, both North and South, but his efforts to restore the fallen fortunes of his family proving futile, he was compelled to take refuge in exile. During his short and ill-planned campaign, the MacIains rendered conspicuous service, and thus only succeeded in making themselves still more obnoxious to the Government and the Clan Campbell. Donald MacIain, as might have been expected, failed to make his appearance in terms of his pledge to the Privy Council, and, therefore, incurred the penalty of 2000 merks stipulated upon in his bond. The Council accordingly gave a decree against him. Mr Donald Campbell, Argyle's tenant, now that fortune had put the MacIains in his power, resolved by one final blow to crush them. He hastened to put into force the sentence of the Privy

Council against Donald MacIain. So cruelly treated were the unfortunate MacIains that the Tutor was obliged to appeal even to his enemy Argyle himself. He sent his son John to Edinburgh for the purpose of representing to the Earl and his brother, Campbell of Lundy, the straitened circumstances in which he found himself owing to the tyrannical proceedings of Mr Donald Campbell. In the absence from town of the Earl and his brother, William Stirling of Auchyle, the principal manager of all the Argyle estates, undertook to write a letter to Mr Donald Campbell, the delivery of which he entrusted to John MacIain. In this letter he urged Campbell to be more lenient to the MacIains. "It is not," he says, "without reason and some foirknowledge in preventing further inconvenience I have written to you which I am assured ye will consider out of your own wisdom. I hope ye will press to win the people with kindness rather nor with extremitie specially at the first." Stirling's letter evidently had the desired effect. Peace, at all events, seems to have prevailed in the region of Ardnamurchan during the two following years; but in midsummer, 1618, John Macdonald, younger of Clanranald, appeared somewhat suddenly on the scene, and the result was a renewal of hostilities between the opposing parties. Argyle played the double part of granting a lease of Ardnamurchan to Sir Donald Macdonald of Clanranald, several years before the expiry of the lease to Mr Donald Campbell, in consideration of a certain sum of money in name of *grassum*. This transaction is explained, partly, at least, by the impecunious position in which the Earl of Argyle undoubtedly found himself at that time.¹ Young Clanranald,

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

with the assistance of the MacIains, invaded Ardnamurchan and put to flight the military churchman and his Campbell garrison.¹ On condition of Argyle paying back the money advanced by Sir Donald of Clanranald at the time of granting the lease, the latter agreed to submit the dispute between himself and Mr Donald Campbell to arbitration. The arbiters were Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, and Sir George Hay of Kinnoull, who, finding that Campbell's lease was the best in law, ordered him to be repossessed in the lands of Ardnamurchan. Thus the MacIains were now again at the mercy of the Campbells, and they had to find sureties for their dutiful obedience to the House of Argyle. They pledged themselves to Mr Donald Campbell that they would remain peaceable tenants under him, and pay all rents or other damages that might be due to him. Campbell accepted the Chiefs of Clanranald and Macleod, and Maclean of Coll, as sureties for the good behaviour of the MacIains. That necessity had no law for the MacIains is the only explanation of their conduct in rendering obedience to the upstart Campbell. In this attitude, however, they did not remain long, for, on the very threshold of the following year, Donald McEan in Ormisage, John, Angus, and Donald, his sons, Alaster McAngus VcEan in Ardsliginish, Alaster McConeill VcEan in Camisingle, and a number of others of the Clan Iain, were put to the horn and denounced rebels.² Campbell himself, two years later, complained to the Privy Council that Alexander MacIain had, at a meeting of his followers, pledged them to support him in recovering his possessions, either by law or by force. Though

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² Rec. Sec. Con. Acta.

Alexander MacIain afterwards swore before the Privy Council that there was no truth in the charge preferred against him by Campbell, yet it is pretty certain that the latter was not altogether without some cause of complaint. That there was some foundation for the charge against MacIain may be inferred from the fact that in less than two years thereafter he is found at the head of his men in open rebellion, and bidding defiance to the whole Campbell Clan. On the 22nd of September, 1624, Sir Rorie Mor Macleod, John of Clanranald, and Maclean of Coll, were summoned before the Privy Council for not exhibiting certain rebels of the Clan Iain, for whose good behaviour, as we have seen, they had pledged themselves. From the charge it appears that the Clan Iain "pretend to be a branch of the Captain of Clanranald's House, quhilk he lykwayes acknowledgit and takis the patrocine and defence of thame in all thair adois." Having failed to obey the summons, Macleod, Clanranald, and Coll were declared rebels.

The Clan Iain had now broken loose from all ordinary modes of warfare, and, taking to a piratical life, they became the terror of the Western seas. It seems to us that, judged by the standard of their time, and their peculiar circumstances, there was much to justify the conduct of the MacIains. They had been hard pressed for years by their enemies, the Campbells, who had by unfair means dispossessed them of their lawful inheritance. For the repressive measures of the Government itself, it is difficult to find excuse, for the MacIains of Ardnamurchan were not sinners above all the other Hebrideans. The piratical band of Clansmen having seized an English ship, which they manned

and armed, the Government at once took steps to suppress the insurrection. Warrant was given to James, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth, to go to the Burgh of Ayr and "provide a ship and a pinnace well armed and provided for the pursuit of the Clan Ean." For the same purpose a commission of fire and sword was also given to Lord Lorn, the lairds of Lochnell, Achinbreck, Calder, and Ardkinlass, or any three of them, Lord Lorn always being one.¹ Meanwhile, a Scottish and a Flemish ship which had been taken by the Clan Iain were recovered from them by a Captain Osborne, for the King, and delivered to the Archbishop of Glasgow. The MacIains, notwithstanding the formidable armament arrayed against them, continued to plunder all ships, home and foreign, that came in their way. The extent of their piratical operations may be inferred from a letter, dated July 29th, 1625, from the Council to the King, in which they are referred to as "rebellis of the Clan Eane be whom not only your maiesties awne subjectis, bot the subjectis of otheris princes yo^r maiesties friends and confederates were havelie distrest and robbed of thair shippis and goodis and some of them cruellie and barbarouslie slain"² The rebels, being now hotly pursued by Lord Lorne, were driven by him from the Southern to the Northern Isles. Finding themselves on the coast of Skye, they were pursued by Sir Rorie Mor of Dunvegan, and driven across the Minch to the mainland. They landed in Clanranald's country, and hid themselves in the woods and caves of Arisaig and Moidart. From the list of the names of the ringleaders, it appears that not a few of the

¹ Reg. Sec. Con. Acta.² Denmylne MSS.

followers of the Chief of Clanranald had joined the MacIains, and this no doubt accounts for the latter seeking and finding refuge amongst their kindred. The MacIain rebellion being at length suppressed, Lord Lorn, and those associated with him, landed at Ardnamurchan, and made a pretence of driving away the few followers of the Clan Iain that still remained there. Lorn was thanked by the Privy Council for his services, and Mr Donald Campbell became proprietor of Ardnamurchan for an annual feu duty of 2000 merks, payable to Argyle, the Superior. The Clan Iain now ceased to exist as a territorial family. It appears, however, that Alexander MacIain, the head of the family, received a considerable sum of money in name of compensation for his claims on the lands of Ardnamurchan. At Edinburgh, on the 22nd of April, 1629, he gives his bond for £40,000 Scots to Robert Innes, burgess of Fortrose,¹ a sum which represented at that time a very large fortune. It appears from this transaction that however much the family of Ardnamurchan may have suffered otherwise, they were now, financially at least, in a very flourishing condition.

Very little is known of the history of the MacIains as a family from the time of their landing in the Moidart district in 1625. It appears, however, that they continued for some time to annoy the new possessor of their old inheritance. In the year 1633, Sir Donald Campbell "dischargis and exoners" the leader of the Clan Iain for committing "sundrie wrangis" within his bounds of Ardnamurchan.² According to the Morar MS., John Macdonald of Clanranald became answerable to the King for the future good behaviour of the Clan Iain.

¹ Register of Deeds.

² Clanranald Charter Chest.

As we have seen, they had already acknowledged Clanranald as their Chief, and the small remnant now left of them identified themselves with his branch of the Clan Donald.¹ A few years ago, when the old churchyard of St Columba, in Kingussie, was being improved, a tombstone was brought to light bearing the following inscription :—“HEIR LYES AL^x M^cDON SON TO IO M^cDON IN RVTHEN WHO DIED 13 AP. 1719 ALSO AL^x & AL^x M^cDONALDS HIS FATHER & UNCLES SOMETIME REPRESENTING THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF ARDNAMOURACH.” The unearthing of the tombstone in Badenoch shows at least that some members of the MacIain family lived for some time in that district, but there is no evidence besides that of the inscription itself that the Macdonalds in Ruthven represented directly or at all the ancient family of Ardnamurchan. It is very probable that those whose names are inscribed on the tombstone found their way to Badenoch at the time of the general dispersion of the Clan Iain, and that Alexander Macdonald, whose father lived in Ruthven, represented for a time, in that district at least, the MacIains of Arduamurchan.

¹ Morar MS.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENCOE.

Obscurities of early history.—Lands of Glencoe, how held.—John Fraoch. — John Abrach. — Glencoe men liberate Donald Dubh.—Bond of John Og MacIain Abraich with Campbell of Glenorchy.—Commission of Justiciary against Glencoe.—Bond of manrent Freuchie and Lochiel against Glencoe.—Raid upon the Ogilvies at Argyll's instigation in 1591.—Complaint against Clanian same year.—Outbreak in 1592.—Raids into Drumcharrie, Ardincaple, and Lennox in 1599.—Slaughter of the Stewarts. — Commission against John Abrach, 1617.—Raid of Frendraucht.—Apprehension of Alastair MacIain Abraich.—Battle of Stronachlachain.—Clanian in Campaign of Montrose.—Ranald of the Shield.—Clanian at the Revolution.—Forfeiture of Glencoe.—Breadalbane's mission of conciliation.—Government Proclamation.—Glencoe procrastinates.—Takes the Oath.—Suppression of Certificate.—Dalrymple's murderous scheme.—King William's action.—Quartering of Government troops in Glencoe.—Treachery under friendship's mask.—The murder.—Commission of Enquiry.—Privations of the Clanian and Petition to Estates.—Help from Heisker.—Clanian in 1745.—The last of the Glencoes.

THE history of this branch of the Clan Donald is beset perhaps by greater difficulties than that of any other family in the wide confederacy. During long periods its Annals are worse than obscure, they are hopelessly blank. The causes that create obscurity in other and more powerful branches operate here with two-fold effect. The causes connected with the predominance of the parent house have already been referred to. Yet even in the sixteenth century, when light dawns upon the rest

of the Clan Donald after the fall of the Island lordship, the Clanian of Glencoe continue to lurk in their dark and cavernous retreats, and their history, until the seventeenth century, is almost entirely a blank. One reason for this was that the Chiefs of Glencoe never became Crown vassals, or if they did, it was only at a very late period of their history. They occupied lands which for the most part were held by Crown vassals, and thus the public records which throw so much light upon the ownership of land in the case of the other Clan Donald septs, are silent on the Clanian, and it is only when the Records of the Scottish Privy Council become available for purposes of research that the Glencoe family, who gave the authorities a lively time, cease to elude the historian's grasp.

Both M'Vurich and Hugh Macdonald are at one as to the tradition that *Iain Og an fhràoich*—young John of the heather—the progenitor of the Glencoe family, was a natural son of Angus Og of Isla, Lord of the Isles, by Dugall Mac Henry's daughter. Why he was called John Og of the heather we have now no means of ascertaining, nor are there *data* available for confirming or rejecting the tradition that there was a bar sinister on his escutcheon. We know little of him beyond the fact that his father gave him the lands of Glencoe, apparently by verbal gift, a form of conveyance commonly used in the earlier days of the Island polity; and it is somewhat singular that neither John Fraoch nor any of his descendants, until recent times, perhaps, seem ever to have attempted feudal investiture of their estate.

The region of Glencoe forms part of the ancient parish of Island Mund, a Church dedicated to

Saint Mund, being situated in the island so called in the corner of Loch Leven. It forms part of the modern parish of Appin. The turbulent river Coe, from which the Glen derives its name, traverses it from head to foot, and about midway expands into Lochtriachtan. The Glen itself is admired for the grandeur and majesty of the encompassing mountains, while its gloom and desolation have rendered it poetically fit to be the scene of a tragedy which froze the heart's blood of the civilized world during the last decade of the seventeenth century.

The lands of Glencoe were part of the territory of the Clan Cholla, and passed over to the M'Dougall branch of the family of Somerled. Upon Bruce's accession to the Scottish Crown the family of Lorne was forfeited, and the lands of Glencoe, which lay amid their possessions, were bestowed upon Angus Og of Isla, along with many others, as the reward of his unflinching loyalty. They were included in more than one charter bestowed by the Scottish Crown upon John of Isla, Lord of the Isles; but after his time they no longer appear among the territories of the Island lordship, but become the property of the families of Argyll and Appin, who held them *in capite* of the Kings of Scotland. John *Fraoch* and his descendants held Glencoe from these superiors in some form of tenantry or vassalage, the nature of which, in the complete absence of documents, it is quite impossible to determine.

When we say that the founder of the Glencoe family flourished about the beginning of the fourteenth century we tell nearly the whole history of the sept for hundreds of years.

The first chief of Glencoe also gave the sept the patronymic "Abrochson," probably because he was fostered in Lochaber. John Fraoch, *alias* Abrach, left no record; and it is only from the voice of tradition we learn that he died at Knapdale in 1358, and his body was taken to Iona and buried in Relig Orain, beside his father's remains.¹ After John Abrach, there was an unbroken succession of eight Johns, whose separate identities it is, in the circumstances, difficult, if not impossible, to define. The history of several of them is quite unknown, and it is only towards the end of the fifteenth century that we find any reference to them in the national records. At the date of the last forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles, the head of the Glencoe tribe was styled "John of the Isles *alias* Abrochson." In 1500 there is evidence that the Clanian of Glencoe have lost the benefits of the kindly sway of the House of Isla, and that there is an attempt to oust them from their lands. Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, evidently tried not only to evict "John of the Ilis utherwyis Abrochsoune," but also Duncan Stewart, son of Stewart of Appin, from the lands of "Durroure and Glencoyne."² But although decreet in absence was granted in favour of Argyll and against Glencoe by the Lords of Council, MacIain continued in possession.

We obtain a fleeting glimpse of the men of Glencoe in 1501 when they opened the doors of Inchconnell for the liberation of Donald Dubh, son of Angus Og, and heir to the lordship of the Isles. This conduct was a clear indication that whoever was their feudal superior they felt

¹ Genealogy in the M^lLagan Collection.

² Acta Con. Dom., vol. IX., fo. 192.

that their loyalty as a tribe was due to the patriarchal head of their race. It is well past the middle of the sixteenth century before further light breaks upon these obscure annals. In 1563 "John Og MacAne Abrycht" was in lawful possession or occupation of the lands of Glencoe under Colin Campbell of Glenurquhay, who held them from the Crown. On 6th May of that year a contract of protection and manrent is signed by both parties. In this bond Campbell undertakes to defend the Chief of Clanian in the possession of his lands, while John Og on the other hand becomes bound to serve the Laird of Glenurquhay against all persons whatsoever, save only the authority and my Lord Argyll. It is stipulated that the contract shall at once become void if John Og does not instantly serve against the Clan Gregor.¹ In 1588 a Commission of Justiciary was given by James VI. to George, Earl of Huntly, John Grant of Freuchie, and others against a number of Highland chiefs, and amongst them "John M'Ane Oig in Glencoe and Alexander M'Ane Oig," probably sons of the John Og M'Ane Abrycht who gave the bond of manrent to Glenurquhay in 1563.² That the Clanian Abraich were at this time, as indeed they must have been at all times, a terror to neighbouring communities, is proved by contemporary records. On 30th June, 1589, a bond of manrent was entered into between John Grant of Freuchie and Allan Cameron of Lochiel, in which the former bound himself to fortify and assist the other party against the inhabitants and indwellers of Glencoe.³ The terri-

¹ Act. Dom. Con. *ad tempus*.

² Black Book of Taymouth, Ro. 50. Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 166.

³ Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 170.

torial position of the Clanian isolated them from the more powerful branches of the Clan Donald, and they were on all hands surrounded by powerful and hostile neighbours, while their wild and almost unapproachable fastnesses, inaccessible to strangers save at most imminent risk of fatal ambushes, enabled them to carry on their forays and depredations almost with entire impunity, and these, of course, were no infringement of the ancient code of Celtic ethics.

During the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Act of James V. rendering a baron responsible for the behaviour of his servants, or feudal inferiors, was called into requisition in connection with the Clanian of Glencoe. Serious complaints were laid before the King and Council in 1591 as to the numerous cases of foray and plunder whereby the lieges were victimised. The Earl of Argyll proved to be guilty, not only feudally and vicariously, but really as *particeps criminis* in a serious foray in which the men of Glencoe and others were involved during 1591. A feud arose between the Campbells and the Ogilvies of Glenisla. Campbell of Persie, who was an invited guest at a wedding in Glenisla, insulted the bride and stabbed her father. Lord Ogilvie, chief of the bride's clan, resenting the strange amenities, drew his sword and called upon the aggressor to defend himself. The courteous scion of the house of Argyll was soon disarmed, and narrowly escaping death by hanging was despatched with every form of indignity beyond the confines of Glenisla. Argyll resolved to avenge his kinsman's treatment, and mustered the Glencoe men, the Keppoch men, and others, and sent them to invade and spoil the Ogilvies and their glen. The raid, we

may be sure, was executed with much zeal and success, and the rapidity with which the marauders marched was such that Lord Ogilvie in his complaint to the King said that he was "nocht able to resist them, but with grite difficultie and short advertisement he his wyffe and bairnis eschaiped." The complaint made by Lord Ogilvie to the Privy Council referred to Archibald Earl of Argyll and his friends, particularly Allan Roy M'Inoig, son to the Laird of Glencoe, and 500 other marauders from the neighbouring regions, as having committed various atrocities. When Argyll and those who represented him in these acts of lawlessness failed to appear on the 27th of October conformably to citation, they were denounced rebels.¹ At a later period of the year other serious complaints were laid before the Council in which the men of Glencoe were again involved, this time without the countenance and patronage of the Earl of Argyll. "John Og M'Ane Abrych in Glencone, Allaster Og M'Ane Abrych his brother, and Donald Og M'Ane Abrick, brother to John Og elder," made a formidable incursion into the lands of John Drummond of Blair. They are described as dwelling and remaining within the bounds of Appin and Glencoe, pertaining to John Stewart of Appin; and the misdemeanants being his men, tenants, and servants, John is charged to appear before the Justice in the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, on the 7th November following, and to answer under pain of rebellion.² There is nothing to indicate the penal consequences of this last outlawry.

The following year there is a fresh outbreak. It was reported to the King and Council that John

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. IV., p. 99.

² Ibid., vol. V., p. 53.

MacEan Oig in Glencone—who has now succeeded his father, John Og, as chief of the tribe—Allaster MacEan Oig his brother, Archibald MacEan Oig and Allan Roy, also his brother, were guilty of open and manifest oppression, murder, sorning, theft—a sufficiently formidable indictment. Having been called and refusing or failing to find security, they were denounced and declared rebels and fugitives. Lord Fraser of Lovat and Lauchlan Mackintosh of Dunachton were appointed Commissioners to prosecute them;¹ but it does not appear that the men of Glencoe laboured very long under the sentence of outlawry, for we find the same year that “MacAne Abrich of Glencone,” along with MacAne of Ardnamurchane and others, was, by the King and on advice of his Council, relaxed from the horn.

For several years after the foregoing events there is calm in the stormy annals of Glencoe, at least so far as these are disclosed by the Records of the Privy Council; but it is the calm that follows as well as precedes the tempest. In 1599 Allaster MacEan Oig and his men, under John Og MacEan Abrich, reft from David Craig out of his fold of Drumcharrie “seven great kye” and a bull worth £140.² This was only preliminary to much greater deeds of “herschipp.” The complainants on this occasion were Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, and Aula MacAula of Ardincaple, and the information is laid in the month of November against Archibald MacConeill MacIain Abrich, and Ronald, Angus, Allan, and John MacIain Abrich in Glencone. They were charged with oppression, including “reif, houghing of cattle, and purpose of murder.” The men of

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 181.

² Reg. P.C., vol. V., p. 53.

Glencoe have enough to answer for if their conduct towards the animal creation was as bad as stated, without their accusers professing to divine their "purpose" to murder, when such a crime was not actually committed. Be that as it may, the charge against them stated in detail was to the effect that they came at night to the woods of Ardincaple and waited there until Aula came out of his house that they might pursue him for his life. They took captive several MacAulas and others to prevent their reporting the intention of the Clanian on arriving at Ardincaple house. After spoiling the houses of several of the Clan Aula, they passed on to the lands of Strone and Auchingarth, belonging to the Duke of Lennox, and took from his tenants "32 horses and mares and 24 kye." This was a considerable and fruitful "creach," but we do not hear of serious reprisals. We learn that Argyll was taken to task in 1602 for this recrudescence of violence and robbery on the part of the men of Glencoe. An action was laid at the instance of Sir George Home of Spot, Treasurer, and Mr Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn, King's Advocate, and Argyll became bound in 20,000 merks that he and those for whom he was answerable should observe good rule in the country, and satisfy "the parties skaithed."¹

The Clanian of Glencoe are said to have been engaged along with Macgregor of Glenstrae in the slaughter of Lennox, a conflict which took place at Glenfruin, between the Gareloch and Loch Lomond, and where eighty of the Colquhoun Clan were slain; but as their connection with that sanguinary engagement seems to have been subordinate and incidental,

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. VI., I. 183.

we do not propose to detail the events of the day.¹

In 1605, John, son of John Og MacIain, seems still to be the Chief of Glencoe. That year there is a charge against him to compear personally with tacks, securities, etc., at Loch Kilkerran in Kintyre; but there is no evidence that MacIain presented himself on that occasion, nor is it likely that he could have satisfied the Government by the production of any feudal title to Glencoe. The MacIain charter chest does not appear to have held any parchments in the shape of instruments of tenure early in the seventeenth century.

In 1609, John Stewart of Acharn and Alexander Stewart were slain by Glencoe men, and the guilty parties were, on the 30th January, 1610, put to the horn at the instance of Elspeth Stewart, relict of John Stewart. The proceedings of the Privy Council clearly point out the guilty parties. During 1610 we are informed that "Allaster MacIain Oig of Glencoe," who seems to have been the last chief's brother, and judging by his designation to have succeeded him, is a "common and notorious thief and sornor, and oppressor, for many years a fugitive and an outlaw." We also learn that this individual who receives such a certificate of demerit fell—and Providence is devoutly thanked for the event—into the hands of Colin Campbell of Aberninchell. The Lords appointed James, Earl of Perth, and Stewart of Stratherne to receive the malefactor from Campbell's hands, and to enter him for trial. Shortly after this, other names connected with the Stewart murder come under our notice. During 1610, commission was given to Alexander Colquhoun of Luss, Hector Maclean of Dowart, and

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. VI., p. 534.

Allan Cameron of Lochiel to convocate the lieges in army to apprehend Angus MacIain Duy in Dalness, Allaster MacIain Duy in Achtriachtan, Allan Dow MacIain Duy his brother, and John Og MacIain Duy, for not having found caution to underly the laws for the slaughter of the late Allaster and John Stewart.

The following year—1611—Allaster MacEan Oig of Glencoe is still in durance vile in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, either undergoing, or about to receive, sentence for the slaughter of the Stewarts, for which he was charged in previous years. We find Alexander Macdonald of Gargavauch, and Ronald Macdonald, his apparent heir, binding themselves as cautioners for him that he should appear before the Lords of Secret Council when charged upon forty days' citation.¹ Whether Allaster broke ward, or what punishment he received at the hands of the authorities, we are not in a position to say. But, whether capitally punished or not, Allaster MacIain Oig passes out of history and is seen no more.

In connection with the next known episode recorded of the Clanian, "John Abroch" appears as the representative of the family. The circumstances were thus:—In 1617 there is a commission under the Signet signed by the Chancellor and George Ker given to the Sheriffs of Edinburgh, Perth, Forfar, Aberdeen, Inverness, Argyll, and Tarbert, and the Stewart of Stratherne, to apprehend by force if necessary and to try John Dow MacInnes, in the town of Kellies in Glencoe, John MacCondochie Vc Gillimartyne and John MacEane Vc Illephatrick, servitors to John Abroch of Glencoe, for not answering to the charge of murdering David

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. IX., p. 296.

Bowman.¹ During this same year it would seem that the feud with the Stewarts is unhealed, and that more of the blood of that royal race has been shed by the ruthless denizens of the Glen. Walter Stewart, burgess of Inverness, was slaughtered by the Clanian; and at the instance of Alexander Stewart, son, and James Stewart, brother and remaining kin of the deceased, an Order of Council was given with the instruction that Alexander Stewart of Appin was to exhibit John MacConill MacIain on the 22nd April next, that he may be handed over to trial, and this charge was made under a penalty of £1000. Still the Stewart feud continued with fatal results, for on the 15th July of the same year—1617—a Commission was given to the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Argyll, and others, for the apprehension and trial of John Abroch Macdonald of Glencoe, Donald Bowie MacIain Vic Iain Oig Vic Iain Abrich, and a number of other Highlanders charged with the murder of Duncan and James Stewart. The result of these proceedings does not transpire.

The foregoing monotony of lawlessness gives a black picture of the descendants of John Fraoch, but being drawn from the national record of contemporary misdeeds it could hardly be otherwise. There must have been in the inner life of the Clanian much that was chivalrous and attractive, even in the ruder stages of their history; but the centuries refuse to give up their secrets, and we only see the Glencoe men in their *role* of Ishmaelites—their hand against every other, and the hands of many others against them.

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. XI., p. 32.

From 1617 to 1634 there is a prolonged pause, during which there is no trace of the men of Glencoe either in war and foray or in the arts of peace. In the latter year we find them committing depredations where it would hardly be supposed that the Western Highlanders ever ventured to penetrate for purposes of "spulzie," namely, the north-west of Aberdeenshire. The Chrichtons of Frendraucht had long been at feud with the Gordons, of whom the Marquis of Huntly was the chief, and all who were subject to the feudal sway of the Aberdeenshire noble deemed it their right and privilege to conduct forays into the lands of the laird of Frendraucht. The Lords of Secret Council received information on 13th November, 1634, that great numbers of sorners and broken men, consisting of many Gordons, and among others the MacIains of Glencoe, had committed outrages upon the laird of Frendraucht and his tenants by slaughter, fire raisings, and other oppressive actions. The Lords ordained letters to be directed to the Gordons and the Clanian to compear personally before the Privy Council upon the 16th December to give information to the Lords anent the enormities committed, and to restrain their people.¹ On the 13th January following—1635—the same information was laid before the Lords of Council, and in response to further charge to that effect, Allaster MacIain Abraich of Glencoe, evidently the chief of the tribe, appeared before them to answer for his alleged misdemeanours. An adjournment was made of his case, and he, with other brethren in misfortune, was ordained to appear again on the following Thursday.² The

¹ Acta Reg. Sec. Con., 3rd Nov., 1634.

² Ibid., 3rd November, 1635.

Glencoe Chief seems to have spent a considerable part of the year of grace 1635 within the precincts of the Scottish capital. He is there on the 5th February, when, along with John Cameron, son to Lochiel, he has to bind and oblige himself to remain and keep ward in Edinburgh till he found caution conform to the Act of Parliament. It is probable that until the following summer MacIain of Glencoe did not tread his native heath, but had still to submit to the uncongenial atmosphere of "Auld Reekie," and it is most likely that the curtailment of the modified liberty he was at first allowed was owing to some suspicion that he either tried or purposed to break ward. In any case, on the 30th July he was, with others, committed to ward within the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, till he found security for observing the relevant Acts; the permission to go a Sabbath day's journey beyond the city, which he formerly enjoyed, having been withdrawn. As to Allaster's subsequent history we are left in the dark, for at this point the Records of the Privy Council cease to afford us any information regarding the actions of the MacIains of Glencoe. It would not be safe, however, to conclude that there was any sudden conversion from the ancient love of "creach," or that their attitude towards neighbouring clans had undergone a radical change.

71 In 1640 the Clan Iain took part in a foray in which the men of Keppoch were the principals, and which resulted in serious loss to both. At Finlarig, the residence of Sir Robert Campbell, festivities were being conducted in celebration of his daughter's wedding with one of the Clan Menzies, when tidings reached the wedding guests that a party of Macdonalds from the Braes of Lochaber and from

Glencoe, under their respective chiefs, was passing through the country. It turned out that they were on their way home after a harrying expedition in the South, and one form of the tradition is that they refused to pay the toll or tax which was usually exacted from those passing with a creach through the territory of a neighbouring chief. Besides, there was, of course, no love lost between the Macdonalds and the Campbells, at that particular time, or at any time. This, along with memories of former injuries, supplemented by the artificial courage induced by festive occasions, led a party of the Campbells to endeavour to intercept the Clan Donald band. They crossed the Lochay, rushed up the hill, and met the Macdonalds above Margowan. A bloody conflict followed, in which the Clan Donald were victorious, and eighteen cadets of the house of Campbell were left dead upon the field of Stronachlachan.¹ But the victory was dearly bought by the death of the two Clan Donald chiefs.

In the political turmoil of the seventeenth century, the Clanian, like the rest of the Clan Donald, supported the claims of the House of Stewart. There is distinct evidence that they took their own share of the toils and glories of the campaigns of Montrose. On 7th February, 1644, Colonel James Macdonald, an Irish officer, writes to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the effect that when he was sent from Blair Athole to Ardnamurchan with a party to relieve the Castles of Mingarry and Lochaline, he was joined by the Glencoe men. A Council was held at Blair-Athole to consult as to where the army would go into winter quarters. The General pronounced for the Lowlands, but the

¹ The Lairds and Lands of Loch Tayside, by John Christie, 1892, pp. 56-57.

rest of the Council declared for the Highlands, as being most secure. Montrose gave in to the majority, on the assurance being given that food and quarters could without difficulty be provided. Angus, the son of Allan Dubh, who appears to have been the leader of the Glencoe men, was at this crisis invited to appear before the Council of War to give his views upon the question of commissariat. Angus rose to the occasion. There was not, he said, a town under the lordship of MacCailein but was known to him, and if stanch houses and fat cattle to feed upon in them would answer their purpose, they would procure them. This proved a satisfactory assurance from a past master in the art of foraging, and the prospect of an inroad upon the Campbell country turned the scale in favour of wintering in the Highlands.¹

The most distinguished warrior of the Clanian of Glencoe during the wars of Montrose and Dundee was Ranald Macdonald, son of Allan of Achtriachtan, who went under the soubriquet of *Raonull na Sgéithe*, or "Ranald of the Shield." As Ranald bulked so largely in the scant annals of his race, it is permissible to reproduce the traditional account of how he received his by-name. In an engagement, the name of which has not been preserved, an English dragoon was taken prisoner. The demeanour of this captive is said to have been more arrogant than his position justified. On discovering that the Highlanders were not trained to the use of the sword without the target, he scorned their swordsmanship, and said that he would fight the best Highlander in Montrose's army with the sword alone against sword and target. "Man," exclaimed

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 181.

Ranald indignantly, “do you think any Highlander would take such an advantage in fighting you? I have not been taught to use the sword without a target, but I will fight you dirk and target against your sword, which puts the advantage on your side. Your being a prisoner need not deter you, for I pledge my honour, if you beat me, that you will not only be held scathless, but set at liberty.” An understanding to the foregoing effect having been arrived at, the men got ready for action. An interruption, however, occurred in the sudden appearance of *Ailleán dubh nam fuidh*—black Allan of the deer—the celebrated Dalness deer-stalker, who, having heard of the impending combat, came forward to take Ranald’s place and fight the Englishman on equal terms. Allan was supposed to be, next to Alastair Mac Colla, the best swordsman in Montrose’s army. Ranald refused to allow any man to take up his quarrel, whereupon Allan said to him in Gaelic—“’S fearr an claidheamh gu mór na bhiodag’s an targaid. Gabh mo chomhairle, oir cha ’n ’eil fios ’de dh’eireas dhuit.” (The sword is much better than the dirk. Take my advice, or there is no knowing what may happen to you.) “Cha ’n ’eil,” replied Ranald, “fios ’de dh’eireas dhomhsa ach eiridh an diabhull fein dhasan.” (There is no knowing what may happen to me, but the very devil will happen to him.) Presumably the duel was fought on the principles mutually agreed upon, and as the dragoon was not set at liberty, the supposition is a fair one that Ranald was victorious. In any case the designation *Raonull na Sgéithe* stuck to him ever afterwards. Ranald of the Shield played a prominent part in all the loyalist efforts on behalf of the

Stewart dynasty so long as he was able to wield the claymore. He was present with the Highland army that defended Worcester against such tremendous odds and with such imperishable glory. Besides being a distinguished warrior, he was a poet of no mean repute, and some of his efforts have an honourable place in the poetical literature of the Gael.¹ He lived to be a very old man, and we shall meet him once more in connection with the massacre of Glencoe.

The annals of Glencoe, from the middle down to the last decade of the seventeenth century, are virtually a blank. Not till 1689, when the Highland Clans rallied once more to the support of the House of Stewart in the person of James VII. of Scotland, did the Clanian again appear upon the historical arena. On the 17th August, Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe signed, along with others, the answer of the Highland Clans to General Mackay; and on the 24th of the same month he put his name to the Bond of Association for His Majesty's service, undertaking for his part to bring fifty men into the field.² This bond was signed at Blair-Athole Castle. An interesting word picture of several Highland chiefs is given in a Latin poem composed by Dundee's standard-bearer, and the portrait of the Chief of Glencoe before Killiecrankie may be accepted as substantially correct, though somewhat hyperbolical in colouring. "Next came Glencoe, terrible in unwonted arms, covered as to his breast with new hide, and towering far above his whole line by head and shoulders. A hundred men all of gigantic mould, all mighty in strength, accompany

¹ Campbell's "Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans," pp. 226-25.

² Acts of the Scottish Parliament, Appendix p. 60.

him as he goes to the war. He himself turning his shield in his hand, flourishing terribly his sword, fierce in aspect, rolling his wild eyes, the horns of his twisted beard curled backward, seems to breathe forth wherever he moves."¹

The Clanian took part in the battle of Killiecrankie, and it is said that Ranald of the Shield, who must have been an old man then, and who composed a poem on Dundee's victory, fought there with his clan. As he had a son, Ranald Og, it is possible that tradition may have mistaken the latter for his more distinguished father. In consequence of his share in Dundee's campaign, MacIain of Glencoe passed under a decree of forfeiture on the 14th July, 1690.² On a Deposition by certain witnesses taken at Edinburgh on 2nd May, 1690, MacIain's active support of the Jacobite movement, as well as Stewart of Appin's conduct in the same direction, had been proved; and on the 11th September following, a Commission was given by the Lords of the Privy Council to the Earl of Argyll to pass with a competent number of forces to the lands of Glencoe and others in possession of the rebels, and reduce them to obedience.³ It was in the Highlands that any serious efforts for the restoration of the fallen Stewart line might be expected to originate, and so, the reduction of that part of the kingdom to a peaceful acceptance of the Government of William and Mary, was to be the head and front of the new policy in Scotland.

The circumstances to which we have just referred were gradually leading up to the terrible episode

¹ The *Grameid*, an Heroic Poem descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689, by James Philip of Almerieclose, 1691.

² Acts of Scot. Parl. Appendix, p. 60.

³ *Decreta Reg. Sec. Con.*, 11th Sept., 1690,

MacIain of Glencoe about cows said to have been stolen by his clansmen, and threatening him with vengeance.¹ This shows the spirit in which the policy of conciliation was initiated, and the incident was ominous of future trouble. The peace of the Highlands was undoubtedly sacrificed for the sake of Breadalbane's cows. Breadalbane retained Glencoe's share of the Government fund in name of payment for past depredations, and Glencoe, not expecting any benefit from the proposed submission, exercised his influence, not unsuccessfully for a time, with the other Clan Donald chiefs, to refuse or delay rendering allegiance to the Government. The proceedings of the Government, as publicly declared, were not in the circumstances other than reasonable and politic. A Proclamation was issued recommending the Clans to submit to the authority of William and Mary, offering pardon to all who promised to live peacefully under their rule, if the submission was made on or before the 31st December, 1691; but all those who held out after that date were to be regarded as enemies and traitors.²

Yet behind the policy avowed there lurked the dark design cherished by the Master of Stair, the arch villain of the tragedy, and by Breadalbane, who, with the characteristic astuteness of his race, managed to keep clear of absolute implication. If the guilt of wrong-doers is at all to be measured by their intentions, the heads of the Scottish Executive, and especially the Secretary, the Master of Stair, were chargeable with a crime exceeding in wild ferocity that which was actually committed. The Clans of Keppoch, Glengarry, and Lochiel, were to

¹ Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe, p. 7.

² Ibid, p. 8.

be annihilated at one fell swoop, no less than the devoted tribe of Glencoe. The offer of pardon to those who submitted had no doubt been made, but the Master of Stair undoubtedly anticipated non-compliance with the terms of the Proclamation. His orders to the commander of the forces leave this beyond dispute. "Your troops will destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry's, and Glencoe's. Your power shall be large enough. I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners."¹

The scheme of destruction in its larger aspect was baffled by a wise and timely submission on the part of the other chiefs involved; but MacIain's delay proved fatal. It is not easy to account for the Glencoe chief's procrastination, unless we suppose that he still hoped against hope for a fresh rally of the Jacobite cause in the Highlands. He seems also to have made up his mind that he could take the oath of allegiance at Fort-William, and only allowed himself sufficient time to appear before Colonel Hill, the Governor, before the expiry of the fateful days.

When MacIain arrived at Fort-William, he found to his alarm and mortification that Colonel Hill, not being possessed of a magistrate's commission, was unable to receive the oath of allegiance. Hill, however, did all he could to help and hasten him on his way to Inveraray with a letter to the Sheriff of that region to receive MacIain as a "lost sheep." There was no help for it but to wend his weary way through snow and tempest to Inveraray. There were further unfortunate and unexpected interruptions. MacIain was detained for twenty-

¹ Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe, p. 22, on which this account of the massacre is mainly based.

four hours by Captain Drummond, a Government officer stationed at Barcaldine, one of the guiltiest of the infamous band to whom we shall shortly have to make reference. He was three days at Inveraray before Sir Colin Campbell, who resided at Ardkinlass, and was detained by stress of weather, was able to come to the county town. After some little hesitation on the Sheriff's part, the oath, though six days after the statutory time, was duly administered, and MacIain, in the vain hope that all his difficulties were at last surmounted, retired once more to his historic Glen. There he called his people together, told them he had taken the oath of allegiance and made his peace with the Government, and thereafter charged them all to be loyal to the new order of things.

The certificate of Glencoe's submission was sent to Edinburgh written out evidently upon the same page as several others bearing upon *quondam* Jacobite rebels. It ought, like the rest, to have been submitted to a regular meeting of the Privy Council, and it is clear from the treatment which the certificate received that there were influences at work in high quarters seeking to take advantage of the fact that, despite MacIain's submission, he was technically a rebel, and lying under the ban of State. The accidental nature of the circumstances which prevented his submission within the prescribed period were to be left entirely out of account. Sir Gilbert Elliot, Clerk to the Council, refused to take Glencoe's certificate on account of its irregularity as to time; while Lord Aberuchill and other Privy Councillors, who were privately consulted, expressed the opinion that it could not be received without a warrant from the King.

Upon this, Colin Campbell, Sheriff Clerk of Argyll, to whom the certificate had been entrusted by the Sheriff, erased it, and in this way the first part of the conspiracy, which aimed at preventing its submission to the Council Board, was successfully accomplished.

Though Sir John Dalrymple's thirst for Highland blood was not destined to be fully slaked, Glencoe's failure to take the oath in time filled him with a cruel joy, and in the suppression of the certificate we see his action as the *deus*, or shall we say *diabolus ex machina*, as well as that of Breadalbane, his faithful coadjutor. The inhuman resolution which inspired the Secretary when he gave his first orders to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, is to be measured by the instruction not to trouble the Government with prisoners, which distinctly suggested, indeed enjoined, a wholesale butchery; and the same purpose is to be traced in the language of the subordinate officers who handed on the orders, or carried them into execution.

It was on the 11th January, 1692, that the instructions were signed and countersigned by King William, by which the massacre of Glencoe was carried out. Drawn as these undoubtedly were by the Scottish Secretary, they exhibit a singular consistency with all that had gone before, as well as with the events that followed, inasmuch as they showed how necessary for the perpetration of the outrage was the suppression of the certificate of MacIain's submission. These instructions distinctly empower the authorities to receive on mercy, even at that late date, those who were willing to take the oath of allegiance. MacIain's case was therefore clearly covered by this last Proclamation, which declared

as follows :—"That chieftains and heritors, or leaders be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy ; they taking the oaths of allegiance, and rendering their arms and submitting to the Government are to have quarters and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers ; as the principal paper of instructions, produced by Sir Thomas Livingston, bears." Hence the grave significance of the last paragraph of the instructions :—"If MacEan of Glencoe and that trybe can be well separated from the rest it will be a proper vindication of the public Justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." This separation, so much desired, had already been effected by the suppression of the certificate.

William's action in this matter has been both defended and attacked. Certain considerations must, in justice, be kept in view. Macaulay's Dutch hero was not a British but a European statesman, and domestic questions had little interest for him save in their bearing on the mighty game of diplomacy and war in which he was engaged on the Continent. He governed Scotland largely by advice of his Council of State, and the English language was to him, not perhaps an unknown, but certainly a foreign tongue, and the more sinister portion of the fatal order might well have escaped his glance. Even had he perused it, and gathered its full import, he could hardly be blamed for giving it his *imprimatur*. MacIain's submission had been carefully concealed from him ; to extirpate dens of robbers might well seem a function of civilised communities, and we can hardly, upon an unbiassed view, regard the Prince of Orange as other than an unconscious instrument in the plot that was being

so cunningly devised. Even should we not agree with the most picturesque of English historians in his estimate of William III., we cannot deny him the merit of statecraft, and such a deed as the massacre of Glencoe would, from the point of view of policy, have been worse than a crime, it would have been a blunder of the grossest kind. For the security of his British rule, none knew better than he that to increase the existing irritation in Scotland by unnecessary cruelty would have surely been midsummer madness. There came a time when the King was blameworthy, but that time was not yet.

While the aged Chief of Glencoe dwelt in fancied security in his mountain home, the machinery for his own and his clan's destruction was being pieced together with devilish precision. The instruments were ready to the hand of the Scottish Secretary, some of them partly, others wholly, conscious of the depths of infamy to which the Scottish Executive in its civilising mission was about to descend. Sir Thomas Livingstone, the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, was furnished with a duplicate of the instructions. These were accompanied by letters from Stair, which left no doubt as to the Government's intentions to put the Clanian to the sword. Livingstone was a soldier, and it was his bounden duty, without reasoning why, to put into operation the royal instructions, interpreted as these were, by the letters of the chief executive official. He had to regard MacIain as a rebel who must be dealt with by military law, and it was afterwards found by the Committee which investigated the massacre that he was justified in giving the orders he did. Very much the same remark applies to Colonel Hill, Governor of Fort-William. The orders received by

Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, Colonel Hill's subordinate, were first of all communicated by Sir Thomas Livingstone direct to Hamilton. The order had afterwards to be confirmed by Hill, the superior officer at Fort-William, and it has been conjectured that Hill himself was not entrusted with the expedition, as he was considered a man of some honour and humanity. The duties committed to Hamilton were to take 400 men of Hill's regiment and 400 men of Argyll's regiment, to march straight to Glencoe, and there put in execution the orders received by the Commander-in-Chief.

Meantime precautions were being taken by the Scottish Secretary to secure the thorough accomplishment of his bloodthirsty intent. On the 16th January he made arrangements with Argyll and Breadalbane that they should cut off the retreat of any refugees seeking to escape through their territories; and the Laird of Weem was warned at his peril to guard the passes of Rannoch. The measures evidently in contemplation were harsh in the extreme, and constituted a flagrant breach of the most elementary principles of truth and honour. Yet the measures which were apparently in progress, cruel and treacherous though they undoubtedly seemed, would have been the height of virtue and good faith compared to the Satanic villainy of the crimes which were conceived by the master spirit of the plot, and executed by the miscreants in his employment. The essence of the scheme of blood and treachery was that the Clanian must be destroyed under the guise of friendship; must be betrayed to their ruin by those who were to eat their salt and grasp their hands as comrades; in other words, by a species of treachery which has

been loathed and execrated in all ages and by all races, not only of civilised, but even of barbarous mankind. The Master of Stair rightly believed that on the first alarm the Clanian would be able to take refuge in fastnesses so naturally strong as to defy the efforts of an armed force to dislodge them. Hence the necessity, in his view, that the Agents of the Government must, on every pretext save the real one, obtain an entrance into the very privacy of the hearths and homes, and win the unsuspecting confidence of the people of Glencoe.

The practical working out of this carnival of murder was to be divided between Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, who was connected by marriage with the family of Glencoe, and Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton. Campbell of Glenlyon was well qualified to hide a murderous intent under the semblance of friendship, and he soon proved himself the combination of liar, hypocrite, and assassin that was needed for the part he had to play. On the 1st of February, Campbell, at the head of 120 soldiers of Aigyll's regiment, marched into Glencoe. The unwonted sight of so many redcoats might well create alarm among the inhabitants of the Glen, and John, MacIain's eldest son, went to meet the formidable contingent with 20 men, and asked them for what purpose they came. Thereupon Lieut. Lindsay showed them his orders for quartering there, and gave them the assurance that they had no ulterior end in view. The system of quartering troops upon communities that were supposed to be in any way indebted to the Government, was practised under a parliamentary enactment of long standing. The suspicions of the Clanian were at once allayed; the officers and men were billeted in the glen, with free quarters

and that hospitable entertainment always to be met with among the Highland people. Glenlyon and some of his men were lodged with Macdonald of Inneriggan, while another party under command of Sergeant Barbour lodged with Macdonald of Achtriachtan, the principal cadet of Glencoe. For nearly a fortnight these wolves in sheep's clothing dwelt among the Clanian and lived on the fat of the land. Nearly every morning Glenlyon came down to Alexander MacIain's house, the latter being his nephew by marriage, and took his morning draught, while the evenings were spent in card playing and other forms of friendly intercourse.

At last the time arrived that had been fixed for the ruthless butchery. At five o'clock in the morning of the 13th February, Glenlyon and his men were to tear off the mask and to disclose the hideous reality. The arrangement had been that Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton should arrive at Glencoe at the hour appointed for the murder with 400 men, and to bar all possible avenues of escape, regarding which Glenlyon, during his twelve days' sojourn, had sent him minute reports. To the very end the appearance of cordial friendship was maintained, and for that same afternoon an invitation to the officers to dine at the Chief's house had been given and accepted. On the evening before the massacre the suspicions of the Chief's eldest son, John, were temporarily aroused. The soldiers were heard muttering, as it were, in deprecation of the work they had on hand. It was about midnight, and he hied him to Glenlyon's quarters, with anxious enquiries. He found Glenlyon and his men getting their arms ready for action, but this worthy, an accomplished liar and hypocrite to the last, put

him off with friendly assurances and a trumped up story, that Glengarry's people were harrying the country, and they were preparing an expedition to punish them. He assured him that, if there was any danger brewing, he would be sure to mention it to Sandy and his wife, that is, to MacIain's second son and his own niece.

The appointed hour arrived; but a snowstorm with which Hamilton had to contend on his way from Fort-William upset their calculations, and enabled the bulk of the Clanian to escape. Glenlyon's instructions were definite and peremptory, and whether his superior officer turned up or not, he was determined to carry them out without delay. Macdonald of Inneriggan, his host, was with nine others dragged out of their beds, tied hand and foot, and slain in cold blood. A boy twelve years of age clung round Glenlyon's feet and begged for mercy, promising him he would follow him over the world if he would only spare his life. Even Glenlyon was on the point of yielding, when Captain Drummond shot the child dead. Macdonald of Achtriachtan and eight of his family were sitting round the fire at an early hour, when a volley of musketry laid himself and seven of his companions low. His brother, who alone survived, asked of Sergeant Barbour, who led the band of assassins, the favour of being allowed to die in the open air. The answer was, "I will do you this favour for the sake of your meat which I have eaten." Upon this Macdonald came out, flung his plaid over the faces of his intending murderers, and the darkness favouring his movements, he escaped out of their hands.

While these atrocities were proceeding, red-handed murder, was also busy in the residence of



MACDONALD OF GLENCOE.
ESCAPED FROM MASSACRE IN 1692.

the Chief. Lieut. Lindsay, who lodged in the immediate neighbourhood, knocked at the door, and asked for admission in friendly terms. MacIain, who arose on hearing the knocking, commenced to dress, and ordered the servants to open the door and provide refreshments for his visitors. The visitors responded to the hospitable reception by firing a number of shots, one of which passed through MacIain's head, killing the grand old Chieftain on the spot. His wife, who was up and dressed, had her clothes and jewels pulled off by the ruffians, one of them tearing her rings off with his teeth. As a result of the ill-usage she was subjected to, she died the following morning.

MacIain's sons were warned by faithful servants of what was going on in time to enable them to escape. As John, the older son, left his house, 20 men with fixed bayonets were on the way to it, but he and his brother Alexander, favoured by the darkness, were able to make good their escape. Old Ranald of the Shield, who lived with his son in a little township of Glencoe, was on the same morning dragged out of his bed, and knocked down for dead. Young Ranald, the son, escaped, and his father, recovering after the soldiers were gone, got into another house. This house was soon burnt, and the brave old warrior and bard met his death in the flames.

When day had fully dawned, and Hamilton appeared upon the scene several hours late, 30 individuals had fallen victims to the Government assassins, but it is probable that as many more, women and children and old men, died from exposure and want upon the hillside. One instance of savage ruffianism may be cited to show that the agents of the Government were filled with

a cruel lust of blood, which led them even to exceed their orders. They were commanded to slay all under 70. On Hamilton's arrival, one aged clansman was found who had arrived at the patriarchal age when the years are reckoned as a burden and sorrow, he being too infirm to fly to the mountains. Neither his gray locks nor the weight of his 80 years were enough to save him from these human tigers. Colonel Hamilton at once shot him dead. After setting fire to the hamlets, these officers and men, who had planted on their uniforms the stain of imperishable infamy, drove away from the smoking glen as many sheep and goats, cattle, and horses, as could be found.

Thus ended the massacre of Glencoe. To write of it even in this late age makes the heart bleed and the blood boil. Not only does it touch the Macdonald heart with poignant grief and deepest indignation, but it must bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every countryman to think that in this land of kindly "brither Scots" so many individuals could be found to besmirch the fair fame of Caledonia with so dark and indelible a stain.

We do not propose detailing the steps taken by the Government to enquire into the massacre of Glencoe, when the public conscience, not of Britain only, but of Europe, compelled the adoption of such a step. In 1695 Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieut. Lindsay, Ensign Lindsay, and Sergeant Barbour were found guilty of murder. Breadalbane, who had as much to do with the murder as any one not actively concerned could have, managed to elude prosecution. But the Commission of Enquiry, appointed in 1695, came to a most lame and

impotent conclusion regarding him who was guilty above all others, the prime mover of the whole atrocity, the Master of Stair. They clearly pointed out what his conduct and responsibility had been, but they failed to deduce the indubitable inference that he perpetrated an act of murder. As a matter of fact, the King would not allow the infliction of the penalty which his conduct so richly deserved. Instead of being sent to the block, as he ought to have been, he was simply asked to resign his office of Secretary for Scotland! It is this that constitutes the deepest stain upon the memory of William of Orange, that he interposed his royal authority between this aristocratic culprit and the capital punishment which he so richly deserved.¹

The impoverishment caused by burnt houses, loss of implements, flocks, and herds must have caused great distress and hardship to the surviving Clanian. On the 8th July, 1695, a petition was presented to the King's High Commission and Estates of Parliament by John Macdonald of Glencoe for himself and in name of Alexander Macdonald of Achtriachtan. This petition stated how inhumanly and un-Christianly John Macdonald of Achtriachtan, &c., were butchered, and also how the King's Commission had proved that the petitioners were afterwards "ravenously" plundered of all that was necessary for the sustenance of their lives.² For this the petition sought redress, which there is reason to believe was in due time afforded. Pending the royal pleasure in this respect, protection was given and renewed to save from caption and other legal executions for civil debts the following heads of the community of Glencoe:—

¹ None of those found guilty were capitally punished.

² Act Scot. Par. *ad tempus*,

John Macdonald, the chief; Alexander Macdonald, his brother; Alexander Macdonald of Achtriachtan, Alexander Macdonald of Dalness, Ranald Macdonald in Lechentuim, Ranald Macdonald of Inverigan, Alexander Macdonald in Braikled, and Angus Macdonald in Strone.¹

From one quarter at least the sufferings and privations of the Clanian elicited sympathy and aid. To distant Heiskir or Monach Isle, 6 miles west of Uist, tidings of the massacre, the robbery, and the ruin of the race of John Fraoch were borne to friendly ears. Alexander Macdonald, of the family of Grimish, or, as he was known in his day, and is still known in tradition, *Alastair Ban Mac Iain Ic Uisdein*, was at the time tacksman of Heiskir and of other lands in the main island of North Uist. He was not one to listen unmoved to the sorrowful tale told of his oppressed clansmen. He filled his "birliinn" with meal, and steered it through stormy seas to Loch Leven, on whose shores he deposited his welcome freight for the relief of the suffering Clanian. It was a noble and generous act, a bright deed of kindness shining athwart those years of darkness and of crime, deserving of being recorded in letters of gold in the Book of the Divine remembrance.²

The remainder of the story of the Clanian of Glencoe is soon told. Along with many other Highland chiefs* and proprietors, Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe signed the address to George I. on the occasion of his accession to the British throne. The non-delivery of this address to His Majesty, and the non-recognition of the signatories, was the direct cause of the rebellion of 1715. The Clanian fought at Sheriffmuir, as also at Culloden.

¹ Act Scot. Par. *ad tempus*,

² Uist tradition.

to which latter field Donald, the descendant of Ranald of the Shield, was able to lead 130 men. During the previous campaign an incident occurred in connection with the Clanian which reflects much honour on a people accused of having a special predilection for revenge. While Prince Charlie's army lay at Kirkliston, the Prince, in his anxiety to save Lord Stair from molestation, proposed that the Glencoe men should be marched to a distance from his residence, lest memories of ancient wrongs might move them to deeds of vengeance. When the proposal was made to the Glencoe men, their reply was that, if they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge upon an innocent man, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause. It was only by much persuasion that they were induced to overlook what they regarded as an insult, and prevented from taking their departure.¹ Donald MacIain, who led the Glencoe men at Culloden, is said to have inherited much of the poetic talent, gay wit, and lively humour which characterized his ancestor, *Raonull na Sgéithe*.

After the events of 1745 had consigned the Stewart prospects to the limbo of lost and hopeless causes, we find scions of the Glencoe family in the service of the reigning monarchs. Duncan Macdonald of Dalness, Colonel of the 57th Regiment, known as the "Die Hards," was one of the bravest and most distinguished officers that ever drew sword in his country's cause. Yet his end was a very sad one. He was severely wounded in the battle of Nivelle, towards the end of the Peninsular war, and although he followed the regiment in its daily march,

¹ Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders. Ed. 1885, p. 124.

he was never able to resume the command. On the occasion of a brilliant action at Ayres, some of the 57th are said to have robbed the plate-room of a deserted chateau. The captain, on reporting the irregularity, threw the whole blame on the colonel, notwithstanding his enforced inactivity. Colonel Macdonald was well known to be averse to flogging, and it was alleged that his keeping so near the regiment without actually holding the command, or handing it to his subordinate, had marred the discipline and led to the misdemeanour. The result was that he was dismissed the service without trial, and on returning to England in bad health, and seeing his dismissal gazetted with another officer of his rank who was cashiered for cowardice, he lost his reason, and throwing himself from a window was killed. But his memory was amply vindicated. The Duke of Wellington discovered when it was too late that the report on which he acted so harshly was substantially false, and as the only compensation that could be given for a cruel and fatal act, the War Department gave the late Colonel's brother the price of his commission.¹

The last Chief of Glencoe, of whom anything can be traced, was Ewen Macdonald of Glencoe. He left a daughter, Mrs Burns Macdonald, to whom the estate was bequeathed, and by whose trustees it was sold to Lord Strathcona some years ago. Ewen Macdonald had two brothers, to the older of whom the estate must have come had it been entailed, but who was disinherited by his brother's act. This older brother was an officer in the British Army during the Crimean War, and was severely wounded in battle. He was found among a heap of dead by

¹ Campbell's *Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans*, p. 225.

his kinsman, the late John Macdonald, manager of the *Times* newspaper, who acted as a war correspondent in the Crimea. Macdonald, in a passion of grief, threw himself on his body, thinking he was dead. Finding there was still some vital warmth, he hastily summoned medical aid, and MacIain's life was saved.¹ Whether he and his brother left issue, what their very names were, are facts of which we are in ignorance. But if a male representative of one or other of them survives in the direct line, he is now undoubtedly the Chief of the ancient race of Glencoe.

¹ Facts communicated by Mrs M'Donell of Keppoch.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MACDONALDS OF CLANRANALD.



SEAL OF JOHN MOYDARTACH, 1572.

Copied from Gough Nichols' Herald and Genealogist, vol. 4, chapter on Ancient Scottish Seals.

Origin of the Family of Clanranald.—Reginald surrenders the Lordship of the Isles to Donald.—Godfrey takes possession of the MacRuarie lands.—John MacArthur's claim to a share of the MacRuarie territory.—Allan succeeds Reginald as second Chief of Clanranald.—Roderick of Clanranald supports the Lord of the Isles.—The patrimony of the Clanranald encroached upon by John, Lord of the Isles. Allan MacRory, a famous Chief, supports Angus Og and Alexander of Lochalsh.—The Raid of Cromarty.—The fall of the Lordship of the Isles.—Allan MacRory renders homage to the King.—Ranald Bane receives Charters from the King.—Ranald Bane helps to quell the Rebellion of Donald Dubh.—He receives Crown grants of lands in Skye and Uist.—The character of Allan MacRory.—Tradition of Allan MacRory.—Dugal MacRanald's Chiefship.—His bond to Huntly.—Accused of appropriating the cargo of a Spanish ship in Uist.—His bond to Calder.—Dugal and his family excluded from the Chiefship.—Death of Dugal.—Alexander MacAllan succeeds to the Chiefship.—John Moideartach, son of Alexander, assumes the Chiefship.—In rebellion against

the Government at the outset of his career.—John receives a Royal Charter.—A shoal of Charters.—Voyage of James V. to the Isles.—Takes John Moideartach prisoner.—Ranald Gallda and Blarlaine. — Huntly sent to punish John of Moidart.—John of Moidart and the Rebellion of Donald Dubh.—Rorie MacAlister, Dean of Morven, acting as Island Plenipotentiary.—Attempt to punish John of Moidart.—John supports James Macdonald of Dumivaig.—Argyle sent against John.—His bond to Huntly.—Huntly sent against John by land and Argyle by sea.—Athole sent against him.—He is kept in ward at Perth.—His escape.—Refuses to meet the Queen at Inverness.—Continues to resist the Government.—His relations to the neighbouring Clans.—Character of the Chief.

THE founder of the Clanranald branch of the family of Macdonald was Reginald, the eldest son of John, Lord of the Isles, and his wife, Amie MacRuarie of Garmoran. The Clanranald of old included five principal families, descended from the five sons of Reginald. The first of these, styled of Moidart, and descended from Allan, the eldest son of Reginald, is the family mainly whose history we give in this chapter. According to MacVuirich, the family Seanachie, Reginald was already old in the government of the Isles at the time of his father's death. The office which he held was that of High Steward, an office which seems to have been one of the first importance in the Island polity. In his father's lifetime he succeeded, through his mother, to the MacRuarie lands, the great extent of which may be seen from the charters granted to the MacRuarie family by Robert Bruce and his son, David II. And John, whether as Lord of the Isles, or in right of his wife, Amie MacRuarie, or both, granted to Reginald a charter of the same MacRuarie lands in the year 1371, and at the same time added other lands on the Mainland. This charter, which was confirmed

in the following year by Robert II., included the lands of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart, the islands of Eigg, Rum, Uist, and Harris, with all the smaller islands belonging thereto, the three pennylands of Sunart and Letterlochette, the two pennylands of Ardgour, the pennylands of Hawlaste, and sixty merklands in Lochaber, all to be held of the Lord of the Isles and his heirs. Reginald for this extensive principality surrendered all claims to the Lordship of the Isles. The King, who naturally interested himself in the succession to the Lordship of the Isles, would no doubt have used his influence to that end in favour of Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage of the Island Lord, and this would account for the readiness with which he confirmed the charter to Reginald. Be that as it may, Reginald, on the death of his father, convened a meeting of the Islesmen at Kildonan, in Eigg, and there handed over the sceptre of the Isles to his brother Donald, who was thereupon not only declared Lord of the Isles, but also Chief of the whole Clan Donald. He was nominated "Macdonald," and Donald of Islay, and was afterwards crowned King and Lord of the Isles with great pomp and ceremony in the hall of his ancestors at Finlaggan. It is worthy of notice, in view of the nomination of Donald as "Macdonald" by the men of the Isles, that in the only document associated with him which has come down to us he signs "Macdonald." The Island vassals would have preferred Reginald to Donald. Whatever irregularities there may have been in regard to the union of John with Amie from the feudal point of view, the Islesmen, looking at the situation from the Celtic standpoint, considered Reginald the true heir of Innsegall. But

Reginald himself having surrendered all his claims, they accepted Donald, and in him they found a leader worthy of their choice. All the sons of John, Lord of the Isles, were amply provided for out of the family inheritance, John Mor and Alasdair Carrach founding families which were destined to play an important part in the history of Celtic Scotland. The division of so much of the family inheritance among the sons of John, who still retained the superiority in his own hands, instead of crippling his power, tended rather to strengthen the position of the Island Lord. It is quite evident that Reginald lacked the ambitious spirit of the other chiefs of the House of Somerled, and in surrendering his hereditary rights to Donald he manifested a spirit altogether unworthy of a descendant of Roderick of Bute. A man of quiet disposition, he followed the example of his father in one respect at least. He was "a man of augmenting churches," and among other gifts he gave the Island of Heisker, in North Uist, to the Monastery of Iona. On the death of Reginald, which, according to MacVuirich, took place in 1389, Godfrey, his brother, succeeded in obtaining possession of the MacRuarie lands both in Uist and on the Mainland, leaving only the lands in Lochaber to be divided among the children of Reginald. The family of Godfrey continued for some time in possession of the MacRuarie lands, but not, we may be sure, without opposition on the part of the children of Reginald.

We can gather from the dim records of the time that both the Clanranald and Clangorrie played a conspicuous part in the commotions that led to the judicial visit of James I. to Inverness in 1427. Besides the Clangorrie and Clanranald, a John

MacArthur, of the Clan Campbell, put forward a claim to a share of the MacRuarie territory. This John MacArthur was no doubt a descendant of the Arthur Campbell to whom, as we have seen in the chapter on the MacRuaries, Christina of Mar, the MacRuarie heiress, gave lands in Garmoran and in the Isles, early in the fourteenth century. Matters had come to such a pass between the contending parties, that the King, principally on their account, resolved to visit the Highlands in person to put an end to the strife. He held a Parliament in Inverness, and summoned the chiefs to meet him. Alexander, the leader of the Clangorrie, and John MacArthur, were at once seized and executed. These were the only chiefs whose names have come down to us who made atonement for the sins of their tribes. Allan MacReginald escaped the King's rage on this occasion, for in the Exchequer Rolls for 1428 there is an entry recording a debt due by the baillies of Inverness to Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and Allan, the son of Reginald.¹ This is, indeed, the only reference we can find to Allan anywhere in the public records of the time. His name appears often in the genealogies and manuscript histories of the Clan, but beyond his bare name there is nothing recorded of him. There is nothing to shew whether or not he succeeded to his father's lands after the execution of Alexander Macgorrie at Inverness. The probability is that, as he held a crown charter for these lands, the King would have preferred him to any of the other claimants. The Clangorrie decayed gradually in power after the death of their leader, though the family still held the lands of North Uist for many years after the death of Alexander Macgorrie. The period from the death

¹ Exchequer Rolls.

of Reginald down to the advent of Allan MacRory, nearly a hundred years, is by far the most obscure in the history of the Clanranald family. In the absence of charters, of which there is no trace from 1372 down to 1495, it is impossible with accuracy to say what the position of the family was territorially. The charters of the latter year themselves do not throw any light on this point, but in the charter by James V. to John Moidartach in 1531, it is stated that the same lands then granted had been held by Allan MacRory, John's grandfather, and his predecessors. These consisted of the 27 merklands of Moidart, the 30 merklands of Arisaig, 21 merklands in Eigg, and the 30 merklands of Skirrhough, in South Uist. The inference is that these lands, which formed but a mere fragment of Reginald's principality, were all that were left to the senior branch of the family in the time of Allan, the second Chief. The author of the history of the family accounts for the absence of charters by Roderick, the third Chief, refusing to enter as a vassal of the Crown. The fact is, however, that the Crown had very little power over the Island vassals during this period. The lands were held of the Lords of the Isles, and this explains the absence of charters in the case of the Clanranald chiefs during a period of one hundred and twenty years down to the fall of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. According to the terms of Reginald's charter, the lands were to be held of the Lord of the Isles, but so far as the history of these lands is concerned during the period referred to, it appears that they were held by the different families more by the strong hand than by any feudal instrument of tenure. There is no evidence that Reginald himself made any disposition of his lands amongst his children, but by the

Celtic custom of gavel each would have been apportioned an adequate share of the patrimonial acres. From the fact that the families descended from Reginald are afterwards found in possession of considerable estates, the strong presumption is that they inherited these by the disposition of that chief himself. The senior branch, however, possessed the largest share of Reginald's principality and maintained their pre-eminence as chiefs of the family. The history of the senior branch with which we are now mainly concerned continues obscured by the dulness of the annals of the time. Even the seanachies who at other times are, if anything, garrulous, have little to say of this period, and contemporary records are equally dull and meagre. Allan very probably died before the year 1430, and was succeeded by Roderick, his eldest son, who is described as "a man of outstanding ability, and brave leader of the Clauranald." In the struggle between the Crown and Alexander, Lord of the Isles, he naturally ranged himself on the side of the latter, and rendered important services to the cause of the Island Lord during that chief's confinement in Tantallon. He was among the first to join the standard of his father-in-law, Donald Balloch, the leader of the Island host in the absence of his Chief; and at Inverlochy, where the royal forces were so signally defeated, the Chief of Clauranald contributed largely to that result. Roderick continued to support the interests of the Island Lordship during the rest of his life. He is found frequently defending the family interests in Ross-shire, and keeping in check the Mackenzies, Munros, Frasers, and other enemies of the house of Macdonald in that region. Notwithstanding these services, the Lord of the Isles encroached on the

patrimony of the Clanranald so far as to have granted in 1469 to his brother, Hugh of Sleat, the 30 merklands of Skirbough in South Uist, the 12 merklands of Benbecula, and the 60 merklands of North Uist.¹ It appears from the charter by James IV. to Ranald MacAllan in 1498 that 24 merklands in Arisaig and 21 merklands in Eigg had also been held by Hugh, though not included in the charter of 1469.² According to the family seanachie, Roderick MacAllan, of whom little is recorded, closed his career about this time, leaving to his successors the heritage of disputed territories, and other legacies of a similar nature.

A great hero now steps upon the stage in the person of Allan, who succeeded his father, Roderick, as head of the Clanranald family. There are few names better known in the traditions of the Clan than "the mighty-deeded Allan." The period during which he led the Clanranald was an eventful one in the history of the Clan Donald. The forfeiture of the Earl of Ross in 1476, and the subsequent insurrections headed by his son, Angus Og, and Alexander of Lochalsh, afforded ample scope for the energies of the Chief of Clanranald. Allan, in common with the rest of the Clan Donald, resented the conduct of the Earl of Ross in resigning the Earldom, and submitting to the Scottish Government. When the flag of revolt was raised by the Earl's son, the Chief of Clanranald threw the whole weight of his power in favour of the heir of Innse gall. The campaign of Angus Og and the events that followed have already been dwelt upon in another part of this work. After the death of Angus, Allan MacRory transferred his support to the Knight of Lochalsh, who considered himself, and was no doubt

¹ Reg. Mag. Sig.

² Ibid.

now looked upon by others as, the presumptive heir to the Lordship of the Isles. It would appear, indeed, that the Lord of the Isles himself acknowledged Sir Alexander as his heir and successor, and that he favoured the scheme, which the latter had now conceived, of winning back the Earldom of Ross to the Macdonald family.¹ Sir Alexander's own influence in Ross-shire seems to have been on the vanishing scale, but among the old adherents of the family in the Isles he found many who were ready to join him in an invasion of Ross. Early in the year 1491 he raised his standard in Lochaber, where, besides the Clanranald, he was joined also by the Camerons and his own kinsmen of Keppoch. From Lochaber the rebels marched through Badenoch, where they were joined by the Clan Chattan and young Rose of Kilravock, their immediate object being to harry the lands of the Earl of Huntly. How far they carried out their intention in this respect is not recorded. From Badenoch they marched towards Inverness, and took possession of the castle of that town, which they garrisoned, with the object, no doubt, of making it the headquarters of plunder. Why the lands of Alexander Urquhart of Cromarty should have been fixed on as the theatre of operations, it is difficult to say, but in any case the hand of the spoliator fell heavily on the Laird, and much booty was carried off by the followers of Lochalsh, most of which it would appear fell to the share of the Clanranald. The spoil was reckoned at 600 cows and oxen, 80 horses, 1000 sheep, 200 swine, and 500 bolls victual—an enormous *creach*, but besides there remain to be added plenishing and land mails estimated at £600.² The extent of this foray is difficult

¹ Charter in Charter Chest of MacLaine of Lochbuy, printed in Appendix.

² Kilravock Papers, p. 162.

to imagine nowadays. But in war as in love all is fair, and, judged by the standard of the time, some justification may be pleaded for the Cromarty raid. The raiders had taken one side in the contest for the Earldom of Ross, while Alexander Urquhart and his followers had ranged themselves on the other. War had been declared, and as victory so far lay with the Highlanders, they can scarcely be blamed for reaping the fruits of it at the expense of the Laird of Cromarty. Lowland writers who speak ignorantly of "Highland thieving," and stigmatise the Highlanders of that time as dishonest and lawless, surely fail in the observance of that rule which recommends above all things the grace of charity, for *creachs* were as common in the Lowlands as in the Highlands in the fifteenth century. The Laird of Cromarty very naturally lost no time in laying his grievance before the Lords of Council. By an Act passed the following year, the Clanranald were ordered to indemnify Urquhart and his tenants for the loss they had sustained. Hugh Rose, younger of Kilravock, who had taken part in the Lochalsh insurrection, and whose father was keeper under Huntly of Redcastle and Mair of Ardmannoch, where the spoliation took place, was held responsible for the restoration to Urquhart and his tenants of their goods and gear. It is not recorded to what extent, if any, restitution was made by the raiders. After several appeals to the Lords of Council, the last reference we find to the Cromarty raid is a decree dated March 2nd, 1497, some six years after the depredations had been committed, ordaining Allan MacRory and others to "relefe and kepe skaithless" Hugh Rose at the hands of the Laird of Cromarty.

The rebellion of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh had the effect of bringing about the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles and the consequent fall of the Lordship itself. The Scottish Government was determined to make the Islanders loyal by cutting asunder the Celtic barrier which was supposed to stand between them and the throne. The fall of the Lordship of the Isles had exactly the opposite effect. Distance from the central authority, and the still wider racial chasm that separated Celt from Saxon, rendered the attempt to bring the Highlanders into line with the rest of the Scottish population an exceedingly difficult task. The Scottish Government soon found out that it was much easier to deal with one Lord of the Isles, however rebellious, than with twenty Chiefs gone rampantly wild and acknowledging no authority whatever. By destroying the Celtic system and wresting the reins of government from the firm grip of the strong hand that held them, the question of making the Highlanders, now let loose, loyal to the Scottish throne became a greater problem than ever. In the altered circumstances, the Clanranald on the whole proved themselves more loyal and more willing to accept the new order of things than most of the Island vassals. On the occasion of the first visit of King James to the Highlands after the fall of the Island Lordship, Allan MacRory was amongst the few chiefs who then rendered him homage. Amid the turmoil of the time, the Chief of Clanranald kept the peace so far as his relations with the Government were concerned; but there are indications of differences with his neighbours, some of whom had recently been his brothers-in-arms. In the year 1496, the Lords of Council ordained Allan MacRory, Maclean of Dowart, Ewen Allanson of Lochiel,

MacDonald of Keppoch, and MacIain of Ardnamurchan, to find security to the extent of £500 each, "y^t ilk ane of yame shall be harmless and scaithless of utheris." There was, still further, a dispute between the Chief of Clanranald, John Cathanach, and MacIain of Ardnamurchan, respecting the lands of Sunart, a district the possession of which remained for many long years a source of contention between the families represented by these chiefs. The Lords of Council ordained that the rents of these lands were to remain meanwhile in the hands of the tenants, until the matter in dispute between the chiefs was finally settled by the King's advisers, a consummation to be devoutly wished for the peace of the district concerned. Very soon after this the standard of revolt was again raised by the Knight of Lochalsh, but the Chief of Clanranald refused to join him. The restless chief, however, appears to have done all he could to harass Lochalsh's great enemy in Ross-shire, Mackenzie of Kintail. The Earl of Cromarty, in his MS. history of the Mackenzies, records, probably with as much truth as is contained in some others of his Clan stories, how the Chief of Clanranald laid waste the district of Kintail and carried away much spoil. In course of time, however, Allan and Mackenzie were reconciled, and evidently became fast friends; but we think there is no foundation for the story, as told by the Earl of Cromarty, that Allan, having been dispossessed of his lands by his brother, appealed for help to Mackenzie, "his greatest enemy," and that the latter, with a "sufficient force," proceeded to Moidart and reinstated the deposed chief. This story, like that of Colin Fitzgerald, is told for effect, and to glorify the Mackenzies.

Allan MacRory from this time disappears almost entirely from view, and Ranald Bane, his son, assumed the chiefship, or active leadership, of the Clan. In 1498, when the King visited Kintyre and held court at Kilkerran Castle, Ranald Bane Allanson, being in high favour, waited on his Majesty. The King granted him, on the 3rd of August, a charter of 23 merklands in South Uist; and two days thereafter he granted him another charter of the 30 merklands of Skirhough, with the pennylands of Gerigriminish, in Benbecula; 21 merklands in Eigg; and 24 merklands in Arisaig, all of which were resigned in favour of Ranald by John, the son of Hugh of Sleat. The King also, on the same day, granted a charter to Angus Reochson MacRanald of the 12 merk lands of Benbecula; 9 merk lands in Eigg; 6 merk lands in Arisaig; and the 14 merk lands of Morar, all of which were resigned in his favour by John, the son of Hugh of Sleat. This Angus Reochson, who was a grandson of Ranald, the founder of the Clanranald family, seems to have been formerly in possession of Morar without any other title than what his grandfather may have granted. He was the head of a family which held Morar for several generations before the more modern family succeeded. It is to be observed that all the lands, for which the King now granted charters to Ranald Bane and Angus Reochson, formed part of the original patrimony of the Clanranald. John, the son of Hugh of Sleat, resigned these in their favour probably as an acknowledgment of their right to them, and wishing to be rid of lands for which, though he held a legal title, he never could obtain possession of. Hugh Macdonald, the Seanachie, asserts, and we think he is right in asserting, that the lands in dispute between

the families of Sleat and Clanranald were always kept possession of by the latter. Crown charters were of little value in those days, at least in the Highlands. The Chiefs of Sleat themselves held their lands without any title for a hundred years. The Charter of Confirmation to Hugh of Sleat in 1495 must be held to have been cancelled by the several subsequent charters granted to the Macleods, and others, of the same lands. But the King himself, almost immediately after his visit to Kintyre, cancelled all the charters he had granted to the Island Chiefs. His Majesty's policy was clearly to expel the vassals of the late Lord of the Isles from their possessions, bestow these on his own favourites, and thus check any claim that might be put forward by any of the Macdonald Chiefs who aspired to the honours of the family of the Isles. In the end of the year 1501, the King went through the form of summoning for wrongous occupation of their lands a long array of the heads of the Clanranald tribe, including their Chief, Allan MacRory. No notice appears to have been taken of the summons, and no proceedings, in consequence of their contumacious conduct, seem to have been taken against the Islanders, the King no doubt seeing now that a less drastic measure than that he had contemplated would be best. The King must have also seen how little value the Islanders set by charters, holding as they had hitherto held, and still were determined to hold, their lands by very different instruments of tenure. With their galleys on the sea, and their strong fortresses planted at every point of vantage throughout the Islands, let the King expel the hardy clansmen if he can! His Majesty and his advisers, seeing the utter futility of their policy of expulsion by sheepskin, suddenly fell on milder

measures. Before their plans, however, were matured, whatever they may have been, the Highlands and Islands were once more thrown into the vortex of rebellion, and any attempt, therefore, to carry out the new policy must, meanwhile, be postponed. It appears that Ranald Bane, who had now become Chief of Clanranald, at least *de facto*, did not join in the insurrection headed by Donald Dubh, though it is highly probable that the other chieftains of the Clanranald were engaged in it. The principal supporters of Donald were Lachlan Maclean of Duart, Torquil Macleod of Lewis, and Ewen Allanson of Lochiel. But before the rebellion was yet suppressed, Ranald Bane Allanson was one of those to whom letters were addressed by Government soliciting their assistance in bringing the principal rebels, Maclean of Duart and Lochiel, who had been forfeited, to justice. They were to "tak and inbring the samyne, and herry, destroy, and byrne thar lands, and gif they apprehend and tak and inbring any other heidsman, their complices, the takers shall be rewarded."¹

As a reward for his services, Ranald Bane received a precept from the Crown, dated 23rd August, 1505, of the 20 merklands of Sleat and the 60 merklands of North Uist, which had been resigned into the King's hands by the late John, the son of Hugh of Sleat.² The 80 merklands of Troternish were also let to Ranald for three years by the Commissioners of the Crown, the Earl of Huntly becoming security for the payment of the rent, which was to be according to the King's rental.³ The favours bestowed on Ranald Bane are sufficient evidence of the high esteem in which he

¹ Acts of Parl. *ad annum*.

² Privy Seal.

³ Crown Rentals.

was held at court, but there is nothing more certain than that he never reaped any benefit from the lands of Sleat and Troternish, for which he received so good a title. These remained in the absolute possession of the Clan Uisdean, who continued bravely to hold them by the strong hand. As further proof of the good behaviour of Ranald Bane from the point of view of the Government, a commission, dated April 29th, 1508, is given him with Andrew, Bishop of Caithness, and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, to let for five years to good and sufficient tenants the lands of Lewis and of Waternish, in Skye, forfeited by Torquil Macleod of Lewis. How he succeeded in this post is not recorded, but it is difficult to believe, in view of the friendly relations in which he and his father stood to the Government, that their reward for their loyalty and services was the common punishment of traitors. Gregory alone is responsible for the statement, based on a mere conjecture, that Allan MacRory was tried, convicted, and executed in presence of the King at Blair-Athole in 1509, and that his son Ranald met with a similar fate at Perth in 1513. These conclusions are not warranted by reference to MacVuirich, the authority quoted by the learned author of the *History of the Highlands and Islands*. MacVuirich records in the *Book of Clanranald* that "Allan, after having been before the King, and having received a settlement of his estate from King James the Fourth, A.D. 1509, died at Blair-Athole." The same authority further records that "Ranald Bane, son of Allan, having gone before the King to settle finally the affairs which his father was not able to effect, died in the town of Perth, A.D. 1514." It is quite clear that

there is not in these words any foundation whatever for believing that, if these men did die, the one in Blair-Athole and the other in the town of Perth, it was in the violent manner alleged by Gregory. In the long elegy on Allan and Ranald by MacVuirich, we should expect to find reference to events so tragic, if these chiefs had actually suffered death in the manner alleged, and there is not the faintest hint given. But though MacVuirich is generally accurate in other respects, he is seldom so in his dates. In a bond of manrent between Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and Dugal McRanald, dated at Inverness on the 15th day of March, 1510, Ranald Bane is referred to as then dead. The last reference we can find to Ranald in the public records is in the year 1509, and he was dead in the beginning of the year 1510, on the authority of the bond referred to. In the former year King James IV. granted a letter of protection to the Prioress Anna Maclean of Iona ordering all his lieges within the Isles, especially Ranald Alansoune MacRory, and other chiefs not to annoy the Prioress and other religious women, or exact from them anything on pretence of "sornyng or alms deeds" under the highest penalty.¹ In the previous year letters of safe conduct had been directed "Ronaldo filio Allani Makrory" in favour of certain religious women then travelling in the Isles.² The lands belonging to the Nunnery of Iona lay to a large extent within the bounds of the Chief of Clanranald. Allan MacRory appears in record for the last time on the 10th of December, 1501, when he was summoned before the Lords of Council to answer for his continuing to hold the lands of Moidart, and others, without a title, and he appears to have been dead in

¹ Reg. Sec. Sig.² Ibidem,

1503, in which year a letter is addressed by the Council to his son as Chief of Clanranald.

The character of Allan MacRory has been put in a somewhat unfavourable light by some writers of Highland history, who have not scrupled to lay almost every conceivable crime at his door. He is represented as a bold and reckless plunderer, whose whole life was consecrated to rapine, carrying his forays into every corner of the Highlands, far and near. Judged from the ethical standpoint of the present, there was no doubt much in the life of the bold chief to lend colour to this view of his character; but Allan, who flourished four hundred years ago, must be judged by the standard of his own time. Holding his lands at the point of his sword, he must use it well, and surrounded as he was by powerful chiefs, each of whom was ready to pounce upon his neighbour at the shortest notice, he must accommodate himself to circumstances, and secure larger *creachs* than theirs, if it be his ambition to occupy a commanding position amongst them. Allan MacRory, rightly or wrongly, looked upon every Highland chief outside his own clan as an enemy who might at any moment invade his territory, and he no doubt considered it a salutary discipline to occasionally pay his neighbours an unexpected and unwelcome visit. The burning, harrying, and spoliation, of which we hear so much, were but the outcome of a primitive state of society fostered by an age in which the march of civilisation had made but little progress. Judging Allan by the standard of his time, we find in him a bold and resolute chief, a capable and fearless leader of men, and one who was far above his contemporaries in those qualities that alone constitute true strength.

Such a man, as the seanachie of his family puts it, was indeed capable of "striking terror into the hearts of his enemies in many parts of Scotland." If Allan feared not man, it must be admitted that, if the bard speaks truth, neither did he fear his God. He appears not to have had the reverence for the Church which the wildest spirits of that age seldom failed to show, and none more sincerely than the chiefs of the family of Macdonald. The satire on Allan MacRory in the Book of the Dean of Lismore is a severe castigation of the redoubtable chief. The author announces the death of the "one demon of the Gael" as a tale to be well remembered, and in the fierce effusion which follows he traces the descent of Allan somewhat differently from MacVuirich, the seanachie of the family.

"First of all from Hell he came,
The tale's an easy tale to tell."

With "many devils in his train," the "fierce ravager of Church and Cross" laid sacrilegious hands on Iona, and destroyed the priests' vestments and the holy vessels for the mass in the churches of St Mary and St Oran. The unconsecrated Vandal is further charged with burning the church of St Finnan, in Glengarry, and, in fine, if there be but a grain of truth in the long catalogue of crimes of which he is accused, Innsegall was indeed well rid of so great a curse. The character, however, ascribed to our Chief by Red Finlay is very different from that given him by a contemporary bard. To MacVuirich "Allan was a hero by whom the board of monks was maintained, and by whom the plain of the Fingalls was defended," a chief worthy of being lamented. If the red-haired bard was not a Churchman, as his piece would suggest, but, as some think, the Chief

of the Clan MacNab, the outpouring of his vials of wrath on the devoted head of Allan MacRory may, without any great stretch of imagination, be accounted for. It is highly probable that the MacNab country had been more than once honoured by the presence of a foraging party from Castletirrim. The memory of such raids was sure to leave impressions of a lasting nature, and, as the broadsword had failed him, the red-haired chief wielded to some purpose his poetic quill.

There are many traditions handed down in the Clanranald country illustrative of the character of Allan MacRory. One of these would have it that he had at once as many as three Highland Chiefs incarcerated in his stronghold of Castletirrim. These were the Chiefs of Macleod, Mackay, and Mackintosh. Mackintosh, who had had many feuds with the Clanranald, to secure himself against any possible attack by them, built a stronghold on a little island in Loch Moy. On the completion of the building, he invited his friends and retainers to a housewarming. The hospitable shell was freely passed round at the feast, and, as a consequence, the host felt in a mood to give vent to his pent-up feelings, and uttered statements which bade defiance to Allan MacRory and the whole tribe of Clanranald. There happened to be present on the occasion one of those wandering Irish minstrels without the strains of whose harp no such entertainment in those days was held to be complete. This disciple of Orpheus found his way in course of time to Castletirrim, and, by way of ingratiating himself with the Chief of Clanranald, he retailed how Mackintosh had stated boldly in his hearing that he no longer feared Allan MacRory, or any of his name. On hearing this,

Allan was wroth, and vowed there and then that he would make Mackintosh feel that even Castle Moy was not a protection to one who presumed to offer so great an insult to the Clanranald. He forthwith put himself at the head of a body of his retainers, and marched under cover of night to Loch Moy, seized Mackintosh in bed, and carried him prisoner to Castletirrim. Here he kept him in durance for a year and a day, at the end of which he dismissed him with the admonition never again to consider himself free from the fear of a Macdonald.

On another occasion, while Allan was on his way to visit his Long Island property, he encountered in the Minch a fleet of galleys commanded by the Chief of Maclean. With that Chief he was at the time, as indeed he was with most of his neighbours, on the worst possible terms of friendship. Realising at once his danger, and knowing that whether he resisted or surrendered his fate would be the same—for he had only one galley against Maclean's ten—Allan fell on the plan of feigning death, and ordered his men to stretch him on a bier and make every show of mourning for him. On the Macleans coming near to the Macdonald galley they enquired of Allan's men whither they were bound. The Macdonalds, answering in very mournful tones, informed the Macleans that they were on their way to Iona with the remains of their departed Chief. This news so delighted the Macleans that they asked no further questions, and the Macdonalds were allowed to pursue their journey in peace. Instead, however, of steering for Skirrough, as he originally intended, the resurrected Allan changed his course and landed in Mull, where the Macleans afterwards discovered that the Chief of Clanranald had not gone to Iona.

Allan MacRory was succeeded in the chiefship of the Clanranald by his son, Ranald Bane, who did not long survive his father. He appears to have followed closely in the footsteps of his predecessors, and to have sufficiently sustained the traditions of the family, "his fame," according to MacVurich, "excelling the deeds of the Gael." The disappearance of Allan MacRory and Ranald Bane from the arena of clan warfare resulted in bringing much confusion into the internal arrangements of the family of Clanranald. Dugal, who succeeded his father, Ranald Bane, in the chiefship, appears to have been possessed of qualities that rendered him unpopular at the very beginning of his career, but we are left entirely in the dark as to the exact nature of these. The seanachies of the family throw very little light on the situation, and only make confusion worse confounded by the vagueness of their references. We find Dugal shortly after his succession to the chiefship giving a bond of manrent to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, dated at Inverness on the 10th of March, 1510.¹ In this document he is described as the son and heir of "Umquhile Ranaldson of Alanbigrim," and he binds himself to become the Earl's man and servitor to serve him all the days of his life, "na persone except, bot the Kingis hienes Allenarlie." This bond of service to the Earl, though it did not mean much in itself, must have given offence to many of Dugal's followers, who disapproved of any alliance with the family of Huntly. It was but the beginning of the many troubles that were in store for the new chief. Shortly after this we find Dugal playing another part, and the scene

¹ The Gordon Papers.

is changed from Inverness to the coast of Uist, where early in the year 1512 a Spanish ship was wrecked.¹ It is not recorded what burden this vessel carried, but whatever it was, it appears Dugal considered himself justified in appropriating it to his own use, on the ground, no doubt, that any wreckage cast ashore on his coast was his property. The Lords of Council thought differently, and Dugal accordingly was summoned to appear before them to answer for the "spulzie" of the Spanish vessel. The High Treasurer allowed the sum of forty-two shillings for expenses to an individual bearing the Celtic name of Gillebride, who was sent to the Isles to summon Dugal. Whatever the fate of the pursuivant may have been in his hazardous task, it appears that Dugal neglected to obey the summons, and that no fine was exacted from him as the price of his disobedience. Those in authority were too busy elsewhere. The disastrous defeat at Flodden, which had the effect of throwing the Lowlands into a state of great confusion, affected also in a similar manner many parts of the Highlands and Islands. Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh was the great disturber of the peace in the north, but the Clanranald refused to join his standard, and little is recorded of them during the minority of James V. That there were, however, serious dissensions amongst the different branches of the family at this time subsequent events only too clearly prove, and these arose entirely from the conduct of the Chief himself. The state of matters was not by any means improved by the appearance on the scene of the Earl of Argyle, whom the Scottish Regent appointed in 1517 as lieutenant of the lands of

¹ High Treasurer's Accounts.

Moidart, Arisaig, and South Morar. Dugal again finds refuge in a bond of manrent. On the 25th of May, 1520, he binds himself at Ellanyssa to his "derrest and best belovit Sir Johne Campbell of Cauder Knycht," and promises to serve him against all persons, saving the King's grace and the Earl of Huntly. The most remarkable thing in this document is the signature of the Chief of Clanranald, who positively subscribes with his own hand, "Dugal McRynald of Ellantyrin." It is somewhat refreshing to find so clear an evidence of the school-master being abroad in the country of the Clanranald, though Dugal would hardly have considered so monkish an accomplishment as adding any dignity to one whose code of culture did not include a knowledge of letters. The signing of Dugal by his own hand is worthy of notice, in view of the fact that, twenty-five years thereafter, of the seventeen chiefs who formed the Council of Donald Dubh none could sign his own name.

Dugal MacRanald now disappears entirely from his position as Chief of the Clanranald. The same obscurity that envelops the cause of his unpopularity and deposition hangs over the manner of his death. MacVuirich, with studied vagueness, "leaves it to another certain man to relate how he spent and ended his life." This reference to Dugal in the Red Book of Clanranald is omitted entirely in the Black Book, where it is simply recorded that "Ranald left his son in the Lordship, *i.e.*, Dugal McRanald."¹ In a Clanranald MS. of last century, it is stated that Dugal was "a jealous and bad-tempered man who put to death his two brothers, John and Allan, and was afterwards himself killed." Hugh Macdonald,

¹ Black Book of Clanranald, p. 28.

the Sleat seanachie, asserts that "Dugal was murdered by his cousins, John Moidartach and Allan, and that his two sons, Allan and Alexander, were apprehended by Alexander of Glengarry and killed by him, for which deeds he got some lands in Morar." According to the tradition of the Moidart country, Dugal was the victim of a plot laid by his own cousins in the hope of obtaining the Chiefship for Alexander MacAllan, Dugal's uncle. In carrying out their diabolical scheme, they had the ready co-operation of a notorious scoundrel, locally known as "Allan nan Corc." In course of time, as Dugal was on his way from Arisaig to Castletirrim, he was waylaid at a place called Polnish by *Allan nan Corc* and his party, and cut to pieces, the exact spot where the foul deed was committed being known to this day by the name of "Coirre-Dhughail." In the absence of documentary proof, it is difficult to say what truth, if any, there is in this story, but there appears to be no doubt that Dugal was deposed from the chiefship at this time, and that he died in the year 1520, or shortly thereafter, whether in the violent manner already described we have no means of determining with certainty. That there may have been a plot such as tradition ascribes to his cousins we can readily believe, but if Dugal and his family had not made themselves obnoxious to the rest of the Clanranald, the tribe as a body would not have acquiesced in the selection of Alexander MacAllan as their leader, nor would they have deprived Dugal's son of that position, if he had been found to have been worthy of it. Allan MacDugal's mother was, according to Father Charles Macdonald, in his book on Moidart, a daughter of the Chief of the Camerons. Brought

up among his mother's kin, the Camerons, when Allan came of age, made an attempt to place him in possession of his heritage, but in this they failed, and a compromise was arrived at whereby the lands of Morar were given to Dugal's son. Gregory, however, a more reliable authority, has it in a manuscript that "Dugal married the daughter and co-heiress of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, but that he was forced by Glengarry, who had married the other co-heiress, and others of the Clanranald, to repudiate his wife, who was afterwards married to Dingwall of Kildun." Whether Allan was a grandson of Lochiel, or of the Knight of Lochalsh, he never regained by the help of the adherents of these chiefs the heritage of the Chief of Clanranald, nor did he, indeed, possess any of the lands of the tribe for nearly twenty years after his father's death, and even the lands he then came into possession of he held by a very uncertain tenure. In the year 1538 the lands of Morar, and others, which, as we have seen, were granted to Angus Reochson MacRanald in 1498, were, by an instrument under the Privy Seal, bestowed on Allan and Lachlan, the sons of Dugal, conjointly, and by reason of non-entry since the death of John MacAngus Reoch MacRanald. Allan thus succeeded the family of Angus Reoch MacRanald of Morar, and became the progenitor of the family whose head has been known in more modern times as *MacDhughail Mhor*^{thir}.

"Alexander MacAllan," we are informed by MacVuirich, "assumed the Lordship after Dugal, the son of Ranald." By the tenor of the charters granted by James IV. to Ranald Bane in 1498, the lands were to be held of the King by Ranald and his heirs male, with reversion to Alexander Mac-

Allan, his brother. In the Clanranald MS., already quoted, it is stated that Allan MacRory gave Alexander, his son, lands in Moidart, Arisaig, Eigg, and Skirhough, and Hugh Macdonald in his manuscript refers to him as "Tanisteir of Moidart." In an action pursued in behalf of the King against several landholders in the Highlands in the year 1501, Alane Rorisone and Alexander Alansone are charged with the wrongous occupation of the lands of Moidart.¹ After Dugal's deposition, and his family had been formally thrown out of the succession to the family estate and honours, Alexander MacAllan undoubtedly became head of the Clanranald family, both *de facto* and *de jure*. Dugal was set aside by a recognised Celtic law which put it in the power of a clan or tribe to depose or elect its own chief, and the Clanranald, in the exercise of their undoubted right, elevated Alexander to the chiefship, after which it is vain to appeal to a feudal law of primogeniture which acknowledged neither chief nor clan as such. There are indications that Dugal and Alexander had been on anything but friendly terms prior to the accession of the latter to the chiefship. In a bond of manrent by Alexander, dated at Inverleuer on the 20th day of February, 1519, he binds himself, his sons, kinsmen, and servants, "to be lyell and trewe men and servants to ane honorabyll knyght Johne Campbell of Cauder Knycht," promising to take his part against all, "the Kingis grace, my lorde of Ergille beand excepted." He further binds himself to take Cawdor's counsel in all things, "and speciale anent his eyne, Doygall M'Rannald," swearing upon the

¹ Acta Dom. Con.

"mes bowyk" to keep his promise under pain of 200 merks to be paid within forty days.¹ In this indenture by Alexander he describes himself as "Alexander M'Allan, Chaptane off the Clanranald, and apyerand air of Ilanterim," being the first occasion on which we find the distinction of "Captain of Clanranald" assumed in the family. The reason for the adoption of the title at this time may be found in the fact that for the first time in the history of the family the Clanranald had themselves elected their own chief; and we are entirely of the opinion that the title of captain is, in this case at anyrate, synonymous with chief, and that it was so interpreted in this family down to our own day admits of no doubt whatever. If "captain" and "chief" were not the same here, then and in that case the Clanranald could be said to have been chiefless for the long period of close on four hundred years. To avoid arriving at a conclusion so manifestly absurd and contradictory, we must accept the designation of "Captain of Clanranald" as signifying neither less nor more than chief, or head, of the family of Clanranald.

We find no further reference to Alexander in his new position as chief of Clanranald, though no doubt the annals of the clan during his short period of chiefship provided ample material for the pen of the family chronicler. The subsequent history of the Clanranald itself is ample proof of the troubled state of the tribe at this time, but Alexander appears to have been a chief worthy of their choice, and as chief to have maintained his position with firmness and dignity to the last. Dying some time before the year 1530, Alexander was succeeded in the

¹ Thanos of Cawdor.

chiefship by his son John, known in the history of the clan as "John Moidartach." This not being the place for a genealogical discussion, we reserve reference to the descent of this chief for the third volume of this work, where we hope the accumulation of rubbish that has gathered round it will be finally disposed of and the question itself satisfactorily settled.

At the very outset of his career as Chief of Clanranald, John Moidartach is found in open rebellion against the Government. The cause of this revolt is to be traced to an Act passed by the Privy Council in the year 1528, which declared null and void all the new titles to lands within the Lordship of the Isles during the King's minority. Alexander of Dunnyveg, being the person most affected by this new enactment, forthwith raised the standard of revolt, and to his banner hastened John Moidartach, and many others of the insular chiefs. The insurrection thus gathering volume continued to rage for some time, until ultimately in the month of May, 1530, nine of the principal Islanders, including John Moidartach, sent offers of submission by Hector Maclean of Duart to the King.¹ James, who now began to see the baneful effect of his hasty legislation regarding land tenure in the West Highlands and Islands, at once granted the prayer of the petition presented by Hector Maclean of Duart, but on condition that the chiefs should appear personally before him in Edinburgh, or wherever he might hold Court, before the 20th of June. The Islanders, however, appeared to be in no hurry to deliver themselves into the hands of the Government, notwithstanding the King's assurance of

¹ Acts of the Lords of Council.

protection, and the additional offer by the Earl of Argyle of no less than four Campbell hostages for their safe return to their Island homes.¹ The King at length resolved to proceed in person against the rebels, and made preparations for an expedition on a large scale to the Isles, but Alexander of Dunnyveg, who was the head and front of the Island revolt, realising his danger in the face of the Royal Expedition, hastened to make his submission to the King. John Moidartach and the other chiefs, after being several times summoned for treason, followed the example of Alexander of Dunnyveg, in the course of the summer of 1531 gave in their submission, and upon giving security for their future good behaviour, they received the King's pardon.² John Moidartach, to whom the King appears to have shown special favour, received under His Majesty's great seal a charter of the 27 merklands of Moidart, the 30 merklands of Arisaig, 21 merklands in Eigg, and the 30 merklands of Skirhough, in Uist, all of which of old belonged in heritage to Allan MacRory, his grandfather, and his predecessors. These lands were granted for the good service done and to be done by the grantee, the charters granted to his predecessors having been destroyed through war and other local disturbances. The lands were to be held of the King in fee for service of ward, relief, and marriage, provided that John Moidartach and his heirs should not do homage to any person without the license of the King. This charter, which is still preserved in the Clanranald Charter Chest, is dated at Edinburgh on the 11th of February, 1531, but John Moidartach being then a rebel, the year in which the charter was granted

¹ Acts of the Lords of Council.

² Ibid. Reg. of Privy Seal.

must have been, instead of that given, 1532. On the same day he also received a precept of Clare Constat for infefting him in these lands. This charter to John Moidartach was the first of a long series of charters granted to different members of the Clanranald family during the remainder of the reign of James V. The multiplicity of charters, as might be expected, created much rivalry and dissension within the tribe, and, though a recital of them may be tedious, it is necessary, in order to point out the relations in which the branches stood to their Chief territorially. An analysis of the charters themselves will show them to be worthless as instruments of tenure. It is well known that Crown charters were obtained during this period sometimes by very unworthy means. Instances could be given of false representations made to those in power, and of bribes offered and greedily accepted by hungry courtiers, who, to benefit themselves, were ready to stoop to the lowest and most unscrupulous devices. What is remarkable about the Clanranald charters especially is the manifest unveracity displayed on the one hand and the continual encroachment on the lands of the Chief on the other. The lands encroached upon are stated in each charter to have been in the hands of the King since the death of the last lawful possessor, while the existence of the then Chief is entirely ignored. The motive of this policy is not far to seek, and it was neither less nor more than an attempt to diminish the power of the Chief and set the tribe by the ears. But John Moidartach was not the man to be diminished in this way, and it is quite certain that he retained his superiority over the whole lands of the tribe to the day of his

is donatio m'ayn verulz m'
no de Jmdmō in hac parte salute Una nobis
ante P'p'm de aruffa viginti una m'tate ter
infra p'ietatē n'rm de Jmdmō quomō
editate ab antiquo pertinne m't Et sit p'et
e eorum per guerra p' perturbationes in
nobis per p'fatm Johanne impenso dedi
finti septem m'tatas terrarū de mozdob
finta m'tal' terrarū de p'etthorff t'm p'm'm
mō i'f'mō d'cto Johann vel suo certo attor
rote quā de nobis inde habent iuste haberi
bet committm p' d'm'm p'u' n'ris de Jmdmō
m'ayn Undecimo die m'is february Anno

death, *dh' aindeoin co theireadh e*. In 1534, having for some unknown reason resigned the 6 merklands of Kildonan, in Eigg, and 4 merklands in Arisaig, into the King's hands, the King granted him anew a charter of the same lands conjointly with his wife, Mariot M'Cane.¹ In the same year, John granted to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, 10 merklands in the barony of Moidart.² On the 19th of June, 1535, the Chief is in Edinburgh settling a dispute with Hector Mor Maclean of Duart, the nature of which does not appear owing to a blank in the record, but of so serious a nature as to have rendered necessary the presence of both Chiefs before the Lords of Council. Donald, Abbot of Coupar, and Archibald Campbell of Skippinish, for John Moidartach, and Sir John Campbell of Ardkinglass for Hector Maclean, acted as "arbitratouris counsalouris and amicable compositouris." Having given in their "Decrete Arbitrate," the Chiefs departed from the city in peace.³ In 1538 the King granted to Allan and Lachlan, sons of Dugal, the deposed chief, the non-entry and other dues of the 14 merklands of Morar, 7 merklands in Arisaig, 9 merklands in Eigg, and the 13 merklands of Benbecula, which had been in the King's hands since the death of John Mac Angus Reoch MacRanald.⁴ In the same year the King granted to Farquhar McAlister, brother to the Chief of Clanranald, the non-entry and other dues of the 23 merklands lying within the parish of Kilpeter, in South Uist, and in the King's hands since the death of Ranald MacAllan.⁵ In the following year, the King further granted to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, the non-entry and other dues of the

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.² Argyle Inventory.³ Acta Dom. Con.⁴ Reg. of Privy Seal.⁵ Ibid.

lands of Morar, and others, previously granted to Allan and Lachlan McCoull MacRanald, having been in the King's hands since the death of John MacAngus Reoch MacRanald.¹

The succession of charters is now interrupted for a brief period by an insurrection headed by Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat, which threatened seriously to disturb the peace of the Isles. Donald Gorme, as next heir after Donald Dubh, and backed by a majority of the Island Chiefs, laid claim not only to the Lordship of the Isles, but to the Earldom of Ross as well. This rebellion of the Chief of Sleat, though it spent itself before gathering any force by the death of Donald at Ellandonan, had, as will be presently seen, a somewhat disturbing influence on the family of Clanranald. The repeated attempts of the Islesmen to restore the Lordship of the Isles, in the person of a chieftain of the Macdonald family, brought the King to the resolution of taking such measures as he thought would prevent any further effort in that direction. With this in view, he put himself at the head of a formidable armament consisting of twelve ships, well provided with artillery, and manned by about fifteen hundred men. The fleet left Leith in the end of May, 1540, and proceeded, in the first instance, to Orkney. From Orkney it sailed back by the coasts of Sutherland, Lewis, and Skye. It was now seen what the object of the King was in making this display of naval power. The Chiefs, who hastened at different points during the royal progress to pay homage to their sovereign, little suspecting that a trap had been laid for them, rushed on their fate and found themselves prisoners. Prominent among those who

¹ Reg. of Privy Seal.

were secured in this unkingly fashion was John Moidartach, Captain of Clanranald. The King proceeded vigorously in his course of chief-taking, and finally, having sailed by the southern group of islands, he landed at Dunbarton, sending the fleet, with the captive Chiefs on board, to the Leith roads, whence they were taken to Edinburgh and sent to prison.

The news that John Moidartach was incarcerated in Edinburgh, with no immediate prospect of being liberated, had the effect of bringing great confusion into the ranks of the Clanranald. The opportunity thus afforded them was not lost on the friends of the Government in the north, and they, without delay, took steps to fill the breach created by the absence of the Chief. Their choice fell on Ranald, commonly called *Ranald Gallda*, the youngest son of Allan MacRory. Little or nothing is known of the previous history of this individual. His mother being a daughter of the Chief of the Frasers, the probability is that he spent the most part of his life in the Aird country, and lived on the bounty of the family of Lovat. He is represented by most if not all Clan writers as a young man at this time; but, whatever else he was, young he could not have been, his father having died a very old man in or about the year 1501. It is certain that Ranald, at the very lowest computation, could not now have been much, if at all, under fifty years of age. It is somewhat amazing, in view of the facts of the case, to find Ranald Gallda put forward, by every one who has written on the subject, as the legitimate heir of Castletirrim. That he had absolutely no claim whatever, legally or morally, feudally or Celtically, to this position, we shall see presently. Allan

MacRory had, according to MacVuirich, three families, or, altogether, eight sons, the youngest of these being Ranald Gallda. The eldest of the eight sons, Ranald Bane, succeeded his father in the chiefship. Dugal, Ranald Bane's son, having been deposed by the tribe, his family were excluded from the succession. But after the family of Dugal, the next heir to the chiefship was Alexander, the second son of Allan MacRory, who himself had three families, or, altogether, seven sons. It is evident that, until the issue of six sons of Allan MacRory, and of the seven sons of Alexander MacAllan failed, Ranald Gallda could not be regarded as the legitimate heir of Castletirrim. There stood a score of heirs at least between him and the chiefship of Clanranald. It was not likely that in these circumstances the tribe would willingly accept "Ranald the Stranger," as they appropriately called him, for their Chief. But Lovat and Huntly had decided to place Ranald Gallda in the chiefship, and in possession of Castletirrim. In this scheme they were encouraged by the Government, to whom it was falsely represented that Ranald was the rightful heir. As a first step towards carrying out their design, they obtained for him a Crown charter, dated at Edinburgh on the 14th of December, 1540, of the 27 merklands of Moidart, and the 24 merklands of Arisaig, which had been in the King's hands since the death of Allan Rorieson.¹ The charter formerly granted to John Moidartach having been obtained, as it was alleged, on sinister and unjust information, was at the same time revoked. The King, in pursuance of his policy of encroachment, had already, early in this year, gifted to

¹ Reg. of Privy Seal.

Farquhar MacAlister, the Chief's brother, the 30 merklands of Skirhough, with the penny land of Gerigriminish, in Benbecula, which had been in his Majesty's hands since the death of Ranald Bane Allanson.¹ Ranald Bane died, as we have seen, before 1510, and the King having granted a charter of Skirhough and other lands to John Moidartach in 1532, these could not, therefore, have been in his hands since the death of Ranald. But one of the objects of the King and his advisers was not veracity. Having secured the person of the Chief, and gifted his inheritance to others, on whose loyalty they could reckon, the task they set themselves to perform was accomplished.

Ranald Gallda, armed with his parchment, and supported by Huntly and Lovat, entered Castletirrim in triumph and assumed the position of Chief of the family of Clanranald. Immediately after taking possession, Ranald was the recipient of yet another royal favour. The King, to confirm his loyalty, granted him the 21 merklands of Eigg, in his majesty's hands since the death of Dugal MacRanald.² How it fared with the new chief during his short tenure of Castletirrim subsequent events sufficiently demonstrate. Forced as he had been into his position, it was not to be expected that he would readily render himself acceptable to the great body of the Clan, and as matter of fact he failed utterly in this respect; but the real cause of his unpopularity is not to be traced to the parsimonious disposition attributed to him by the seanachies. It was not because Ranald would not slaughter oxen wholesale and afterwards roast them for the entertainment of the Clanranald that he was

¹ Reg. of Privy Seal.

² Ibid.

rejected. What led to his rejection must be traced to a very different source. He was neither the legitimate heir, nor had he been elected by the voice of the tribe. Huntly and Lovat conjointly had chosen him, and, therefore, his career at Castletirrim was brief.

The untimely death of the King, in the end of the year 1542, brought about a sudden change in the relations between Ranald Gallda and the Clanranald. It is certain that if the King had lived a few years longer Ranald's reign at Castletirrim would not have been so short. It is equally certain that, except for the King's death, so dangerous a firebrand as John of Moidart would have been kept pinning in his captive dungeon it is hard to say how long. But Glencairn, because he hated Argyle, recommended the Regent Arran to liberate John Moidartach and the other chiefs so ungraciously kidnapped by the late King. John of Moidart no sooner got his liberty than he returned to Castletirrim. The whole Clan at once rallied round their chief, and Ranald Gallda fled to the Aird. The heather was now on fire, and John Moidartach lost no time in marshalling his forces. These consisted of Alaster McEan vic Alaster of Glengarry, Allan MacDugal MacRanald of Morar, Angus MacAllan MacRanald of Knoydart, and others of the Clanranald with their followers. There flocked also to the standard of the Clanranald Chief Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch, Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, and Alaster Macdonald of Ardnamurchan, at the head of their respective followers. Lovat no doubt had also summoned his retainers, but before he had time to mature his plans, John Moidartach pushed forward at the head of his clansmen, and

invading the Fraser territories, "herreit, reft, and spulyeit the hoill cuntrey" of Abertarf and Stratherrick. Not resting satisfied with having wasted the Lovat lands, the invaders proceeded to Urquhart, and taking possession of the Castle, they afterwards committed great excesses in the districts of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. According to Bishop Lesley, the invaders, after driving out of the Fraser and Grant countries the native possessors, "placed thameselffis as they had bene just possessouris thairof, thinking to enjoy the same peaceablie in all tymis cuming." It is not at all likely that the West Highlanders were quite so sanguine as the good Bishop would have us believe, but it appears at all events that they remained in possession of the conquered territories until compelled to retire in the face of superior forces, and for this they had not to wait long. We are left quite in the dark as to Lovat's movements hitherto. Whether he ever conceived the idea of reinstating Ranald Gallda in the face of such strong forces as he had now to contend against is a matter of opinion. We are inclined to think that neither Lovat nor his *protege* entertained any hope of effecting an entrance into Castletirrim, and that if John Moidartach and his followers had not "spulyeit the hoill cuntrey of Abertarf and Stratherrick," the Frasers very probably would not have taken any active part against them. The Clanranald, however, had unfortunately not confined their depredations to the Lovat lands, but had also "herreit" the Grant country, which resulted, as might have been expected, in provoking a combination of forces against them with which they could not hope to cope. But the forces of Lovat and Grant alone were not sufficient against such

powerful enemies as the Western host, and these chiefs were, therefore, obliged to appeal for help to the Earl of Huntly, the lieutenant of the North. Huntly, glad of the opportunity of punishing the Clanranald and their allies, at once responded to the appeal made to him, and raising a large force among his own vassals and retainers, being also joined by Lovat and Grant at the head of their respective forces, the Earl proceeded against the rebels. But before these combined forces reached the scene of spoliation, John Moidartach and his followers had wisely retreated towards the West and taken up a position in some wild and not easily accessible part of the country, from which it would be difficult to dislodge them. Having restored order throughout the districts which had been wasted by the Clanranald, Gregory asserts that Huntly proceeded to Moidart and put Ranald Gallda without opposition in possession of that country. There is no ground for believing that Huntly advanced as far westward as the district of Moidart. It would have been at best a difficult task, and if attempted the chances were that it would have been a fruitless one, desirous as the Earl was of inflicting punishment on the rebels. And even if Huntly had been anxious above all things to put Ranald Gallda in possession of Castletirrim, it is hardly conceivable that that unfortunate individual would accept the situation and rush on his own destruction, a fate he was certain to meet if he entered the district of Moidart with the view of taking up a permanent residence there. But if Huntly intended to invade the Clanranald country and fortify Castletirrim, the advantageous position of the enemy must have

sufficed to convince him of the hopelessness of bringing his campaign to a successful issue. It is difficult to believe that so skilful a leader as John of Moidart would have left the stronghold of Castletirrim unfortified, or that if attacked in that position he would have yielded it without a struggle. His retreat before Huntly indicates very clearly what his movements would have been, and line of defence, if the Earl had chosen to follow up his pursuit. In none of the many versions of the story of Huntly's campaign do we find that he came into collision with the Chief of Moidart, and without this we are unwilling to believe that the Earl took possession of Castletirrim. The fact seems to be that Huntly, having driven the rebels, as he thought, into their native fastnesses, and restored the peace of the disturbed districts, considered the task he had set before himself accomplished, and further procedure, therefore, unnecessary and inexpedient. Bishop Lesley, who some twenty years later occupied the See of Ross, was, from the nearness of his residence to the scene of Huntly's operations, likely to be well informed in regard to the details of the campaign. According to Lesley, "the Erle merching forduart with his cumpanie maid thame (the rebels) sone to dislodge, and to flie in thair awin cuntrey apoun the west seis, quhair Lawland men cuid haif no acces unto thame, and so placed the Lorde Lovat and the Laird of Grant in thair awin landis. . . . Sua haiffing done for the moist parte that thing he come for, returnit." Having thus accomplished his purpose for the "moist parte," Huntly led his force back and proceeded on his way through Lochaber into Badenoch. On arriving at the opening of Glenroy, at the point where the Spean joins the

Lochy, the Frasers and the Grants detached themselves from the main body of Huntly's army, with the intention of returning to their respective districts, and proceeded down the Caledonian Valley by the line of the present Caledonian Canal. Lovat's force consisted of his own immediate followers, and the Grants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the other followers of the Laird of Grant returning with their chief to Strathspey. The Grants were probably commanded by Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, a half-brother of Ranald Gallda, whose mother, after the death of Allan MacRory, married the Laird of Glenmoriston. There was also a close family connection between the Lovat Chief and Freuchie, the Chief of the Grants, and it was on account of the family compact between the Frasers and the Grants that the Clanranald had wreaked vengeance on the latter by wasting the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The Clanranald and their allies had all along followed closely the movements of Huntly's army. The Fraser Chief had no sooner separated himself from the Earl than John Moidartach, seizing his opportunity, resolved to intercept his march and give him battle. Lovat had evidently not anticipated a meeting with the Chief of Moidart, or he would have chosen a different route in returning home to Castledownie; but whatever his surmising may have been, he had not proceeded far on his march when the gravity of his situation flashed upon him. As he proceeded by the south side of Lochlochy, he espied the Clanranald on the other side marching rapidly towards the head of the loch to intercept his progress. Lovat's force has been variously estimated, but the nearest approximation appears to be that given in a Fraser MS., which

puts it at four hundred strong. The strength of the opposing force has also been variously stated, but when we consider that the chieftains of Glogarry, Knoydart, Morar, Ardnamurchan, Keppoch, and Lochiel, were all there with their followers, the numerical strength of the Western host could not at the very lowest calculation have been under six hundred fighting men. Well might the Fraser chief have quailed before such overwhelming odds. There appeared to be two alternatives open to Lovat, either of which he must instantly accept. He must either surrender or fight, and the brave Chief chose the latter. Acting on this resolution, he moved forward to meet the approaching foe, sending at the same time a trusty lieutenant, of the name of Bean Cleireach, with a small band of Frasers to guard a pass through which he hoped to escape, in the event of his being forced to retire from the battlefield and seek refuge in flight. The two forces at length meeting at the east end of Lochlochy, arranged themselves in order of battle. The action was commenced by both sides advancing in the old Highland fashion and discharging their arrows as they advanced. Laying their bows aside after the arrows were expended, the combatants rushed furiously on each other with broadsword and axe. Both sides now fought with equal courage and determination, and it soon became apparent that the contest for victory would be bloody, long, and obstinate. The day being hot, the combatants, it is said, denuded themselves of their upper garments and fought in their shirt sleeves, from which circumstance the fight, it is further said, got the name of *Blarleine*, or "The Field of Shirts." But

though this is the common tradition, we are inclined to think that the famous engagement got its name of *Blarleine* rather from the particular spot on which the battle was fought, which at the time and for long after was known as *Leny*. As the fatal day advanced, the Fraser ranks grew thinner, but, animated by mutual hatred, the resolute clansmen continued the contest with great fury, and at the approach of evening the battlefield presented a woful scene of carnage. Borne down by the force of superior numbers, the surviving Frasers were finally obliged to retire from the field, but the pass which *Bean Cleireach* had been sent to guard being secured by the *Clanranald*, the fight was renewed at this point, if possible with greater determination than ever. After a sharp struggle, the Frasers were again worsted, and kindly night at length threw its dark pall over the bloody field. While clansmen on both sides fought with equal bravery, and victory lay with *Siol Chuinn*, the stubborn courage displayed by the gallant Frasers in the face of vastly superior numbers is deserving of all praise. According to the traditional accounts of *Blarleine*, and, unfortunately, there are none other, the Frasers were nearly all annihilated, only five of the whole force surviving; while of the *Clanranald* and their allies only eight are said to have survived. Subsequent events, however, show these figures to be wide of the mark. It is certain that no men of note on the side of the *Clanranald* and their allies fell. Four years after the event, in a respite to *John Moidartach* for "ye slaughter of ye Lord Lovet and his complices," there are also mentioned the names of the chieftains of *Glengarry*, *Knoydart*, *Morar*, and *Arduamurchan*, to whom may be added, among others, the name of

Rorie MacAlister, the diplomatic dean of Morven, and brother of the Chief of Clanranald. Keppoch and Lochiel were reserved for a more ignominious fate. When the leaders, who were certain to have been in the thickest of the fight, survived, we are not willing to believe that all their followers perished. In a document dated on the 5th day of August, 1545, and drawn up by the council of Donald Dubh, which, with the exception of Keppoch, included all the Macdonald leaders engaged at Kinlochlochy, it is stated that "the Captain of Clanranald the last yeir ago in his defence slew the Lord Lowett, his son and air, his thre brother, with xiii. score of men." This number, given on the authority of the leaders of the victorious army, is not likely to have been under-estimated. On the contrary, we should expect them to have over-estimated than otherwise the number of the enemy slain. There is no reference to the number of the slain on the Clanranald side. The death roll, however, on either side must have been considerable, while of those that survived, few, if any, can have escaped unwounded. On the side of the Frasers fell Lord Lovat and Ranald Gallda, both of whom, by all accounts, distinguished themselves by acts of conspicuous bravery. Besides these, among other men of note who fell were the three brothers of Lord Lovat, as we have seen from the document already quoted. The Master of Lovat, who fell mortally wounded, died three days after the battle, having been taken prisoner by Lochiel. The death of the Master of Lovat was much lamented alike by friend and foe. The Master had been educated in France, and was a young man of many accomplishments. Goaded by the

taunts of his step-mother, who insinuated cowardice, he, though strictly forbidden by his father to leave home, chose a select band of twelve followers, and joined the banner of his clan on the day that proved so fatal to him and to them. The loss of Lord Lovat and his son was a severe blow to the Frasers. By the fall of so many others of the clan it appeared as if the death knell of the race had been rung, but the loss of so many brave clansmen was, by what appeared to be a direct intervention of Divine Providence, made up by the wives of the slain Frasers giving birth in due course to no fewer than eighty sons. The bodies of Lord Lovat, his son, and Ranald Gallda were carried by the surviving Frasers to the Aird, and buried in the Priory of Beaulieu. The inscription on Lovat's tomb, which is now no longer legible, was, according to a manuscript history of the family, in the following terms:—"Hic jacet Hugo Dominus Fraser de Lovat, qui fortissime pugnans contra Reginaldarios occubuit Julii 15, 1544."

When the news of the engagement at Kinlochlochy reached the ears of those in authority, it filled them with indignation and horror, and measures were at once taken to punish the rebels. Huntly, "soir grieved" at the turn affairs had taken, once more appeared on the scene, and at the head of a considerable force "spulyeit and herreit" the lands of Keppoch and Lochiel. John Moidartach and the other leaders having retired to Castletirrim, Huntly did not consider it expedient to advance in that direction, and having executed those of the followers of the rebel chiefs that fell into his hands, he returned to Ruthven. The Earl utterly failed in accomplishing the great object of his expedition,

which was to punish the chief rebel, John of Moidart. He succeeded only in provoking the allies of that chief to commit further excesses in the districts which had already suffered so much from their incursions. Huntly, whose services were in demand elsewhere, had barely disappeared from the scene of action when Lochiel, Glengarry, and Keppoch retaliated by invading the district of Glenmoriston and carrying away a large *creach*, to which they added considerably early in the following year by an invasion of both Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The details of the Urquhart *creach*, as given by Mr William Mackay in his "Urquhart and Glenmoriston," are truly alarming, but these refer principally to the great invasion of the parish of Urquhart previous to the battle of *Blarleine*. John Moidartach and his immediate followers took no part in the incursions into the Grant country after the battle. The restless chief, however, was determined not to let his sword rust. The unfortunate heir of Innsegall had escaped from his life-long confinement now more than a year since, and the adherents of the House of Isla had once more rallied round his banner. The story of his brief and luckless enterprise has already been told in another part of this work. A brief reference, however, to the part played by the Clanranald in that enterprise may not be out of place here. Donald Dubh drew round him a council of seventeen of the Highland Chiefs, and among these were John Moidartach, Alexander Ranaldson of Glengarry, and Angus Ranaldson of Knoydart—all of whom had fought at Kinlochlochy; while the militant Dean of Morven was also in the train of the Island Lord. John Moidartach and Maclean of Duart appear to

have been the principal councillors of Donald Dubh, and both loyally adhered to his interests and supported his pretensions to the last. The Chief of Castletirrim, and a considerable number of the Clanranald, were included in the large army of four thousand that followed the Island Lord to Knockfergus in the month of August, 1545. Rorie MacAlister, Dean of Morven, and brother of the Chief of Clanranald, with Patrick Maclean, Justiciar of the South Isles, and brother of Maclean of Duart, were the commissioners chosen by Donald and his council to carry their resolutions to the English King. The King received them at his Manor of Oatlands on the 4th of September. After carrying out their instructions, and arriving at an agreement with the King on the lines of the proposals contained in their commission, the Island plenipotentiaries returned to Knockfergus. Rorie MacAlister, who played so important a part in these transactions, and throughout these stirring times, began his ecclesiastical career as Rector of Kilchoan in Ardnamurchan, and developing rapidly into a pluralist, he held in conjunction with Kilchoan the rectories of Arisaig and Knoydart. He was afterwards advanced to the Deanery of Morven, and in 1545 elected to the Bishopric of the Isles by the Islesmen in opposition to Roderick Maclean, the nominee of the Scottish Regent. He fought, as we have seen, under his brother's banner at Kinlochlochry, and led no doubt by that chief's example, he afterwards joined the party of Donald Dubh. The Dean, equally active in field and council, was no doubt a welcome acquisition to the unlettered advisers of the Lord of the Isles, who in sooth stood much in need of a secretary. The

diplomatic deliberations at Knockfergus, and the series of statesmanlike resolutions of which they were the outcome, are unmistakable evidence of the guiding hand and able counsel of the astute ecclesiastic. The acknowledgment, however, of the King of England as "supreme hed of the fayth," and of the Churches of England and Ireland, did not help Rorie in the great object of his ambition, and Roderick Maclean was preferred to the Bishopric of the Isles. Rorie MacAlister was detained in Ireland till the following year after the death of Donald Dubh, during which time he lived on the bounty of his "maister," Henry VIII. In a joint letter by him and Patrick Maclean to that King, dated at Dublin on the 8th of May, 1546, they complain that they, his majesty's faithful subjects, are "boyth stayed and holden here sens we did to your grace in Ireland uncertain if it be your hienes pleasure that we shuld be holden to our loss and damage from our native countrie and friendis where we might do more good service unto your hienes in one day nor here in one whoill year, therefore we beseech your most gracious and magnificent goodness to will your counsal of Ireland to direct us towards our countrie to th' entent that we may entertain our freindis in your . . . unfeyned and warray trew service, for we departed from your hienes the fourt day of September last and is holden yet upon your gracious answer the which we await."¹ Rorie, probably as a result of his appeal to the English King, was forthwith restored to his "native countrie and friendis." The former, no doubt through the influence of the latter, restored him to his erstwhile status as a citizen, the Queen granting him a

¹ Public Record Office.

remission under the Privy Seal "for his treasonable passing to England and Ireland, and inbringing of Inglismen within the Ilis and uthir partis within the realm, and for burning, heirschip, and destruction." The restless Dean, growing weary of politics, settled down finally to the duties of his sacred calling, and closed his somewhat stormy career as Rector of his native parish of Islandfinan.

John Moidartach and the rest of the Clanranald, whom we left deliberating at Knockfergus, returned after the failure of the Island expedition, and the death of Donald Dubh, to their homes. It could not be expected that even in the present turmoil and confusion which prevailed in every department of the State, so notorious a disturber of the peace of the lieges as the Chief of Castletirrim would be forgotten, or allowed to escape without due punishment. His recent conduct in supporting the pretensions of Donald Dubh had aggravated seven-fold his former guilt, and accordingly Parliament passed an Act on the 7th of September, 1545, summoning him, with others, to answer for treason. Though the summons were repeated several times, John Moidartach continued obstinately to defy the Government, and yet no direct attempt of a practical kind was made to bring him to obedience. The family inheritance had already been disposed of and gifted to others, so far as Crown Charters could do it, and only recently 30 merklands in South Uist had been included in a charter of the Barony of Bar, granted by the Queen to James Macdonald of Dunnyveg. The dauntless Chief, notwithstanding, continued to hold resolutely, in the face of all opposition, the heritage transmitted to him. And this was no easy task. Huntly had, shortly after

the engagement at Kinlochlochry, entered into a contract with Mackintosh, Mackenzie of Kintail, Ross of Balnagown, and Munro of Fowlis, by which they became bound to assist the Earl against the Clanranald.¹ But this formidable array of potentates banded together against him made no impression on the irrepressible Chief of Castletirrim. The West Highlands still remained in a disturbed state, and the selection of James Macdonald of Dunnyveg as successor to Donald Dubh had not tended to improve the situation. Many of the adherents of the House of Isla refused to support the claims of the newly proclaimed Lord of the Isles. It appears from the letter of James to the Privy Council of Ireland that the only clan he could rely upon outside his own was the Clan Cameron; but the new lord relied for the most part on English help, and this having failed him, he suddenly dropped his claims. The Chief of Clanranald, who had entered heartily into the schemes of James Macdonald, and who indeed was his principal supporter among the Islanders, must have been greatly disappointed at the turn affairs had taken. In his position of antagonism to the Scottish Government, and as there appeared to be no prospect of reconciliation on terms favourable to him, he would have been glad of such protection as the restoration of the Lordship of the Isles in the person of his kinsman could give him. But his hopes in this direction being shattered, the disappointed Chief reluctantly accepted the situation, and turned his attention elsewhere, to find by-and-bye ample scope for his energies. The Government, meanwhile, changing its attitude towards the rebellious Islesmen from a

¹ Chiefs of Grant.

desire to ensure their help against England, withdrew the summons of treason which had been directed against John Moidartach and the other chiefs, and the disturbed districts in consequence subsided gradually into a state of comparative peace. War with England having been at length declared in the summer of 1547, the Regent Arran issued a proclamation summoning all the Highland chiefs to join the Scottish standard at Fala Muir. It could hardly be expected that John Moidartach would readily respond to the Regent's summons. He had no wish to take part in the quarrel with England, and in any case he would not fight under the banner of Argyle, the other alternative being that of Huntly. The cautious chief, besides, was not disposed to enter Lowland territory at so critical a time, and all things considered, he judged it wiser to remain at Castletirrim. The conduct of the absent chief, as it turned out, was viewed in a more lenient light than he had any reason to expect. The distracted state of the Lowlands, consequent on the defeat at Pinky, made the Regent desirous of winning over to his side those chiefs in the Highlands who still remained in a rebellious attitude towards the Government. John of Moidart was the most formidable of these, and the guiltiest. The Regent, therefore, got a special Act passed in his favour granting him, with the rest of the Clanranald leaders, full pardon, for "remaining and abyding at hame fra our Soverane Ladyis oist and army, devisit and ordanit to convene upon Fala-mure . . . and for ye slauchter of ye Lord Lovet and his complices."¹ The respite to "John Muyduart" and the Clanranald, granted on the 26th of August, 1548, was to extend over a

¹ Register of the Privy Seal.

period of nineteen years. But this concession after all does not seem to have improved the relations between the Clanranald and the Government. John Moidartach continued to maintain doggedly his old attitude of defiance, and there being no immediate prospect of bringing him to obedience, he was allowed meanwhile to pursue the even tenor of his way. For some years after the respite of 1548 he remained unmolested, so far as the Government was concerned, but there are indications of many troubles during that period, occasioned by the persistent attacks made upon him by some of the neighbouring chiefs. These and similar troubles elsewhere in the Highlands brought the Regent Arran north to Aberdeen in the summer of 1552, where he summoned the chiefs to meet him. Conspicuous among those who failed to put in an appearance at Aberdeen was John of Moidart.¹ From Aberdeen the Earl proceeded to Inverness, in the hope that the chiefs who still continued obstinate might submit in the Highland Capital. But former experience of the Highland Capital under similar circumstances did not dispose the Western Chiefs to place themselves at the mercy of the Regent. While many of the mainland chiefs submitted, the Islesmen held out in a body, and the Regent found it no easy task to reach them. John Moidartach was looked upon as the principal offender, and that chief was undoubtedly now the most serious problem the Government had to face in the Highlands. The Regent was at a loss how to proceed against him. No one seemed disposed to undertake an expedition to the wilds of Moidart. Huntly had already more than once been baffled in

¹ Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland.

his attempts in that direction, and the only alternative now seemed to be Argyle. That nobleman was at length prevailed upon to proceed against John, and so confident was he of the success of his undertaking that he promised to deliver the person of the rebel chief, a welcome present, to the Privy Council forthwith. The Earl in the prosecution of his task resorted to the familiar Campbell weapon of duplicity, the only weapon an Argyle seemed capable of wielding with any effect; but by all the arts of which he was capable he could not inveigle the Chief of Moidart into the trap which he had laid for him. No amount of fair promises, or assurances of protection, would convince him of the sincerity of the Earl. Diplomacy, therefore, having failed him, MacCailein Mor retired from the contest and left John of Moidart in possession of the field, much to the disappointment of the Privy Council. Every effort to reduce him having utterly failed, the stubborn chief continued in his attitude of resistance, and set the Government at defiance. The Regent's time being wholly occupied elsewhere, the Highland problem was meanwhile left to solve itself.

The cessation of hostilities seems to have had a good effect on the Chief of Moidart. While in the beginning of the year 1553 we find him in open rebellion against the Government, later on, in the autumn of the same year, the situation is entirely changed. What had happened in the interval to bring about this unexpected change, we know not. The probability is that after a period of calm reflection the Chief himself saw the wisdom of effecting a compromise with the Government. But by whatever means it may have been brought

about, the spectacle of the Chief of Moidart falling on the neck of George, Earl of Huntly, at "Rovan in Badzenocht," on the 11th day of September, 1553, is both edifying and affecting. There and then, it was "appointit, concordit, and fynallie agreit betwix ane nobill and potent Lord George, Erle of Huntlie, lord Gordon and Badzenocht, leftenent generall of the North and honorabill mene Jhone Mudyart Capitane of the Clane Ronald and his son Allan, thair Kyne, freindis, allys, and pertakkaris," to mutually forget and forgive. The Earl on his part remits and forgives the Clanranald all offences, wrongs, and disobedience in the past, "and speciall the last offence and brak maid be them, their freindis, allis, and pert takkaris, upon his gud freind, the Lord Lowett." John Moidartach, his son, and their friends, promise, on their part, to keep good rule within their bounds, and to remain true to the Earl. They further promise "faythfullie to do thar wtter deligens and laubour to cause entir and bring in the handis of the said Erll Donald Gormesson, betwixt the dait heirof and aucht days before Hallomes nixt witht all udir capitans and chieftenis within the North illis to pass to the Queen's grace, my lord guvernoris and the Counsell."¹ This, it must be admitted, is a somewhat large order. Whether or not the Chief of Moidart, now on the side of law and order, made any attempt to accomplish the herculean task of presenting before the "Queenis grace" Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat, and all the "udir capitans and chieftenis within the North illis," certain it is that none of them appeared either there or before "my Lord Guvenor." How it fared with the Chief of Moidart himself and his promises, we shall soon see.

¹ The Gordon Papers.

At length on a change of Government taking place in April, 1554, and the divisions in the southern portion of the kingdom being to some extent healed, attention was drawn to the Highlands. The offence of the Highlanders seems to have consisted entirely in their refusing to submit on the terms offered by the Government. The policy of ruling the Highlands by taking hostages from the chiefs, initiated by James V., had not hitherto attained the end at which it seemed to aim, nor was it likely to prove successful if pressed unduly now. The disorder, which in the estimation of the Government prevailed in the West Highlands and Islands since the visit of the Regent Arran to Inverness in 1552, appears to have been more imaginary than real. According to one authority, however, "John Muderach, chief of the family of the M'Reynolds, a notorious robber, had played many foul and monstrous pranks."¹ Whatever the nature of the Chief's diversion may have been, it is evident that he is now marked for the vengeance of the Government.

The Queen Dowager, who succeeded Arran in the regency, had no sooner assumed the reins of government than she resolved to punish the Moidart rebel. The Earl of Huntly was ordered to proceed against him by land, and the Earl of Argyle by sea. Huntly, without delay, collected a large force, composed of his own immediate followers, and the Clan Chattan. Putting himself at the head of this force, and being joined by a body of Lowland cavalry, the Earl proceeded on his march to Moidart. Having penetrated westwards as far as Abertarff, where he halted, Huntly's cavalry refused to proceed further.

¹ Buchanan's History of Scotland.

The Clan Chattan also, who it appears had been pressed unwillingly into the service, began to show symptoms of disobedience, and a tumult was raised in the camp. Huntly himself, from former experience of the country, began to realise the almost insurmountable difficulties that stood in the way of his army. The cavalry, in any case, from the rough nature of the country, could not have made much progress, and the Earl did not feel disposed to proceed with the infantry alone. Besides, he had no faith in the loyalty of the Clan Chattan, whom he knew hated him for putting to death their captain, William Mackintosh. In these circumstances, Huntly wisely abandoned the idea of proceeding further on his Moidart expedition, and disbanded his forces. While all these manœuvres were taking place on the side of Huntly, John of Moidart was not idle on his part. Leaving a strong garrison at Castletirrim, he moved eastwards to the head of Lochmoidart. Here he took up a position of defence, keeping watch at the same time on every point where Huntly could advance. Having satisfied himself that he was not to be attacked on the land side, he finally fell back on Castletirrim.

The gallant chief now waited for the attack by Argyle. The Earl had undertaken to carry on the war against him by sea, and to act in concert with the land forces, the object of this double assault being to divide the forces of the Chief of Moidart, Castletirrim being the principal point of attack. Argyle, who had been provided by Government with a man-of-war and several pieces of artillery, and had been cruising for some time among the Outer Hebrides in search of stray recalcitrant chiefs, finally appeared before the stronghold of Island-

tirrim. Finding the castle strongly fortified, he made a desperate effort to reduce it. Placing a land battery on the east side between Islandtirrim and Dorlin Cliffs, and anchoring his Government vessel in the bed of the river on the south side, he began to play upon the fort on both sides. But the stubborn garrison held on, and refused to surrender. At last, probably after spending all his ammunition, the Earl was obliged to retire, and John of Moidart remained master of the situation.

The failure of the expedition against the Chief of Clanranald greatly incensed the Queen Dowager against Huntly. The Earl in his defence pleaded the refusal of the cavalry to advance into Moidart, and signs of mutiny among his Highland followers, an excuse which, though it seems satisfactory, was not deemed sufficient in the opinion of the Queen, and Huntly was thrown into prison. Mary, being determined to crush the Moidart Chief, ordered the Earl of Athole in the summer of 1555 to proceed against him. Athole marched immediately at the head of a large force, composed, it appears, entirely of Lowlanders, but when he arrived at Abertarff the same difficulties that thwarted the progress of Huntly in the previous year presented themselves. In the face of these difficulties, and believing any attempt to reduce him by force would fail, the Earl resolved to open up friendly negotiations with the rebel chief. Having informed the Queen of his resolution, Her Majesty dispatched a messenger with "cloiss writtings" to the Earl and John of Moidart, the purport of which appears to have been approval of Athole's suggestions.¹ The letter to John himself must have been considered by that

¹ High Treasurer's Account.

Chief as a guarantee of Her Majesty's good faith, containing, as it no doubt did, assurances of forgiveness and protection. The Chief, agreeing to the terms offered by the Earl, and being satisfied with the assurances given, agreed to accompany Athole, with his two sons and several of his kinsmen, to the Queen's presence at Perth. The Queen was graciously pleased to receive the Chief with great kindness and affability. But while she readily pardoned him for his past treasonable proceedings, now that she had him in her power she was unwilling, even at the risk of violating her pledge, to set so dangerous a rebel at liberty. The Chief accordingly, with his two sons and kinsmen, were ordered to be kept in ward, some in the town of Perth, and others in the Castle of Methven, during Her Majesty's pleasure. The conduct of the Queen in thus breaking faith with the Chief is deserving of the severest censure, as it certainly justifies the conduct of the Chief in breaking ward, as he did, whenever the opportunity came. Besides being conduct unworthy of a queen, it was foolish and short-sighted policy. After a short period of confinement, John of Moidart and his companions by some means effected their escape, shook the dust of Perthshire off their feet, and returned home to be, if possible, greater rebels than ever. The Queen vowed the direst vengeance on the devoted head of the Rebel of Castletirrim, but the imperturbable John, who was not in the least dismayed by her threats, awaited with philosophic calmness the progress of events. Mary appears to have taken time to mature her plans, for it was not till the following year, in the month of July, that she came north to

Inverness, when she was accompanied by a formidable train of Privy Councillors. Overawed by the presence of Queen and Council, many of the rebel chiefs hastened to give in their submission, but John of Moidart, "once bitten twice shy," sullenly stood aloof.

The Queen was greatly enraged at the continued obstinacy of John Moidartach, but she could hardly have expected the ready submission of a chief she had treated so harshly, and with whom she had so flagrantly broken her plighted faith. Force having already so often failed, it was equally vain to try diplomacy, nor did the repeated declarations of treason against him, and the confiscation of his patrimony, affect the position of the triumphant chief. So long as the Clanranald remained loyal to him, he had nothing to fear. The tide of charters which still continued to flow, and by which he was to have been overwhelmed, only intensified the loyalty of his followers. And charters were now the only weapons left to the Government wherewith to punish the rebel chief. In 1558 some of his lands in South Uist were included in a charter to James Macdonald of Dunnyveg.¹ By an agreement dated at Glasgow in July, 1563, other lands in South Uist were sold by Farquhar MacAlister to James Macdonald of Dunnyveg for 1000 merks Scots.² This transaction was immediately thereafter confirmed by a charter to Archibald, son and heir of James Macdonald, from Queen Mary.³ About the same time, the lands of Moidart, Arisaig, and Eigg were granted by the Queen to Allan, the son of Ranald Gallda.⁴ In this way the lands of

¹ Reg. of Great Seal. ² Books of Adjournal.

³ Reg. of Privy Seal. ⁴ *Ibidem*.

John of Moidart were disposed of by the Government. It was the great era of land-grabbing, but no greedy robber baron of the Lowlands laying his rapacious hands on the lands of the Church held them with a firmer grip than did John of Moidart the patrimony of the Clanranald, in spite of sheepskin.

The upheaval caused by the Reformation struggle was not without its effect on the Highlands. As a religious movement indeed it may be said to have been almost entirely confined to the Lowlands, but the keenness of the controversy had the effect of diverting for a time the attention of those in authority from the state of the Celtic population. Very few of the Chiefs affected to accept the new doctrines, and none clung more tenaciously to the old than John of Moidart and the whole body of the Clanranald. From the well-known attachment of the young Queen to the old religion, it may be presumed that she was not disposed to harass unduly so strong a supporter of the old order of things as the Moidart Chief. The exact relations between him and the governing power are not now easily defined. They appear not to have been friendly on either side, though perhaps less strained than they were during the *regime* of the late Queen. The precept of remission in his favour in March, 1566, for his not joining the royal army convened at Fala Muir in 1557, is an indication of a change of attitude on the part of the Government.¹ This instrument of remission is evidence, besides, of the unity of the different branches of the Clanranald under their Chief, containing as

¹ Reg. of Privy Seal.

it does the names of Allan of Morar, the son of the deposed Chief, Angus of Knoydart, and Angus of Glengarry. The sending of "ane boy with cloiss writtingis" to John in May of the same year may certainly be construed in more ways than one.¹ The probability is that the "boy" came on a friendly errand, and that the "cloiss writtingis" contained friendly proposals on the part of the Queen. However this may be, it is certain that John Moidartach continued in the same attitude of dogged resistance, and that in the following year one of the most serious questions that agitated those in authority was "be quhat meane may all Scotland be brocht to universal obedience and how may Johne Moydart and McKy be dantonit."² What acts of atrocity the Chief of Moidart had recently perpetrated to have earned for him the pre-eminent distinction of being second to "all Scotland" in manifesting the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience, history does not record. It is indeed most remarkable that from the death of the Queen Dowager in 1560 to the end of his life, there should be only one or two meagre notices of him in the public records. Though the peace of the Isles was seriously disturbed during that period by internal dissensions arising out of incessant feuds between neighbouring chiefs, we do not find that John Moidartach was involved in any of these. He seems to have confined his attention more to the defence of his mainland territory, and to have been busily engaged keeping at bay the Grants, the Mackenzies, and the Clan Chattan. That he was an utter terror to these clans is evident from their repeated appeals for Government help, and the

¹ High Treasurer's Account.

² Acts of Parl., Vol. iii. p. 44.

many bonds of mutual defence into which they entered against the Clanranald. In a summons in name of the boy King James, dated March 1st, 1567, the Clan Chattan and Clan Mackenzie are charged to assist John Grant of Freuchie against "divers wikkitt personis" of the Clanranald.¹ In a bond dated July 27th, 1570, Colin Mackenzie, apparent of Kintail, binds himself "be the fayth and trewth" of his body to "assist, fortifie, manteine and defend" John Grant of Freuchie against the Clanranald.² These and similar entries in the public records testify to the sense of insecurity which John of Moidart had inspired in the breasts of his neighbours, and the feeling of awe with which he was regarded by them.

Little now remains to be told of the history of the illustrious Chief of Clanranald. He seems to have retired from the active duties of his chiefship at this period, for we hear no more of him in the public records of his time. His character has already passed under review. We have seen him to have been a man endowed with qualities which entitle him to rank beside the greatest and best of the Chiefs of Clan Cholla. In all the distinguishing characteristics of a truly great man, he comes behind none of these. The outstanding features of his character were boldness in conflict, energy in the prosecution of any enterprise in which he might be engaged, and fertility of resource under difficulties almost insurmountable, whether in field or council. Single handed he defied all the resources of the Scottish Government, and for more than fifty years held his lands by no other title than that which his own strong right hand and the devotion

¹ Chiefs of Grant. ² Ibidem.

of his followers had given him. The idea which tradition has preserved to us of his figure is that of "a man of great stature, in a frame well knitted together, powerful, and equal to any amount of exertion." The Seanachie of his family has recorded of him that "he spent the end of his life godly and mercifully;" that he erected a church at Kilmarie, in Arisaig, and another at Kildonan, in Eigg; and that he left funds to erect a chapel at Howmore, in Uist, where his body was buried in the year 1584. Well might it be said of him, as of another Macdonald Chief—

"Bu tu mac-samhuilt *Wallace*
 Bu tu Cathmor tréun fo 'arín;
 Bu tu Fionn air cheann na Féinne,
 Bu tu'n t-Oscar créuchdach, garg;
 Bu tu Cuchullainn anns a bhaiteal,
 Bu tu Goll le' ghaig thar chàch;
 Bu tu Cléabhars mòr a' chruadail,
 A chraobh-chosgair bhvadhach àidh."

CHAPTER IX.

THE MACDONALDS OF CLANRANALD.



SEAL OF ALLAN, SON AND SUCCESSOR OF JOHN MOYDARTACH

(From H. Laing's *Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, No. 676).

Allan MacIain succeeds.—Feud with Dunvegan.—His marriages.—Massacre in cave of Eigg.—Allan's sons.—Murder of Allan Og.—Death and character of Allan MacIain.—Angus MacAllan succeeds.—Battle of Amhuinn Roag and death of Angus.—Donald MacAllan succeeds.—Feud with Duart.—Captivity and release.—Invasion of Kintail.—Defeat of MacNeill of Barra.—Submission to Privy Council.—Act of Supersedere.—Takes out titles.—Descendants of Ranald Gallda become troublesome.—Piracy by MacNeills of Barra.—Harbours Macleods of Lewis.—Action of the Ranald Gallda family ceases.—Stringent action by Privy Council.—Bond with Glengarry.—Bond with Macleod, Mackinnon, and Maclean of Coll.—Death and character.—John Moydartach succeeds.—Dispute with Sleat.—John's tenure.—Bond with Glengarry.—Fishings of Seall.—The "Susannah" episode.—Spulzie of Minister of S. Uist.—Clanranald joins Montrose with 800 men.—Invasion of Argyll and flight of grim Archibald.—Battles of Inverlochy and Kilsyth.—Young Clanranald in Ireland.—His return.—Death of John Moydartach and Donald's succession.—Burgess of Londonderry.—Death and character.—Allan succeeds.—Killiecrankie.—

Career in France.—Marriage, return, and life in Uist.—Battle of Sheriffmuir and death of Allan.—Ranald succeeds to Chiefship.—Retires to France.—Forfeiture and restoration of estates.—Donald of Benbecula succeeds.—History of Benbecula family.—Death of Donald.—Succession of Ranald.—Tack to Boisdale.—Period of 1745.—Young Ranald.—Flora Macdonald.—Forfeiture and restoration of estates.—Death of Captain Donald of Clanranald at Quebec.—Death of old Clanranald.—Succession of Ranald the younger.—Quiet annals.—Death of Ranald the younger.—Succession of John Moydartach.—Modern family of Clanranald.

WHEN John Moydartach died, in 1584, he was succeeded as Chief, or Captain, of Clanranald by his son, Allan. Owing to his father's long life and towering personality, Allan's political stature seems, to our view of the history of that age, somewhat dwarfed in comparison. Allan, however, played a not inconsiderable part in his own time, though we cannot always contemplate his conduct in a spirit of unqualified admiration. He was certainly a brave warrior, and strenuously supported his father on the blood-stained field of *Leine*, where so many valiant warriors bit the dust. In 1548 Allan received a remission from the Regent for the slaughter of Lord Lovat on that day, so disastrous to *Mac Shimidh* and his clan.¹ On 21st May, 1565, Allan and his two brothers received a remission for what, on *prima facie* evidence, appears a much darker and less justifiable deed. We have seen how Farquhar Mac-Allister, the brother of John of Moydart, sought to convey a considerable portion of the lands he held in South Uist to James Macdonald of Dunnyveg, thus alienating them from those who were considered by the Clanranald to be the ruling family of the tribe. Although the transaction passed the

¹ Privy Seal, vol. XXII., fo. 27.

Privy Seal, it is doubtful whether actual infestment ever took place ; but the possibility of such a disposition by Farquhar MacAllister, who seems to have left no lawful issue, indicates the existence of unfriendly relations between himself and his brother's family. These facts explain, if they do not condone, Farquhar's violent death, in 1564, at the hands of Allan, Angus, and Donald Gorme, the sons of John Moydartach, and for which they received a remission on 21st May, 1565.¹

Beyond the references already cited, we can gather little or nothing from the national archives bearing upon the life of Allan MacIain ; and it is only by collating the various traditional testimonies that we can give our readers some idea of the Clanranald history of his day and generation. Allan must have been a man considerably advanced in life at the time of his father's death, in 1584, having survived *Blar Leine* by forty years, and in order to perceive adequately the trend of events during his own and his successor's time, we must glance at certain circumstances which deeply coloured their history, and which appear to have originated during the period of John Moydartach. It was evidently during the sway of that great Chief that the feud commenced between the Macleods of Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Clanranald, which continued to rage during the time of his successor, and, according to the combined verdict of history and tradition, caused much bloodshed in the Isles. There seems no reason to doubt that this feud was caused by an episode in the domestic life of Allan of Moidart, to which reference must now be made. Early in the second half of the sixteenth century, Allan, who was

¹ Privy Seal, vol, XXXIII., f. 44.

then younger of Clanranald, espoused the daughter of *Alastair Crotach* Macleod of that Ilk, that lady being at the time the widow of "John Oge MacDonil Gruamach," second of the family of Kingsburgh.¹ By this marriage Allan had one son, Allan Og, but the course of matrimony, like that of true love, does not always run smooth, and so, unfortunately, it turned out in the case of Allan of Clanranald. We do not know how long the domestic sky remained unclouded. One fine day Allan unfurled the sails of his birlinn to a favouring breeze, and, accompanied by his wife, went on a visit to the Castle of Duart, in Mull, where the Chief of the Macleans held sway. Hector Mor Maclean, Lord of Duart and Morvern, had a family of seven daughters, and with the fifth of these, whose name was Jennette, Allan became deeply enamoured during his visit in Mull. Forgetful of the sacredness of the marriage vow, which in those bygone times was sometimes lightly entered into and as often easily broken, owing to the still prevalent system of handfasting, young Clanranald scrupled not to yield to the lady's charms, and, embracing a favourable opportunity, he flies with his *inamorata* on board the galley, and, leaving his lawful wife behind in Duart Castle, makes the best of his way home to Castle Tirrim.² The family historian is very reticent and laconic in this connection, for he says quite truly, but without giving much information, "Allan had a good family, viz., Allan Og, and the daughter of Macleod of Harris was his mother; he was his first son. After her he took unto him the daughter of Maclean of Duart,

¹ Dunvegan Charter Chest.

² Stuart Papers, No. CCXXXIV.

&c.”¹ Allan’s wife, so cruelly forsaken, was not long left unconsolated. Ranald MacDonald of Keppoch met the fair victim of conjugal infidelity, and pitied her in the unfortunate position in which the faithless Allan had left her. But pity, which we know to be akin to love, soon, in the case of the Chief of Keppoch, ripened into the warmer sentiment, and the discarded lady of Castle Tirrim shortly became his wife, after the free and easy fashion of the time.²

The domestic irregularities of Allan MacIain—grave eccentricities to modern eyes, but commonplace enough 300 years ago—were undoubtedly the cause of all the bad blood between the Clanranalds and the Macleods during the remainder of the sixteenth century. Allan’s conduct was rightly regarded as a serious insult to a proud and powerful house, and we may be perfectly sure that opportunities of vengeance would not be overlooked. The massacre of the MacDonalds in the cave of Eigg, which strangely enough escaped all notice in contemporary records, but was for ages amply authenticated by a ghastly accumulation of bones, was the most terrible of the many scenes in the long and sanguinary *vendetta* which arose from Allan’s treatment of his wife, and darkens the latter years of the sixteenth century in the Macleod and Clanranald countries. There is probably a large measure of truth in the received version of the causes immediately leading to this fearful outrage. Certain Macleods, chancing to land on the island, are said to have been rude to the maidens of Eigg, and, as a punishment for their offence, were bound hand and foot and set adrift in a boat, at the mercy of the

¹ Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 173.

² Stuart Papers, No. CCXXXIV.

wind and waves. This was very grievous to the Macleods, but such a thing could hardly have occurred, or been followed by such tragic consequences, save for the hostility between the heads of both clans. By some wonderful luck, the boat, with its helpless crew, escaped being engulfed by that stormy sea, and having drifted towards a friendly shore, its occupants were rescued by a party of their own clansmen. Having told their tale to the Macleod Chief, that wrathful potentate, pleased, no doubt, at having an excuse to make a descent upon the Clanranald country, manned his galleys and sailed for Eigg. The people of this island, with Angus, son of John Moydartach, who seems to have resided there, at their head, went with their wives and children, to the number of from 200 to 300, and took refuge in a cave, being evidently unprepared to resist so formidable an invasion. Here they remained for two whole days, and were it not for their natural impatience, the retreat would possibly have been undiscovered. A scout having been sent out to see if the foe had departed, was discovered, and their place of hiding detected. The mouth of the cave was partly concealed by a waterfall. The Macleods diverted it from its course, and having set fire to a heap of wood piled around the entrance to the cave, every soul within was suffocated. The massacre took place in the year 1577.¹ About three years after the massacre of Eigg, the Clanranald are said to have invaded Skye to wreak vengeance upon the perpetrators of the deed, and tradition speaks of

¹ "The Description of the Isles of Scotland," in Appendix to vol. III., Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, p. 433; Skene's *Highlanders*, II. p. 277; *New Statistical Account*.

Blar milleadh gàraidh and other skirmishes, in which, on the authority of the Macleod Seanachies, the Macdonalds were of course completely worsted. We refer to these traditionary tales because, despite the silence of the public records, the feud between the Clanranald and the Macleods left a profound impression upon the minds of the people of Skye.

Meanwhile the years have been gliding swiftly by, and Allan MacIain and his consort in Castle Tirrim have witnessed a number of vigorous olive branches sprouting from the parent stem and growing up around them. The chapter of accidents has deprived them of one son. We have it, on the authority of MacVurich, that John of Strome, the oldest son by Maclean of Duart's daughter—so called because he was fostered with the Laird of Strome and Glengarry—was accidentally killed by his own servant-man with a stone while they were at play shooting with a sling.¹ If fate has been thus unkind, there is a dark whisper that has floated down on the voice of tradition to the effect that if accident deprived Allan of one son, conspiracy and murder robbed him of another. The truth of this tradition is unfortunately verified by contemporary records.

Allan MacIain was wont, along with his wife and family, to spend part of the summer at a place called Keppoch, in Arisaig, only a few hours' sail from Castle Tirrim. Near Keppoch the sea forms the lake called Lochnakeaul, the rocks on whose shores are much frequented by seals. Allan's sons, including Allan Og, the son of Macleod's daughter, and the heir to the Chiefship and estates, used to divert themselves shooting these denizens of the deep as they basked in the rays of the summer sun.

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 173.

The Chief of Clanranald was by this time an old man, and the active management of family affairs had probably passed out of his hands. His wife, however, judging from her not unwilling elopement with Allan in earlier days, we can believe to have been both strong-minded and unscrupulous. She knew that if Allan Og lived, her own progeny would occupy a secondary place, and she consequently hated him with more than a stepmother's aversion. She succeeded in inspiring her own sons with hatred no less strong. One day as they were engaged at their favourite sport, while Allan Og was taking aim at a seal, the brothers simultaneously fired at him, the arrows flew with unerring precision, and two, if not three, quivered in the dying heir of Castle Tirrim.¹ Comment upon such an act is unnecessary, further than to say that it is a foul blot upon the domestic annals of Clanranald, even in that rude age.

Shortly after the death of Allan Og steps were taken to punish, not only those who were actually guilty of the deed, but also the old Chief himself, who, as head of the family, was feudally responsible for their conduct. Our readers will remember that Allan's rejected wife became the wife of Ranald of Keppoch, so that Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch was uterine brother to the late Allan Og. It was evidently at his instance that the machinery of the law was put in motion against the Clanranalds, and if any doubt should exist as to the relationship in question, it should be dispelled by the following extract from the Records of the Privy Seal :—" To John McRanald, son and apparand aire to Allan McRanald of Easter Leys, his aris and

¹ Stuart Papers, No. CXXXIV.

assignees, ane or maa, of the gift of the escheit, &c., quhilk pertinet to Allane McAne Muydart and Angus McAllane, his son in Muydart, &c. Thro being of the saids personis ordaurlie denouncit rebellis, and put to the horn for the slauchter of Allane Og McAllane McAne, broder to Alexander McRanald of Kippoch, and not underlying the law," &c. This decree passed the Privy Seal in 1588.

It thus appears that Allane MacIain and his heir Angus, the oldest son of Maclean's daughter, were declared rebels and forfeited, while their estates, at anyrate on parchment, were bestowed upon the family of Ranald Gallda, who still, no doubt, continued to regard themselves as the true heads of the House of Clanranald. Allan had taken out no titles to his possessions prior to the death of Allan Og, and as the decree of forfeiture continued operative during the remainder of his life, he died without being served heir to his father. According to McVurich, his death took place in 1590, but the Seanachies' dates are not always unimpeachable, though always approximately correct. We learn from the General Retour of the service of John McRanald as heir to his grandfather that Allan MacIain died in 1593. Certain features of Allan's character have been immortalised by the Clanranald historian. He leads us to understand that he was pious after the fashion of his ancestor the Good John of Isla, inasmuch as he was a great patron of the Church; and in proof of this, he instances the erection of a chapel at Kildonan in Eigg, and the completion of another at Howmore which had been commenced by his father. The family historian passes a high eulogium upon this Chief as having been a "generous, open-hearted, hospitable man, and as affable, sensible, and

desirous to maintain and establish a good name." Like other great men of the past, Allan sometimes indulged in large potations, but according to McVurich, he always insisted on fulfilling the promises of his inebriety after the fumes of the wine cup had passed away. The adage *vino veritas* had thus a special meaning in the case of the Clanranald Chief, and there was no appeal allowed from Allan drunk to Allan sober, though the consequences might sometimes be inconvenient.¹

Allan was succeeded in the Chiefship and possessions of the Clanranald by his oldest surviving son, Angus. The earliest reference to this Chief is in 1587, when, along with his father and other Chiefs and Captains of Clans, he is brought under the notice of the Privy Council, and is ordered, personally or at his dwelling-place, to maintain himself in peace and quietness.²

In 1588 we find traces of an active feud, which afterwards increased in intensity, between Angus MacAllan and the descendants of Ranald Gallda, one of whom, Angus MacAllan MacRanald, receives in after years a remission for the slaughter of some of the retainers of the young Chief of Castle Tirrim.³ On 5th May, 1591, we find Angus signing a Bond of Manrent to Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, at Ferloquhane, against all and sundry, excepting only the authority and Angus MacConill. Sir Duncan Campbell, at the same time, gives Angus a Bond of Protection against all persons, the authority and the Earl of Argyll excepted.⁴ Reference has already been made to the forfeiture of the estates of Angus, and of Allan his father, consequent upon

¹ Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 173. ² Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

³ Privy Seal, *ad tempus*. ⁴ Black Book of Taymouth, No. 115.

the slaughter of Allan Og. Indeed, all the information we gather from the records regarding Angus MacAllan relate to a period before his father's death, when, owing to the latter's advanced age, he was the active leader of the clan.

The records of the age contain no reference to Angus MacAllan during his occupancy of the Chiefship, and there is every reason to believe that his career as head of the clan after his father's death was exceedingly brief. The testimony of McVurich as to the circumstances of Angus's death there are strong grounds for disputing, though, in ordinary circumstances, to question McVurich history is a somewhat grave proceeding. We are told by this authority that Angus was put to death by Angus, the son of James, when he was a prisoner with him at Dunnyveg, but this statement is entirely lacking both in probability and in historical confirmation. Angus of Dunnyveg was at deadly feud with the chief of Duart, and had little reason to raise up new and powerful enemies by slaying the chief of a kindred and friendly clan, and it is hardly conceivable that such a deed, had it been committed, should have failed to rouse the enmity of the Clanranald or have so entirely escaped notice from the chronicles and records of the age.¹ On the other hand, the traditions of South Uist point clearly and circumstantially to the manner in which the Chief of Clanranald appears to have met his end. The event could hardly have taken place later than 1594, and it happened in connection with the long-standing feud with the Macleods of Dunvegan, which still

¹ Angus MacRanald, the head of the Clan Domhnuill Herraich, was burnt in the conflagration of a house in Isla, where he was the prisoner of Angus of Dunnyveg. This Angus MacRanald had joined Maclean of Duart. Can MacVurich be confounding the two?

remained unhealed. The slaughter of Macleod's kinsman, Allan Og, some half-dozen years before, would no doubt have sharply aggravated the feud and intensified Macleod's animosity to the young Chief of Clanranald. At this time Angus MacAllan, and his brother Donald Gorme, afterwards Sir Donald of Castle Tirrim, were living in South Uist, when one day word came to them through some friendly channel that the Macleods of Skye, in a fleet of six boats, with a score of men in each, numbering 120 men altogether, had landed at the *Acarsaid fhalaich*, or hidden anchorage, on the east side of South Uist, and intended taking away with them a large spoil of cattle. Clanranald, whose Uist residence was at Ormiclate, at once took precautionary measures. Two divisions were made of the cattle belonging to the Chief, the milch cattle being sent to the south end of the island, and the yell beasts to the east side, where they were penned in a hiding place well known as *Buaille Ghaill*, or the fold of the stranger or Lowlander. Donald Gorme MacAllan, the Chief's brother, was sent with twenty picked men to keep watch over the cattle, and with instructions to remain in sight of the Clanranald army, which was engaged in preparing for the expected battle. These preparations chiefly consisted of an entrenchment, which was thrown up at the base of a hill called Harsal, so as to give the Macleods as warm a reception as possible on their coming to the attack. Traces of the entrenchment are still to be seen.

Early in the morning of the day of the Macleods landing in Uist, they sent a messenger to spy the land and watch the movements of the Macdonalds. The scout on his return reported that the Mac-

donalds had encamped at the base of Hàrsal, whereupon the Macleods changed the route they were taking to the Chief's residence in Ormiclate. This alteration in their route was evidently made to enable them to keep out of sight of the Macdonalds for a time, with the view, if possible, of taking them by surprise. However, the two armies were soon in sight of one another, and it is said that when the Macleods came near, the leader of the host put off his coat of mail, and threw it upon a knoll which, from the circumstance, is still called *Maol na lùirich*. The Macdonalds encamped in the bend of the river, Amhainn Ròag, from which the battle derives its name. This did them no good, as the enemy came from an unexpected quarter, and they found themselves hemmed in in a small space. By all accounts it was one of the fiercest and most bloody Clan battles ever fought in the islands. The greatest slaughter was committed by a party of the Macdonalds, who were late in arriving on the scene of action, and took the opportunity of attacking the enemy in the rear, thus changing the fortunes of the day. The Macdonald Chief fell in this wise. The two leaders met man to man on the brink of the river which gave name to the battle, and Clanranald's foot having slipped, he fell into the river, while Macleod, taking an undue advantage of the situation, decapitated and thus killed him on the spot. The Macdonalds of South Uist always had a grudge against the Macleods of Skye for the unfair advantage taken by their leader of Macdonald's untoward and fatal accident. Donald Gorine was also blamed for not having gone with his contingent of 20 men to aid his brother in his time of need. Men shook their heads and looked wise when they

stated that Donald himself succeeded to his brother's property and position. Among the incidents of the encounter was Ranald Mor Macleod having chased three Macdonalds, and killed them one by one, reminding us of a similar feat in classic times, viz., the story of the Curiatii and Horatii. On his way back to his own party, Raonull Mor came upon two Macleods dying from loss of blood. He sent some of his men to bury them, and the place is still named *Glaic nam fear lota*—the hollow of the wounded men. The loss on the Macdonald side was great, but the Macleod casualties enormous in proportion to their numbers, for only 40 out of the 120 returned alive to Skye. Instead of a big creach, they only got one cow, which they killed and cooked ere their departure. There is a cairn called *Curn Dhomhnuill Ghuirm*, which points out the scene of an irregular and bloody action, and where Donald is said to have sat watching the fight when he should have come to his brother's aid.¹

Whether Angus McAllan, the Chief of Clanranald, who fell at the battle of Amhuinn Ròag, left heirs male of his body is a question we cannot now discuss, but however this may be, he was succeeded in the chiefship and estates by his brother, afterwards Sir Donald of Castle Tirrim. There was also a younger brother, Ranald, the founder of the Benbecula family, and the possessor of a considerable share of the Clanranald inheritance. Another of the same family was John the first of Kinlochmoydart, while a third brother, also named John, took holy orders, and became parson of Island Finnan. This latter fact appears corroborative of the tradition

¹ The tradition of South Uist, as reported by Farquhar Beaton, shepherd at Drimsdale.

that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Clanranald family espoused the dominant religion, and adhered to it for three generations.

Shortly after Donald MacAllan's accession to the Chiefship of Clanranald, he married Mary, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, and very soon espoused with great zeal and energy that Chief's quarrel with Sir Lauchlan Mor Maclean of Duart. He was the less reluctant to engage in this feud, inasmuch as Sir Lauchlan had some years before, at the head of his own clan and 100 mercenaries, the remnant of the Spanish Armada, ravaged and plundered the Isles of Rum and Eigg. Acting in co-operation with his father-in-law, Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, Donald MacAllan invaded the islands of Coll, Mull, and Tiree, and having ravaged and laid waste these regions, he returned to Castle Tirrim, his galleys laden with spoil.¹ Sir Lauchlan took no immediate reprisals, but waited for a fitting opportunity. In the summer of 1595 Donald Gorme of Sleat and Macleod of Harris, at the head of 500 clansmen respectively, resolved to sail for Ireland to aid Hugh Roe O'Neill in his resistance to the sovereignty of Elizabeth. Clanranald decided to join the confederacy, and embarked at the head of his vassals to the number of 900 men. But he was not destined to gather laurels on fields of Irish warfare. As the fleet was passing through the Sound of Mull darkness fell, and the Chief and his followers disembarked on a small island named Calve, in the neighbourhood of Tobermory, where they intended to pass the night. They walked into the mouth of the lion. The movements of so large a fleet could not remain unobserved, and Sir

Lauchlan made the best of the situation. He had fought for Elizabeth in Ireland in 1591, and was still her ally; nor was he reluctant now to serve her turn, while he could also discharge his own arrears of vengeance. It must have been a clever stratagem by which so large a force was captured, well deserving of being styled "a bauld stratagem and prettie feit of weir." Amongst the prisoners were Clanranald's three uncles, viz., Donald Gorme and other two sons of John Moydartach, also the Laird of Knoydart and MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and last, but not least, Donald MacAllan himself.¹

There is no record of the length of Donald MacAllan's captivity in Mull, but the absence of information suggests that it was brief. We gather from certain negotiations conducted by Sir Lauchlan in 1598, with the view of forming a league of the Western Clans for the service of Elizabeth, that more kindly relations had sprung up between nephew and uncle; that Clanranald must, in fact, have become reconciled to the diplomatist of Duart.² In 1601 the Chief of Clanranald is found taking sides with Donald MacAngus of Glengarry in his long-standing quarrel with Mackenzie of Kintail.³ That year he invaded Kintail, spoiled and laid it waste; but it does not appear that his efforts in Glengarry's aid were lengthened or sustained. During his absence in Mackenzie's country, trouble was brewing in the south end of his Long Island territory. To the possession of certain lands in the Boisdale district of South Uist MacNeill of Barra could lay claim with no mean historical justification. Alexander,

¹ Letter of Auchincross in State Papers of the period.

² Letter of Sir L. Maclean to Queen Elizabeth.

³ Appendix to the Book of 1819, No. XXV., p. 22.

Earl of Ross, had in 1427 bestowed upon Gilleownan Roderick Murdoch Makneill, his foster son and attendant, and to his legitimate heirs male, not only the island of Barra, but also the *unciate* lands of Boisdale, and this charter, after the downfall of the Island lordship, was confirmed by James V. at Stirling on 12th November, 1495. It does not appear that any one else had during the sixteenth century been infefted in these lands, yet the Clanranald family seem to have recognised no land ownership in South Uist save their own, and to have acknowledged no boundaries but those of the "inviolable sea." Be the reason of the quarrel what it may, Donald, on his arrival in Uist, immediately marched southward with his fighting men, attacked MacNeill at North Boisdale, drove him from the island with much slaughter, compelled him to take refuge in one of the remoter islands of the Barra group, where he was at last slain. This was apparently the last stand made by the MacNeills of Barra for vindicating their ancient rights to the *unciate* lands of Boisdale.¹

The Captain of Clanranald does not again come under our notice till 1605, when he appears in connection with the desperate fortunes of the devoted Siol Torquil of Lewis. Mackenzie of Kintail had been secretly encouraging the Macleods in their opposition to the designs of certain Lowland adventurers who had received a grant of the Island with the view of creating a social millennium; and in 1605 the natives, under the leadership of Neill Macleod, had driven the colonists out of the Island. In this successful effort the Macleods had received material help from Clanranald, and on 16th Sep-

x ¹ Appendix to the Book of 1819, No. XXV., p. 22.

tember of the following year a commission was given to Mackenzie of Kintail to act for the King against Donald MacAllan and MacNeill of Barra for having contributed to incite such an insurrection against the forces of law and order.¹

The various disturbances that kept the islands in a ferment during the early years of the seventeenth century moved the Government to the adoption of measures for repressing the lawlessness of the clans. The Scottish Solomon had for some years been removed to the more exalted station of being Monarch of Great Britain and Ireland, and being no longer the impecunious King of a poor country, he had less motive for a policy which depended largely for an income upon the fines of political delinquents. The Government really began to grapple with the problem of the Isles, and during 1608 and 1609 measures were devised, largely through the agency of Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, which were destined to have a lasting effect upon the future history of the Highlands. In August, 1608, extensive preparations were completed for interviewing the Island Chiefs, and bringing them more definitely under the authority of the Crown. In the course of this month, Lord Ochiltree, according to a Proclamation previously made by him as the King's Lieutenant, held a Court at Aros, in Mull, attended by the principal Chieftains of the Isles, and by the Captains of Clanranald among others. During the meeting, we are told that the Lieutenant treated them to "fair words and good promises," but it does not appear that the Island Chiefs were willing to accede to the proposals made to them in the King's name. And now there was enacted a piece of

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. VIII., p. 255.

deliberate treachery, which greatly detracts from the enlightened policy of the period, and illustrates the mixture of wisdom and meanness which characterized the Royal mind. The Chiefs were invited on board the King's ship, the "Moon," where they were to be regaled both with spiritual and material fare. All, with the exception of old Angus of Dunnyveg, who was allowed to depart with a solemn warning, and Rory Macleod, who suspected foul play, accepted of the invitation. The result was that they found themselves prisoners in the King's name, and Donald MacAllan was soon, very much to his own astonishment, contemplating the interior of Blackness Castle.¹

The captivity of the Clanranald Chief continued from August, 1608, to June, 1609. He was one of those who, in November, 1608, submitted a petition containing certain offers to the King and Council. He offered to be answerable for all his lands, including the lands of Moydart, Arisaig, Eigg, Moroill, and Skeirhow, and promised to take new infeftments for these, and for assurance that these promises would be fulfilled, he agreed to enter as pledge his son, or such other nearest of kin as the Council might appoint. After these offers were made, probably in presence of the Council, Clanranald was once more sent back to Blackness Castle.² It is not to be supposed, however, that he lived there in free quarters, or at His Majesty's expense, for the Council, on 13th October, decided that he was to pay £6 sterling for his accommodation! On the 25th June, 1609, after ten months' imprisonment, a warrant was given to the keeper of the Castle of Blackness to deliver the

¹ Gregory's *Highlands and Islands*, p. 324.

² Reg. P.C., vol. VIII.

Captain of Clanranald, and on the 29th of the same month Lord Ochiltree and the Bishop of the Isles bound themselves, under penalty of £5000, for the personal compearance of the Captain of Clanranald on the 2nd February, 1610. Donald MacAllan himself became bound, under penalty of his whole lands and heritage, both for his personal compearance on the said day and that he should assist and concur with the Bishop of the Isles in the survey which he was about to make of the Isles.¹ This was the survey which resulted in the meeting at Iona in the following month between the Bishop and the principal Islesmen, and the famous and statesmanlike statutes of I Columkill. A warrant was also given to the Bishop of the Isles to keep the Captain of Clanranald's son as a pledge for the obedience of his father, and never to let him out of his company. Whether the ghostly and improving company kept perforce by John Moydartach in his younger days had the desired effect will hereafter be seen.

After these critical and trying times in the history of Donald MacAllan and his clan, there is every evidence that Clanranald was, on the whole, a loyal subject of the Crown, and no serious exception to his conduct appears to have been taken by the authorities. On the 28th June, 1610, he promised for himself to appear before the Council, under a penalty of 10,000 merks, on the first day of meeting after the 15th May, 1611, and on the same day a feud between himself and Lochiel, of the merits of which we know nothing, was terminated. We are told that Donald MacAllan MacEan of Castle Tirrim, Captain of Clanranald, and Allan MacEan Duy of Lochaber, compeared before the Council to show

¹ Vol. Rec. P.C., 72 Isles, 1608-1623,

willingness to live under obedience to His Majesty's laws, and freely renounce all grudge, unkindness, and quarrel between them, "and heartilie embracit ane anither and choppit hands togidder and promist to persew thair actionis which was the occasion of the present differences betwixt thame be the ordinar course of law and justice." After this affectionate and touching interview, there was nothing but friendship between the two chiefs. The annual compearance enjoined by the Privy Council seems to have been duly observed.¹

Donald MacAllan having so far established satisfactory relations with the Crown, turned his attention to the ordering of his domestic concerns, which now demanded his most particular care. Owing to the depredations committed in past years, not by himself only, but by those for whom he was responsible, and for which compensation was to be exacted, Clanranald found himself in a position of great financial embarrassment. The Crown, therefore, to give him time to nurse his estate into greater prosperity, granted him an Act of "Supersedere" from all his debts for a space of three years.² He further proceeds to put his house in order by taking out legal titles for his lands, and, as a matter of convenience, we may at this stage detail the steps he took and the difficulties he encountered in connection with these investitures.

His father, Allan MacIain, took out no titles, having survived his father only nine years, and being most of that time under sentence of forfeiture. John Moydartach, his grandfather, had since the arbitrary cancelling of his charter in 1531 been too

¹ Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

² Appendix to the Book of 1819, No. XXII., p. 19.

much at issue with the Crown to take a step which involved a certain profession of loyalty. Hence, to use a modern diplomatic phrase, Donald MacAllan of Clanranald was in effective occupation of large territories both on the mainland and in the Islands, for which neither he nor his predecessors had a feudal title for three-quarters of a century. It might well be the desire of both King and vassal that matters should be placed upon a better footing. The first of the two charters he obtained was in duplicate, dated 20th March and 4th June, 1610. Donald Gorme of Sleat, as the heir of Hugh of the Isles, had in 1597 obtained a Crown grant of the 30 merklands of Skeirhow, the 12 merklands of Benbecula, and the pennylands of Gergryminis, also in the island of Benbecula. Of these lands Donald Gorme had in 1597 obtained a gift from the Crown in feu farm. Now Donald Gorme, as Crown vassal, gives a charter of these lands to Donald MacAllan, Captain of Clanranald. This charter entails the properties, *first*, on Clanranald and his legitimate heirs, failing whom, on his heirs whatsoever; and, *secondly*, failing the above, they are to devolve on Donald Gorme, the immediate superior, and his heirs. For this tenure the vassal was to pay the sum of £46 Scots in equal portions at the two terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, with doubling of the feu farm at the entry of each heir to the estates. Forfeiture was to follow the commission of the usual grave misdemeanours towards individuals or the State. This charter was confirmed by the Crown on 2nd July, and sasine followed on the 5th October of the same year.¹

The Chief of Clanranald received an important Crown charter on the 24th July of the same year.

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

This deed reproduces the substance of the charter given to Clanranald's grandfather, John Moydartach, in 1531, and refers to the 27 merklands of Moydart, the 30 merklands of Arisaig, the 21 merklands of Eigg, and the 30 merklands of Skeirhow. The charter proceeds to say that Donald MacAllan, now of Castle Tirrim, and his predecessors have been native and kindly tenants, not only of the lands just enumerated, but of other 3 merklands of Moydart, 9 merklands of Eigg, 14 merklands of Morour, 23 merklands of Kyndess, 7 merklands of Arisaig, and the 6 merklands of Boisdale. All these lands, those contained in John Moydartach's charter of 1531, and the lands additionally mentioned, are now bestowed upon Donald MacAllan and upon his lawful heirs after him.¹ It may be mentioned at this stage that the expense of the survey of the Isles, which led to such far-reaching changes in after times, was charged by the Crown to the rent due by the vassals of the Isles as at July, 1606. Donald MacAllan, having now obtained charters for his estates, was able to give security for the Crown dues, and by a letter of the Privy Council of 5th November, 1611, disposing the past due taxations to Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, the Clanranald Chief became liable to him for the same.

Early in 1610 symptoms of disturbance appear in the Clanranald country. The memories of Blar Leine and its consequences still rankled in the breasts of Ranald Gallda's descendants, and they are resolved that Donald MacAllan's position shall not be a bed of roses. It is probable that the scant notices surviving in the national records indicate the existence of a virulent and active feud. Even

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

in the lifetime of Allan MacIain there are evidences of trouble which sometimes produced sanguinary and fatal results. In 1610 John MacAllan MacRanald, evidently a member of the family of Ranald Gallda, is found creating much disturbance and coming under notice of the Council. He is described as having been this long time a murderer, common thief, and masterful oppressor, and commissions are given to various Highland chiefs, and particularly to Donald MacAllan, to convocate the lieges in arms in order to apprehend him. The Council having described John MacAllan in these sinister terms, are not unwilling to give the Chief of Clanranald an unexpectedly high certificate of character. Having purged his past offences by imprisonment and submission, they place on record the statement that although Donald MacAllan MacIain has always behaved himself peaceably and tried to reduce his friends and countrymen to the obedience of the law, yet many of these not only continue in their accustomed trade of murder and other evil practices, but are banded together to pursue the said Donald, their chief, chieftain, and master.¹

The condition of things induced by this disaffection on the part of Ranald Gallda's descendants towards the Clanranald Chief was accentuated by the efforts of the latter to give effect to his royal charter. Ranald Gallda left three natural sons—Allan, John, and Alexander—who all obtained a precept of legitimation, which passed the Privy Seal on 18th June, 1555.² Allan, the eldest son, is said to have received a gift of the non-entry duties of the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, and we have already seen that John, the son of Allan, received

¹ Reg. P.C., vol. VIII., 1610. ² P.S., vol. XXVIII., f. 21.

a gift of the forfeited estates of Allan of Clanranald and his son Angus after the murder of Allan Og.¹ This, though true, is strangely contradicted by the Retour of Angus, son of Allan and grandson of Ranald Gallda, dated 1612, in which it is clearly stated that these lands, by reason of non-entry, had been in the hands of the Crown for a space of 67 years—from the decease of Ranald Allanson in July, 1544.² Whatever may be the reason of this apparent contradiction, when Donald MacAllan proceeded to pronounce sentence of eviction against Angus MacAllan, the latter resisted, and, as stated, got himself retoured as the heir of Ranald Gallda before a special jury, which met at Inverness.

Meanwhile the Captain of Clanranald, empowered by the Commission of Justiciary which he received in 1610, makes matters rather uncomfortable for the claimant to the lands of Moydart and Arisaig. Angus MacAllan, the heir of Ranald Gallda, had his residence at Draikies, near Inverness, where he seems to have possessed some property. Though at a safe distance from the Clanranald Chief, he complains bitterly of the treatment he receives at his hands. In the midst of the process by which he hoped to oust him, he declares that he never owned his Chiefship, and that he occupies by force his rightful estates, and has done so since his father's death. This complaint was lodged in May,⁴ and five months thereafter, that is on 6th October, 1612, he obtained from the Sheriff Court of Inverness a decree of removal against Donald MacAllan from the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, with the castle

¹ Book of 1819, p. 115.

² Clanranald Charter Chest. ³ Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

⁴ Reg. Sec. Con. Acta.

and fortalice of Island Tirrim. On the strength of this decree Donald MacAllan was pronounced rebel, but we do not find that the Clanranald Chief was much discomposed when the sound of the horn at his gate made the welkin ring, and wakened the echoes of Castle Tirrim. Indeed, notwithstanding the formidable legal process, there are indications that he still continues on normal terms with the King and the Lords of the Privy Council. It was about this time that he received a remission for fire-raising and spulzie in Mull and Tiree in his younger and hotter days.¹ During this and the following year he became more or less mixed up, not overtly or actively, but through the contingency of neighbourhood and connection, with certain irregularities committed by the MacNeills of Barra. Roderick MacNeill, or, as he was known, "Ruairi the turbulent," the Chief of the MacNeills of Barra, had formed two marriage alliances, the one being of the Celtic experimental type with a daughter of Maclean of Dowart, by whom he had several sons, and a second before the altar with a sister of the Captain of Clanranald, by whom there was also a family. The offspring of the second marriage were alone feudally capable of succeeding, and contentions concerning the birthright were inevitable. The oldest son of Maclean's sister was the principal actor in a piratical enterprise in reference to a ship of Bordeaux belonging to Abel Dynneis, and the matter having excited attention in high quarters, young MacNeill was apprehended in Barra by the Captain of Clanranald and brought to the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, where he died, whether by a natural death or by execution the Record does not inform

¹ Reg. P.S., 27th June, 1613.

us. His brothers-german, out of revenge, seconded by their uncle of Dowart, took and apprehended the oldest son by Clanranald's sister, accusing him of complicity in the piracy, and sent him to the Tolbooth in Edinburgh. There he remained for a considerable time, and the agents of Abel Dynneis did their utmost to find him guilty, but they were able to prove nothing, and he was released through the good offices of his uncle of Clanranald, who afterwards secured his succession to the property and chiefship. It was a condition of release that Clanranald bound himself upon his faith, honour, and credit to compear before the Council and to bring Neill MacNeill, son of MacNeill of Barra, under penalty of 10,000 merks.¹

It was during the same period, 1612-1613, that Clanranald again became more or less involved in the misfortunes of the Macleods of Lewis. That island, though scarcely even in its best days the jewel of the Hebridean group, was still the cause of discord. Kintail had hastened the ruin of the Macleods by purchasing their title from the adventurers, and having obtained a commission of fire and sword against them, he reduced them to obedience, with the exception of about 30 who retired to the isolated rock of Berrisa, where they maintained themselves for three years. At last they were attacked and driven from their rocky fastness, when they took refuge in the island territories of Clanranald. Information and complaint were laid before the Privy Council that Neill Macleod and his accomplices, despite the Proclamation of the Commission against the reset of the rebels, made at Inverness, and intimated to Donald MacAllan MacIain, Captain

¹ Reg. P.S. LXXXI., fo. 233.

of Clanranald, were supplied by him, and by gentlemen of his clan, whose names are already familiar to our readers, of whom we do not think the less because they risked so much in giving shelter to their brethren in misfortune. The merciful Clanranalds were consequently to be denounced rebels, and letters of horning were to be given out against them not later than St Andrew's day. Whether these threats were carried into effect or not we cannot say, but it is possible that the more stringent action that we soon notice in the proceedings of the Privy Council towards Clanranald may have been the outcome of the episode just referred to.¹ In 1614 the action of Angus MacAllan regarding the lands of Moydart and Arisaig is still hanging over Donald MacAllan. On the 14th July, 1614, a letter passed the Privy Council in favour of Sir Andrew Kerr of Oxenham of the escheat pertaining to him in consequence of the denunciation of Donald MacAllan in 1612.² Shortly after this Angus MacAllan died, but his son John and daughter Elizabeth renewed their father's proceedings, denounced Donald MacAllan as rebel for not finding of law-burrows at their father's instance, and another letter passed the Privy Seal, this time in favour of Sir James Stewart of Killeith, of Clanranald's escheat.³ But death solves many a problem, and the demise of John and of his sister Elizabeth soon afterwards came to Clanranald's relief.

During the next two years the Privy Council Records indicate the adoption of serious views as to the condition of the Clanranald country. On 2nd March, 1615, Donald MacAllan becomes bound

¹ Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

² Record of the Privy Seal.

³ *Ibid*.

that he and those under his authority shall keep good rule in the country, that he himself shall compare before the Lords of Council once every year upon the 10th July, to render his obedience, and oftener as he shall be charged, upon 60 days' warning, under penalty of 5000 merks. The summons for compareance was to be delivered at the house of his Edinburgh agent. The 10th July was the date fixed for the compareance of all the Western Islesmen, and doubtless this midsummer influx into the Capital of so many plumed and plaided chieftains—all with their tails—must have created quite a flutter in the Edinburgh dovecotes.¹ The following year, on 22nd July, Clanranald appeared before the Council conformably to enactment, but apparently several days behind time. At this meeting he was placed under important obligations as regards the ordering of his household and state. He was to be allowed to keep in his household six gentlemen—a boy being allowed to each of these—and he must make Island Tirrim his place of residence, probably on account of its greater accessibility than the Isles in case of rebellious tendencies. He was to purge his country of sorners and idle men who have no lawful occupation, and clansmen were prohibited from wearing hacquebuts or pistols except in the King's service. None but the chiefs and their legal number of household servants were to wear swords or armour, or any kind of weapons in the Isles. And, finally, there was to be a self-denying ordinance as to the use of alcoholic liquor, the Chief being limited by Act of Parliament to the annual consumption of one tun of wine. The drafting of these regulations seems to have occupied a little time, for Clanranald

¹ Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

and the rest were ordained to remain in Edinburgh until they were dismissed by the Council. The following were the parties he was obliged annually to exhibit :—Donald Gorme MacIain, Rory Dow his brother, Angus MacConill Gorme, Allaster MacIain Oig, Donald Gorme MacAngus VcAllan, Ranald MacDonald Gorme — six in all. Hitherto the number to be annually exhibited was two, but for onerous reasons the Council increased the number threefold. Clanranald, however well disposed towards the Government, had more than enough to do to keep order among his unruly clansmen, his own nearest kinsman being the most unmanageable of all. His brothers Ranald of Benbecula and John of Kinlochmoydart were terrible handfuls, whom this same year he had to report to the Council as “disobedient and unanswerable persons.” In the course of this year, and on the 18th July, Donald MacAllan enters into a Bond of Indemnity and fidelity with Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, in which he binds himself, under heavy penalties, not to molest or oppress the latter, and to assist him and his heirs against His Majesty’s rebels of Knoydart.³ It appears that some of Donald MacAllan’s restless clansmen were giving trouble in Glengarry’s lands. On the 24th August following, and at Glasgow, Clanranald entered into a Bond of Friendship with Sir Rorie Macleod of Dunvegan, Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon of Straquhordal, and Lauchlan Maclean of Coll. Here we have a direct proof that the Clanranalds and Macleods, so long at daggers drawn, are living in amity and concord, and

¹ Reg. P.C., 1608-1623, p. 246, &c.

² Reg. P.C., *ad tempus*.

✕ ³ Bonds and Obligations, vol. CCLXIII., Register Office.

although their friendship was not always unclouded, the sword was never afterwards unsheathed by them for mutual molestation.

Little further remains to be said of the life and times of Donald MacAllan, Captain of Clanranald. In 1617 he visited James VI at Holyrood House during one of that monarch's visits to his northern kingdom, and received the honour of knighthood at his hands.¹ We have it from the voice of tradition that about this time he was visited by a grave domestic trouble, which so preyed upon his mind that his health utterly gave way. Whatever may be the truth, Sir Donald did not long enjoy his new found honours, as he died in December, 1618. He lived in difficult times, at the beginning of an era of great social changes, and he reaped an abundant harvest of trouble from the intestine broils of past generations. Yet he acted his part boldly and well, as a Highland chief of that remote age, and transmitted a great position to his son and successor.

Donald MacAllan was succeeded by his son John, who often appears in the records as John MacDonald MacAllan, but who is also remembered in the traditions of his clan and country by the same designation as his great grandfather, that is as John Moydartach. When this chief succeeded he inherited, along with his honours and estates, all the obligations and engagements for underlying the law, which were undertaken by his father in his relations with the Government. On his first compearance after his father's death on 5th February, 1619, Sir Rorie Macleod becomes his cautioner under penalty of 10,000 merks, and on the 12th of the same month, Donald Gorme of

X ¹ Book of 1819, p. 116.

⊗ See MacLagan MS. No. 154, where there is a song (another text in MC 26) called: "Cuid d'òran do Mhac Mhic Ailein le mhraoi fèin an deis do sgaradh do cheann a bith torrach aig a shìomairan."

Sleat discharges the same friendly office to Clanranald's uncle, Ranauld MacAllan; while on the 23rd December, nephew and uncle become mutually answerable under the penalties of 6000 and 3000 merks respectively.¹ These compearances and securities, along with exhibition of clansmen, are repeated by the Clerk of Council with monotonous iteration. On the 23rd December, after his succession, John, who was a youth at his father's death, renounced the benefit of minority, and became personally responsible for his own and his clan's behaviour.²

In 1622 some events occurred which demand our attention. There was trouble with the Burghs of the realm, by whose authority the Captain of Clanranald and his tenants were charged, on the 17th July, with oppression and robbery committed on the south countrymen fishing in the North Isles.³ This year was also signalized by a serious dispute with Donald Gorme of Sleat, Clanranald's superior for Skeirhow, Benbecula, and Gergryminis. There is no light furnished by the Records as to the cause of the difference. As the feu-charter for these lands was granted in perpetual fee and heritage, on condition of certain payments and other feudal obligations, we cannot conceive of any other cause of strife than the non-payment of the feu-duty which, on John Moydartach's succession, was due, and payable in duplicand. This and other extensive monetary obligations, under which Clanranald lay to the Chief of Sleat, seem to account for certain legal steps taken by Sir Donald Gorme in 1622.⁴ Recourse was had to horning and summons of removal, but in the end the differences were submitted to and settled by

¹ Rec. P.C.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.

arbitration. The arbiters on Sir Donald's side were Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach and George Munro of Tarrel, while John Gordon of Buckie and Hucheson Fraser of Kilbockie were on Clanranald's side.¹ Having met at the Chanonry of Ross, it was arranged by the disputants, in terms of the arbiters' award, that Sir Donald should obtain wadsets of the lands of Skeirhow, Benbecula, and Gergryminis, and that he should also obtain the superiority of lands which the Clanranald family held *in capite* of the Crown, namely, the merklands of Arisaig, Eigg, Moydart, Morour, Kyndeas, and Boisdale, to satisfy his claim of 26,921 merks 10s 8d Scots.²

At this stage it may conduce to clearness if we digress for a moment from the chronological order of events, and indicate the nature of the tenure by which John Moydartach held his lands. On the 10th January following Sir Donald's death, the Earl of Dunfermline received a Crown gift of the non-entry duties of Moydart, Arisaig, and Eigg.³ It was not until the 18th September, 1627, that, before a jury sworn at Inverness, John was found to be the heir of "Donald MacAllan Vic Ean," who died seised in certain lands, to which we shall direct more particular attention.⁴ On 3rd March, 1629, John Moydartach received a precept of sasine for the same lands, to which he was served his father's heir in 1627, that is Eigg, Moydart, Morrou, Arisaig, Kendeas, and Boisdale, and to which Sir Donald Gorme of Sleat had, as we have seen, acquired an intermediate superiority. This charter of 1629 excludes lands which were bestowed upon Sir

¹ Rec. P.C.

² Clanranald Charter Chest.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Donald in 1610, and incorporated in the barony of Castle Tirrim, namely, the 30 merklands of Moydart and the 30 merklands of Arisaig, but it includes certain other lands in both these districts, namely, 3 merklands of Moydart and 7 merklands of Arisaig, which seem never before, save, perhaps, the former for a short time, to have had any legal owner but the Crown. How the old merklands of Moydart and Arisaig came to be excluded from the Crown Charter of 1629 we shall shortly see.

The large debts which John Moydartach's estates became burdened with during the times of his predecessors, laid upon him the necessity of raising funds on the security of his property. On 7th April, 1625, he borrowed from Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver a sum of 7000 merks, and the names of Donald MacAngus of Glengarry and of a number of the Clanranald gentlemen appear as cautioners for the Bond granted by John Moydartach for that sum. Annual interest of 900 merks was to be charged upon the principal sum, which latter was afterwards converted into an heritable burden upon the lands of Moydart and Arisaig which Clanranald resigned to Sir Donald Mackay as his immediate superior on the same date on which he borrowed the 7000 merks, that is, the 7th April, 1625. On this resignation there proceeded a charter from Sir Donald Mackay to Clanranald for the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, at a feu-duty of 200 merks a year, to be paid annually at the term of Martinmas, at Inverness, the feu-farm to be doubled on the entry of every new heir. The interest exigible from Clanranald upon the principal sum was, as already stated, 900 merks, and in order to raise funds to reduce this sum to the modified

feu-duty of 200 merks, he in the month of March of that year, had given an assedation of the lands of Delilea, Ardallie, Auchnellan, Camistrowan, and Drumnaleme—in all $4\frac{1}{2}$ merklands—to his own uncle, John Ranaldson, Parson of Island Finnan, in liferent, and to Allan MacRanald, his brother's son and his heirs. The tack was to be for 19 years, and the tack duty was to be in the form of a *grassum* of 1124 merks, payable in four instalments in the years 1629-30-31-32 respectively. Sasine followed upon this assedation on 28th April, 1625. Upon the 22nd February, 1627, a charter of confirmation from the Crown was given to the laird of Strathnaver, who thus became the Crown vassal for the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, which lands could not for that reason be included in Clanranald's Crown Charter of 1629.¹ It does not appear that Sir Donald Mackay's superiority was of long continuance, for on the 15th August following his Crown charter another superior steps upon the scene in the person of Colin, Earl of Seaforth and Lord of Kintail. He was likely a considerable creditor upon the Clanranald estates, through raids and "spulzies" into his territories, in the time of the late Sir Donald, and for these he would have received decrees of Court to enforce compensation. At the date last mentioned, an instrument of resignation passed between John Moydartach and Seaforth, by which the former resigned the lands in question to, and received new infeftments from, the latter as superior of these lands, and in the following year we find Seaforth discharging Clanranald for a sum of 200 merks as feu-duty for Moydart and Arisaig.² In the course of the same year, Seaforth becomes

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.² *Ibid.*

still more intimately connected with Clanranald's estates, for he receives from the latter a factory and power to uptake and collect the whole duties and rents of his lands, a measure that was professedly adopted for relieving the burden of Clanranald's debts due to himself and to others.¹ This factory seems to have continued operative for a number of years. It may be observed in passing that on 13th May, 1630, John was served heir in general to his great-grandfather and namesake, and on the same day to Allan MacIain, his grandfather.²

Reverting to consideration of the lands held by Clanranald from Sir Donald Gorme of Sleat, we find John Moydartach receiving a precept of *Clare constat* from the Chief of Sleat for Skeirhough, Benbecula, and Gergryminis, on 15th August, 1627, in regard to which we saw that both parties had come to an arrangement in 1622. That arrangement was considerably modified in 1633-4. Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat in 1622 acquired, as already pointed out, wadset rights to the lands of Skeirhough, Benbecula, and Gergryminis, of which he himself was superior, and he also obtained the superiority of the lands held by Clanranald *in capite* of the Crown. In August of 1633 the Earl of Argyll, in consideration of having paid to Sir Donald the sum of 26,921 merks 10s and 8d Scots, acquired the wadset rights referred to; while he also obtained possession, by assignation from Sir Donald, of the superiority of all the lands held by Clanranald from the Crown. This arrangement was confirmed by a Charter under the Great Seal on 11th January, 1634. During

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² Appendix to Book of 1819, pp. 25-26,

this year also there was a further change as regards the tenure of the Clanranald estates. The Marquis of Argyll obtained from the Earl of Seaforth the superior rights of the 24 merklands of Moydart and the 24 merklands of Arisaig, an acquisition upon which sasine passed on 22nd June of the same year. Seaforth, however, still continued to exercise the powers of factory wherewith he was formerly invested, and he retained certain superior rights in Arisaig, to which reference shall afterwards be made. This seems to exhaust the Charter history of the Clanranald lands during the times of John Moydartach, with the solitary exception of one transaction which took place in 1657, by which Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, in satisfaction of dues owing him by Clanranald, obtained a wadset of the lands of Moydart and Arisaig.¹ Having thus stated the Clanranald land question as concisely as we could, we take up the thread of our proper historical narrative.

In 1623 the Chief of Clanranald entered into a bond of alliance with Donald MacAngus of Glen-garry, by which they became mutually pledged to defend and assist one another "against all mortal enemies."²

In the autumn of 1627 there was an epidemic of piracy among the Macdonalds of the Isles. The Clan Iain of Ardnamurchan had been recently distinguishing themselves at this nefarious pursuit, and now the Clanranald and their Chief are accused of piratical operations, denounced rebels, and put to the horn. A ship of Leith, laden with a valuable cargo of tea, wines, and a variety of merchandise,

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² Book of 1819, p. 117.

on her way from the Clyde to Danskine, was rounding Barra Head in her route towards Cape Wrath, when John Moydartach and his followers, who were cruising in their galleys among the Isles, fell in with her. They boarded the ill-starred craft, and for days partook of sumptuous fare and drank of pleasant vintages. Nor did they quit the Argosy empty-handed, but took with them 5 butts of wine, 8 casks of herring, 8 score of pounds, 300 double ells of plaiding—the price of each 100 ell being £100— and 200 dollars. The Clanranald cellars were well replenished, and the Clanranald ladies might walk in rich attire for many a day after this daring “spulzie” of the deep. Clanranald was put to the horn as a matter of course, but soon afterwards was relaxed.¹

In 1629 the salmon fishings of Seall, belonging to the lands of Ardnamurchan and Sunart, are the occasion of a conflict between Sir Donald Campbell’s servants and the Clanranald and ClanIan. Twice in succession did the usurping Campbell send down his servants to fish with nets, and as often did a numerous band of Clanranalds and MacIains, headed by John M’Ewine, baillie of Moydart, come upon them in warlike guise, and drive them off, leaving on the last occasion a number of “insolent and broken men” to prosecute the fishing. John Moydartach is, of course, taken to task, and summoned before the Privy Council by Archibald, Lord of Lorn, for the conduct of his clansmen ; but the matter is amicably settled² and, judging by subsequent events, in Clanranald’s favour.

After this we have seven quiet, that is law-abiding, years in the annals of Clanranald. Once more, however, the peace is broken by a case of

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² Rec. P.C.

piracy upon the high seas which engages the attention of the Privy Council. In 1636 the "Susannah," an English barque commanded by Richard Seyman in Chichester, and laden with goods belonging to Peter Fox, of Limerick, sailed from the Port of St Mailles in France for the Port of Limerick. She carried a cargo valued at £1000, and consisting of wines, fruit, corn, &c. Having encountered tempestuous weather, and lost her mast, she was driven among the Scottish Isles. "Built in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark," a cruel destiny drove her in view of the Outer Hebrides. She made signals of distress which were observed in Barra. Some of the Islanders having come out to her in boats, it was agreed for one butt of sack and one barrel of raisins to tow her into harbour, and furnish the crew with the necessary provisions. But they were reckoning without their host. On reaching shore, they were met by a crowd of 300, headed by the Captain of Clanranald, and marching to the strains of the bagpipe. For days the Islesmen drank the wines of France, for days they filled their casks and barrels. The "Susannah" came full and returned empty. A youth of the ship's company was forced to profess himself the ship's factor, and subscribe a bill for sale of the goods, in consideration of a sum of money which was promised but not paid. The owner was compelled to take £8 for the ship, although she was worth £150. The incident throws an unpleasant light upon the ethical canons of the time, nor do we suppose that John Moydarch's conscience needed to be salved for this spoiling of the Irishman. Horning and relaxing followed each other, as they were wont to do, in rapid sequence.¹

¹ Rec. P.C.

Eight years of peace and quietness, undisturbed by feud or foray, pass away, when the silence is broken once more by a spulzie, this time upon *terra firma*. In 1644, Mr Martin Macpherson was minister of South Uist, and judging from events, quite patriarchal in his possession of flocks and herds. We do not know what roused the ire of John Moydartach and his clansmen against the parish parson, but we know that the latter wakens one morning to find that a horde as desolating as the ancient Sabians has swept his barns and pastures like a whirlwind, and like the patriarch of old he is bereft of all his gear. Cow beasts of all ages, 80 in number, 88 sheep and lambs, 13 horses, utensils, corn, teinds, &c., to the value of 1067 merks, such was the loss sustained by the unfortunate minister. He had to leave Uist and seek the protection of the Dunvegan Chief, and though petition after petition to the Courts, first to the Sheriff of the Western Isles and afterwards to the commission and estates of Parliament, were presented and decrees obtained, no redress was ever obtained, though liability was freely admitted. So late as 1667 the matter was before the Supreme Court, and the minister received compensation out of the vacant stipends of Skye. John Moydartach does not seem to have sustained the reputation of the founder of his house, the "man of augmenting Churches and Monasteries," nor of the "Clan who never vexed the Church."¹

In 1644 John Moydartach and his clan are found playing a much nobler part in history than robbing ships and persecuting parsons, sharing to no mean extent in those achievements of Montrose and

¹ Clauranald Charter Chest.

Alastair MacColla which have shed such glory upon the military annals of our land. It was at the particular stage of the war at which Argyll sat down to beleaguer Castle Mingarry, garrisoned by Macdonald, that the brilliant victories which had already added such lustre to the royalist cause in Scotland began to detach the chiefs and their clans from the Argyll interest. To obtain reinforcements for Montrose's army, Alastair had betaken himself to the west. Colonel James Macdonald, with an Irish detachment, made for the coast of Argyll to relieve Mingarry; but before he arrived at the scene of action the fortunes of the garrison had taken a favourable turn.

The fiery cross of Alastair MacColla was meanwhile passing with meteoric speed from glen to glen and from isle to isle, and at last John Moydartach made a move. It is said by MacVuirich that the Clanranald chief visited Argyll's camp on the invitation of the noble Marquis, who hoped to preserve his insincere allegiance.¹ John Moydartach departed unharmed, and, needless to say, unconverted. The men of Uist, Eigg, Moidart, and Arisaig flocked to his standard, and after he had raised the siege of Mingarry and caused Argyll to retreat, he invaded and wasted the lands of Ardnamurchan and Sunart. Thus it was that when Colonel James Macdonald arrived at Mingarry, the garrison was relieved and reinforced, and its stores replenished from the pastures of Argyll.² A contemporary writer gives us interesting information as to the numbers and arming of the Clanranald force when it joined the army of Montrose:—"McDonald returns back to

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 179.

² *Ibid*, p. 180.

him and bringes McAllan (Wickeim) of some called the captaine of the Clane Ranald, one of the greatest men among the Clane Donald. This man brought with him eight hundredth of the strongest and most waiiant men amongst the highlanders, weel armed with habershones, muriones, and targates ; for offensive armes, they had guns, bowes, swords, and aixes, called of some Lochaber aixes."¹

When these and other large reinforcements joined Montrose at Blair-Athole, the question of the next move was discussed before a council of war, when it was unanimously decided to spend the following two or three months in the region of Argyll. The memory of a cruel raid by Argyll in 1640, under cover of a Commission of fire and sword, was fresh in the minds of the Clan Donald chiefs, and it was with no halting footsteps that they wended their way from Athole to the country of the Campbells.² The Royalist army marched from Blair-Athole early in December, 1644, in three divisions. One was led by Montrose, the second by Alastair MacColla, and the third by John Moydartach. Its course was marked by devastation. The district of Appin, in Perthshire, belonging to the Clan Menzies, and the region of Loch Tay, where the Campbells of Breadalbane flourished, were burnt, pillaged, and laid waste.³

The gallant noble who held state at Inveraray had, since the relief of Mingarry, retired for a time from his military duties, and dwelt in fancied security in his ancestral halls. He believed that the passes into Argyll were impenetrable in time of snow, and not a dream of impending danger dis-

¹ Britanes Distemper, p. 94. ² Ibid.

³ Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. I., pp. 358-359.

turbed his nightly slumbers. But on the first alarm that Montrose and the Macdonalds were coming, his fool's paradise collapsed, and he fled as quickly as oars could propel him to a herring skiff that lay anchored in Loch Fyne, and there, at a respectful distance, this knight of the rueful countenance gazed sadly but helplessly upon the numerous columns of smoke that marked the track of the advancing host.¹ The people of Argyll, forsaken by their liege lord, made no attempt to resist the invaders. John Moydartach and his men distinguished themselves as successful raiders. Along with the men of Lochaber they penetrated to Kilmartin of Glassary, and returned to Montrose's camp with 1000 head of cattle.²

These wild doings went on from 13th December, 1644, to the end of the following month, when Montrose's army once more turned northwards, marching towards Lochaber. On reaching Kilchuimen, whose modern name is Fort-Augustus, at the head of Lochness, the army was joined by John Lom Macdonald, the celebrated bard of Keppoch, an enthusiastic devotee of the Stewart cause, to whose impassioned strains it owed so much of its inspiration. Moving in the rear of Montrose's army, he had gathered news of Argyll's later movements. *Gilleasbuig Gruamach* had left his not too luxurious quarters on board the fishing skiff as soon as he could do so with absolute safety, and had sent word to his kinsman of Auchinbreck, who was fighting in Ireland for the Parliament, to come to the rescue. Auchinbreck, a brave soldier, quickly assembled the fighting men of his clan, and on Argyll receiving a contingent of 500 men from the estates, they entered

¹ Napier's *Life and Times of Montrose*, pp. 289-91.

² *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 183.

Lochaber at the head of 3000 men, and desolated the Braes and Glenroy.¹ On receiving this intelligence, Montrose at once resolved to make a retrograde movement, and measure himself against the Parliamentary army. It was this counter-march upon the foe that John Lom celebrated in the couplet—

'N euala sibhse 'n tionndadh dnuineal
Thug an t-arm bha 'n Cill-a-Chuimein?

Not by the wonted beaten path along the waterway, but by ways unknown to strangers and untraversed save by the wolf and deer; along the rugged basin of the Tarff, down into Glenroy and past the Spean; across the untrodden snow of that wild mountain land marched the army of Montrose, until at last from the brow of Ben Nevis they saw reposing in the silver moonlight the frowning towers of the Castle of Inverlochy.² The descent of this human avalanche from the Lochaber mountains down to within half-a-mile of their encampment might well take the Campbells' breath away. The scouts fled to the main body with the intelligence, and the Marquis of Argyll, astounded at the incredible march of his adversary, made hasty preparations for battle.

Dhirich mi mach maduinn Dhòmhnuich
Gu barr Casteil Innerlòchaidh
Chunna mi 'n t-arm dol an òrdugh
'S bha buaidh an la aig Clann Dòmhnuaill.

Such were the triumphant strains in which John Lom breathed his immortal celebration of the battle of Inverlochy. He stood on the topmost battlement of that historic fortress; he saw the marshalling of

¹ Reliquie Celtice, vol. II., p. 183. Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. II., pp. 262-3.

² Britanes Distemper, p. 100.

the armed host, he saw victory settling on the banners of his clan. It was the field on which, 200 years before, the Island host, under Donald Balloch, had gathered wreaths of imperishable renown in conflict with the army of the King of Scots. Now their descendants were to fight not against, but for, the lineal descendant of that same King, who was making a death struggle for his ancestral throne. At dawn of Candlemas day, the 2nd February, which was Sunday, Montrose began to arrange his line of battle. On his right wing was Alastair MacColla, at the head of an Irish regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Kain, with another Irish regiment—Ranald Og MacDonald, of the family of Dunnyveg, being second in command—was on the left flank. The centre consisted of the men of Athole, under the immediate command of Montrose, and of the Clan Donald of Uist, Eigg, Moydart, Arisaig, Glengarry, Knoydart, Glencoe, and Lochaber, and a few of the Macleans of Mull, all under the lead of John Moydartach, Angus of Glengarry, Donald Glas of Keppoch, and other Highland Chiefs. Colonel James MacDonald brought up the rear with a regiment of Irish levies.¹

Argyll's army, which was drawn up in a somewhat similar formation, was largely superior in numbers to that of Montrose, which was still weary after its tremendous march; but the disparity of numbers, as well as other disadvantages, was largely discounted by the lack of spirit and manhood displayed by the Marquis of Argyll, whose conduct on this eventful day must have had an effect the reverse of exhilarating on the courage and *morale* of his troops. A few weeks before, he had a fall

¹ Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. II., pp. 443-4.

from his horse, and still felt a little bruised in the sword arm. His barge, nicknamed by the MacDonalds the "Dubh Luideach," lay conveniently at anchor to suit the exigencies either of victory or defeat, and having given his instructions to Auchinbreck, he went on board, accompanied by Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, Sir William Pollock, and Mr Mungo Law, an Edinburgh minister, who had all come from the Scottish Estates that they might witness and report upon his triumphant encounter with Montrose.¹

Montrose with his whole line advanced about sunrise. The battle commenced by the left wing, under O'Kain, charging Argyll's right wing. This was followed by a furious onslaught by Montrose's right upon the left and centre of the Parliamentary army. The issue was not long in doubt. The Irish phalanx of musketeers, under Alastair MacColla and Colonel O'Kain, soon broke the ranks of the Lowland recruits, of which both wings of Argyll's army consisted, capturing the standard and standard-bearer of the Parliamentary army; while the Campbells in the centre were swept away by the clansmen of Garmoran and the North Isles, who bore down upon them like a winter torrent. The whole army was soon scattered in flight. The Campbell chieftains fought with unavailing bravery; the boldest of them fell to rise no more. The two-handed sword of Alastair MacColla might be seen delivering its fatal blows wherever the fight was thickest, and, like the brand of Fionn MacCumhal, not leaving the remnant of a stroke. The gallant Sir Donald Campbell of Auchinbreck fell beneath one tremendous blow—head and helmet severed from the body. Montrose

¹ Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. II., pp. 443-4. Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. II., pp. 262-3.

strove his utmost to save the flying army from utter destruction, but it was difficult to stem the tide of carnage, and 1500 corpses—the half of Argyll's army—stained the snow-clad field.¹ Meanwhile the occupants of the “Dubh Luideach,” with that discretion which is undoubtedly the more prudent if not the more admirable part of valour, were looking at the fast receding waters of Loch Lochy through the blue haze of distance.

After the battle of Inverlochy, Montrose, Alastair MacColla, John Moydartach, and other weary warriors, were hospitably entertained to dinner in the house of Angus Macqueen of Rackbeg, on their way to Castle Grant,² but though Montrose and his army occupied the scene of their triumphs for two months, this incident is all that we can learn of their doings during all that time. Clanranald and his followers were not engaged at Auldearn or Alford, the latter battle having been fought in the absence of Alastair MacColla, who was in the west mustering recruits. Alastair, on his return, was accompanied by John Moydartach and his son Donald, a youth in his twentieth year, followed by a strong force of fighting men from the Clanranald country. MacVuirich records, what might have proved an unfortunate quarrel between Montrose and John Moydartach, as to the latter not having provided sufficient forage for the army. Alastair poured oil upon the troubled waters, and the result was a huge *creach* from the lands of the Earl Marischall brought by Donald of Clanranald and his men to the camp at Alford, which kept these hungry warriors in food for months.³

¹ Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. II., pp. 443-4.

² Napier's Montrose, p. 172.

³ Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 197.

Space does not permit us to detail the movements of Montrose's army between the battles of Alford and Kilsyth. Suffice it to say that, during the masterly retreat that terminated in the memorable field last mentioned, Donald of Clanranald brought up the rear, and was credited with many doughty deeds. At last the Royalist army arrived at Kilsyth worn with sleeplessness and want, and encamped there on the night of the 13th August. Next morning, when the army of the Parliament discovered the proximity of their foes, the leaders assured themselves of victory. Baillie's army consisted of 6000 infantry with 1000 horse, while Montrose's numbered 4000 infantry and 500 horse. The Royalists having held a council of war, determined at all hazards to fight. The two armies were drawn up in order. The ground was well chosen by Montrose, and the cavalry was under command of Lord Gordon. The weather was hot, it being the middle of August, and Montrose caused his men to doff their outer garments, a circumstance which gave rise to the tradition that they fought naked. The condition of Montrose's army was deplorable. They had neither shoes nor stockings, these having been worn out of existence by the heavy marching of recent days, and they had their tunics tied between their legs to enable them to fight with greater ease. The army of the Estates commenced the engagement by opening a fire of cannon and musketry upon the opposite side, while the attack by the King's army was led by Alastair MacColla. Alastair's movement was seconded by the Macleans, under their chief Sir Lauchlan of Duart, and Donald, younger of Clanranald. Just at the moment that the attack was to be delivered in characteristic

Highland fashion, a critical dispute about precedence arose between Duart and young Clanranald, which the latter chieftain settled in the only way that was possible without disaster. With a wild and unexpected rush he and his light-footed clansmen pushed their way through the Maclean battalion, Donald himself being the first to gain the enemy's trenches. All along the line the Royalist assault threw the enemy into such confusion that it was impossible to rally them. A total rout took place, and Montrose's forces cut down 4000 of the enemy's infantry. Comparatively few were slain in the actual engagement; but the pursuit by the Highlanders and Lord Gordon's horse made this battle, in the traditions of Kilsyth, a veritable Aeldema—a field of blood.¹

After the fatal field at Philiphaugh, at which the Highlanders took little or no part, the Royalist party never recovered the position won for it by Montrose's victories. In 1646 the Marquis of Antrim visited Scotland, and the Cavalier party undertook to provide 30,000 men for the continuance of the struggle, Clanranald providing 1300 of these;² but on the King's advice all resistance in Scotland was abandoned. After this, Donald of Clanranald was invited by Antrim to Ireland to assist the royal cause there. In 1648 he embarked with 300 men on board two ships, one described as "a rigged low country frigate" and the other as a "long Gaelic ship."³ Sailing through the Sounds of Mull and Isla they came upon two ships belonging to the Scottish Estates, which they captured; but one of which

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 201.

² Hill's *Macdonalds of Antrim*, p. 274.

³ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 205.

only they were able to take along with them. When in the neighbourhood of the Irish coast they were overtaken by a storm, which drove the ships far apart, one of them reaching land in the harbour of the Killybegs in Donegal, while Donald and the rest of his followers landed at Acha, which was then occupied by a friendly force. Thence they marched to Cavan, and latterly Donald quartered his men at Kilkenny, where the Council of Ireland sat. The Clanranald men, with those of Glengarry and Antrim, made up a regiment 1500 strong, and were under the command of Alexander, the first Earl of Antrim's son, while Donald of Moydart was Lieutenant-Colonel. This young chief was actively engaged during the campaign of 1648, being present at the taking of Belfast, Knockfergus, Coleraine, and Londonderry, and continued with the King's army until its defeat in Queen's County, when he and Angus of Glengarry were taken prisoners. There Donald remained until released at the intercession of the Duchess of Buckingham, Countess of Antrim.¹ He sailed from Wexford for his native land, and arrived safely at Caolas Staothlaidh, in South Uist. Cathelus MacVuirich, the family bard, gave vent to an eulogy, in which the general joy is expressed that the young chief had returned uninjured from the wars.²

John Moydartach, chief of Clanranald, survived the campaigns of Montrose by a quarter of a century. He lived all through the Commonwealth, and although he did not join in the abortive rising of Glencairn, the evidence is not so decisive as in the case of some other Highland chiefs that he gave

¹ Book of 1819, p. 141.

² *Reliquie Celtique*, vol. II., p. 241.

a clear submission to the Protector. He lived to witness the restoration of the line for which he had made such great and costly sacrifices. The family bards, not unusually stinting in their praise, had not a sentence or a couplet to spare out of their exuberance to celebrate the memory of so redoubtable a chief; but there is no doubt he was a brave, capable, and energetic leader, though more lawless than might have been looked for in a chief educated under the Statutes of Icolmkill. He died in 1670 in the Island of Eriskay, and his remains were interred in the family tomb at Howmore, where his dust mingles with that of his great-grandfather, the first John Moydartach.¹ He was succeeded by Donald, the active period of whose life was past at his father's death. MacVuirich gives a quaint description of Donald's character and deportment when he joined Montrose. "That man was a harmless, bashful, affable, unassuming man in the presence of his friends; but powerful and undaunted before his enemies." In the year of his succession he is charged by the Duke of Hamilton a sum of £232 Scots as arrears of Crown dues for his lands of Skeirhow, Benbecula, and Gergryminis, showing that the Argyll superiority had been attached by the Crown. In 1673 he obtained possession of the Island of Canna as vassal of the Earl of Argyll, who, in 1680, resigned the superiority of that island to the Bishop of Lismore. The Bishop in 1684 granted a charter of Canna to Donald of Clanranald. In 1674 Clanranald passed a signature of resignation and confirmation of the estates of Arisaig, Moydart, Skeirhow, Benbecula, and Eigg; while in 1685 there is a ratification in his favour of the lands and barony

¹ *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 207.

of Moydart, and the superiority of Argyll for this latter is at the same time abolished.¹

On 2nd October, 1676, Clanranald appears to have visited the scenes of his former exploits in Ireland, and was invested with the freedom of Londonderry. The burgess ticket bears the arms of that burgh, and the Clanranald chief is described as "Donaldus McDonald Dux de Clanranald miles."² He died in 1686 in his sixtieth year. An elegy of fourteen stanzas, a marvel of brevity for a Mac-Vuirich, was composed by the family bard, in which the Clanranald chief is, no doubt deservedly, lamented as a patron of the bardic school, as well as of learning generally, as brave in battle and generous to the poor and needy.³ He was buried at Howmore in the same grave as his father.⁴

When Donald of Clanranald died, his son and successor, Allan, was a boy of thirteen. Allan was brought up thereafter for some years under the careful guardianship of his cousin, Macdonald of Benbecula, who spared no pains to secure that his young chief should be properly educated, and that the flame of loyalty to the exiled house should burn in his breast with unabated glow. In proof of this we find the gallant boy of 16 accompanying his tutor to the field of Killiecrankie at the head of 500 men. "While scarce the first down tints his cheeks, he, fired with a great love of his country's glory, moved keenly to battle with his whole race."⁵ After Killiecrankie the Government issued a Proclamation of Protection to all submitting before 1st January, 1692; but long

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest. X ² Ibid.

³ Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 245. ⁴ Ibid., vol. II., p. 209.

⁵ The Grameid, p. 122.

before this, Allan and his brother Ranald had retired to the Court of St Germain's, the refuge of the irreconcilable. Donald of Benbecula, like the majority of the Highland chiefs, submitted to the Government, and so preserved from forfeiture his own and his ward's estates. Allan spent several years in France, where he finished his education, and became one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his time. He received a commission in the French army under the Duke of Berwick, and distinguished himself in several of the great battles fought against William and the Protestant Confederation. During his sojourn at St Germain's, he wooed and won a Highland lady, Miss Penelope Mackenzie, who was destined to exercise considerable influence upon the future fortunes of his family.¹ In 1696 Allan of Clanranald appears to have become reconciled to the Government of William of Orange, and on 21st July of that year, Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromartie became cautioner and surety to the Lords of the Privy Council for his peaceable and good behaviour, and undertook to present him when required under penalty of £500. On the 5th August, 1697, the Earl of Argyll and Viscount Tarbat, for the love and favour they bore the Clanranald Chief, entered into a bond relieving Mackenzie of Cromartie from any loss that this cautionry might involve. From this circumstance we naturally infer that Allan returned to Scotland in 1696, and took up his patrimonial position as chief and leader of his clan. We do not find him, however, making up titles to his estates till 1704. On 28th July of that year he received a precept of *clare constat* from John, Duke of Argyll, who had obtained restoration of

¹ Book of 1819, p. 147.

the superiority of all Clanranald's lands except the barony of Castle Tirrim, which he held of the Crown. In all these he was afterwards infested. As early as 1700 Allan gave his brother Ranald a wadset of the lands of Drumnalony, Dalilea, Langoll, Meigarrie, Blavine, Balligarva, Keillaula, Lenique.¹

It was after Allan of Clanranald and his wife came to reside permanently in Scotland, that the Castle of Ormiclate on his Long Island estate was built, the ruins of which, near the Western shores of South Uist, are still an imposing feature in the landscape. Here during the remainder of his too short life he kept state and dispensed hospitality in a fashion that strongly impressed the imagination both of bard and seanachie. His princely home in Uist was a reflection, and not a pale one, of the ancient State and Court of the Lords of Innsegall, while his kind and chivalrous nature, combined with popular manners, endeared him to men of all ranks and parties. But alas! the saying proved too true, the gods loved him and he died young. Ormiclate Castle was a centre of Jacobite influence, and doubtless the formidable rising of 1715 was in no small measure owing to the Clanranald chief. On the standard of the Chevalier being unfurled at Braemar on 6th September, Clanranald joined him with his vassals. He was appointed a Colonel in Mar's army, and was directed to march to Inveraray to prevent the Campbells and other clans that might be similarly disposed from joining the forces of the Crown. On the 17th September he made himself master of two redoubts of Inverlochy fortress, but was unable to retain them for want of artillery. On 6th October he arrived at Strathfillan, and in

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

the course of 10 days, having been joined by various clans, the force under his command numbered 2400 men. With this body he marched to Inveraray, and having directed a large detachment to overrun Kintyre, a considerable number who were to join Argyll in support of the Government were compelled to pledge themselves to abstain from rising. The town of Inveraray was too strongly occupied and fortified to be taken without much time and effort, and Allan at the head of his force once more marched to Strathfillan.¹ On 3rd November the camp at Strathfillan was broken up, and the troops under Allan's command marched to Perth, where they joined the main body under the Earl of Mar. The battle of Sheriffmuir was fought on Sunday, 13th November. Early in the battle, to which 1000 brave clansmen followed their beloved chief, the brave Clanranald fell mortally wounded. He only lived long enough to express the hope that his men would fight well, and that the day would prove favourable to King James. Thus fell one of the best and bravest of his race in the very prime of manhood, and his remains were interred at Inverpephry, the burying-place of the Perth family. The bards of his clan embalmed his memory in pathetic strains, the hereditary bard, Neil MacVuirich, closing his lament on the chief's untimely end in the lines :—

“Be mo chreach nach do liath thu
Mu'n d' thainig teachdair 'ga'd iarraidh o'n righ.”

On the day of the battle of Sheriffmuir an ominous and unfortunate accident occurred. The Clanranald servants were cooking a deer in the

× ¹ Book of 1819, p. 151.

kitchen of Ormiclate Castle, preparing, in the absence of both master and mistress, to enjoy a feast of fat things. During the cook's absence from the scene of operations the cauldron was upset, and the fat being literally in the fire, a conflagration ensued, which, catching the timbers, rapidly pursued its devouring course until the whole pile was in ruins.

Allan, who left no issue, was succeeded in the Clanranald chiefship by his brother Ranald, who, owing to his share in the rising of 1715, was never actually infested in the estates. He was present with his brother at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and a letter written by him from Nuide to Cluny Macpherson subsequent to that engagement—the date is February 11th, 17¹⁵/₁₆—shows that he had assumed his rightful position as chief and leader of his clan,¹ but shortly thereafter, with others who had committed themselves to the cause of the Chevalier, he went over to the Court of St Germain's. He suffered forfeiture, and never afterwards returned to his native land. During the years of his exile efforts were made, successfully, to secure the restoration of the estates, and Mackenzie of Delvin, one of the Clerks of Session, was appointed by the friends of the family, conspicuous among them the widow of the late chief, to carry through the negotiations. Mackenzie having bought the debts upon the property, obtained a decree and charter of adjudication against the estates and in his own favour. The Barony of Castletirrim² was on 9th November, 1723, exposed for sale by the Trustees on Forfeited Estates, and Mr Mackenzie, in whose hands funds

¹ Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest.

² This Barony of Castletirrim, though so named, consisted of the lands of Kendess, or the South end of South Uist.

had been deposited for the purpose, and who was the highest bidder, purchased the lands of the Barony for £1594 17s 7d. On the 24th August, 1724, a Disposition in favour of Mr Mackenzie was granted by the Commissioners, which was followed by a Charter of Resignation under the Great Seal in his favour, dated 29th November, 1725. Infeftment followed by an instrument of Sasine, dated 19th October, 1726. It was to be held in free blench for payment of 1d Scots yearly, if asked. The rest of the Clanranald estates were, practically, all held of the Duke of Argyll, who on 9th August, 1719, did as superior obtain a decree against the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, finding him to have a right to the property and rents of these lands in consequence of the attainder of Ranald Macdonald. On 12th June, 1727, a Charter of adjudication of all the lands other than those of the Barony of Castle Tirrim was granted by John Duke of Argyll in favour of Mr Mackenzie, dated 28th September, and 7th, 13th, 18th, 19th days of October, 1727.¹ In this way all the Clanranald estates were vested in Mr Mackenzie of Delvin; but just as the way was paved for conveying them to the exiled chief and application for his pardon was to be made, news came of his death at St Germain's, and with him the direct line of the first John Moydartach's descendants became extinct.

The Chiefship of Clanranald passed to the senior cadet family, namely Benbecula, and before proceeding with the history which went on worthily under its auspices, something must be said regarding its origin and position. The Benbecula family sprang from Ranald, second surviving son of Allan

× ¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

MacIan, by Maclean of Duart's daughter. On 28th April, 1625, John Moydartach, son of Donald MacAllan, gave his uncle, Ranald MacAllan, and his lineal heirs by Margaret, daughter of Angus of Dunnyveg, with reversion to the principal family, the following lands, viz., the 13 penny lands of Borrow, the 1 penny lands of Gergryminis, the 4 penny lands of Ballynacallach, the 4 penny lands of Belfinlay, the 5 penny lands of Belnamanach, the 20 penny lands of Wochter, viz., the two Airds and Knockvodum, all in Benbecula; also the 3 penny lands of Machriemeanach in Skeirhow, the ten shilling lands of Ardneish, Lochylt, and Essan in Arisaig.¹ As Benbecula was under the superiority of the Barons of Sleat, and there was consequent uncertainty in his tenure, Ranald received from his nephew a grant of certain lands held directly from the Crown in special warrant and security in case of eviction, viz., the whole 7 penny lands of Borronish Heichterach, the 7½ penny lands of Borronish Huchterach, the 5 penny lands of Kildonan, the 10 penny lands of Gerveltos, the 10 penny lands of Fröbost, the 6½ penny lands of Kilpeter. The principal land and messuage was to be in Ardnish in Arisaig, but practically the family residence was in Benbecula. On 20th August, 1627, Ranald of Benbecula, in order to consolidate his position in that island, entered into a bond of agreement with Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, acknowledging his superiority and chiefship.² On 4th March, 1633, Colin, Earl of Seaforth, who had meanwhile obtained the superiority of the lands of Ardnish, Lochylt, and Essan, gave Ranald a Charter of Ratification

¹ Names are spelt as in Charter.

² Gregory Collections,

for these lands.¹ It is evident that the valuable and extensive lands in the possession of the Benbecula family gave them a territorial position not greatly inferior to the Chief's.

Ranald MacAllan, the first of Benbecula, was in MacVuirich's estimation a good man according to the fashion of his time, "hospitable and generous, thrifty and friendly."² One feels suspicious when the seanachie is specially eulogistic that there is particular need of a whitewashing in the case of the individual who is praised. So it turns out in the present case, for almost immediately after the encomium on the virtues of Ranald, he tells us that he took to him and repudiated, in somewhat rapid succession, four wives out of the best families in the Highlands ; all the marriages having, we presume, been contracted according to the handfasting system. Ranald's character, as disclosed by the Records, does not lend itself to eulogy. His brother, Donald of Clanranald, had to report him to the Privy Council as disobedient and unanswerable, and in 1618 he received a remission for killing a man named Alexander Roy Macdonald Roy Vc Innes. In 1630, Ranald, who by his numerous handfastings had been accumulating arrears of indebtedness to the Church of Rome, tries to pay his debts in part by becoming the champion of persecuted Catholicism. An Irish priest, Patrick Chagnetie by name, had been in South Uist conducting masses, and the Bishop of the Isles apprehended him for what was at the time illegal and forbidden action, and was taking him away to be presented to the Privy Council. After leaving Uist the zealous Bishop and his prize were overtaken by the emissaries of Ranald MacAllan,

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² Reliquiæ Celticæ, vol. II., p. 173.

who, unlike the family of the Chief, adhered to the ancient Church, and the Bishop was compelled to surrender his captive. The Bishop complained to the Privy Council, but it was difficult in those days and in the outlying parts of the Kingdom to bring so powerful a culprit to account. Ranald died in 1636, and was duly eulogised by Cathelus Mac-Vuirich.

Ranald the first of Benbecula was succeeded by Ranald of Castle Borge, his oldest son, by his fifth and only lawful wife, according to the feudal law, Margaret of Dunnyveg. This second Ranald was apparently a man of quiet life, the racial ferocity having so far expended itself, at anyrate for the time, in the irregular and uncontrollable life of the founder of the Benbecula family. He received a Sasine from his cousin John Moydartach for the lands that had been bestowed by charter upon his father in 1625, and the infestment was registered in the Chanoury of Ross. Ranald is said to have been at law with his Chief over the payment of feu-duty and services, but the Laird of Benbecula seems to have been unsuccessful in his litigation. There is no record of the year of his death, but as his son and successor Donald received a charter for all the family possessions in 1680, the event must have occurred shortly before that date.

On the death of Ranald, in 1725, Donald Mac-Donald of Benbecula succeeded to the chiefship. Donald, as we already saw, fought at Killiecrankie with his young ward and Chief. He was one of those who signed the answer of the Highland Clans to General Mackay, dated at Birse on 17th August, 1689, and he also was one of the signatories to the Bond of Association at Blair Athole on the 24th of

the same month, and he bound himself to bring 200 men to His Majesty's service in the following September. Like his predecessors of the house of Benbecula, he was a strict Roman Catholic, and through his influence and upbringing his two immediate predecessors in the chiefship were adherents of the same faith. While succeeding to the chiefship of Clanranald, he at the same time fell heir to the provision that was being made for the restoration of the family estates. The procedure with regard to Donald was easily completed, for as he was not in rebellion in 1715, he had no political offences to be confessed or pardoned. On 5th December, 1726, Mr Alexander Mackenzie of Delvin, in whom the estates were vested, disposed the lands of the barony of Castle Tirrim, consisting of Kendess, in South Uist, to Donald of Benbecula in liferent, to Ranald his oldest son in liferent, and to Ranald *his* oldest son and to his heirs in fee. Another Disposition on the same day conveyed the lands of Moydart, Arisaig, &c., which were under Argyll's superiority, in exactly the same terms, and for all the lands infestment took place on 28th September, and 7th, 13th, 18th, and 19th October, 1727. A Charter of Confirmation was afterwards granted. The widow of the late Allan of Clanranald is referred to in the Disposition as the moving spirit of the process, her action on the family's behalf being determined by a tender regard for the memory of her deceased husband.

The few years that Donald survived his accession to the honours and estates of Clanranald were quiet and uneventful. He continued to reside in the home of his ancestors in Benbecula, where he died in 1730, and was buried in the Churchyard of

St Mary's at Nunton, where, as we omitted to state, the dust of his father and of his grandfather reposed. As head of Benbecula and as Chief of Clanranald he proved himself to be one of the most discreet of his line, while his action during the revolutionary period exhibits him in the light of an honourable and chivalrous upholder of the House of Stewart. He was succeeded by his oldest son, Ranald, both in the chiefship and in the family estates. Ranald was evidently regarded as a good man of business, for on the very day on which Mackenzie of Delvin acquired the barony of Castle Tirrim, he appointed the heir of Benbecula factor and commissioner for that property, and evidence exists of his efficiency in this respect by documents drawn up by him and written in his own hand. He does not seem to have possessed the forceful and enterprising spirit of his predecessors, nor at any time to have exchanged the pen for the sword. He appears to have been a comparatively young man at his succession, for he lived for many years after the memorable Rising of 1745. During the fifteen years that elapsed from his succession, to the Jacobite movement, the Clanranald family made little or no history that calls for record. In 1734 Clanranald granted a tack of the whole lands of South Uist to his half-brother, Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale—a transaction more suitably, as well as conveniently, considered hereafter. From this date we pass at a single step to the coming of Prince Charles to Scotland.

It is cheap wisdom now-a-days to speak of the folly, the madness, of the enterprise so recklessly undertaken by the heir of the Stewart line. It was an undertaking no doubt which bordered on political

insanity, but all the same it was magnificent; it was rich in compensations, for it redeemed three-quarters of a century from the dead level of commonplace. The gallant though ill-starred enterprise so sublime in its imprudence, so full of chivalrous romance and thrilling episode, has imparted an inspiration to the minstrelsy of Highland bard and Lowland lyrist without which our land would be infinitely poorer. The exigencies of our space do not permit us to narrate with anything like fulness the story of the '45; we can but generally note that none of the Highland Clans was so closely associated with that rising as the Clanranald branch of the Clan Donald. It was on Clanranald soil, the little island of Eriskay—*Coilleag a' Phrionnsa* the spot is called—that the young Chevalier first set foot in Scotland. It was in the Clanranald country, the historic Glenfinnan, that his standard first fluttered in the breeze: the younger Clanranald was the first of all the Chiefs to espouse his forlorn fortunes: a body-guard of 100 Clanranald men constituted his first military retinue, and it was a fair daughter of this ancient house whose memory has become the deathless heritage of the ages, because she saved him from the jaws of destruction.

Ranald Macdonald, elder of Clanranald, was, as already stated, a man of quiet and retiring nature, not adapted by temperament for mingling in such tempestuous affairs as the Rising of 1745, and we find him, though doubtless sentimentally attached to the cause, remaining passive during the contest. Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale, the Chief's younger brother, was of entirely different calibre. He seems to have been a man of great influence, as well as force of character, and while not actively

hostile, absolutely refused to compromise himself, though earnestly pressed to do so by Charles, during his lengthy visit to the "Doutelle." Ranald Macdonald, younger of Clanranald, a man of chivalrous character and noble bearing, after a little hesitation espoused the Prince's cause along with most of the Cadets of his Clan, and continued, not only up to the tragedy of dark Culloden, but long afterwards, his staunchest and most faithful friend. Young Clanranald, who had the position of Colonel, with Macdonald of Glenalladale as his second in command, brought 250 men to the Prince's army, and all these, officers and men, in the various engagements in which they took part, sustained the reputation of their clan and country for bravery and devotion, not even excepting their conduct at the fatal field of Culloden. Early in September, after the Prince's landing in Scotland, young Clanranald, accompanied by the Chief of Keppoch, was sent to Dundee with his followers to proclaim James VIII. and collect public money to replenish the Prince's depleted treasury.¹ After this he returned to Perth, where the Chevalier and his army were quartered. At the battle of Falkirk, fought on 17th January, 1746, and which resulted in a decisive victory for the army of Prince Charles, young Clanranald had a narrow escape. In the melee in which the Highlanders and the enemy's cavalry were mingled, he was trodden down, and before he could rise, a dead horse fell on him in such a way as to prevent his extrication without assistance. This did not appear forthcoming, but while in the critical position, he saw a dismounted dragoon and a Highlander struggling near him, when it became evident that

¹ Itinerary of Prince Charles.

on the issue of the combat his rescue would depend. However, he was soon relieved. The Highlander dispatched his foe, and the young Chief was succoured.¹

In the battles fought and victories won by Prince Charles before Culloden, the Clan Donald received the place of honour on the right. This position was accorded to them by King Robert Bruce, and belonged to them by right since Bannockburn, in recognition of the signal services rendered by Angus Og, Lord of the Isles, and his Islesmen before and on that eventful field. The evidence of history does not seem to show that this position was uniformly theirs. The fact, however, is undoubted that this was the case during the Rising of 1745, and the decision of Lord George Murray, which deprived them of that traditional honour at a crisis in the fortunes of Prince Charles, was felt to be an intolerable insult by the proud clansmen. The circumstance was regarded as of evil omen by the Clan Donald; it inevitably chilled their ardour and depressed their spirits, and tended materially to affect the fortunes of the day. Yet, despite of all, Clanranald, his gentlemen, and vassals, undeterred by feelings of resentment, fought and bled on Culloden Moor, and the statements to the contrary by Lowland scribes are either the offspring of fancy or gross exaggerations. The young Chief was severely wounded in the head; Macdonald of Belfinlay suffered injuries and hardships which brought him to an early grave, while John, a younger son of Angus Macdonald of Borrodale, was left dead upon the field. The battle of Culloden was fought on 16th April, 1746.

¹ Browne's History of the Highlands, Vol. III., p. 186.

Clanranald having reached in safety his grandmother's house in Inverness, remained in concealment there for some days, after which, at the head of a few followers, he sought the wilds of Moydart. Here he very narrowly escaped being taken by the emissaries of the Royal savage who had now commenced to signalize his triumph by a series of atrocities which have branded his name with immortal infamy.¹ About a week after Culloden, Clanranald joined the Prince at Glenbeusdale, and endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying out a purpose he had formed on O'Sullivan's advice of sailing to the Isles. O'Sullivan's counsel, however, prevailed, and on the 26th April Charles embarked for the Isles in an eight-oared boat, starting from the bay of Lochnanuagh.² It was the last interview between the Prince and young Clanranald in Scotland.

Early in May there seems to have been a faint gleam of hope that something might still be done to retrieve the loss of Culloden. Two French frigates touched at Lochnanuagh with 35,000 louis d'ors for the supply of the Prince's empty treasury, and prospects were entertained of military forces and stores from France. Fortified by these considerations, Clanranald and some other chiefs entered into a Bond of Association for the continuance of the struggle; but eventually it was found impossible to raise the clans, and the attempt was abandoned.³ Nor were military supplies ever sent from France.

Young Clanranald is generally supposed to have gone to France within a very few months after the Culloden disaster. It seems quite clear, however,

¹ Book of 1819, pp. 167-8.

² Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. III., p. 264.

³ Ibid, p. 267.

that he secretly lingered in his own country for at least eighteen months thereafter, chiefly in the wilds of Moydart, a course which in the circumstances of the time was fraught with the greatest peril.¹ Eventually, probably in the early months of 1748, he made his way to Braban, the seat of the House of Seaforth, politically opposed but on terms of friendship with his family. Here he met his ladylove, Miss Hamilton, and the dark hour of danger and defeat was enlivened by a wedding and a honeymoon. From Brahan Castle the young couple proceeded to Cromarty, embarked on a London-bound ship under the name of Mr and Mrs Black, and shortly thereafter found their way to Paris, where we shall, for the present, leave them.²

The boat in which Prince Charles embarked at Lochmanuagh, on the 26th April, was overtaken by a furious gale and driven to Rossinish, in the island of Benbecula. Clanranald, senior, the lord of the manor, on receiving a message from the Prince, paid him a visit during the few days that he first remained in that neighbourhood, and it also appears that he was interviewed by MacDonald of Boisdale during this visit to the Long Island. It was on the advice of the latter that he made a fruitless journey to Lewis in the hope of lighting upon some ship in Stornoway to take him over to France.³ On the Prince's return from Lewis he again took up his quarters in Benbecula in a miserable hovel, a couple of miles from the landing place, and there he was a second time visited by the Clanranald Chief; while his kind-hearted lady sent the unfortunate wanderer a much-needed and welcome consignment of clothes, provisions, and other creature comforts. On the

× ¹ Clanranald Charter Chest. ² Book of 1819.

³ Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. III., p. 278.

Chief's advice Charles passed over to South Uist and stayed in a comfortless forester's house in Glen Corrodale until the middle of June in a position of comparative safety.¹ By that time men of war began to hover about the coast, bands of militia appeared in various parts of the island, and the situation of the adventurer daily increased in peril. At this crisis he was visited at Corrodale by MacDonald of Boisdale and Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare, the latter of whom has left on record a graphic and lively picture of festive hours spent at the shrine of Bacchus during three nights passed in that lonely region. His visitors apprised the Prince of his danger from the troops and spies of the Government, and shortly after their departure he left his hiding place at Corrodale, when the first intelligence he received was to the effect that MacDonald of Boisdale, who, though not a professed adherent, was a true friend, had been taken prisoner.² Just at this moment, when the net of his foes was slowly but surely closing around their victim, and there seemed little human possibility of escape, the heir of all the Stewarts was saved from captivity and certain death, and the British Government from the perpetration of a tragedy which, in its existing temper, might be regarded as certain, by the coolness, the resource, and the devotion of Flora Macdonald, the heroine of that stirring time. It is beside our purpose to detail the incidents of the escape of Charles Edward from Uist. But it is noteworthy that among his many marvellous escapes none was more wonderful

¹ The Lyon in Mourning. The cave at Corrodale traditionally pointed out as *Uamha Phrionnsa*—the Prince's Cave—is not once referred to in contemporary accounts.

² *Ibid.*

or providential than his flight under the guise of Betty Burke, the Irish spinning maid. Flora, on returning from Milton, her brother's residence, to Nunton in Benbecula, the seat of Clanranald, was apprehended, along with her male attendant, Neil MacEachan, by the guard of soldiers placed there to arrest all wayfarers after dark who were travelling without a passport. Yet even at this stage, the crux of her whole scheme, when her enterprise seemed doomed to shipwreck, the stars in their courses were fighting for her success. The guard at the south ford was under command of her step-father, Hugh Macdonald of Armadale, evidently a secret sympathiser. When he arrived on the scene next morning, he at once ordered her release, giving her at the same time a passport to Skye for her spinning maid, her man-servant, and herself.

On the 27th June, Betty Burke, accompanied by Flora and Neil MacEachan, embarked at Rossinish in Benbecula in a boat manned by six stalwart Clanranald oarsmen. The furious storm in the Minch, the landing at Monkstadt, the visit to Kingsburgh, the parting at Portree between Flora and the Prince, these and other incidents of the three eventful days do not demand detailed narration here, and we have referred to them along with the previous course of events—though of necessity in brief—because they constitute one of the noblest and most heroic pages in the history of an heroic clan.

A bill of attainder was brought against the chiefs implicated in the '45, and it obtained the Royal assent on 4th June, 1746. Almost immediately after this, the members of the Clanranald family, who were more or less directly concerned with the

Prince's protection in, and his escape from, Uist, were apprehended and taken to London to stand their trial. Among them were old Clanranald, Lady Clanranald, Boisdale, and Flora Macdonald, who, after a short confinement, were allowed to return home. Notwithstanding the forfeiture, efforts were not wanting on the part of Clanranald's friends to relieve the financial embarrassment caused by the Rebellion. Conspicuous among these was a tack to MacDonald of Kinlochmoydart of the lands of Arisaig, Moydart, and Canma, for an annual rent of 5100 merks, and dated 21st September, 1747.

In 1748 the Barons of Exchequer decided on a survey of the estates named in the Act of Attainder, and Mr David Bruce was appointed for the purpose. Fortunately for the Clanranald family, it was found that a serious technical flaw had crept into the definition of their case, as in the list of forfeitures the party attainted was described as Donald. Consequently, when the Government agent took action towards a survey, on the 27th of August, 1748, a protest was lodged at the instance of Clanranald, through his procurator, MacDonald of Glenalladale, on the twofold ground (1) that Clanranald senior had not been accessory to the Rebellion, and (2) that his son and heir, Ranald, had not been convicted in any Court of Justice, nor attainted by Act of Parliament.¹ Pending the settlement of this question between Clanranald and the Crown, the Chief took out titles for his Benbecula estates, which do not appear to have been attacked by the attainder, and to which he had succeeded on his father's death in 1730. With the view of keeping Benbecula, as of old, a separate holding, in possession of a distinct

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

family, he first of all, on 17th April, 1750, took out an Instrument of Clare Constat in his own favour, and next day disposed it to his second son, Donald, with reversion to the younger brothers successively, and finally to the heir of Clanranald. Thereupon Donald, in consideration of the position of the Clanranald estates as affected by the forfeiture, made over his rights to Benbecula to his brother, Ranald, in the event of the head of the house being permanently deprived; but if the Clanranald estates were restored, this deed would be null and void. Sasine in favour of old Clanranald followed on 29th April and 12th May, and in favour of Donald on 18th April.¹

During these years Ranald, younger of Clanranald, was under sentence of attainder, and an exile from his native land. He obtained military employment in France, and enjoyed occasional intercourse and correspondence with the Prince, of whose restoration he did not cease to cherish hopes.² On 20th December, 1751, the Clanranald case regarding the relevancy of the attainder against him was decided in his favour by the almost unanimous vote of the whole of the Judges of the Court of Session present, and no appeal was afterwards taken. Thus the claims of father and son to the Barony of Castle-tirrim, and the lands of Moydart, Arisaig, &c., were sustained.³ It was probably in 1752, and subsequent to this favourable issue, that young Clanranald returned to Britain. His history during the next two years is by no means easy to trace, but it appears that, despite the break-down of the attainder, his political offences were charged against

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest. / ² Stuart Papers.

³ Clanranald Charter Chest.

him in a new and more successful form, and he was kept prisoner in London till April, 1754. Early this month he was set at liberty, and returned to his home and estates after an absence of nine years. Shortly after his return his father made out a right of his own life-rent in his favour, and he at the same time obtained a nine years' tack of Benbecula from his brother, Donald. By these means much was done through young Clanranald's energy and capacity to relieve the pecuniary tension in which the last and previous forfeitures had placed the estates.¹

Captain Donald Macdonald of Benbecula, old Clanranald's second son, deserves special reference in the history of his house. In early life he entered the French army, but followed Prince Charles in 1745, and fought in all the battles of the campaign. After many vicissitudes, he again entered the French service, but returned to Scotland in 1756.² The following year he obtained a commission in Fraser's Highlanders, and greatly distinguished himself in the American war. He was wounded at the taking of Cape Breton, where he rendered brilliant service in 1758, and on the 28th April, 1760, he fell on the heights of Abraham, near Quebec, in an attack by General Murray on the French besieging army. We are informed by an eminent authority that "he was employed on all duties where more than usual difficulty and danger were to be encountered, and where more than common talent, address, and spirited example were required."³

After the subsidence of the ground swell that succeeded the storm of 1745, Clanranald history pursues an even uneventful course during the remainder of the 18th century. In 1763 the

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest. ² Clanranald Charter Chest.

³ Stewart of Garth.

younger Clanranald purchased from Allan Macdonald the lands of Knockeilteig, Cleatill, and Holin, and in 1764 the Barons of Exchequer renounced in his favour their claim to the lands of Kinlochmoydart, once held in wadset by the attainted Donald Macdonald. This latter year Clanranald gave a commission and factory for the management of his estates to William Macdonald, Esq., W.S., Edinburgh. In June, 1766—we cannot condescend upon the precise date—old Clanranald died at an advanced age, and was buried in the family cemetery at Nunton, where his father's dust was laid 35 years before. The circumstance made no appreciable difference in the position of affairs, as Clanranald junior had since 1753 been the responsible head of the house. On 9th September, 1765, Clanranald made a disposition of the barony of Castletirrim in favour of John, his oldest surviving son, and of his heirs, and on the same date executed a similar disposition of all his other lands. A charter of confirmation from the Crown followed on 5th December. In 1777 Clanranald made a settlement of his affairs in favour of his wife and children, and appointed guardians in their interest, among them being Lord Macdonald of Sleat, Archd. Macdonald of Sanda, and Colin Macdonald of Boisdale.¹ Soon after putting his temporal affairs in order, and before the expiry of 1777, the Chief of Clanranald died, and was buried with his fathers. The public and private records of his age and family exhibit him in the light of a noble, brave, and generous Chief, considerate to his vassals, loyal to his friends, and never failing in gratitude to those who rendered him faithful service.

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald was succeeded by his oldest surviving son John, to whom, as a child, MacCodrum, the celebrated Uist bard, composed “*Taladh Iain Mhuideartaich*,” John of Moydart’s lullaby.¹ At Edinburgh on 23rd February, 1780, he was served heir to his father for all his lands.² He is said to have been liberally educated and to have travelled on the Continent for several years under the supervision of a learned tutor. He obtained a commission in the army as Captain in the 22nd Dragoons, but soon retired from service, and settled down quietly in the family residence at Nunton. He married his first wife in 1786, and by a post nuptial contract made a disposition of the lands of Kendess and others in the barony of Castletirrim to himself and heirs of the marriage. The same year he received a charter of resignation from the Commissioners of the Duke of Argyll for the lands of Moydart and others, on which sasine followed.³ On the 29th March, 1794, he appointed Hector Macdonald Buchanan, W.S., Edinburgh, factor, commissioner, and agent on his estates, and on 29th October following executed a commission and factory and disposition in trust to Archd. Macdonald, Esq., of Sanda, and Hector Macdonald Buchanan, W.S. On the 5th September previous to this last deed, he had appointed guardians for his young family,⁴ and as the missive contains evidence that he was intending to leave Scotland for a lengthened period, we naturally infer that his health had broken down, and that he purposed seeking a sunnier clime. It is doubtful, however, if he proceeded further on his journey than

¹ Vide Uist Bards, p. 91.

² Clanranald Charter Chest.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

the South of Scotland, where he died in the month of November, 1794, and though no inscription marks the place of sepulture, his remains are believed to rest beneath a stone which bears the Clanranald arms in a vault at Holyrood, where other members of the family repose. He died ere he could fulfil, save in small measure, the rich promise of his early years.

John MacDonald of Clanranald was succeeded by his oldest son, Ranald George, who was only five years of age at his father's death. During 1795-6 he was served heir to his father, and infefted in all his estates. In 1805 the superiority of all the lands held from Argyll was acquired by purchase. Ranald George MacDonald, having received his education in Edinburgh and Eton, came of age in 1810, and, during this and the following year, executed two successive deeds for the management of his estates; but finally, in 1811, he found it necessary to execute a trust deed on behalf of his creditors for liquidating debts outstanding against his predecessors, as well as considerable liabilities contracted by himself.¹ In 1812 he acquired the superiority of Canna from the Duke of Argyll, and the following year the island of Muck was sold to Maclean of Coll.² The early part of the nineteenth century was, owing to many social and economic changes, a time disastrous to many Highland proprietors, and the open-handed Chief of Clanranald was not too well equipped by nature for contending with the altered conditions. One after another the various portions of the once magnificent domain had to be sold to the stranger, until at last,

¹ Clanranald Charter Chest.

² *Ibid.* There is no record of when the island of Muck was acquired by the family.

in 1838, the Long Island estate was disposed of to Colonel Gordon of Cluny, Aberdeenshire. All that now remains of the once proud possessions are the Island and Castle of Tirmim.¹

The late Clanranald Chief for many years commanded the Long Island regiment of Inverness-shire local militia, and represented the burgh of Plymton in Parliament from 1812 to 1824. In 1821 a somewhat acrimonious controversy arose between himself and the Chief of Glengarry regarding the Chiefship of the Clanranald, and, whatever be the merits of the case, the former conducted his side of the discussion with great coolness and dignity. He visited his native country in 1871, and two years later, on 11th March, 1873, died at the advanced age of 85.

He was succeeded in the Chiefship of the Clanranald by the present Chief, Reginald John James George, whose career as an officer in the British Navy reflects the highest honour both on himself and his illustrious line. Admiral Sir Reginald Macdonald of Clanranald, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., has been the recipient of many honours in recognition of distinguished public service. Besides the order of knighthood and others already indicated, he received

¹ LANDS SOLD BY R. G. MACDONALD.

1813.	<i>Lochans</i> —sold to Alexander Macdonald, Esq. of Dalilea...	£3,054	0	0
1813.	<i>Dalilea</i> —sold to Alex. Macdonald of Glenaludale	8,960	0	0
	<i>Island of Shona</i> —do. do.	6,100	0	0
	<i>Island of Muck</i> —sold to Alex. M'Lean of Coll ..	9,997	11	7
1826.	<i>Estate of Arisaig</i> —sold to Lady Ashburton's Trustees....	48,950	0	0
	<i>Superiority of Bornish</i> —sold to do.....	350	0	0
	<i>Island of Eigg</i> —sold to Dr Macpherson	14,500	0	0
	<i>Island of Orana</i> —sold to Don. MacNeill	9,000	0	0
1827.	<i>Lands of Moidart</i> —sold to Major Allan Nicolson Macdonald	9,000	0	0
	<i>Sheafishings</i> —sold to Alexander Macdonald of Rhue	300	0	0
	<i>Lands of Keuchreggan</i> —sold to Colonel Cameron ...	8,000	0	0
1838.	<i>South Vist and Benbecula</i> —sold to Col. Gordon	96,000	0	0

£214,211 11 7

a special gold medal from Her Majesty in 1877 and an Etruscan Cup inlaid with figures in gold and silver, a gift from Humbert, King of Italy, in 1878; but, as a scion of the princely house of Finlaggan, there is no honour that he appreciates more highly than to be Chief of the Society of the great Clan Donald. That the Clanranald Chief may enjoy the after-glow of a long life's evening, and that his progeny may be long in the land to perpetuate the race and the renown of Castletirrim, is the devout wish of every genuine clansman.¹

¹ The Clanranald Chiefs, since young Clanranald of the '45, have been of the Protestant faith.

CHAPTER X.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENGARRY.



Early history of Glengarry.—The Macdonalds of Glengarry held their lands of the Lords of the Isles.—Final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles and Alexander of Glengarry.—The policy of James IV.—Resistance of Alexander of Glengarry.—Alexander joins the rebellion of Sir Donald of Lochalsh.—Bond between Glengarry and Lochiel.—Glengarry's claim to the lands of Lochalsh allowed.—Involved in Alexander of Dumyveg's rebellion.—Crown Charter to Glengarry.—He joins the rebellion of Donald Gorme of Sleat.—He is taken a prisoner to Edinburgh by James V.—Alexander joins the rebellion of Donald Dubh.—He supports John of Moidart and fights at Leine.—Feud between Glengarry and the Chief of Grant.—Visit of the Regent Arran to Inverness.—Feud with the Grants renewed.—Marriage contract between Glengarry, on behalf of his son Donald, and Freuchie for his daughter, Helen Grant.—Charter by James VI. to Glengarry.—Royal Commission to Angus of Glengarry to hold courts within the bounds of his lands.—Threatened invasion of Glengarry by the Earl of Argyle.—Quarrel between Glen-

garry and Kintail over the Lochalsh family lands in Wester Ross.—Glengarry enters into a bond of manrent with Huntly.—Glengarry in rebellion against the King's authority.—Differences with Freuchie finally settled.—The quarrel with Mackenzie renewed with great fury.—Death of Angus Macdonald, younger of Glengarry.—Royal Commission to Glengarry to deal with broken men.—Raid of Kilehris.—Lord Ochiltree makes the Island Chiefs prisoners at Aros.—Raid of Strathdee by the men of Glengarry.—Letter by James VI. to Donald MacAngus anent the manufacture of iron and glass near Glengarry.—Raid by the men of Knoydart.—Alasdair Dearg, younger of Glengarry, joined the rebellion of Sir James Macdonald of Dunnyveg.—Bond of friendship between Glengarry and Clanranald.—Glengarry employed in Government service.—He claims to be heir to the Lordship of the Isles.—Glengarry and the "Broken Men."—Angus, younger of Glengarry, and MacRanald of Lumdie.—Raid of Glengarry by Argyle.—"Angus Macdonald Og to the Laird of Glengarry," committed to ward in Edinburgh Castle.—Angus joins Montrose.—Battle of Inverlochy.—Angus of Glengarry at Dundee, Auldearn, Alford, and Kilsyth.—Glengarry in Ireland.—He is detained a prisoner at Kilkenny.—At Worcester.—He bestirs himself for a rising among the Clans.—Letter and commission from Charles II. to Glengarry.—Glengarry joins Glencairn.—Middleton assumes command of the Royalist forces, and Glengarry receives a commission of Major-General.—Defeat of the King's forces at Lochgarry.

GLENGARRY of old formed part of the Lordship of Lochaber, possessed by the Cumyn family from the beginning of the thirteenth century until their forfeiture for their adherence to the English faction early in the reign of Bruce. The earliest notice of Glengarry as a place name in any authentic record is to be found in a grant of the Earldom of Moray by Bruce to his nephew, Thomas Randolph, some time after his coronation at Scone in 1306.¹ For his loyalty and services to Bruce, the King, after

¹ Regist. Moraviense.

his victory at Bannockburn, granted to Angus of Isla a charter of many lands, including half the Lordship of Lochaber, while the other half was bestowed on Roderick of Garmoran, who also had distinguished himself on the side of Bruce. By the forfeiture of Roderick in 1325, the whole of the Lordship of Lochaber came into the possession of the Lord of the Isles, and it remained in his family from this time onwards until the final forfeiture of the last Lord in 1493. It will thus be seen that the lands of Glengarry were included in the Lordship of the Isles from the beginning of the fourteenth century, while the family of Macdonald, styled of Glengarry, took its rise either at the end of the same or in the beginning of the succeeding century. The early history of this family is involved in considerable obscurity, as is indeed that of the other cadet families of the Isles, overshadowed as they all were by the great parent House. It was not until the downfall of that House that they emerged from their obscurity and began to play an independent part in the drama of clan history. All the most reliable authorities are agreed that Donald, the second son of Reginald, from whom all the Clanranald are descended, was the progenitor of the family of Glengarry. To Reginald, his father John, Lord of the Isles, granted a charter of many lands within the Lordship of the Isles, including lands in Lochaber, and the same was confirmed by another charter by Robert II. in 1371.¹ According to MacVuirich, his father bestowed on Donald the Stewardship of his lands of Lochaber, and it is highly probable, though we can find no record of it anywhere, that Reginald bestowed on him as his

¹ Robertson's Index.

patrimony these lands, or at least some lands in Lochaber, while the western portion of his extensive territory went to his eldest son and heir, Allan. One historian of the Clan affirms that the first possession of the family of Glengarry was North Morar only, and that it was through the matrimonial alliance with the family of Lochalsh that Glengarry, which appeared to have been held in leasehold, came to them. The fact that the early heads of the family are on record as "of Morar and Glengarry," would seem to indicate that Morar was their first possession, or at least that it was their first place of residence. North Morar remained in the family till near the end of last century, when it was sold by Duncan Macdonald of Glengarry to the family of Lovat. There is no trace of the lands of Glengarry in any charter to the Macdonalds of Lochalsh, or by them. It appears, however, that they lay claim to certain lands in Lochaber, some of which at least were granted by Alexander, styling himself of Lochalsh and Lochiel, to Ewen, Captain of the Clan Cameron, in 1492.¹ Either these lands in Lochaber were granted to the family of Lochalsh by the Lord of the Isles, of which, if there ever was such a grant, there is no record; or Alexander lay claim to them as heir presumptive to John, the last lord. There is no evidence that the family of Lochalsh ever possessed or laid claim to the lands of Glengarry, and it is certain that these lands were possessed by the Macdonalds of Glengarry before there was any matrimonial alliance between them and Lochalsh. In several MS. histories, Alexander, the son of Donald, is referred to as the first of the Macdonald family who possessed Glengarry. Alexander Ranald-

¹ Reg. of Great Seal.

son of Glengarry himself must have been of this opinion when, in a genealogical tree in his "Vindication of the Clannonald of Glengarry," he strikes out the name of Donald, the son of Reginald, altogether, and makes Donald's son, Alexander, the progenitor of the family. MacVuirich records the death of Alexander, "a powerful, bold, warlike Lord of the Clannonald," as having taken place on the Island of Abbas, in 1460, but he makes no reference to him as a territorial magnate. The reason why there is no reference to the early heads of the family in contemporary records is owing principally to their not holding their lands of the Crown. Very soon, however, after the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, there is an action by the Crown against Alexander John Alexander Ronaldson, who is summoned for "wrongous occupation" of the lands of Glengarry and Morar.¹ Summons at the same time are directed against several other chieftains of the Clan Donald, who are now called upon to take out Crown charters for their lands. Alexander John Alexander Ranaldson, against whom the summons is directed, appears often on record, and in a way that would indicate, though not expressly stated, that his two predecessors had also possessed the lands of Glengarry. There is a letter under the Privy Seal, dated 30th March, 1538, to "Alexander MacKane MacAlester of Glengarry," of the non-entries of the *Slysmoyne of Glengarry and Morar*, "wyt all malis fermes proffittis and dewteis of ye saide lands wyt yare pertinents of all yeris and termes bigane yat ye samin hes been in oure soverane lordis handis or his predecessoris be resoune of non-entres sen ye deceis of John MacAlister fader to ye saide Alexander, or his predecessoris."²

¹ Acta Dom. Con.² Reg. of Privy Seal.

It would appear, however, that the earliest record evidence of the actual possession by a Macdonald of the Clanranald branch of the lands of Glengarry is no further back than the year 1496. In that year it appears from the Crown Rentals that the 30 mark lands of Glengarry were occupied "be Angus More and Alexander Johne Ranaldsoun."¹ But there need be no doubt that for a hundred years prior to the entry in the Crown Rentals the family, through a succession of chieftains, occupied the lands of Glengarry. The history of that period, it is true, so far as the Macdonalds of Glengarry are concerned, is almost a blank. Little can be gleaned from the seanachies, whose meagre references do not often amount to much more than mere names. MacVuirich, referring to Donald, the progenitor of the Glengarry family, merely records that he was the second son of "Ranald the Tanist," and that, dying in Lochaber, of which he was steward, in 1420, he was buried with his ancestors in Relic Oran in Iona. He records further that Donald was succeeded by his son, Alexander, known as "Alasdair na Coille," who appears to have inherited the fighting qualities of his ancestors in an eminent degree, and who, dying on the Island of Abbas, in 1460, was likewise buried in Iona.

From the MS. of 1450, written in the lifetime of Alexander, it appears that the eldest son of Donald Macranald was John, whose mother was Laleve, the daughter of MacIver, while Alexander, "the powerful, bold, warlike Lord," was the eldest son of his second marriage by a daughter of Lovat. MacVuirich makes no reference to this John, and traces the Glengarry family in the usual Irish fashion from

¹ Crown Rentals.

son to father back to Donald, through Alexander. It would therefore appear that John either left no issue, or was thrown out of the succession by Alexander. Of John MacAlister, the first referred to in record as having possessed Glengarry, little is known. It is stated by the Glengarry champion in the Ranaldian controversy that John MacAlister of Glengarry, having been invited by Lovat to a friendly interview, was murdered by him at Achteraw, in Abertarff. This resulted in a conflict between the families, in which the Frasers were defeated, and Lovat surrendered the lands of Abertarff to Glengarry. According to the same authority, proceedings were afterwards instituted by Alexander MacIain of Glengarry before the Lords of Council against the murderers of his father.

From the Books of Adjournal it appears that Donald Bane was arraigned "*ad subeunc legem pro arte et parte crudelis interjectionis quondam Joannis Mac Alister, et hic pleg. capt. fuit de mandato D.C. per eorum deliberationem qui ad cornu existebat.*"

It is worthy of notice that in Dean Munro's Description of the Western Isles, written in the year 1549, no reference is made to the family of Glengarry, while the families of Sleat, Dunivaig, Ardnamurchan, Clanranald, and Keppoch are given as the then five principal families of the Clan Donald. It is quite evident that the family of Glengarry had not risen to the importance of the other families in the Dean's time, though having then acquired a large share of the lands of the family of Lochalsh they were in point of territorial sway at least not behind some of them. But the fact, often overlooked, is that the family of Glengarry was merged in the Clanranald of Garmoran,

and with that of Moidart and Knoydart formed one tribe. The history of Glengarry down to the charter of 1538 is part of the history of the Clanranald. Not, indeed, until well on in the sixteenth century did the family of Glengarry act an independent part. If they ever held charters for their lands under the Lords of the Isles they are now lost, and no reference to them can be found anywhere. The probability, amounting almost to certainty, is that they never held any written title for their lands prior to the grant of James V. to Alexander MacIan MacAlister in 1538. As far back as 1466, John, Earl of Ross, granted to Duncan Mackintosh, Chief of the highly favoured family of Mackintosh, the office of Bailie of his hereditary lands of Glengarry, and many others in Lochaber, including Keppoch.¹ It is difficult to account for this favour conferred on Mackintosh by the Lord of the Isles over the heads of two cadet families of his own house. Perhaps it was out of gratitude to the Clan Chattan for deserting his father's standard in 1429. The conferring of this important office on Mackintosh, it may be presumed, affected Macdonald of Glengarry as little as we know it did Macdonald of Keppoch, and his authority was as little regarded by the one as by the other.

Although there is no definite record of the part played by the heads of this family during the 15th century, yet it may be assumed that in the struggles of the Clan Donald, under the Lordship of the Isles, which ended in the final forfeiture of John, in 1493, it was not an unimportant part. In these struggles the Clanranald of Garmoran acted a distinguished part, but reference having already been made to it

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal.

elsewhere, it is not necessary to dwell upon it in this place. The fall of the Lordship of the Isles brought about many changes, both in the social and political economy of the Clan Donald families. The policy of the King was not, to say the least, conceived in a friendly spirit, though the great energy with which he set about restoring order among the broken clans is worthy of all praise. The first step towards receiving the allegiance of the Islanders was the insistence by the King on all the Chiefs taking out charters for their lands formerly held of the Lords of the Isles. With this purpose in view, James proceeded to the Highlands immediately after the forfeiture of the Island Lord, and received the submission of most of the Chiefs. Among the first to submit was the Chief of Clanranald, whose submission appears for the time to have sufficed for the other chieftains of that branch of the Clan Donald. The Chief received two charters, dated respectively August 3rd and 5th, 1494, while at the same time Angus Reochson M'Ranald, the head of one of the branches of the Clanranald, received a charter of the lands of Benbecula and others.¹ Alexander of Glengarry appeared to be unwilling to accept the terms on which these Crown charters were granted, and the result was that in 1501 he was summoned for occupying the lands of Morar without a title, while Alexander, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, had in the previous year received a grant of a portion of his lands of Glengarry.² It is very evident that Alexander stood in a rebellious attitude towards the Government for many years after the fall of the Lordship of the Isles, from the fact that the lands of Glengarry are leased alternately to Huntly and

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal.² *Ibidem*.

Lochiel. The attitude of the Chief of Glengarry is partly at least attributable to the policy of the Government. The King, no doubt with the desire to see good government established in the Highlands and Islands, committed the task of carrying out his policy to Huntly and Argyle. Having broken the power of the Island family, he delegated that power to two noblemen who were universally and deservedly detested by the clans. The one was an interloper within the Highland line; while the other, boasting of a long line of native Celtic ancestry, had surreptitiously risen to power on the ruins of the smaller tribes of Argyleshire, of which for centuries and but recently his family formed one. To the houses of Huntly and Argyle can be traced, without any difficulty, most, if not all, the commotions and petty internecine strife which for centuries disgraced the pages of Highland history. It was surely short-sighted policy on the part of the King and his advisers to deprive of its power a family who for long years had been the kindly rulers of the Highlanders, and put it in the hands of two unscrupulous and selfish noblemen like Huntly and Argyle.

Though the relations between Alexander of Glengarry and the Government continue unfriendly, it does not appear that he took any part in the insurrection headed by Donald Dubh, which created so great a commotion in the Highlands and Islands on the threshold of the sixteenth century. Influenced no doubt by their chief, who was in high favour at Court at that time, none of the branches of the Clanranald of Garmoran appear among the supporters of the unfortunate heir of Innseagall. Alexander of Glengarry evidently continued in his

attitude of resistance to the Government, for in 1510 the King granted to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, the lands and Baliary of Glengarry for nine years for the payment of 40 marks.¹ North Morar, however, their other possession, remained in the family during all those years, in spite of the summons against Alexander MacIain in 1501.² The comparative peace and quietness which prevailed over the Highlands and Islands during the first decade of the sixteenth century was at last broken by the advent into the arena of rebellion of Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh. The loyalty of the redoubtable knight, always a doubtful quantity, suddenly vanished on the death of King James at Flodden. Immediately after that tragic event he repaired to the Highlands, and made elaborate preparations with the view of having himself proclaimed Lord of the Isles. Among the first to join him was Alexander MacIain of Glengarry. At the head of a large body of men he invaded Urquhart, took the castle and expelled the garrison, and having plundered the lands of Grant of Freuchie, he carried off a large booty. In the beginning of the year 1517, John Grant of Freuchie obtained a decree from the Lords of Council against Sir Donald of Lochalsh, Alexander of Glengarry, William Chisholm of Comar, and others, for £2000 Scots, at which he estimated his loss.³ Though the decree obtained against him does not seem to have affected Alexander of Glengarry at the time, the Raid of Urquhart, of which it was the outcome, involved him afterwards in the most serious manner with Freuchie and others. Alexander continued to

¹ Reg. of Privy Seal. ² Acta Dom. Con.

³ Chiefs of Grant, and Acta Dom. Con.

support the pretensions of Sir Donald Gallda throughout the remainder of the stormy career of that rebel. On the death of Sir Donald without issue in 1519, Alexander of Glengarry laid claim to a share of his patrimony through his wife, Margaret of Lochalsh, sister and co-heiress of Sir Donald. The easier to accomplish his object, Glengarry entered into negotiations with Colin, Earl of Argyle, who had recently been appointed Lieutenant of the Isles and adjacent mainland, in room of his father, who fell at Flodden. The lands of Morar occupied by Alexander of Glengarry, as well as the lands of the family of Lochalsh, being within the jurisdiction of the Earl, the latter readily accepted from the former a bond of manrent in 1519, by which Glengarry binds himself and his heirs to be "leill true affald men and servents" to the Earl.¹ The possession of the lands of Glengarry still remained uncertain. Though belonging to the King in property, it appears these lands were never in his rental, but were occupied without any right or title by "the inhabitants of the Isles."² By "the inhabitants of the Isles," perhaps, are meant Allan MacRuarie of Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, Angus Mor, and their followers, referred to in the Crown Rental of 1496. Two years after the termination of the lease of the lands of Glengarry, granted to Alexander, Earl of Huntly, in 1510, Alexander MacIain MacAlister of Glengarry, and Donald Ewen Allansone of Lochiel, enter into a bond of mutual agreement. This bond, the phraseology of which is both curious and instructive, is dated at Banavie, March 21, 1521.³ The parties "ar swarne, athir of tham to

¹ Crawford's MS. Collections Advocates' Library.

² Reg. of the Great Seal, and Reg. of Privy Seal.

³ Chiefs of Grant, and Glengarry Writs.

othir, in affald kyndnes and frendschip in wnite pache and concord, athir othir to defend in word, consale, and deid, and in al gudly accionis." They then bind themselves to come to a friendly arrangement in respect of the 14 merk lands of Invergarry, in the event of either of them acquiring possession of these lands. "Gyfe Gode preuides at the said Donald findis or mai cum to ony wai, be his awine industri, helpe, or consal of frendis, that he mai get the xiiij merk landis of Inuergarre in tak," then, and in that case, Donald Ewinson will agree to lease to Alexander MacIain the lands of Lagane, Maldelle, Dellecharne, and Badintawag. On the other hand, "gife it hapinis at the said Alexander may gudlyest cum to the said land, he dissirand gettand the said Donaldis leife to blok with the semyn, and wyand it, the said Alexander haldand his part abufe writtin and giffand to the said Donald the laife efter the tenor of the said Alexandris tak," that is, Invergarry and Killeane. The terms of agreement would seem to have been adhered to by the parties, neither of whom then, nor for some time, obtained the expected legal infeftment in these lands. Alexander of Glengarry appears to have been more successful elsewhere. In 1524 he and Margaret, his wife, raised an action before the Lords of Council for allowing their claim to the lands of Lochalsh, and though it was not then acknowledged, they were allowed to remain in possession for the time.¹ Meanwhile, Alexander of Glengarry became involved in the troubles raised by Alasdair MacIain Chathanaich of Dunnyveg, and others. In the year 1531, he is with several Macdonald chieftains, and other Islesmen, repeatedly summoned for treason, but following the

¹ Acta Dom. Con.

example of Alexander of Dunnyveg he finally submitted to the King, and was pardoned for all past offences. About this time, the King granted to Ewin Allanson of Lochiel the 12 merk lands of Invergarry, and others, for the yearly payment of 40 marks.¹ Again, in 1536, the non-entry and other dues of the same lands, including the lands of Sleisgarrow, are granted to Donald, the son of Ewen of Lochiel.² Alexander of Glengarry seems still to be in bad grace with the Government, but there is every reason to believe that he and Lochiel settled the matter of possession of the lands of Glengarry amicably, in terms of their bond. At length the tide turned, and fortune smiled on the Chief of Glengarry. Now had arrived the era of charters; and with it the prosperity and power of the family of Glengarry. If there was some hesitation on the part of the Chief to accept Crown charters, it was only an expression of a feeling common to all the chiefs of his time, who at length found themselves face to face with that feudal yoke from which Highlanders have striven in vain for centuries to free themselves. Glengarry, after holding out longer than many of them, and suffering much from interloping Gordons and Camerons, had at last to yield to the inevitable. The die is now cast. On March 30th, 1538, there is "ane letter maid to Alexander McAlester of Glengarry his airis and assignais of the gift of the nonentries of all and haill ye xx penny worth of land of Glengarry callit ye Slesmoynne wt ye pertinents liand in ye Lordschip of Lochabir; and of all and haill the twell penny worth of land of ye lands of Morour with the pertinents, liand in the Lordschip of Garmoran."³ Early in 1539, Alex-

¹ Reg. of Great Seal, and Reg. of Privy Seal.

² Reg. of the Privy Seal. ³ *Ibidem*.

ander of Glengarry and his wife, Margaret of Lochalsh, and others, raised an action before the Lords of Council against James Grant of Freuchie craving the reduction of the decree obtained by John Grant of Freuchie in 1517 against the complainers for "spuilzie."¹ James Grant "being lawfully summoned to yis actioun, oft times callit and comperit," the Lords of Council continued the same to the 8th day of March following. Meanwhile, however, and before the time appointed for the further hearing of the case had expired, Alexander of Glengarry having resigned his lands of Glengarry and Morar into the King's hands, he on the 6th of March, 1539, with Margaret his wife, and Angus his heir, received a Crown charter of the lands of Glengarry and Morar, half the lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom, with the Castle of Strome.² The good relationship thus established between Alexander of Glengarry and the Government was of short duration. In the month of May of the same year the flag of revolt was raised by Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat, who now put forward a claim to the Lordship of the Isles, and Alexander of Glengarry was among the first to join him. On the death of Donald and consequent failure of the enterprise, the King hastened to the Isles to restore order amongst the clans. Realising their danger, many of the chiefs hastened to pay their respects to the sovereign. After cruising for some time amongst the Outer Islands, the Scottish fleet anchored in Loch-Challuimchille, since known as Portree. Here Alexander of Glengarry and others of "Mac-Coneyllis kin" went on board the King's ship

¹ Acta Dom. Con.² Reg. of the Great Seal.

expecting to be graciously received by the sovereign, but they found themselves prisoners instead. The King, who was delighted at this clever stroke of detective work, carried the chiefs with him to Edinburgh, where they were confined during his pleasure. John Mackenzie of Kintail was not among the chiefs taken captive by the sovereign. It was at the siege of his Castle of Ellandonan that Donald Gorme, the prime mover in the recent disturbances, met his death. For his services to Government, both in the Isles and elsewhere, the King bestowed on Mackenzie the lands of Lagane, Killenane, and Invergarry, forfeited by Alexander of Glengarry for the part taken by him in the insurrection of Donald Gorme. From this time may be dated the feud, long and bloody, which existed between the families of Glengarry and Kintail, and now, too, we have the initiation of that policy of playing the Government game for the glorifying of the Mackenzies, pursued so persistently and successfully by the Chiefs of Kintail. The King, struck perhaps with remorse for his unkingly conduct in Skye and elsewhere, liberated some of the less turbulent chiefs, on their providing hostages for their future good behaviour. The rest, among whom was Alexander of Glengarry, were meanwhile kept in close confinement in Edinburgh, where they remained until they were, shortly after the King's death, in 1542, set at liberty by the Regent Arran. The return of the men of the Isles to liberty was followed by the ominous signs of a coming storm. Fired with resentment at the treatment meted out to them by the King and his advisers, they only waited the opportunity to avenge themselves on their jailers. And they had not to wait long. The opportunity

soon arrived. Donald Dubh, the unfortunate heir of Innsegall, after an interval of some forty years, again came forth to contest the honours of his house. Everything at first seemed to favour the success of his enterprise. The Sovereign was a child, and in the hands of a weak Executive; and the vassals of the Isles, ever loyal to the House of Macdonald, were now, on account of recent events, more eager than ever to join the standard of the representative of that House. Alexander of Glengarry followed the banner of Donald Dubh throughout his campaign, and was one of the seventeen chiefs who formed his Council, and in that capacity signed as "Alexr. rannoldson of Glengarrie," with his hand on the pen, the "Commission of the Lord of the Isles of Scotland to treat with the King of England" in 1545.¹

While the rebellion of Donald Dubh was still in progress and occupied the serious attention of the Government, another event took place which falls now to be recorded. In June, 1544, was fought the bloody battle of Leine, which for a time diverted the attention of all parties from the more serious attempt of Donald Dubh. Foremost amongst the supporters of the hero of Blar Leine was Alexander of Glengarry, who, as a Chieftain of the Clanranald, had from the outset remained loyal to the Chiefship of John of Moidart. For the part taken by the Grants of Urquhart and Glenmoriston against the Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, with his son, Angus, and old and young Lochiel, at the head of their followers, invaded the parish of Urquhart in October, and carried away a large booty from the lands of Glenmoriston.² In spring of the following

X ¹ Extracted from correspondence in the State Paper Office.

² Reg. of the Great Seal - Charter to John Grant of Glenmoriston.

year they returned to Glen-Urquhart, took the castle, and "swept the land of every hoof and article of food or furniture which they could find, sparing only the Barony of Corrimony, whose owner had taken no part in Blar-nan-Leine."¹

On the 3rd day of August, 1546, summonses were issued under the Royal Signet, at the instance of James Grant of Freuchie and John Mor Grant of Glenmoriston, to whom their tenants had assigned their claims, against Glengarry, Angus, his son, and young Lochiel for "spulzie."² On the 22nd of October evidence was led at Inverness against the defenders, before Alexander Baillie of Dunain, and John Cuthbert of Auld Castle, Sheriff-Depute of Inverness-shire. No appearance was made for the defenders, who were found liable in large sums to the pursuers, amounting, in the case of the Laird of Grant, to £10,770 13s 4d Scots, and in the case of John Grant of Glenmoriston to £718 11d 1d Scots.³ Paying no heed to these proceedings, the raiding Chiefs of Glengarry and Lochiel pursued the even tenor of their way, and appeared to be none the worse of being denounced at the Market Cross of Inverness, or of their lands being "apprised" to the Lairds of Grant and Glenmoriston. After all the legal steps in the process had been taken, James Grant of Freuchie received from the Crown a grant in life-rent of all the lands of the family of Glengarry, both in Inverness and Ross.⁴ Thus a clean sweep was made of the heritage of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, so far as sheepskin could effect it; but for the men who raided Urquhart and Glenmoriston other and very different methods were necessary to

¹ Mackay's "Urquhart and Glenmoriston."

² Chiefs of Grant.

³ Mackay's "Urquhart and Glenmoriston."

⁴ Reg. of Great Seal.

inflict due punishment. The charter to Grant remained a dead letter. After making many attempts to obtain possession and secure his proprietary rights, the Chief utterly failed. Again and again he complained that the tenants of Glengarry, Morar, Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom, paid him no rent, and that without having any right or permission from him they "daylie fisches in his watteris and fischingis thereof . . . and destroyis his growand treis of his woddis . . . sua that the samyn woddis are all utterlie failzeit."¹ The aid of the Crown was invoked and granted by letters under the Queen's Signet, ordering the Crown officers to assist Grant, but no success attended their efforts.² Royal letters were also issued ordering Glengarry to deliver up the Castle of Strome to Grant upon six days' warning, but the whole Clan Donald North were now up in arms in defence of their kinsman of Glengarry, and the threat to take the castle by force was wisely abandoned.³ To the end of his life, James Grant of Freuchie had never received any satisfaction from his feudal acquisition of the lands of Glengarry, nor any compensation whatever for the raid on his tenants of Urquhart. The formidable combination against him appeared too strong, even with the Government behind him, and his successor, taking discretion to be the better part of valour, made no serious effort to enforce his rights.

For the part taken by Alexander of Glengarry in the rebellion of Donald Dubh, he and others of the Clanranald were summoned for treason in 1545. No attempt, however, was made to enforce the summons, nor was it likely to succeed, if made, and there was

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. I., p. 115.

² Chiefs of Grant.

³ Ibidem.

much besides for which Alexander of Glengarry would not be answerable. When threats failed, the Government fell back on the familiar, and, no doubt, laudable, expedient of remitting in the slump the sins of the Highland rebels, in the vain hope of securing their allegiance. In pursuance of this policy, the lawless chieftain of Glengarry was in 1548 pardoned for all his misdemeanours up to date, including his "treasonable remaning and abyding at hame fra our Soverane Ladyis oist and army, devisit and ordanit to convene upon Falamure" in 1547, and for "ye slauchter of ye Lord Lovet and his complices" at Kinlochlochy in 1544.¹ But gratitude to the Scottish Government is not to be reckoned as among the virtues of the Highland chiefs of those days, and Alexander of Glengarry was, no doubt, much exercised to discover sufficiently good grounds to convince him that he owed allegiance, under any circumstances, to those who directed the destinies of the Scottish State. A wide social gulf separated them, and no sincere effort to bridge it had been made by either party. Vain are expeditions to the Highlands, royal and other, and vain every measure conceived in the spirit manifested towards the Celtic population by the Scottish Executive of that day, and thrice vain are all efforts to bring them into line so long as the instruments employed are the Earls of Huntly and Argyle. Matters had come to such a pass in 1552 that the Regent Arran organised a special expedition to the Highland Capital, in the hope of being able to overawe the chiefs by his presence, and restore order among the clans. In this attempt he entirely failed, so far as the Western clans were concerned. Among the rest, Alexander

¹ Register of Privy Seal.

of Glengarry, and others of the Clanranald, held out, and continued to hold their own, in spite of the best efforts of Huntly and Argyle, and the resolution of the Regent and his Council to utterly exterminate the race of Reginald of the Isles. The continued rebellious attitude of the Clanranald, and the determination of the Government to punish them, is shown in a letter from the Queen Dowager, who had assumed the reins of government, to Rose of Kilravock in the summer of 1555. They "perseuerand in thair evill and vickit myndis, oppressis oure derrest dochteris subjectis, committand slauchteris, reiffis and vthiris odious crymes": and therefore the Queen "hes ordanit the cuntre to convene for invasioune and persute of sic misdoaris."¹ Truly the lot of the Chief of Glengarry had fallen on evil times. Pressed on the one hand by the Scottish Government, he was on the other hand face to face with a powerful neighbour, who, taking advantage of the straitened position of the family, puts forward a claim to their inheritance. The old Laird of Freuchie having died in 1553, John Grant, his son and heir, lost no time in taking the usual steps to have himself infestd in the lands of Glengarry, to which he had a legal title. The Earl of Huntly, as Sheriff of Inverness, issued a precept infesting Grant in these lands, but the Chief of Glengarry, supported by the whole body of the Clanranald and Clan Cameron, stood in the way, and the Laird of Freuchie failed to obtain possession. The Laird of Freuchie was no more persistent in forcing his legal claim than the Chief of Glengarry was in resisting it. And the clans who supported him were not satisfied merely in acting on the defensive, but they carried the war into the enemy's

¹ *Roses of Kilravock*, p. 220.

country. In these circumstances, Grant was obliged to petition the King, setting forth that he had been credibly informed that certain "lymmaris and wikkitt personis" of the Clanranald and Clan Cameron intended shortly to make incursions upon his lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. The King, in response to the petition, issued letters on the first of March, 1567, charging the neighbouring chiefs, Lachlan MacIntosh of Dunachton and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, with all others of the Clanchattan and Claukenzie, to defend the lands of Grant from all incursions, on pain of being art and part in them.¹ The Grants, Mackintoshes, Mackenzies, and other Ross-shire clans, had already in March, 1545, entered into a league against the Clanranald and Clan Cameron, the aim of the combining chiefs being to drive the families of Glengarry and Lochiel out of Ross-shire. The effect produced by this combination in raids and reprisals can be better imagined than described. Now in reality began the contest, long and bloody, which for well nigh a hundred years bulks so largely in the history of the family of Glengarry as to dwarf all else. In the midst of all this confusion an olive branch is held out to the perturbed Chief of Glengarry, all the more welcome because it comes from an unexpected quarter.

On the 3rd of March, 1566, a precept of remission is issued in favour of Angus of Glengarry, and many others of the Clanranald, for their not joining the Royal forces at Fala Muir in 1557.² Alas for the Chief! remissions come in close succession from Government, but there is no remission from the menaces of his neighbours of Urquhart and Kintail. And yet there are not wanting signs of a lull in the

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 132.

² Reg. of the Privy Seal.

storm. His lands in Ross-shire had proved a troublesome and expensive acquisition to the Laird of Grant, and seeing that there was little hope of his ever obtaining peaceable possession, he resolved to be rid of them in the most advantageous manner possible in the circumstances. With this in view he entered into a matrimonial contract with Colin Mackenzie of Kintail at Elgin on the 26th July, 1570, in terms of which the young Chief of Kintail agreed to marry Barbara Grant, the Laird's daughter, with a tocher of 2000 merks and the half lands of Lochbroom.¹ At the same time Kintail, in a bond of manrent to Freuchie, obliges himself to defend him against the Clanranald.² In pursuance of the same policy, the Laird of Grant entered into another matrimonial contract with Angus of Glengarry at Elgin on November 17, 1571. It was provided that Donald, the son and heir of Angus, should marry Helen, Freuchie's daughter, "in face of Halie Kirk betwixt the daye and dait of yre presents and ye Fast of Sanct Jhone ye Babtist." The Laird of Freuchie, on his part, obliged himself to infest Angus of Glengarry in the lands of Glengarry, and others, "apprised" to Grant for the raid of Urquhart, while the lands of Lundie and others were to be given to Allan, Glengarry's brother. Angus of Glengarry, on his part, binds himself and his successors to serve the Laird of Freuchie and his successors against all persons, "the auctoritie of our Soverane and his Chieff of Clenrandall onlie beand exceptit." Angus of Glengarry further binds himself, in the event of any quarrel between his Chief and Freuchie, to take part with the latter and give him every assistance in his power in defence

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. I., p. 143.

² Ibid., vol. III., p. 142.

of his lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.¹ The most remarkable part of this contract, in view of the claim put forward afterwards by another Macdonald of Glengarry to the Chiefship of Clanranald, is the acknowledgment by Angus MacAlister of the Chiefship of John of Moidart. The question of the marriage of Donald MacAngus of Glengarry to Helen Grant, and whether it took place "in face of Halie Kirk," falls to be discussed elsewhere and in a more appropriate part of this work. Meanwhile, it will suffice to say that by the help of the contract with Grant, Angus of Glengarry succeeded in obtaining a legal title to his lands. On July 8, 1574, King James VI. granted to Angus MacAlister a charter of the lands of Glengarry, 12 mark lands of Morar, 12 mark lands of Lochalsh, and 4 mark lands of Lochcarron, all of which had been resigned in his favour by John Grant of Freuchie in terms of the contract of 1571.² On July 19th, in the same year, Angus MacAlister having resigned all his lands in favour of Donald, his eldest son, but retaining a free tenement, the King granted a charter of these lands to Donald.³ The Macdonalds of Glengarry seem now to be in a fair way to become reconciled to their surroundings, and "peciabill gude subjectis." It is surely a sign of the times to find Angus of Glengarry in Edinburgh, and absolutely within the Council Chamber, deliberating with "My Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secrete Counsall" regarding the maintenance of law and order within his Highland territory. A complaint had been made "be Issobel Barthilmo relict of umquhile Robert Guidlett Maryner in Kinghorn, makand mentioun that quhair hir said umquhile spous being at the

¹ Chiefs of Grant.² Reg. of the Privy Seal.³ *Ibidem*.

fischeing the last yeir in the north Ilis at the loch callit Lochstrome within the dominioun of Anguss McAlexander of Glengarry, wes in the hinderend of harvist last bipast crewallie set upoun and slane be . . . Panter and utheris his compliceis duelland within the said Anguss his dominioun and ar his tennentis as sche is surely informit.”¹ From an Act of the Privy Council of the year 1566, it appears that there was “ane greit commoditie to the commoun weill of this realme throw the fischeing of Lochbroume and utheris Lochis of the north seyis.” Divers persons outside the kingdom had made earnest application for permission to fish in these lochs, but the Council ordained that no strangers be permitted to fish within these bounds “undir the paue of confiscatioun of their shippis and gudis and punishing of thair personis at oure Soveranis will.” The Regent and Council granted to Angus of Glengarry full power and commission to fix and hold courts within the bounds of his “dominioun” as often as there was need, and he was enjoined at the same time to put the alleged murderers of the mariner of Kinghorn “to the knowledge of ane assziss of the marchandis and marynaris that first sall happin to arrive at Lochstrome or Lochcarron at the next fischeing.”² How Angus of Glengarry behaved during the short tenure of his new judicial office, or how it fared with the murderers of the unfortunate mariner from Kinghorn, we have no means of knowing. As for Angus himself, he soon appeared at another tribunal to answer for his own deeds.

The first public appearance made by Donald, the heir and successor of Angus of Glengarry, is in an

¹ Privy Council Records, 1574.

² Ibidem.

action raised by him against Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, and deliberated upon by the Privy Council sitting at Dalkeith on March 10th, 1575. The summons set forth that in all times bygone the indwellers of the Highlands and Isles had conveyed timber in boats to the adjacent burghs by the nearest course open to them, yet Lord Lovat had lately prevented Donald MacAngus and his tenants from carrying wood by the water of Lochness to the town of Inverness, "quhairby the commoun weill of the countrie and burgh foirsaid is hurt and disadvantageit." Lord Lovat failing to appear in his defence, the Council passed an Act prohibiting him from molesting Donald MacAngus and his men in their timber trade with Inverness.¹

Donald MacAngus being now apparently in high favour at Court, and a law-abiding subject living at peace with his neighbours, it appeared as if at length fortune had smiled on the family of Glengarry. But this pleasant aspect of affairs was soon changed, and the disturber of the peace of the lieges was no less a personage than the Earl of Argyle himself, the hereditary personification of law and order, and all the virtues of the Celtic race. Colin, Earl of Argyle, had just succeeded his brother, Archibald, in the hereditary honours of his house, but not in his public offices, and, being burdened with none of the responsibilities of office, he yielded to a strong desire to become a lawless raider, like some others of the Island Gentiles. Immediately after his succession to the earldom, he signalled his chiefship of the clan by putting himself at the head of a plundering band of Campbells, and, invading the Maclean and Macdonald countries, in the Isles, he carried away as much spoil

¹ Reg. Sec. Con.

as he was able to lay his thieving hands upon. Verily the Campbells, after all, were but made of common clay, like the rest of their neighbours. The Earl was not satisfied with merely raiding the Islands. Making a pretence of mustering his vassals for the pursuit of certain "troublaris of the commoun quietnes of the cuntre," he, in the end of the year 1577, made extensive preparations for invading the Mainland, and evidently intended making the country of Donald MacAngus his principal point of attack, though the intended invasion of Glengarry was but a part of his great scheme of plunder on the Mainland. Perhaps also Donald MacAngus had made himself conspicuous in opposing the Earl in the Isles, and roused MacCailein's resentment. So formidable were the Earl's preparations, that Donald MacAngus was obliged, with all haste, to appeal to the Privy Council for protection. The Council, realising the grave nature of the situation, at once issued a proclamation prohibiting the Earl and his followers from molesting in any manner Donald MacAngus and his friends, who were now "peciabill and gude subjectis." Letters were directed at the same time to the Tutor of Lovat, Mackenzie of Kintail, Grant of Freuchie, Mackintosh, Munro of Fowlis, Ross of Balnagown, Macdonald of Keppoch, and Chisholm of Strathglass, charging them "to pass to assist and defend with their kin and followers Donald MacAngus and his friends and servants."¹ The Council again, on the 20th of February, ordered letters to be directed, charging Maclean of Duart, Mackinnon of Strath, and others, by open proclamation at the Market Cross of Inverness, that none of them convocate themselves in arms or invade Donald MacAngus

¹ Privy Council Records.

of Glengarry, under pain of treason. These elaborate preparations put a stop effectually to the intended invasion by the Campbells, who, making a virtue of necessity, yielded without a struggle; and the Earl himself, finding that he could overreach his neighbours in a less hazardous manner, fell back on the old Campbell way of doing it in the guise of law and order.

Though saved by the timely intervention of the Privy Council from an invasion by the Campbells, Donald MacAngus of Glengarry almost immediately became involved in a serious quarrel with another Clan. The relations between himself and Mackenzie of Kintail had been for some time anything but friendly, and at length their unhappy differences resulted in an open rupture between the families. The lands of Dingwall of Kildun in Lochalsh and Lochcarron, inherited by him through his mother, Janet Macdonald of Lochalsh, had been acquired by purchase by the family of Kintail. But Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, who had also acquired the lands of Glengarry in Lochbroom, seems not to have been satisfied with this large addition to the original little territory of his family in Kintail. His great ambition appears to have been to obtain possession, by fair means or foul, of the whole of the Lochalsh family lands in Wester Ross. In any case, it is quite evident that in the quarrel with Glengarry at this time, Mackenzie was the aggressor. It suits the Mackenzie chroniclers to put a very different complexion upon it. According to them, Glengarry had behaved in a very cruel and tyrannical manner towards the native tenants of his West Coast lands, especially towards the Mathesons and the Clan Iain Uidhir, supposed to have been the

original possessors of the lands of Lochalsh. The native tribes naturally sided with their near neighbours, the Mackenzies, and thus no doubt brought down upon their devoted heads the wrath of the Chief of Glengarry. That Chief, who lived at a great distance from his West Coast property, was obliged in defence of that possession, and such of his tenants as adhered to him, to take up his residence at Lochcarron, and place a strong garrison in the Castle of Strone. The presence of the Macdonald garrison in their midst only tended, as might have been expected, to exasperate the men of Wester Ross and provoke them to commit yet greater outrages on the adherents of Glengarry. Revolting accounts are given in the Mackenzie and other manuscripts of the reprisals on both sides, but as these are decidedly one-sided and greatly exaggerated, little reliance need be put upon them as evidence on either side. There need be no doubt, however, that the feud between the Chiefs was carried on in a savage and bloody manner, and that little quarter was given on either side. Matters at length had assumed so alarming an aspect that Glengarry was obliged to invoke the interference of the executive Government. At a meeting, held at Dalkeith on August 10th, 1582, Glengarry appeared personally before the Privy Council with a complaint containing very serious charges against the Mackenzies. On the last day of February of the previous year, he alleges that "great slaughters, heirschippis and skaithis" were committed upon him, his kin, friends, and servants, which he estimated at six score thousand pounds Scots.¹ Again, in the beginning of March, he was

¹ Privy Council Records.

visited by Rory Mackenzie of Redcastle, brother of Kintail, and Dougal, Rory's brother, accompanied by two hundred persons "bodlin with twa-handit swordis, bowes, darlochis, hagbuttis, pistolettis prohibite to be worne or usit, and other wappinis invasive." And finally, on the 16th of April, they came upon the complainer at Lochcarron, took him captive, and detained him a prisoner for forty days "in coves, craigis, woddis, and uther desert places at thair pleasour," where none of his friends had access to him. Rory Mackenzie and his accomplices apprehended also, at the same time, Rory, Glengarry's uncle, three of his sons, and others, his friends, and servants, to the number of 33 persons. They caused the hands of these persons to be bound with their own "sarkis," cruelly slew them, and appointed that they should not be buried like Christian men, but cast forth to be eaten by dogs and swine. At the end of the complainer's captivity, he was carried to Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, and from him to Strome Castle, which the Mackenzies besieged, threatening at the same time to hang Glengarry in sight of the garrison, unless they surrendered it. The Mackenzies are still further charged with having violently taken Donald Makmorach Roy, one of Glengarry's chief kinsmen, "bait thame in his blude and be a strange exemple to satisfie their cruell and unnaturall heartis, first cut off his handis, nixt his feit, and last his heid, and having cassin the same in a peitpott, exposit and laid out his carcage to be a prey for doggis and reвенus beistis."¹ Having heard this dreadful indictment, the Privy Council passed an order charging Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, who had

¹ Privy Council Records.

failed to appear, to surrender the Castle of Strome to Donald MacAngus within twenty-four hours, under pain of rebellion. Mackenzie at the same time was ordered to find sufficient caution for the safety of Donald MacAngus and his friends in person and goods, and if he should fail to do so within fifteen days after being charged, he was to be denounced rebel and put to the horn. On the 2nd day of December, David Clapen in Leith, and John Irving of Kinnoek, become cautioners for Colin Mackenzie in the sum of 2000 merks, and the Chief of Kintail pledged himself to deliver the Castle of Strome to Donald MacAngus in the event of the Council finding that he should do so. Shortly thereafter, on January 15th, 1583, Kintail petitioned the Privy Council, the burden of which was a complaint against Donald MacAngus for having, as he alleged, "upon a certain sinister and malicious narration," obtained a decree charging the petitioner to deliver up the Castle of Strome. He pleaded ignorance of the charge brought against him by Donald MacAngus, a summons having never been served upon him, either at his dwelling-house or elsewhere; and he alleged that he received the Castle of Strome by contract from Glengarry, while formerly he had been charged by the Lords of Council to deliver it to John Grant of Freuchie, as pertaining to him in heritage. Kintail is, therefore, at a loss whether to give up the Castle to Glengarry or to Freuchie. Pending further inquiry, and on the ground that he has found surety, the charge against Kintail is suspended, but on condition that he should deliver the Castle to whomsoever the King might direct. By order of Council, given on March 8th, 1583, the Castle of Strome, the great bone of contention, was

ultimately delivered into the keeping of the Earl of Argyle. The failure of Kintail to meet the serious charges brought against him by Glengarry leaves no room for doubting that these were substantially correct. Mackenzie's guilt is clearly proved by the fact that he made no attempt to refute the damnable charges preferred against him and his followers, his whole defence being that he held the Castle of Strome by contract from Donald MacAngus, and the holding of the Castle of Strome was far and away the least of Kintail's offences. There is, further, the significant fact that Donald MacAngus was confirmed by the King in all his lands in Lochalsh and Lochcarron in 1583, and by a special Retour at Inverness in 1584 he is declared heir to his grandmother in the same lands.¹ But all doubt of the guilt of the Mackenzies is removed by the remission granted by the Privy Council in 1586 to Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, and Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, for being art and part in the cruel murder of Roderick, Glengarry's uncle, and many others, his followers, and for many other crimes.²

Donald MacAngus seems now to be again in a fair way of being independent of his opponents in the West, and, to make his position all the more secure East and West, he entered, in October, 1585, into a bond of manrent with George, Earl of Huntly, whose bound thrall he agreed to become, as his father, Angus MacAlister, had been before him.³ But the Chief of Glengarry, however, was destined not to possess his lands in Wester Ross in peace. He was, no doubt, largely himself to blame. The marriage contract of 1571 had not secured the end which it was hoped it would accomplish, nor had

¹ Registers of Chancery.

² Privy Council Records,

³ The Gordon Papers.

Helen Grant on probation healed the breach between the two families concerned, but, on the contrary, widened it; and Donald MacAngus finds himself face to face with a wrathful father. Notwithstanding the confirmation by the King to Donald of his West Coast lands in 1583, Grant of Freuchie attempted, in 1586, to infeft Mackintosh in the same lands. But Mackintosh, exercising great discretion, made no effort to possess himself of lands, the acquisition of which was certain to bring him more trouble than profit, and the storm blew over, leaving Donald MacAngus to the tender mercies of the Mackenzies. During the next ten years after the attempt to infeft Mackintosh in the lands of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, there are no authentic references regarding the possession of these lands, nor of the relations between the Chiefs of Glengarry and Kintail, though it is evident from other sources these could not have been friendly. The only reference in the public records to Donald MacAngus himself during this period is in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament for the year 1587, in which his name appears on the Roll of Landholders and Chiefs of Clans in the Highlands, appended to an Act "for the quieting and keeping in obedience of the disordurit subjectis inhabitantis of the Bordouris, Hielandis, and Ilis," commonly called from one of its principal provisions "The General Bond."¹ In October, 1592, Glengarry entered into a contract with George, Earl of Huntly, whereby he obliged himself and his friends to assist the Earl and his heirs in lawful service. The Earl, on his part, obliged himself to assist Donald MacAngus, and to dispoine to him and his heirs the davoch lands of Stramalan, Ord, and others.² This bond, under ordinary circumstances,

¹ Acts of Parl., vol. III., p. 461. X ² Glengarry Charter Chest.

would mean very little, but, in view of the recent conspiracies in which the Earl became involved, and which threatened such serious consequences, some importance must be attached to the agreement with Glengarry. There is little reason to doubt that Huntly was the prime mover in the plot that resulted in the murder of the Earl of Murray and of John Campbell of Calder, and it is equally certain that with him several chiefs were deeply implicated. To fortify himself against the storm, which he knew was brewing, Huntly courted the assistance of many of the neighbouring potentates by entering into bonds of friendship with them. To Donald Mac-Angus it was a welcome opportunity to fortify himself against the Clan Mackenzie.

A series of rebellions, which kept the country in a continual turmoil, prevented the carrying out of the reforms contemplated in the "General Bond," and the provisions of the Act therefore became a dead letter. There was, however, one piece of legislation which the King insisted must be carried out without delay. There had been recently a continual drain on the exchequer of the ever impecunious James, and the revenues of the Crown in the Isles had never hitherto been regularly paid. The King was determined to replenish his exchequer from this source, but the chiefs were slow to respond to his demand. Being resolute to effect his purpose, and compel the chiefs to submit, James resolved to visit the Isles in person, and caused a proclamation to be made in May, 1596, summoning the chiefs to meet him at Dumbarton.¹ Awed by the King's presence, many of the principal chiefs hastened to give in their submission, but Donald

¹ Privy Council Records and Acts of Parl.

MacAngus of Glengarry continued contumacious, as appears from an order on the 8th of July to apprehend him, he having been put to the horn for not appearing before the King and Council to answer "touching order to be taken with the disorderly persons of the claus in the Highlands."¹ The refusal of Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg to submit to the King at Dumbarton rendered it necessary to take steps against that rebellious chief, and accordingly the expedition to the Isles was continued under the leadership of Sir William Stewart of Houston, the King himself meanwhile remaining at a safe distance from the base of operations. Fearing a rising of the Islesmen in support of the Chief of Dunnyveg, and especially those of his own blood, Sir William Stewart was instructed to obtain possession of and garrison the principal strongholds in the Highlands and Isles. He is "to haif the hous of Strome fra Glengarry, becaus the samyn is thair resett on Maynland, he being of thair bluid."² The carrying out of this project was rendered unnecessary by the submission of Angus of Dunnyveg and Donald MacAngus, the latter appearing personally before the King in Edinburgh, and binding himself by his great oath that he and all for whom he was answerable would keep the peace, and redeem all heirschips committed by them.³ There followed a brief period of much-needed peace, though the King's dues, which occasioned the commotion, still remained in great part unpaid. It was afterwards recorded that "the inhabitantis of the Helandis and Iles . . . hes frustrat His Majestie of the yeirlie payment of his proper rentis and dew service."⁴

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 187.

² Balcarras Papers.

³ Privy Council Records.

⁴ Acts of Parl., vol. IV., p. 138.

The next situation in which we find the Chief of Glengarry figuring is the old and familiar one in which he did not always appear to advantage. The relations between his family and the Chiefs of Grant, though at intervals more or less friendly, were never on the whole quite satisfactory. The time had now at length arrived for a final adjustment of their differences. On the 28th of April, 1597, the Chiefs entered into a mutual bond of manrent, in terms of which Donald MacAngus agreed to take part with John Grant of Freuchie and his successors against all men, except the King and Donald's Chief, and even against his Chief, should he invade the lands of the Laird of Grant.¹ The old dispute regarding the lands of Lochcarron and others was also considered and referred to arbitration. In the event of the Laird of Grant's title being preferred, Donald MacAngus bound himself to pay a rent of three merks for every mark land in dispute between them. Finally, the matter was disposed of by the Laird of Grant conveying the disputed lands in feu farm to the Chief of Glengarry. In consideration of this disposition the Chiefs solemnly renewed their alliance by entering into another mutual bond of manrent, in which they vowed to assist and defend one another.²

A much more interesting transaction falls next to be recorded, to which Donald MacAngus was a party. The family of Glengarry had never hitherto possessed lands in the Western Isles. King James VI. granted in 1596 a charter to Mungo McEachin in Collass of the lands of Muck and Unakill, and he was infefted in these lands in the same year. In the following year, or shortly thereafter, Mungo

¹ Chiefs of Grant, vol. III., p. 189.

² *Ibid.*, p. 196.

McEachin granted a charter of the same lands to Donald MacAngus of Glengarry.¹ This interesting acquisition to the family inheritance of Glengarry, of which they retained possession for several generations, proved ultimately a source of much trouble to them, and involved them in serious feuds with the neighbouring Macleans.

But the solution of a much more difficult problem than that of defending his recently acquired lands in the Isles now awaits the Chief. It seems as if his whole life must be devoted to the defence of his different possessions from rapacious neighbours, and now all the energy of which he is capable is needed to avert a trouble the shadow of which is already upon him. The old quarrel between him and Mackenzie of Kintail again broke out with, if possible, greater fury than ever, and it would appear as if Glengarry himself, or rather his son, Angus, was the aggressor. At all events, in November, 1601, Angus, Younger of Glengarry, accompanied by a large following of his father's dependents, and a "grit nowmer of brokin and disorderit Hielandmen," came down suddenly on the lands of Torridon and laid violent hands on life and property. According to the Mackenzie seanachies, the men of Glengarry committed great outrages, "cruelly slaughtered all the aged men with many of the women and children," and returned home laden with spoil.² On the 22nd of July, 1602, a complaint was made to the Privy Council at the instance of the widows of the men slain at Torridon, and their kin, against Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, who is at the same time charged with accepting the fruit of the Torridon herschip "with all glaidnes of hairt." The same

¹ Charter Chest of Glengarry. ² Mackenzie MS. of 1650.

charges are made against Angus, his son, and a long roll of Macdonalds. Neither Glengarry, nor any of his followers, appearing to answer to the charges preferred against them, they were all ordered to be denounced and put to the horn. Meanwhile, Glengarry being "unexpert and unskilful in the laws of the realm, the Clan-Cheinzie intrapped and insnared him within the compass thereof," and Kintail succeeded in procuring, through the interest of the Earl of Dunfermline, a commission of fire and sword against him.¹ Armed with this commission and accompanied by a large body of retainers, and some of the neighbouring clans, Kintail invaded Glengarry's lands of Morar, which he wasted without mercy, and swept of every hoof and article of value within his reach. While the Mackenzies were thus busily engaged harrying the lands of Morar, the men of Glengarry in a similar manner wasted the lands of Lochalsh and Applecross, and carried death and terror everywhere before them. Matters had at length taken so serious a turn from the Mackenzie point of view, that Kintail began to be apprehensive of a great rising of the Macdonalds, both North and South, to assist their kinsman of Glengarry. Mackenzie, whose sister had married Hector Maclean of Duart, naturally appealed to that chief for help; and, in hope of being able to prevent so formidable a combination of forces through Maclean's intervention, he in all haste repaired to Duart Castle, where, among other things, he discusses genealogy with Fergus MacRorie, the Duart Seanachie.² If the Mackenzie manuscript histories are to be believed, Kintail succeeded in the object of his visit to Maclean, who, they

¹ Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland. X ² MS. of 1650.

assert, invaded Ardnamurchan and other Macdonald territories, and committed such outrages as to compel the interference of the Earl of Argyle. However this may be, it is certain that Glengarry received no assistance from his kinsmen in the South Isles. Taking advantage of the absence of the Mackenzie Chief in Mull, Angus of Glengarry, at the head of a considerable body of his followers, invaded Lochcarron by sea, and after reducing the houses of the inhabitants to ashes, he went off with as much plunder as his galleys would carry. The Mackenzies being taken unawares, were not at first able to offer any resistance, but the fiery cross was sent round, and getting into their boats they pursued Young Glengarry as far as Kylerea. At this point an engagement took place, which resulted, according to Sir Robert Gordon, in the death of Angus Macdonald of Glengarry and forty of his followers, "not without slaughter of the Clan-Cheinzie likewise."¹ The details of this and all the other engagements between Glengarry and Kintail, which are greatly exaggerated, and are anything but edifying, are given with much minuteness in the Mackenzie manuscripts. There is no account given of the struggle between these families from the Macdonald point of view in any manuscript history of the clan known to us, and the Mackenzie manuscripts, which are somewhat numerous, are not to be relied upon save where they are corroborated by the public records. The final stage in this Wester Ross struggle was reached when the Mackenzies laid siege to the Castle of Strone, and compelled the Macdonald garrison to surrender. The Mackenzies afterwards caused the castle to be demolished, and

¹ Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland.

its ruins now stand a picturesque object in the landscape of Lochcarron. While these acts were being played on the clan stage in Wester Ross, the Government took steps to bring the actors to a sense of their shortcomings. On the 6th of August, 1602, the Privy Council fined Sir Thomas Stewart of Grantully in 5000 merks, being the amount of his bond of caution for Glengarry, who had neither remained in ward himself nor conformed to his bond by entering a pledge. On the 9th of September, Donald MacAngus, having lately presented a pledge for the good conduct of his men, is charged by the Privy Council with departing home, leaving His Majesty in some doubt as to his dutiful behaviour, and taking his pledge with him. The Council further ordered Donald MacAngus of Glengarry and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, under pain of rebellion, to subscribe within three hours after being charged such forms of mutual assurance as shall be presented to them, to endure till May 1st, 1603.¹ In this unequal contest between one branch of the Clan Donald and the whole Mackenzie Clan, the latter, as might be expected, prevailed, and as there was little hope of holding his lands on the Ross-shire coast in peace and safety, Glengarry at last surrendered his rights to Kintail. It is somewhat curious, and indeed not a little inexplicable, to find that while he is still under the ban of the law, the King granted a commission to his "weil beloved Donald MacAngus of Glengarie to pas upoun the malefactoris and broken men of the Isles pertubaris of the quietnes thair of for thair apprehensioun." It is provided "that he be furneist with schipping at sic time as he sall have occasioun to prosecute and

¹ Privy Council Records.

persecute the said malefactoris in sic pairtis as they hant and resort." He is further armed with full power to take any Scottish vessels that may be found in the Western Isles, and to furnish and man them for the King's service.¹ What success attended the efforts of the Commissioner in his new and somewhat invidious position, if he ever, indeed, went in pursuit of the "malefactoris and broken men" of the Isles, is uncertain. That he was himself an arch-rebel is evident enough, and, except on the assumption that it was deemed a wise expedient to send a thief to catch a thief, it is otherwise difficult to conceive why he should have been at such a time commissioned to deal with broken men. As if all his other quarrels were not enough for his energies, the Royal Commissioner, with several other Highland Chiefs, is charged to appear personally on the 20th September, 1603, before the Privy Council "to underly sic ordoure as sall bie prescryvit to him anent the persuit of Clangregor." But very soon thereafter he is arraigned with the Chief of this same Clan, now proscribed, and George, Marquis of Huntly, for being art and part in a great "spuilzie and slaughter" of the Clan Chattan.²

While the Chief of Glengarry is being thus arraigned for his sins of commission and of omission, and is at the King's horn, the scene of the quarrel with the Mackenzies is changed from the West Coast of Ross-shire, and Allan Macranald of Lundie, at the head of a considerable body of his Chief's retainers, perpetrated, in the month of September, 1603, the Raid of Kilchrist. The lands invaded were those of Mr John Mackenzie, Minister of

¹ Commission dated May 11th, 1602, in Glengarry Charter Chest.

² Privy Council Records.

Killearnan, who was also proprietor of the lands of Kilchrist. He and his tenants appear to have been taken unawares. The foray was both sudden and thorough. The whole district was laid waste, but not, however, without some show of resistance on the part of the minister's tenants, five of whom perished in the scrimmage. After destroying the houses and other property of the minister and his tenants, Allan of Lundie returned home, driving before him 70 head of cattle and 9 horses. It is said that Kintail, being apprised of the affair, sent a large party of Mackenzies in pursuit, under Murdo Mackenzie of Redcastle and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul. If he did, they were too late, for Allan of Lundie undoubtedly reached home in safety with the spoil of Kilchrist. No immediate steps were taken against the raiders. But ultimately, in the summer of 1622, Mr John Mackenzie, the aggrieved party, who in the interval had become Archdeacon of Ross, raised an action against Allan of Lundie, charging him with wilful raising of fire and cruelly murdering Alexander, John, and Donald Mackay, Alexander Gald, and another, the minister's tenants in the town and lands of Kilchrist. Allan of Lundie is further charged with destroying 27 dwelling houses, with the barns, byres, and kilns, and burning the minister's library, with 400 bolls of oats, and 160 bolls of bere, while he theftuously stole 9 horses and 70 head of cattle.¹ Allan, who failed to appear to answer to this serious charge, was declared rebel, forfeited, and put to the horn. It would no doubt have fared ill with the raider of Kilchrist at this time, if he had not had a friend at Court whose influence was exercised in his behalf. In the month

¹ Reg. of the Privy Seal, Dec. 7, 1622.

of December following the forfeiture of Lundie, Sir John Grant, who owed him the large sum of 3000 merks, acquired from the Crown a gift of his lands and effects.¹ Principally on account of the debt he owed him, Sir John Grant allowed Allan keep possession of his lands and goods, while on paper at least eternal friendship was sworn between them. In this way did Allan of Lundie fare ; but the Archdeacon of Ross himself seems to have received no compensation for the loss of his goods and gear in the burning of Kilchrist. Having to all appearance failed in his action against Lundie, the Archdeacon raised a second process against Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, but that chief denied responsibility for the conduct of Allan of Lundie and his band at Kilchrist, avowed his willingness to stand his trial, and offered Sir Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat as cautioner.² In this process against the Chief of Glengarry no better success attended the efforts of the Archdeacon for the restitution of his property.

The Raid of Kilchrist might well be considered as an ordinary incident in clan life, as indeed it was probably on the whole the least important of all the recent raids which had been made by the men of Glengarry on the lands of the Mackenzies. It would at least have passed as a common herschip, which for the great number of them committed at that time was not likely to call for special notice, except for the terrible tragedy which tradition has associated with it of the burning of the Church of Kilchrist, with its whole congregation of Mackenzie worshippers. The story of the burning of the Church of Kilchrist, with its congregation, while

¹ Chiefs of Grant.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials.

the piper of Allan Macdonald of Lundie marched round the building playing a piobaireachd, has, strange to say, been accepted by writers of Highland history with as much assurance as if it were based on a certified entry in the Privy Council Records. Johnson, in his account of his journey to the Western Isles, repeats the story and shifts the scene of the tragedy to Culloden. Gregory, who made the first serious attempt to clothe the legend with the halo of authenticity, quotes quite an array of authorities in support of it, one of whom would have been sufficient, and not even one of the number makes the remotest reference to the burning of the Church of Kilchrist. Others have followed the example of the author of "The History of the Highlands and Isles." Many have quoted him, and no book on the Highlands is oftener quoted than that of Donald Gregory. But what are the facts? The Parish of Kilchrist had already ceased to be a separate parish, and had been joined to that of Urray in 1574, while all that remained of the church were the bare walls. Mr John Mackenzie, the principal victim of the Raid of Kilchrist, was inducted minister of Killearnan in 1602, and he had not yet been advanced to the dignity of Arch-deacon of Ross, as indeed he could not be for some years to come, while the Church remained as it then was under the form of Presbyterian government. The minister of Killearnan was a son of Alexander Mackenzie of Kilchrist, whether eldest or second son matters little so far as our purpose is concerned. He certainly succeeded some member of his family as proprietor of the lands of Kilchrist, and in the process against Allan Macranald of Lundie he appears in that capacity, and not as minister of

Kilchrist. He had no ecclesiastical connection whatever with that district, his sole charge then being the parish of Killearnan, where it appears he had no residence, while the duties of his cure at least on Sunday would almost if not entirely have been performed by a reader. At that time the houses of the clergy were all situated round the cathedral in the town of Chanonry, as any one in the least degree acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of the Black Isle must know. The house occupied by the minister of Killearnan was the family residence of Kilchrist. His residence in that district is to be accounted for solely by the fact of his being the owner of the lands and not because he had any ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a parish which, with the bare walls of its church, had already been joined to the charge of another minister. Had Mr John Mackenzie been minister of Kilchrist, it would have been all the worse for him, as in that case he would have perished to a certainty in the congregational conflagration. The tradition-mongers, while they emphasise the burning of the whole congregation of men, women, and children, have forgotten to tell us by what miracle the minister escaped; but perhaps the Mackenzies of those days, being probably less liturgical than their descendants later in the same century, were in the habit of meeting for public worship without a minister. In his process against Lundie, the Archdeacon of Ross made no charge of church burning, nor did any one, because there was no church to burn.

After the Raid of Kilchrist there is no more raiding of the Mackenzies on record against Glen-garry and his followers. By mutual consent they ceased from troubling one another, both in Easter

and Wester Ross, and Glengarry as a man of war is not heard of again for some time. In 1608 the Isles are in a turmoil. The King, abandoning his original idea of solving the Island problem by extirpating the Islanders, is now bent on carrying out certain salutary reforms as a better mode of bringing them into line with the rest of the inhabitants of his Northern Kingdom. While the consideration of these reforms was in progress, much dissatisfaction prevailed in the Isles, arising principally from the treacherous conduct of Lord Ochiltree, the King's lieutenant, in taking several chiefs prisoners at Aros.¹ The neighbouring chiefs on the mainland naturally sympathised with their kinsmen in the Isles, and among others Glengarry. On February 6th, 1609, he is charged by the Privy Council not to receive disobedient Islesmen within his bounds, but to co-operate with the Council in the business of the Isles; while at the same time he is warned to appear on March 25th to answer for his conduct in the interval. Failing to appear, he is, on the 28th of March, denounced rebel. Besides resetting Islesmen, Donald MacAngus has also at the same time other irons in the fire. While the Privy Councillors are busy making laws for the better government of the Western Isles, and denouncing Donald MacAngus for not exercising his gifts as a statesman, the men of Glengarry are congenially engaged in a herschip. Raiding prospects in Ross-shire not being particularly bright at that time, the men of Glengarry sought new pastures in the fair and far-off fields of Strathdee, from which they returned to the wilds of Clanranald

¹ Privy Council Records, Maitland Club Publications, and Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.

the happy owners of 28 head of cattle.¹ In due time Harry Stewart, the proprietor of the lands raided, complained to the Privy Council, and on the 21st of February, 1610, the raiders are put to the horn and declared rebels. On the 10th of March, Donald MacAngus is summoned to answer for his men, but failing to appear he is denounced rebel. After a lapse of five years he complained that he had been wrongfully put to the horn at the instance of Harry Stewart, and declared that he was not answerable for the raiders; but being on his good behaviour at the time, he offered to find caution to the extent of a thousand merks.²

It is surely a pleasant relief from raids, Privy Council denunciations and horning, to find the Chief of Glengarry interested in an industry "which will redound to the benefit of the whole kingdome in generall and to his own benefit in particular." On the 29th of December, 1610, the King granted at Whitehall a commission and license to Sir George Hay, one of the gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, to make iron and glass within the kingdom of Scotland during the space of thirty-one years.³ In a letter from Windsor Castle, dated 20th July, 1611, and directed to "his trustie and weil beloved the Laird of Glengarry," the King informs the Chief that Sir George Hay had brought with him to Scotland "a greate number of strangearis" to be employed in manufacturing iron and glass in the neighbourhood of Glengarry. His Majesty recommends Sir George Hay and the strangers to the special favour of Glengarry, and hopes that he will protect them while engaged in a work "so profitable for all the king-

¹ Privy Council Records.

² *Ibidem*.

³ Acts of Parliament.

dome.”¹ It is not known to what extent the new industry introduced into the Highlands benefited either “the whole kingdome in generall or Donald MacAngus in particular,” but there is every reason to believe that the protection so earnestly bespoken for the “streangeris” by the King was given by his “trustie and weil beloved the Laird of Glengarry.”

About this time the men of Knoydart raided the lands of Laggan Achindoun in Glengarry, and destroyed houses, and other property of considerable value.² Glengarry, who seems now to be anxious to proceed on legal lines, obtained a commission of fire and sword against his kinsmen. The Macdonalds of Knoydart had already suffered much from the encroachments of the Camerons, and now the final blow was to be struck by the Chief of Glengarry, whose one aim in the execution of his commission appeared to be to exterminate *Sliochd Ailein 'ie Ailein*. This branch of the Clanranald, however, were resolved not to go down to extinction as a territorial family without making a final effort for their rights. The rebellion of the men of Knoydart had indeed at length become so serious a matter that the Privy Council thought it necessary to grant a commission to Rorie Mackenzie of Coigach, Macleod of Dunvegan, and John Grant of Freuchie, to proceed against them.³ In the face of so formidable a combination of chiefs, the Clan Allan of Knoydart could not hope to stand out long even with the help of the Clanranald of Moidart, and Donald MacAngus of Glengarry entered into possession of their lands. The King, on the 3rd of July, 1613, confirmed a grant of these lands to Donald MacAngus by Allan Cameron of Lochiel in 1611, and the Macdonalds of

¹ Charter Chest of Glengarry.

² Privy Council Records.

³ Ibidem.

Knoydart ceased to be as a territorial family.¹ In the following year Donald MacAngus, with consent of his son and heir, Alasdair Dearg, wadsets the fivepenny lands of Inverguseran in Knoydart to Alasdair Og Maclain Vic Allan, apparently one of the old family, who, besides paying a rent of 1200 merks yearly for the same is "bund one all kyndis of dew service to ye said Donald MacAngus."² The relations between Donald MacAngus and the Government appear now, on the whole, to be satisfactory, and no more blasts from the King's horn are heard at the gates of Invergarry. No doubt his advanced years tended to modify the Chief's Celtic ardour, but however this may be, he evidently now desires to be at peace with all men, notwithstanding sinister indications of coming trouble with the Clan Fraser.

In the summer of 1615 Sir James Macdonald of Dunnyveg succeeded in effecting his escape from Edinburgh Castle, assisted by Keppoch and young Clanranald. Sir James, immediately on his obtaining liberty, raised the standard of rebellion, and made a tour of the Macdonald regions with the object of raising the whole clan. From Lochaber he passed through the Glengarry country to the Isles, but while many clansmen joined his standard, Glengarry, though appealed to by Sir James, stood aloof. His son, Alasdair Dearg, however, was taken prisoner by Sir James on his way from Edinburgh to the North, and being afterwards released he joined in the rebellion, but not with any following of the Glengarry men. The campaign of Sir James ended in the defeat and flight of that chief and his principal supporters. Alasdair Dearg returned to

¹ Reg. of Great Seal. ² Glengarry Charter Chest.

his own country pursued by a party sent by Argyle to apprehend him, but in this they were not successful. Secretary Binning professes to be at a loss what ringleaders to pursue now that Sir James and his son, Keppoch and his son, Alasdair Dearg, and Somerled MacJames are escaped, and Coll MacGillespie pardoned.¹

It appears as if Donald MacAngus was destined never to hold any of his western possessions in peace. His recently acquired lands of Knoydart were in May, 1616, the scene of a raid by a band of the Clanranald of Moidart, led by John and Rory, brothers of the Chief of Clanranald. But in a bond of friendship and mutual forgiveness of injuries entered into by the Chiefs of Glengarry and Clanranald at Edinburgh on the 18th of July, 1616, Donald Macallan Vic Ean is willing to repair the injury done to Donald MacAngus in Knoydart, "in case it salbe verifeit or provin," and to indemnify him in "all sic guids and geir as wes spuizeit," provided the same be "verifeit" by Alester MacEane V^c Allane in Inverguseran, Angus MacAllan Roy in Lee, Alaster his brother in Crowlin, and Neill McRorie V^c Ean Roy in Scottos, the injured parties. Donald MacAllan Vic Ean further promises to assist his "tender and loving kinsman," Donald MacAngus, in keeping "his magestie's peas within all thes bounds." In similar terms Donald MacAngus expresses his friendship for Clanranald, and promises to make good to him any damage sustained at the hands of the men of Glengarry, and especially by Alaster McEan V^c Allane in Inverguseran, Angus MacAllan Roy in Lee, Alaster his brother, Allan Mor in Barrisdale,

¹ Denmylue Papers.

and Ronald Roy McEan V^c Allane in Ardnasteisneithe. Finally, Donald MacAllan V^c Ean binds and obliges himself to assist Donald MacAngus against the rebels of Knoydart "that molestis and troubillis the cuntry."¹ It is interesting to find that one of the witnesses to the agreement between the chiefs is John Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross, the principal victim of the Raid of Kilchrist.

As proof of the continued good relations between Donald MacAngus and the Government, he is now found frequently employed in suppressing rebellions, and otherwise engaged in restoring order among his neighbours. In December, 1621, he is commissioned to assist in pursuing and apprehending the unfortunate Clan Gregor, while again in June following he is employed in a similar manner against Lochiel for rebellion, and against a Thomas Fraser for fire-raising in Kirkhill.² In March, 1625, a commission is granted to him under the Royal Signet to apprehend Malcolm and Donald MacNeill Vic Nicoll, followers of Donald MacIain V^c James, the hero of Blar-Charinish and many another fight, for the murder of John McNeill V^c Eane, a merchant in Uist.³ The McNicolls had been denounced at the instance of Donald McNeill V^c Eane, brother of the murdered man, and also at the instance of Glen-garry, who claimed to be his Chief. It is worthy of notice that the Donald McNeill V^c Eane referred to here, fought, according to the tradition of Uist, with great bravery at Carinish in 1601. Donald McNeill V^c Eane, by which patronymic he is known to this day, was a man of gigantic size, and reckoned the strongest man in Uist in his day. Many tales

¹ Charter Chest of Clanranald.

² Privy Council Records.

³ Ibidem.

are told by the seanachies of the Island of his prowess in combat and great feats of strength. Donald MacAngus is now constantly employed in the service of the Government. On the 20th of March, 1627, he received a commission under the Great Seal of Charles I. for holding courts upon thieves and robbers within the bounds of his own lands.¹ But, singularly enough, royal favours notwithstanding, an attempt is made by the Privy Council, two days after the date of his commission, to hold him responsible for the slaughter of Neill and William Bowyes in Sceane, evidently his own tenants, and he is threatened with pains and penalties.²

The next appearance made by Donald MacAngus of Glengarry is in an entirely new light. It is neither less nor more than in the role of heir to the Lordship of the Isles itself. In a case recorded in "Durie's Decisions," under date February 4th, 1631, he is the pursuer in an action against Lord Lovat and Munro of Fowlis craving to be restored to the possession of certain lands not specified, but which he claimed as heir of the Lord of the Isles through the family of Lochalsh. The Lords of Session admitted his right as heir of Macdonald of Lochalsh to the disputed lands provisionally, and on the production of his writs to be discussed *in causa*.³ Donald MacAngus had been two years previously by a general retour at Edinburgh declared heir to Celestine of Lochalsh.⁴ While the decision of the Lords of Session, however, afforded him a plausible pretext for a claim to the Earldom of Ross, he had no such ground on which to base a claim to the Lordship of the Isles,

¹ Glengarry Charter Chest.

² Privy Council Records.

✕ ³ Durie's Decisions, p. 565.

⁴ Register of Chancery.

⑧ He was the ancestor of the
MacDonnells of North Uist.

descended as he was on the female side from Celestine.

Now had come a period of great disorder and lawlessness in the Highlands. Bands from all the clans joined together, and broke loose from all authority, whether Lowland or Highland, and the chiefs, who were quite unable for a time to restrain them, were yet held answerable for their good behaviour by the Executive Government. A great invasion of Murray by these "broken men" took place in 1634. In September of the same year the Lords of the Privy Council are informed that "ane great number of sorners and brokin men dwelling under the Laird of Macgregour, the Laird of Glengarrie, Allan M'Eane Dowy, and the Captain of Clanranald, have verie heavilie infested and spoyled diverse of his maiesties good subjects dwelling within the Shirefdom of Murray." To "represe the incursions and depredations of thir lymmaris," a commission with full power and authority is given to Sir John Grant of Freuchie and others, "to convocat his majesteis leiges in armes and to pas searche seeke and take all brokin men and lymmars to underly their deserved tryell and punishment." The Lords of Council further ordered letters to be directed to the Laird of Glengarry and others to appear personally before them to answer for the "brokin lymmars." On the 13th of January, 1635, many of the chiefs appeared personally before the Council, while "the Laird of Glengarrie compeirand be Johne M'Rannald, his procuratour, who produced ane testimoniall under the hand of the minister of Abirtierfe, Schivim Scheill, Chirurgian, and Robert Abraham, Notar, testifeing the said Laird of Glengarrie his inabilityie to travell or keepe this dyet, in

respect of his decrepit age, being foure score twelffe yeeres, and that he is lying bedfast as the said testimonialls beiris." The Council being satisfied with Glengarry's "twa testimonialls," nothing further is heard of the great raid of Murray so far as he is concerned, and the aged Chief is heard of for the last time as the responsible head of the Clanranald of Glengarry. His grandson, Angus, destined to play so prominent a part in the stirring times in which he lived, had been for some time the actual leader of his clan. On the 23rd of September, 1635, Allan Macranald of Lundie was denounced rebel for not appearing before the Lords of Council in February 1633, to answer for "reset and assisting of James Grant, rebel, in divers depredations committed upon John Grant of Ballindalloch." Angus Macranald of Glengarry, as Lundie's Chief, whom he accompanies at "ousting, hunting, and generall meittings," is ordained to deliver him before the Council. Having failed to produce the person of Allan of Lundie, Angus of Glengarry is ordered to be put to the horn, and now the stormy career of the young Chief opens. There is no further reference to this incident in the records, nor can any light be thrown on the career of the young Chief himself for some time, but in the year 1637 an event took place which threatened to affect very materially his future prospects. In that year, on the 13th of March, the King granted a charter of the lands of Glengarry and Knoydart to John Macleod of Dunvegan.¹ It appears that these lands had been appraised at the instance of John Scougall of Humble for a debt against Glengarry, amounting to 4770 merks. According to a bond of obligation by

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal.

Glengarry to John Scougall in 1632, the former borrowed from the latter the sum of 3000 merks, John Macleod of Dunvegan being one of the cautioners.¹ The charter to Macleod, it would appear, was granted to him as being Glengarry's principal creditor, but being granted "*sub legali reversione*," no infeftment followed upon it. How the matter was settled between all the parties concerned, and by what means the estates were preserved to the family, we have no means of knowing.

The unsettled state of the political atmosphere in the south was not without its effect, even on so remote a region as Glengarry. In the year 1640, a commission of fire and sword was given by the Estates to the Earl of Argyle to pursue "not only proven enemies to religion, but also unnatural to their country to the utter subduing and rooting them out of the country."² The Amalekites must be smitten hip and thigh, and utterly destroyed. For this laudable purpose the pious Earl raised 4000 men, and, among others, he invaded the territory of Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, which he plundered and wasted from end to end. When the day of reckoning came at the Restoration, the loss sustained by Glengarry was estimated at an enormous sum.³ From a plundering Earl of Argyle it is a far cry to a vulgar herschip. In December, 1641, a complaint was made by William Mackintosh of Torecastle and others to the Privy Council against several of the men of Glengarry who had been put to the horn for herschip, and for not appearing to answer for the slaughter of Lachlan Mackintosh and William Miller at Inverness "upon a Sabbath day,"

¹ Original Bond in Charter Chest of Dunvegan.

² Acts of Parliament.

³ *Ibidem*.

and also for gathering together in arms with the intention of disturbing the peace of the country.¹ The complainers demanded the committal to ward of "Angus Macdonald, Oy to the Laird of Glengarry," who was then in town, until his rebellious clansmen be presented to answer to the charges preferred against them. Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat had already, on the 28th of November, become cautioner to the extent of 10,000 merks for the appearance of the young Chief of Glengarry before the Court.² The "Oy," being then apparent heir to the estate, and leader of the clan, appearing before the Council, was found "liable for exhibition of the rebels." On this sentence being intimated to him, and refusing to find caution for the appearance of the rebels in the following June, he was committed to ward within the Castle of Edinburgh. After a confinement in the Castle of thirteen weeks at his own expense, Young Glengarry presented a petition to the Privy Council on March 1st, 1642, to be set at liberty, on condition of his finding sufficient security for the appearance of his rebellious followers. "The Lords ordain the said Angus Macdonald to be set at liberty because Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbett has become cautioner for him not to remove from the Burgh of Edinburgh, and to appear the first Council day in June next to satisfy the said Lords, otherwise to re-enter himself in ward in the said Castle." The murderers of William Mackintosh and William Miller at Inverness, on whose account young Glengarry had suffered so much, were no doubt in due course brought to justice, but of Angus himself, to whom they had

¹ Privy Council Records.² Ibidem.

taught the lesson of a chief's responsibilities, no more is heard in this connection.

The young chief, however, is soon heard of elsewhere. The quarrel between the King and the Parliament of England on the one hand, and the Scottish Covenanters on the other, had at length assumed a portentous aspect. The King wanted uniformity, Montrose was for moderation, but Angus of Glengarry, as a Catholic, cared little for either. He could not be expected to have any sympathy with the Covenanters, and recent events had not tended to intensify his loyalty to the King. Other and more potent influences were at work. As far back as June, 1639, the King had appointed the Earl of Antrim and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat "conjunctlie and severallie his Mat^{ies} lieutenants and commissioners within the whole Highlands and Isles of Scotland."¹ At Oxford, on the 28th of January, 1643, Antrim entered into an agreement with Montrose to do his utmost to raise forces in the "Eyles" and in Ireland for the purpose of establishing the King's authority in Scotland.² Montrose, armed with the King's commission, arrived in Scotland on the 13th of April, 1644, and set up the royal standard at Blair-Athole, while on the 5th of July the Irish auxiliaries of Lord Antrim, numbering about 1500 men, landed at Ardnamurchan under the command of the gallant Alexander Macdonald, the "Lion-hearted McColl"—

"An t-òg aigiomach rioghail,
Chuireadh sgairt fo na mìltean,
'Nuair a thogte leis pìob as breid sròil."³

From Ardnamurchan the Irish fleet sailed along the coast to Skye, whence Macdonald and his army

X ¹ Charter Chest of the Earl of Antrim.

² Ibidem.

³ John Lom Macdonald.

crossed to the mainland by Kylerea. Pushing his way inland he in due time arrived at Invergarry, but, though hospitably received by the Chief, very few of his people joined the Irish ranks. After a series of successes with Montrose, Alasdair again appeared on the West Coast to levy fresh recruits for the King's army. At Knoydart he met Angus Macdonald of Glengarry, and though pressed by Alasdair the young chief did not then join the King's forces.¹ Donald Gorm Macdonald, his uncle, however, joined them at the head of the greater part of the men of Knoydart and Glengarry. On their way to the camp at Blair-Athole, they were joined by the Macdonalds of Keppoch at Brae Lochaber. From Blair-Athole Montrose marched into Argyle and raided the lands of the Campbells, a congenial task to the men of Glengarry and his other Macdonald followers. From an account of Montrose's campaign by Colonel James Macdonald, second in command of the Irish force, the Raid of Argyle appears to have been nothing if not thorough. "From Blairathol," the gallant Colonel writes, "we marched to Glenurghyes, called M'Callan M'Conaghy, all which lands we burned, and preyed from thence to Lares, alias Laufers, and burned and preyed all this country from thence to Achenbracke's whose land and country we burned and preyed; and so throughout Argyle we left neither house nor hold unburned, nor corn nor cattle that belonged to the whole name of Campbell."² From Argyle Montrose marched back to Lochaber, and arrived in the last week of January at Killiechumin, now known as Fort-Augustus.

¹ Book of Clanranald.

✕ ² Original among the Carte MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Here he was joined by Angus Macdonald, who as "apirend of Glengerry" signed a bond of association drawn up by Montrose, to which the signatures of fifty-three heads of families were adhibited.¹ At Killebuimein Montrose received the intelligence, through John Lom Macdonald, the Keppoch bard, that Argyle, "with whom were the whole name of Campbell, with all their forces, and a great number of Lowland men," was at Inverlochy. He at once marched back, and arrived at Inverlochy on the night of the 1st of February. On the following morning the two armies met, and there was fought one of the bloodiest battles on record. Glengarry, who, with his uncles, Donald Gorm, John Mor, and John Beg, and their followers, were in the centre of Montrose's army, fought with conspicuous bravery, while Mac-Cailein, Earl of Argyle, made himself immortal by witnessing from his galley the defeat of his army, and almost the total annihilation of the whole race of Diarmid. From Inverlochy Angus of Glengarry and his men followed Montrose southwards early in March, and had their share in the taking of Dundee. From Dundee Montrose returned North and fought the battle of Auldearn on the 9th of May. Here again the men of Glengarry, led by their gallant chief, sustained the reputation of the clan.

"Thug sibh miomnan a Bhiobuill
An srath iosal Allt-Eirinn."

"Nach rachadh claidheamh an truail
Gu'n eighite a bhuaidh le Rìgh Seurlas."

The next engagement was at Alford, where the main body was under the command of Glengarry, Drummond of Balloch, and Quartermaster George

¹ Clauranald Book of 1819, p. 125.

Graham. The men of Glengarry distinguished themselves, particularly in meeting and repulsing the cavalry charge on Montrose's right wing. When the fight was ultimately converted into a headlong rout they eagerly followed up the pursuit. Perhaps the most interesting incident of the fight, if not also the most humorous spectacle witnessed that day, was the flight for dear life, now for the third time during this campaign, of Gilleasbuig Gruamach of Argyle, the hope of the Covenanters, pursued by Angus of Glengarry. So accustomed was this whining coward to fly before the enemy that, previous to the battle, he provided for three relays of horses at three different stages, and thus escaped from his pursuers. It is said that the Earl was great in council, and of that he gave some faint proof by the preciseness with which he planned his own flight. After the battle of Alford, Montrose was largely reinforced by the return of Alasdair MacCholla from his recruiting tour in the West Highlands at the head of, among others, 500 Glengarry Macdonalds. Montrose now fulfilled his cherished purpose of carrying the war into the Lowlands, and at Kilsyth the Covenanters were again defeated with great slaughter, in which the men of Glengarry bore no small share. At this point about 4000 of his Highlanders left Montrose, and returned to protect their homes from the violence of the Covenanters. Whether Angus of Glengarry followed Montrose to Philiphaugh, or Alasdair MacCholla to Argyle, or returned home, must, for the present, remain a matter of conjecture. The probability is that he returned home at the head of his men, where his presence was much required. His lands of Knoydart and Glengarry

were at this time again harried by the Covenanters of Argyle, as appears from the "Report anent the Lord Macdonald's losses" laid before Parliament in 1661. Early in 1646, he received at Invergarry the Marquis of Montrose, who had escaped to the Highlands, and with him the Chief made every effort for another rising of the clans, but without success. Though the King commanded Montrose to lay down his arms, and make no further effort meanwhile, Glengarry still continued active in his interest, and frequently corresponded with him during that year. He finally succeeded in raising a regiment for the King's service, but being hard pressed by Lesley, the Covenanting General, he was obliged to cross over to Ireland in the beginning of 1647, accompanied by the Marquis of Antrim.¹

On arriving in Ireland, Glengarry, at the head of his regiment, joined the army of Preston in opposing the Ormondists. According to MacVuirich, the Highlanders "were esteemed and honoured for their taking of great towns from the enemy until they broke from the army of Preston."² On their way to join the Cavanaghs, they were attacked by a superior force under Sir Thomas Esmond, and almost annihilated. The Chief of Glengarry was taken prisoner, and sent to Kilkenny, where he was detained until the Marquis of Antrim found means of releasing him. From Ireland Glengarry, according to MacVuirich, "went over the sea to the King." He is not again heard of until the arrival of King Charles II. in the Moray Firth in June, 1650. From the time of the landing of the King, Glengarry was constant in his adherence to His Majesty following him through his brief campaign, and

¹ Hill's Macdonalds of Antrim.

² The Book of Clanranald.

leaving him only when defeat separated them at Worcester. But there is no distinct record of the special part acted by Glengarry during that period, though it can be inferred from several sources that it was by no means an unimportant one. After Worcester he returned North at the head of his men and continued in arms. Monk sent a party of English soldiers against him, but they got "hunger and strokes" for their pains, and returned to their headquarters cursing Glengarry and his clansmen as they proceeded. Encouraged by the failure of the English garrison at Inverness to dislodge him, Glengarry bestirred himself for another rising among the clans. The chief conduct of the King's affairs within the Highland line was entrusted to him, and he spared no effort in the furthering of the royal cause. After his recent defeat, things looked desperate enough for the success of any campaign undertaken on behalf of the King, but Glengarry, nothing daunted, pursued with commendable zeal the even tenor of his way among the Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleods, and other Western clans. According to information supplied by the officers of the Commonwealth in the North, Glengarry began his recruiting campaign in the Highlands early in the year 1652.¹ Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, writing to Colonel Fitch, Governor of Inverness, informs him that "the Laird of Glengarry and some other Highlanders, are drawne to an head and intend to disquiett the peace of the country."² The letter of Sir James at this juncture is of importance, not only as showing his own attitude towards parties, but also as an indication of the influence his conduct was likely to have, and as matter of

¹ Clarke MSS.² *Ibid.*

fact it did have, and notably on the Captain of Clanranald. But Glengarry, whose wife was a sister of Sir James, had heavy odds at stake in this game, and he must push on at all hazards, with or without the help of his clan. When his efforts to stir up his clansmen of Skye and Uist proved unavailing, he betook himself to Argyle, and Lilburne, writing to Cromwell, informs him that Glengarry had sent emissaries to Ireland to stir up the Royalists of Antrim, but his kinsmen of the Emerald Isle, with the remembrance of former campaigns in Scotland still fresh in their minds, followed the example of those of the Western Isles.¹ Glengarry's efforts among the other clans appear to have been more successful. Colonel Lilburne, writing from Dalkeith in February, is alarmed at the aspect of affairs "amonge the mountaines."² The gallant officer indulges in phraseology far too strong for so pious a Puritan writing to the chief of the Puritans. He had information that "undoubtedly one from young Charles has bin with Glengarry with commissions from him, which hath putt a great deale of life in these kind of cattell." Lilburne's surmisings proved true. A great gathering of "these kind of cattell" actually took place at Glengarry in the month of February, but for some reason or another they dispersed without coming to any definite resolution as to immediate action. Lilburne, who affected to despise "such rable," appeared to be in great straits as to what steps should be taken to prevent a general rising among the clans, and in his desperation urged Gilleasbuig Gruamach of Argyle to try his crooked ways with a view to preventing those

¹ Clarke MSS.² Ibid.

“uppon whom his lordshippe had powerfull influence” from engaging with Glengarry.¹ The vigilance of the Cromwellian officers notwithstanding, Glengarry abated none of his efforts in behalf of the exiled monarch; and in July the state of affairs appears to have been so promising for a rising that the Highland royalists despatched a Captain Smith to the King in Paris to inform him of their resolution to oppose the rebels, and desiring that His Majesty might send Middleton to take the command.² Before the Highland messenger had yet reached the Court of King Charles, His Majesty wrote the following consoling letter to his “loving friend,” Glengarry:—

“St Germain, August 3rd, 1652.

“I am promised this letter shall come safe to your handes, and therefore I am willing that you should know from myself that I am still alive, and the same man that I was when I was amongst you. I am very much troubled for what you suffer, and am using all the endeavours I can to free you, and before many months I hope you will see I am not idle. In the meantime, I cannot but lett you know that I am in greater straights and perplexities for your safetyes then you can easily apprehend; and I am thereby compelled to leave many things undone which would be of advantage to me and you. I could heartily wish therefore that by your interest and negociatione with those you have trust in, and who you know wish me well, which would be a very seasonable obligation, and would never be forgotten by me: I neede say no more to you, but that I shall be glad to receive any advice or advertisement from you that you think necessary for me, and shall alwaies remaine your very loving friend,

“CHARLES R.”³

Captain Smith returned in December with a commission from the King in favour of Glengarry, his uncle, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Scotus, and others, constituting them His Majesty's Commis-

¹ Clarke MSS.

² Clarendon MSS.

³ Charter Chest of Glengarry.

sioners, with full power to order, govern, and dispose of, any forces drawn together for his service.¹ He informed them at the same time that he had appointed Middleton Lieutenant-General of his forces in Scotland, but meanwhile, and until Middleton's arrival, he authorised them to appoint an interim commander. Before the Highland chiefs, however, had time to carry out the King's instructions, His Majesty had sent a commission, dated March 14th, 1653, to the Earl of Glencairn, appointing him commander of the royal forces in Scotland until the arrival of Middleton. Glencairn, who had offered his services to the King, was desired by Charles not to produce his commission except in the last resort, for fear of creating jealousy among the Highland chiefs. To prevent any possible disaffection, the King provided the Earl with a letter recommending the chiefs to elect him as commander of the Royalist forces. It was hinted that Glengarry, who was the leader of the Royalists in the Highlands, would not accept of a command under Middleton, and to compromise matters it was suggested that the command should be divided. Rumours of these supposed differences reached the King's ears, who in a letter to Balcarres points out with great good sense that it would be suicidal to the royal cause in Scotland to have one in command of the Highland and another in command of the Lowland forces. There appears to be no good ground for the charge against Glengarry, for as pointed out by the King in his letter to Balcarres, Glengarry himself desired His Majesty through Captain Smith to send Middleton to command in Scotland.² Besides, Glengarry continued to show

¹ Clarendon MSS.² *Ibidem*.

the same zeal as formerly in His Majesty's service, and there are no signs of dissatisfaction in the Highlands on account of Middleton's appointment, even though he had formerly served on the Covenanting side, and been accused of having a hand in the burning of Invergarry Castle. The Chief of Glengarry, instead of repining, loyally accepted the situation, and set about collecting the scattered fragments of the King's forces in the Highlands with new energy, and with the view of effecting an early meeting with Glencairn. His movements soon excited the suspicion of the Cromwellian Government, and Colonel Lilburne, on the authority of a report from Inverness, informs Cromwell that a new war was brewing in the Highlands, and that Glengarry, whom he conceives to be acting from necessity, had had a meeting with the chiefs at Strathglass.¹ Several officers of the Commonwealth reported, with more or less vagueness, regarding the movements of Glengarry, but they at least make it abundantly plain that that chief was most active in the prosecution of his task. One officer refers to "the great and frequent meetings of Glengarry with the other Highlanders and Islanders," while another has "worde that he is busy and hath seized of the Lord Argile's frigott and guns," and a third hopes "that he is more northerly among Seaforth's people."² At length we find Glengarry at Rannoch in June on his way to meet Glencairn, and at the head of a considerable following, estimated by Colonel Lilburne at between 1500 and 2000 men.³ While encamped at this place the Highlanders appear to have spent their time in the congenial task of harrying the surrounding country, much to the annoyance of the

¹ Clarke MSS. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

Earl of Athole, to whose remonstrance Glengarry replied by telling him point blank that as he paid "sesse to the Kinges enemies" his lands were fair game for His Majesty's army. Glengarry's letter to the Earl is in the following terms :—

"MY LORD,—I am sorrie your Lolands receive such prejudice from those towards their fields, but for restoring of these which are taken away, I must freely declare to your Lordshippe that since your lands pay sesse to the Kinges enemies, and comes under contribution to them, these heir will nott thinke themselves obliged to any good neighbourhood ; soe that what is taken from your people you may expect but little mends soe long as they continue in that course, soe my opinion is your people looke the better to themselves, which is the further advice of, your Lordship's humble servant,

"MCDONALD GLENGARRIE.

"Ranoth, June 7, 1653.

"For the right honorable the Earle of Atholl these."¹

At a meeting of the Royalist leaders, held in Lochaber early in July, Glencairn assumed the command of the whole army, Lowland and Highland, and unfurled the royal standard. From the place of rendezvous he proceeded northwards through Badenoch, where he halted for some time, and where, among others, Lord Lorn joined him with a large following. The presence of Lorn in the royal camp was not sufficiently appreciated, at least by Glengarry, and it can readily be believed that ways and means were found of provoking a quarrel. Whoever may have been the aggressor, swords were drawn by the hot-headed descendants of Conn and Diarmid, and the young chiefs were prevented from fighting a bloody, and probably a fatal, duel by their friends. They parted, however, "great enemies." For some reason or another, Lorn, after

¹ Clarke MSS.

remaining in Glencairn's camp for about a fortnight, withdrew at the head of his men, and went off towards Ruthven Castle, then occupied by the English troops. Glencairn being highly incensed at Lorn's conduct, sent Glengarry in pursuit. He came upon the Campbells within half-a-mile of Ruthven, and would have attacked them except for the timely arrival and intervention of Glencairn himself. He, however, succeeded in taking twenty of Lorn's horse prisoners, but Lorn himself, with the remainder of his cavalry, effected their escape. His foot surrendered and returned to the royal camp. Glencairn continued his march northwards, and at Elgin received intimation of the arrival from the Continent of Middleton, with instructions from that officer to meet him at Dornoch. To Dornoch, therefore, Glencairn proceeded with all possible haste at the head of his army, and on his arrival there, he resigned the command to Middleton, who produced the King's commission appointing him commander-in-chief of the whole Royalist force. Glengarry at the same time received from the King a commission of major-general, accompanied by a letter from His Majesty, to which reference will be made later. Now an incident occurred which, but for the timely interference of Glencairn, might have involved Glengarry in serious consequences. At an entertainment given in Dornoch in honour of Middleton, Sir George Munro, an officer who had come over from France with the General, sprang up at the festive board, and in the most deliberate and insulting manner rated the Highland followers of Glencairn for a set of thieves and robbers. It appears that Glencairn on his march to Sutherland had taken the Laird of

Fowlis prisoner, and it was alleged that he had allowed him to be ill-treated by his followers. Sir George Munro, who was a brother of Fowlis, resented the degradation to which he believed that chief had been subjected, and being probably heated with wine, he drew largely on his vocabulary of abuse at the expense of the Highlanders. Glengarry, who felt the insult keenly, rose in a towering passion to demand satisfaction, but he was restrained by Glencairn, and the unfortunate incident ended in a duel between that nobleman and Munro. Quarrelling seems to have been the order of the day in the royal camp at Dornoch. Lilburne, writing to Cromwell in April, 1654, after referring to the duel fought by the Earl of Glencairn and Sir George Munro, says that "Glengarry and Atholl about precedency were alsoe going to the fields, but were prevented."¹ Athole had evidently not forgotten the pointed letter written from Rannoch, and Glengarry, with an Earl's patent in his pocket, could afford to discuss precedence.

Quarrels notwithstanding, the aspect of affairs under the new commander appeared more hopeful for King Charles. No one was more sanguine than Glengarry, who betook himself to the Western Isles to beat up his kinsmen of Skye and Uist. On his return from his recruiting expedition in the West, Glengarry wrote the following letter to the King:—

"Most sacred Soverane,—Tho that your Majesty's forces heir upon Lentenant Generale Midlton's aryvall did not altogoother seem so strong or so numerous as possibly ether was reported or wished be our frinds, yet I dar say it wanted no indevors wee could perform, and now praised be God in som beter condition sinc, bot now since the Hollanders hes agreed with the Rebells, it

¹ Clarke MSS.

is conceived if wee had the hapines off your Majesty's person to be amongst us (quich is the humble desyr off most off your Majesty's faithfull subjects without prejudice to your Majesty's great affairs abroad) that wee suld be shortly in condition to deill equally with anie enemie in this kingdome, without quich we shall have hard governing off our sellfs, as the Lieutenant Generall will mor punctuall inform your Majesty, to qhos relation also (feiring to be tedious) I doe referr my own chirfull indevors and concurrent with him, and my willnignes to comply with all humors for the advancing off your Majesty's servie, so that as I begunne my loyaltie so shall I end and seill it with my blood, otherways alive to that my greatest ambition and hapines to see your Majesty satled on your glorijs and royall thron, quich is the dayly prayers and indevors off him qho is, Sir, your Majesty's most humbell, most faithfull, and most obedient servant,

"A. McDONALD GLENGARRIE.

"Cathnes, Jun 5, 1654.

"For His Majestye the King off Great Brittane."¹

But the luckless enterprise was doomed to failure. After much aimless marching, Middleton, with Glengarry and his other Highland followers, were defeated by Colonel Morgan, at the head of a division of Monk's army, at Lochgarry, on the 19th of July, 1654. Colonel Morgan had already burnt Invergarry Castle on the 23rd of the same month. Monk, in a narrative of his "Proceedings in the Hills," records that on "the 24th the armi came to Glenmoriston and in the way met with Colonel Morgan's Brigade neer Glengaries new house which was burnt by that Brigade the day before, and the remaining structure I order'd to bee defaced by the pyoneers."²

Shortly after the defeat of the King's army at Lochgarry, several of the Highland leaders began to sue for terms of peace, and among the rest Glen-

¹ Clarendon MSS.

² Paper by Mr Wm. Mackay in Inverness Gaelic Soc. Trans., XVIII., 75.

garry, if the officers of the Commonwealth are to be believed. Monk, in a letter to Cromwell, wishes to know the Protector's pleasure with reference to an application he had received from Glengarry, but it appears that the terms dictated by that Chief were not accepted. In December the Chief sent a messenger to Colonel Fitch, who informed that officer that "Glengarry's wife would faine have come in, but he is not willing except uppon good tearmes and is still amying to obtain the 5000 markes land his Kinge gave in Rosse."¹ He also informed Fitch that Glengarry and his friends "were resolved to keep up a partye in the hills for the reputacion of their Kinge, and that it be known to Forraigne princes that he had yet footeing here, that soe he might gain the more respect from them, and make them readier to supply him; and that they intend not to fight untill they have considerable forraigne forces." The messenger further informed Fitch that the Highlanders had "7000 new stand of armes in the Hills, and a great quantity of ammunition."² "The 5000 markes land which his Kinge gave in Rosse" would not of course be granted by the Protector, and the negotiations for peace between Glengarry and the English officers, as might have been expected, ended in failure. It appears, indeed, as if Glengarry's part had been acted for a purpose, for while the overtures for peace between the parties were yet depending, he is busy rallying the clans for another engagement. Middleton, who took his leave of Glengarry "about a month after Colonel Morgan gave them the Ruffle," and had gone on board ship on his way to France, returned on his receiving fresh instructions from the King. "Hee

¹ Clarke MSS.² Ibid.

came back to Glengarry to goe on with his master's worke."¹ The "master's worke," it appears, made little progress, in spite of Glengarry's efforts. On the 19th of December it is reported that "Middleton is yet about Kintail, but hath not with him above 20 men : Glengarry is at Knodard and all his men at home."² Of Glengarry's relations to the Cromwellian officers no more is heard for some time. The following letter from the King, dated at Colien on the 30th of December, 1654, explains perhaps better than anything else his attitude towards parties on both sides :—

"Glengarry, I have given this honest bearer in charge to say so much to you, and have written to Middleton of other particulars concerning you, which he will imparte to you, that I shall say little more myselfe then to assure you that your so constant adhearinge to Middleton in the 'carringe on my service when so many (from whom I expected it not) grow weary of it, and your so chearfully submitting to all these straights and distresses for my sake is very acceptable to me, and a greate addicione to your former meritts. Be confident, I will not fayle of doing my parte as a good master in rewardinge so good a servant, and that when we meete, which I believe will be ere longe, you shall finde as much kindnesse as you can expecte from your very affectionate frende,

"CHARLES R."³

Glengarry continued to hold out in the face of much annoyance from the English garrison at Inverness. Monk, writing to the Protector in May, 1655, informs him that "all things are now very quiett, none being out but Glengarry."⁴ At length the gallant cavalier yielded to the inevitable, and accepted the terms offered him by the Usurper. These terms are contained in articles of agreement entered into between Colonel Blunt, Deputy

¹ Clarke MSS. ² Ibid.

³ Glengarry Charter Chest. ⁴ Clarke MSS.

Governor of Inverness, acting for the Protector, and Glengarry, in June, 1655. It was agreed between the parties that "the lard of Glengarry, his clan, vassals, tenants, servants, now dwelling, or that shall hereafter dwell, upon his lands, shall from time to time, and all times hereafter, deport themselves peaceably and quietly under the present Government, and give all due obedience to his Highness Oliver, &c., and neither directly nor indirectly act anything that may be or prove prejudicial to the peace or interest thereof." Glengarry further promises that he shall not build any "house of strength" within his bounds without leave from Oliver, &c., nor harbour the enemies of the Commonwealth. Peace was purchased on these terms at the price of £2000 sterling, in which Glengarry bound himself to the Protector, while for the payment of this large sum, if demanded, he was obliged to give as sureties Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, Donald Macdonald of Moidart, Allan Macdonald of Morar, Ranald Macdonald of Benbecula, and John Macdonald of Stronewacke¹

The gallant Chief of Glengarry submitted to the yoke of the Usurper with the best grace possible in the circumstances, though not, it may be surmised, without misgiving. Yielding to that necessity which knows no law, he prudently abstained from manifesting the spirit that was in him—a severe ordeal for a proud-spirited loyalist. When he comes again into the public view he cuts a figure more humorous than edifying. The spectacle of the Royalist Chief paying mock homage to Protector Richard Cromwell before a "scaffold" at Inverlochy is affecting in the last degree. On the 5th of October, 1658, Richard

¹ Original document in the Charter Chest of Lord Macdonald.

was proclaimed Lord Protector at Inverlochy, with great shouting and three volleys of small shot. On the scaffold erected before the Tolbooth was the Governor and the Sheriff, while below, and ranged round the scaffold, were the Lairds of Glengarry and Lochiel, "and severall others, lairds and principall gentlemen of these parts." When the farce was ended, the Lairds of Glengarry and Lochiel, and several other "principall gentlemen of these parts," were entertained to "a very liberal colation" by the Governor.¹

Glengarry did not find it convenient to remain long in this peaceable attitude. In the course of the following year the relations between himself and the English garrison at Inverlochy became somewhat strained. In November, 1659, Major Hill, the Governor, "is informed that some of the Laird of Glengarie's clan are broken out in armes and have rob'd and spoyld divers of the country people who have lived peaceable." The Governor sent an order to Ewen Cameron of Lochiel "to raise such men of his clan as he can gett together in armes for the suppressing of the said partie, and to seize and apprehend Angus Macdonald of Glengarry, in caise he shall abett or countenance the said robbers." It is needless to add that Lochiel, for several weighty reasons, did not rise to the occasion. The days of English rule in Scotland were now numbered. Events were marching rapidly towards that consummation for which every loyalist heart had long and earnestly prayed, and the dawn of the day was nigh that was to free the gallant Chief of Glengarry for ever from the yoke of English Puritanism.

¹ Clarke MSS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENGARRY—(*Continued*).

The Restoration.—Glengarry raised to Peerage.—Claim against Argyll.—Bond with Macmartin.—Feud with Inverness.—Interposition for Macmartin.—Difficulties in Muck.—Exhibits Keppoch.—Contract with Cluny.—Co-operation with Lawyers.—Action of Government against Papists.—Glengarry sides with Duart.—Macdonald of Scotus succeeds to Estates.—Alastair Dubh.—The Revolution.—Dundee and the Highlanders.—Killiecrankie.—Forfeiture.—Submission.—Succeeds to Chiefship.—Complaint *re* Invergarry Castle.—Address of Chiefs to George I.—Sheriffmuir.—Submission to Government.—James VIII.'s Peerage.—Rising of 1719.—Death of Alastair Dubh.—John succeeds.—Alastair Ruadh in the Highlands.—His return to France with Address from Chiefs.—His imprisonment.—Prince Charles.—Angus of Glengarry.—Battle of Preston.—Angus recruiting in the North.—Attitude of the Grants.—The Glengarry men at Clifton.—Siege of Stirling.—Battle of Falkirk.—Death of Angus.—James takes command.—Expedition to Dornoch.—Culloden.—Old Glengarry's imprisonment.—Suspected Treachery of Barrisdale.—Release of Alastair Ruadh.—His difficulties.—Death of the Glengarry Chief.—Alastair Ruadh's succession.—His Will.—His death.—His calumniator.—Duncan, son of Angus, succeeds.—Sale of North Morar.—Emigration from Glengarry.—Death of Duncan.—Succession of Alexander Ranaldson.—His characteristics.—His Celtic proclivities.—His death.—The Modern Chiefs of Glengarry.

AMID a frantic outburst of loyal enthusiasm, the Stewart dynasty in the person of Charles II. was restored to the royal honours of the United Kingdom, and those who had dwelt for years in the cool shades of suspected disaffection to the Commonwealth, might now expect to bask in the sunshine



ANGUS, LORD MACDONALD AND AROS.

of royal favour. Among the Scottish Cavaliers who had accorded an unwilling submission to the iron rule of the Lord Protector, none was more devoted to, or had fought more strenuously for, the House of Stewart than Angus, the Chief of Glengarry. During the period of his own exile, Charles had granted several warrants under his hand and signet creating him Earl of Ross, and bestowing upon him the lands and revenues of the Earldom. Yet, when the heir of the Stewarts came to his kingdom in 1660, a less lofty dignity—that of “Lord Macdonell and Aros”—was conferred upon the Glengarry Chief, and although he made representations in 1663 requesting that effect should be given to these royal warrants, the ancient dignity of the Macdonald chiefs was never actually conferred. Why it was not done the history of the time affords no clue. One of the earliest Acts of the Scots Parliament of Charles II. was to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into the losses sustained by Lord Macdonald through the Argyll raids into his country in 1640 and 1645, and the Report having been prepared and presented to the Estate of Parliament, was approved and recommended to the King’s favourable consideration.¹ In April of the same year—1661—an Act was passed rescinding the pretended forfeiture of Lord Aros, and the patent of nobility which was issued in 1660 was read, and afterwards received by the Earl of Callendar, in name of Lord Macdonald, on his knees.² It does not appear that the Glengarry claims for compensation against Argyll received immediate satisfaction, for in 1662 Lord Macdonald, who had by this time taken his seat in Parliament, prayed that his claim might not be prejudiced by

¹ Acta Parl. Scot., Car. II., p. 274. ² Ibid., p. 163.

other creditors on Argyll's estates, and begged His Majesty to consider his position and sufferings.¹ We presume that the claims of the Glengarry Chief against Argyll were satisfied, though we have seen no definite record of the fact. In 1662 Lord Macdonald represented to Parliament that his estate had been over-valued for the public cess, and an Act was passed ordaining the Commissioners of the shire of Inverness to rectify the valuation according to the old rental.²

On 23rd January, 1663, Lord Macdonald entered into a bond of manrent and protection with Martin Macmartin of Letterfinlay in the region of Lochaber, an arrangement which was destined to be of signal service to the members of that ancient sept of the Clan Cameron. From 1660 to 1664 the Chief of Glengarry received charters under the Great Seal for the lands and baronies in his possession.

The year 1665 witnessed a serious disturbance between Glengarry and his clan and the burgesses of Inverness. A party of the town folk having encountered a body of the Macdonalds at the Dunhill—a hill above the town, now known as Viewmount—a conflict arose, in which the Macdonalds were worsted, and a number of them slain. In consequence of this, the Clan Donald threatened to visit the burgh with condign vengeance, failing the consent of the townsmen to agree to certain proposals, which they submitted as a basis for a treaty of peace. The proposals were, in brief—(1) That a bond for offensive and defensive leagues should pass between them, by which, if the town were invaded, the Macdonalds should come to assist, and, if the Macdonalds were threatened with attack,

¹ Acta Parl. Scot., Car. II., p. 418.

² Glengarry Charter Chest.

the town should send 100 men to assist; (2) the town was to become liable to them for 100 merks; (3) the town was to quit their superiority of the lands of Drakies, and to require no stent taxation; (4) the Council to swear upon oath what persons drew Macdonald blood, and these to be delivered up to their mercy; (5) what arms, money, clothes, goods, cattle, &c., were lost should be repaid to the Macdonalds, as they should depone upon the worth; (6) when any Inverness men shall meet Lord Macdonald's friends and followers, or any one of them, the Inverness men shall immediately lay down arms on the ground in token of obedience. The Inverness Council demurred against acceding to conditions which appeared to them arrogant, as well as oppressive. They replied that, upon the Macdonalds disbanding, they were willing to submit the points at issue to the arbitration of impartial judges, with the view of arriving at a good understanding. The matter came finally before the Privy Council, who decreed the town to pay £4800 Scots, in name of damages, together with the fees due to the surgeon who attended the wounded Macdonalds.¹

For some petty degradation, not stated, the Tutor of Grant, in 1667, seized three Macmartins of Letterfinlay, and incarcerated them in Ballachastell. Being under the jurisdiction of Lord Aros, he interposed on their behalf in a letter written from Invergarry on the 29th June of that year, and which was in the following terms:—

“Honoured Cousen.—I understand that there are some of Macmartin of Letterfinlay's friends and followers prisoners at Balacastle and I conceive that if they intended any prejudice to any of your name that it is justlie deserved. But some informes

¹ Memorabilia of Inverness, pp. 45-46.

me there going was by other men's directiones that ocht not to have done it which I would wish yee would examine stricklie as also I shall desire the favour that they may be let free upon securitie of ther futur behaueviour and I shall contribute to ther correction, quherby they may not fall in such unconuenience or misbehaviour againe In so doing ye shall much oblige your loving cousen
MACDONELL."¹

The intercession of Lord Aros proved successful. The Chief of Glengarry, in 1666, granted a disposition of Keppoch to Donald,² his brother german, and on 4th July of the same year received a charter from Robert, Bishop of the Isles, with consent of the Dean and Chapter, of the Island of Muck. Reference was made in the last chapter to the grant by James VI. to Mungo MacEachin, of this same island, and of the grant thereof by Mungo MacEachin to Donald MacAngus of Glengarry. Since then the superiority of Muck had apparently become the property of the Church; but this did not prevent much litigation and divers other troublesome proceedings arising in connection with the ownership, after the bestowal of the island by charter upon Lord Aros. On the 23rd September, 1669, Lord Aros gave a tack of Muck for three years to Donald Macdonald of Moydart, and with a view to the latter's occupancy, he obtained a decree of removing against the Macleans of Torloisk, who had recently been tenants and possessors. Upon this decree, obtained before the Lords of Session, decree of horning shortly followed. Meanwhile, the monotony of legal proceedings was enlivened by a "herschip" committed by Maclean of Torloisk and the former tenants of the island against a servitor of Lord Macdonald, for which the latter duly

¹ Chiefs of Grant, Vol. II., p. 89.

² Glengarry Charter Chest.

obtained a decree of Court. Finally, a decree of ejection was obtained by Lord Macdonald and Ranald Macdonald of Scotus against the troublesome men of Torloisk. Upon this there is a pause in the process of molestation for a period of more than three years. Early in 1672, however, we find that Lauchlan Maclean, the laird of Coll, has come to the aid of his kinsmen of Torloisk, and committed a spulzie upon the new tenants of Muck, who were evidently regarded as interlopers. This was followed on 20th April, 1672, by a summons of spulzie at the instance of Rory Macdonald and Angus MacIan Vic Lachlan, tenants of Lord Macdonald, after which there is a great calm in the annals of this much-coveted little isle.¹ By 1672, the three years' tack had expired, but it appears that Muck afterwards became the property of the Clanranalds, though we have no record of the circumstances attending the transference of the island. Lord Macdonald held the lands of Knoydart under the superiority of the Earl of Argyll for 40 merks *per annum* for the five years, 1671-76.²

Argyll was not the only territorial magnate in the Highlands whom Glengarry sought to bring to a reckoning, when the Stewart cause was once more in the ascendant. In 1650 Glengarry was still endeavouring to rally forlorn hopes in support of the cause of Charles II. in Scotland, and his estates were forfeited by the Cromwellian Government, though the sentence was afterwards annulled before the expiry of that *regime*. The "escheit" was bestowed upon Lochiel, who evidently was in favour with General Monk, and gave a more timely and willing submission than the Glengarry Chief. The

¹ Glengarry Charter Chest. ² Ibid.

latter had to compound for the forfeiture by giving a bond for a large sum of money, while Lochiel drew rents from his neighbours' estates amounting to 7500 merks. In 1661 Glengarry addressed Parliament on the subject with a view to redress, and that body, by an Act of 25th June of the same year, recommended the matter to the Privy Council, with power to determine what was just and reasonable. There the matter rested till 1672, when Glengarry petitioned the Lord Commissioner and the Lords of the Articles regarding the same plea. A favourable answer appears to have been given to Lord Macdonald's crave, as it was the opinion of the Lord Commissioner's Grace and Lords of the Articles that the desire of the bill should be granted.¹ The exact form of relief is not stated.

This same year Lord Macdonald was ordained by the Lord High Commissioner and the Lords of the Privy Council to exhibit before that body a number of gentlemen of his own clan and of the family of Keppoch—for which latter he seems to have been feudally responsible—and to find caution for their good behaviour.² On 20th October, 1673, and at Annat, Lord Macdonald for all of his clan, and Duncan Macpherson of Cluny as representing all of his name, and “some others called old Clan Chattan,” entered into a contract of friendship with one another, in which, after a declaration of chiefship over these clans respectively, they bound themselves “to owne, aid, love, fortifie, assist, and defend” one another. The calm assumption of chiefship in both cases, has given rise to controversies which are still unsettled, and capable even now of producing much Celtic emotion.³

¹ Act Parl. Scot., 1672.

² Vindication of the Clanronald of Glengarry, p. 37.

³ Coll de Reb. Alb., p. 207.

About the year 1677, Lord Macdonald was associated with Sir James Campbell of Lawers in using means for apprehending thieves and broken men in the Highlands with the view of bringing them to justice. This co-operation with the vindicators of law and order appears to have been short-lived on the part of the Glengarry Chief, though it is hard to blame him in his conflict with the Scottish Executive during his latter years. Two sets of circumstances combined to render what remained of his life as turbulent and stormy as the most troubled of his earlier days. In the first place the disclosures by Titus Oates in 1678 of a pretended plot to establish the Pope in the Government of England produced violent alarm among the Protestant public. This alarm reacted upon Scottish politics, and advantage was taken of it to extend the enactments against Papists in the Northern Kingdom. This chance of humbling his father's most strenuous antagonist was eagerly welcomed by Argyll, who, in April, 1679, received a commission to disarm and reduce Lord Macdonald and the Chief of Keppoch. Glengarry was charged by a pursuivant displaying the royal arms to yield under pain of treason, and we are by no means surprised to find that the Macdonald Chief contemptuously disobeyed, and the officer was deforced in the performance of his duties. A commission from Charles II. calling upon Glengarry the Cavalier, to disarm on the authority of Argyll the Roundhead, was in the light of history a somewhat large order. Most probably the King knew little about it, and Lord Macdonald was safe enough in bidding defiance to the Privy Council, which in this connection was clearly the aggressor.¹ This strange chapter in national panics

¹ Hist. MSS., Commission Report.

was, as regards Lord Macdonald, complicated by matters of purely local interest. *Gilleasbuig Gruamach*, Marquis of Argyll, had by a somewhat questionable manœuvre constituted himself creditor for a very large sum on the Duart estates, and this was afterwards greatly augmented by similar expedients on the part of his son and successor, who strove to exact the amount during the minority of Sir Allan Maclean by the most vindictive and oppressive measures. Lord Macdonald warmly espoused the cause of the Duart family, and raids by the men of Glengarry, Keppoch, and Mull, kept the region of Argyll in a pretty lively condition during the years 1675-77-79. The Glengarry Chief penetrated to Mull, and, during the most critical period of the feud, helped greatly to stiffen the resistance of young Duart's guardians to the demands of his rapacious adversary. He did so not only by armed intervention, but by the more peaceful methods of diplomacy, for we are told that in the very midst of defensive measures in Mull he accompanied Maclean and his guardians to London to crave the royal protection. The final upshot of this most unrighteous prosecution was that Argyll became possessed of the Island of Tiree. That the Duart family were not at that time utterly and irrevocably ruined was largely owing to the chivalrous friendship of the Glengarry Chief. His eventful career closed in 1680. His vigorous and enterprising character has been amply disclosed in his attitude towards the great constitutional changes and convulsions which shook the political system of Britain in the middle of the seventeenth century. There was no braver, more consistent, or honourable supporter of the Stewart cause than Lord Aros, and

Charles II., with his many faults, does not seem to have been ungrateful for his strenuous and devoted service. He left no issue, and the estates of the family, as well as the Chiefship of Glengarry, devolved upon Ranald Macdonald of Scotus, his first cousin, who was at the time well advanced in years. The peerage, being confined to heirs male of his body, became extinct.

The greater part of the decade succeeding the death of Lord Aros was uneventful in the general history of the Highlands, and in the particular Annals of the House of Glengarry. During these years, however, events were brewing in the high places of British Government destined to exert a dominating influence upon the course of events in the Highlands. The quarrel between James and his Parliament, and his abandonment of the Crown without a struggle when the toils of revolution were fast gathering around him, are a twice told tale. On the coronation of William and Mary at Whitehall, Viscount Dundee was in active correspondence with the Highland chiefs for the purpose of rallying them to the Jacobite interest, while the Government of William was equally busy in the endeavour to secure by fair means or by foul the support of the clans. A scheme was formulated at the suggestion of Viscount Tarbat for bribing the Highland chiefs—who were largely in arrear to Argyll for the feu-duties of their estates—into loyalty, but the unpopularity of Campbell of Cawdor, who was appointed Commissioner, combined with the chiefs' own sense of honour, rendered the proposal nugatory. General Mackay, who commanded the Government forces in Scotland, opened communications with Lochiel without receiving a reply,

while Glengarry, who was also approached, advised Mackay to imitate the conduct of General Monk by helping to restore the King.

Dundee appointed the 18th May, 1689, as the date on which the friends of King James were to assemble in Lochaber, and when the day of rendezvous arrived, the first to appear upon the scene was Alexander, the heir of Glengarry—Alastair Dubh Ghlinn-a-Garaidh, as he was known in Highland song and story—at the head of some 300 men. Ranald, the Chief, was still living, but an old man long past the period of active exertion, and his son and heir was to all intents and purposes the chief and leader of the Glengarry Clan. Alexander, the dark-haired, was one of the most picturesque and striking personalities in the whole history of his race. Of towering stature and undaunted courage, he was one of the most celebrated warriors of his age, while his high talents and generous disposition commended him to the respect and affection of his clan. A contemporary writer, who has already been quoted in other connections, has given us a graphic description of young Glengarry as he appeared during the rising of Dundee: —“First from his northern shores the brave Glengarry leads 300 illustrious youths in the first flower of vigorous manhood, each of whom a tartan garb colours, woven with Phryian skill in triple stripe, and as a garment clothes their broad chests and flanks. . . . The Chief himself, mounted on a foaming steed, and towering in glittering arms, advances into the plain, claymore in hand, his cloak shining with gold, and a broad baldric with buckled clasp crossing his left breast.”¹ A quarrel between

¹ The Grameid, p. 122.

young Glengarry and Lochiel at the beginning of the campaign almost brought it to a premature close. The Clan Grant were in arms on the side of William. Their lands were invaded by a party of Camerons, and in the course of hostilities several lives were lost, among others a Macdonald of the Glengarry branch. His kinsmen were wild, and vowed vengeance. Glengarry's anger was at red heat, and the circumstance endangered a breach of the peace and the disruption of the host. Dundee, however, acted the prudent part of non-intervention; tempers cooled, and the incident terminated. On Mackay's retreat southward, the chiefs and clans who had assembled took a temporary leave of absence, and went home, on the understanding that they would be back by the end of June, while Dundee, from his headquarters at Moy, in Lochaber, sent expresses to the other chiefs who had not yet joined to hasten to the appointed muster.

Once more the fiery cross went through the Highlands, and on the 26th July, 1689, 2500 clansmen—a smaller muster than was expected—had assembled under the leadership of Dundee, and were marching towards Blair-Atholl, while Mackay, with 4500 men, was advancing from Perth to meet them. Next day—the 27th July—the battle of Killiecrankie was fought. At the head of the pass, near where the railway station stands to-day, there is a small level plain, and on this General Mackay drew up his men. Early the same morning Dundee had arrived at Blair Castle. He did not, however, descend right down to meet his opponent, but marched up Glentilt, made a detour round the Hill of Lude, upon the side of which he took up his position. Mackay marched his main body to a

position half-way between the plain on which he first stood and Dundee's army, forming them in line of battle three deep, his cavalry being in the rear and his baggage in the pass. In this position the two armies watched each other till the sun commenced to touch the Eastern hills. At this moment Dundee's Highlanders got the word to charge, when, dropping their plaids and shoes, with bodies bent forward to present the smallest possible surface to the opposing fire, the upper part of their bodies being protected by their targets, they advanced to meet the foe. The Macdonalds of Glengarry were in the centre of Dundee's line, and their leader—Alastair Dubh Ghlinn-a-Garaidh—the hero of many a poet's lay—bore aloft the banner of King James. In the course of their advance they lost severely through the well-directed fire of Mackay's infantry, and no fewer than 16 of the gentlemen of Glengarry fell. On coming up close to the enemy they halted a moment, discharged and threw away their firearms, and rushed, sword in hand, upon the foe. The new generation that had come into being since their fathers gathered unfading laurels in the campaigns of Montrose, now added fresh lustre to the heroic story of the clans. Prodiges of valour were performed; but none fought with greater prowess than the heir of Glengarry, who, at the head of his battalion, mowed down two men at every stroke; or his son, Donald Gorm, who killed 18 of the enemy with his own hand. This youth was himself slain upon the field of Killiecrankie, and a brother of Alastair Dubh is also said to have fallen. In two minutes after the first onset the battle was lost and won. Mackay accused his own men of having behaved, with few exceptions, in a most cowardly

manner; but, even had their courage been greater, it would have been hard for them to resist the tremendous strokes of the huge Lochaber axes and two-handed swords, which dealt death on every hand. The field of Killiecrankie inspired Aytoun to pen one of the most stirring passages in his "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers":—

"Like a tempest down the ridges
Swept the hurricane of steel,
Rose the slogan of Macdonald,
Flashed the broadsword of Lochiel;
Vainly sped the withering volley
'Mongst the foremost of our band,
On we poured until we met them
Foot to foot and hand to hand.
Horse and man went down like driftwood
When the floods are black at Yule;
And their carcasses are whirling
In the Garry's deepest pool:
Horse and man went down before us,
Living foe there tarried none,
On the field of Killiecrankie,
When that stubborn fight was done."

The battle of Killiecrankie resulted in a brilliant victory for the army of King James, but Dundee's death entirely neutralised its effects, and left the Stewart cause in Scotland without a capable military leader. General Cannon succeeded Dundee in command of the loyalist army; but he proved a very inefficient substitute, and although the troops under his command increased to over 4000 men, the defence of Dunkeld House by Colonel Clelland and his Cameronian Regiment sealed the fate of the campaign. Alexander of Glengarry was one of the signatories to the letter of 17th August, written to General Mackay in response to overtures of peace—

scornfully rejected by the associated chiefs—as well as to the Bond of Association of 24th August.¹ General Buchan, who succeeded Cannon in the command of the army of King James, engaged in no effective military operations beyond disbanding the last remnant of his force in July, 1690. Along with Sir George Barclay and other officers he took up his abode in Glengarry's hospitable mansion at Invergarry that same month, where they remained a considerable time cherishing hopes of a second Restoration.² On the 14th July, 1690, a Decree of Forfeiture against Glengarry passed the Scottish Parliament, but Alastair Dubh still continued to bid defiance to the Dutch usurper and all his myrmidons. In the spring of 1691 news of the capitulation of Mons temporarily inspired the party of James with the hope that help might be expected from France and Ireland, and that the disaster to the Protestant coalition would prevent William from making a successful stand both in Britain and on the Continent. Consequently we find Alastair Dubh, as late as the 12th May, 1691, fortifying Invergarry house with earthworks and palisadoes as if to stand a siege.³ Soon after this, however, Glengarry, with the rest of the loyal chiefs, was relieved by James from actively supporting his cause, and allowed to make the best terms they could with the Government. This resulted in his taking the oath of allegiance, and receiving pardon before the end of 1691.⁴

In 1694 Ranald, the Chief of Glengarry, died, and Alexander, who had been *de facto* chief and leader of the clan for years, entered into full

¹ Act. Parl. Scot. ² Browne, vol. II., p. 195.

³ Leven and Melville Papers, p. 612. ⁴ Act. Scot. Parl.

possession of the family honours and estates. From this date, to the Rising of 1715, there is an almost unbroken silence in the annals of Glengarry. The only matter of consequence brought to light by the Records is a grievance endured by Alastair Dubh at the hands of the Government in connection with the family residence. Ever since the Revolution there had been a garrison of Government soldiers at Invergarry House, and in 1704 the Chief petitioned Government to the effect that this occupation involved a loss of £150 a year by damages to the lands and woods, besides the want of the house, which had been reduced to a ruinous condition. He asked Government for redress by removal of the garrison, "all that country being still peaceable and quiet in due obedience to authority without the least apprehension of disturbance or commotion." The Council ordered Glengarry to be heard in his own cause before the Lords of Treasury, in presence of Brigadier Maitland, Governor of Fort-William, that a statement might be drawn up and laid before the Queen. His circumstances, however, "being such that he cannot safely appear before their lordships without a personal protection," the Council had to grant a writ discharging all macers and messengers from putting any captions into execution against him up to the 20th September. Before the time for the conference arrived, the Duke of Argyll put in a representation making a claim upon Glengarry's estate, so that it became necessary to call in the aid of the Lord Advocate to make up the statement for the royal consideration.¹ It is probable, as a result of the application, that Glengarry got possession of his house, though the Records are not

¹ Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland, Vol. III., p. 304; Act. Par. Scot.

explicit on the subject. We hear no more about the doings of Glengarry and his clan till the eve of the Rising of 1715 on behalf of James, the son of the deposed James VII. In 1714 the Elector of Hanover ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland under the title of George I., and an address of a most cordial and loyal description was presented to His Majesty by no fewer than 102 chief heritors and heads of clans, the name of Alexander, Chief of Glengarry, at the head of the list.¹ Whether the King's advisers acted in the spirit of the Trojans of old, who feared the Greeks when they brought gifts, or whether some Court intrigue operated against the reconciliation of the Highlanders to the new dynasty, the address was never presented. Great historical movements and events sometimes turn on apparently trivial circumstances, and the miscarriage of this address was probably the occasion of the troubles, not only of 1715, but also of 1745. The Earl of Mar's declaration on behalf of the Chevalier de St George was made at Braemar on 9th September, 1715, and Glengarry is specially mentioned in it as the representative of the clans in the attempt at restoration which was about to be made. Meantime, and prior to the Earl of Mar's declaration, suspicions of treason against the Crown were entertained in high quarters against a number of individuals, who were summoned to appear in Edinburgh, within certain specified periods, under pain of a year's imprisonment and other formidable penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the Government. This was done under authority of an Act passed on 30th August, and among the suspected persons was Alexander Macdonald of

¹ The Vindication of the Clanronald of Glengarry, Appendix, p. 17.

Glengarry.¹ We do not intend to tell the story of Sheriffmuir in full, a battle in which a wing of each army was victorious. It was fought on the 13th November, 1715, and, whatever was the fate of the left wing, the right and centre, consisting largely of the Clan Donald, were completely victorious. When they were disconcerted by the grievous loss of the beloved Allan of Moydart, it was Glengarry who prevented grief from endangering success, by raising aloft his bonnet and calling aloud in his own expressive tongue, "Revenge! revenge! to-day, and mourning to-morrow." Upon this the Highlanders rushed forward sword in hand with the utmost fury, and put to flight the wing of the Government army opposed to them. Though the battle of Sheriffmuir was, so far as the Macdonalds were concerned, a victory, it proved, like many another victory won for the Stewart cause, singularly ineffective. The glory of heroic deeds led to no practical results. After Sheriffmuir Glengarry retired to his castle, which he fortified and garrisoned in the name of James VIII.² In the course of this year, probably before his reconciliation to the Government, a letter was written on his behalf by Sir John Graham to the Minister of His Most Gracious Majesty the King of France, asking that the Colonelcy of the Royal Scots Regiment in France should be bestowed upon him. Once more, however, Glengarry submitted to the inevitable. On the 9th April, 1716, he came to Inverness, submitted to the Government, gave up his sword to General Cadogan, and received his parole.³ The following day he went to Edinburgh, probably to make terms with the representatives of the Government in regard to

¹ Browne, Vol. II., p. 267.

² Culloden Papers, p. 47.

³ Ibid.

his landed possessions, the position of which must surely have been affected by his share in the late rebellion. We are not able to gather whether in the case of Glengarry there was any forfeiture after 1715, or if so on what condition the lands were restored. The King over the water showed his gratitude to Glengarry in a form which, alas! was not destined to prove effective. On the 9th December, 1716, James VIII. issued a warrant for a patent in favour of Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry and his heirs male bestowing upon him the dignity of Lord Macdonald. It was sealed with the Royal Arms and subscribed with his own hand.¹ Alastair Dubh was suspected of complicity in the attempted rising of 1719, but however loyal he was to the Stewart cause, he had sufficient prudence to avoid entanglement in a movement which ultimately proved so abortive. Yet the enterprise, concerted in the Court of Spain, by which a fleet of 10 men-of-war, 21 transports, 30,000 muskets, a large quantity of ammunition, and a considerable body of troops, were to be moved from Cadiz to the shores of Britain under command of the Duke of Ormond, was the most serious and determined effort ever made on the Continent for the restoration of the banished dynasty. The elements, as on a former historic occasion, frowned on Spain and favoured the British authorities. A violent storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted twelve days, dispersed and disabled the vessels, so that only two frigates, carrying the Lord Marischall and Lords Tullibardine and Seaforth, with 300 Spanish soldiers, arrived on the west coast of Scotland. On 26th January, 1719, when the descent upon the British Isles began to be

¹ The Vindication of the Clauronald of Glengarry.

seriously contemplated, the Duke of Ormond opened communications by letter with the Glengarry Chief, who was not known to the writer personally, but whose high character and strong Jacobite leanings he was well aware of, with the view of his co-operating with the Lord Marischall in making a diversion in Scotland. In the month of April, when the skeleton of the Spanish expedition landed in Kintail, it was joined by over a thousand Highlanders, chiefly of the Mackenzies of Seaforth, whose chief took a foremost part in the adventure; but there is no evidence that Glengarry, though his lands were in the near vicinity of the rendezvous, was in the least involved. On the 18th of June, the Jacobite forces took possession of the Pass of Glenshiel, where they were attacked by General Wightman at the head of over 1000 Government soldiers, and driven, it is said, to the Pass of Strachell, which they endeavoured strenuously to defend. General Wightman sustained considerable losses during the progress of these operations, but the conflict ended at nightfall, when the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war, and the Highlanders dispersed through their native hills.

The reverse at Glenshiel does not appear to have led to an entire abandonment of the insurrection, and it was during the subsequent months, when secret conclaves of the leading Highland Jacobites were taking place, that suspicion rested upon the Chief of Glengarry. Towards the end of summer his movements were closely watched by the authorities, and both by letter and citation at his residence, by threats and flattery combined, he was urged to appear in Edinburgh to justify his conduct.¹ It was even reported at headquarters that he went

¹ The Attempt of 1719.

disguised to a meeting at Knoydart, attended by the forfeited Lords¹ and the chiefs of clans, to devise measures for a fresh rebellion. This rumour was afterwards discredited, and Glengarry was able to satisfy the Government not only as to his own personal abstention from rebellion, but as to his having successfully influenced his people to follow his example. He certainly appears to have walked warily at a critical time for prominent Jacobites, and his only apparent indiscretion was one he could hardly avoid, sheltering refugees in their flight from Glenshiel. Yet it cannot be doubted that if the effort of 1719 had not belied its early promise, and had afforded any fair prospect of success for the cause of James, the sword of Glengarry would have been among the first to be unsheathed. That the Chevalier was satisfied of his devotion may be gathered from the fact that when a Secret Commission of Scotsmen was appointed to safeguard his interests in 1720, Glengarry was placed upon the list at James's special desire.² There is nothing further to record of this celebrated Chief of Glengarry till his death, which took place in 1724 amid the universal lamentation of his clansmen, and particularly of the bards, who so often eulogised him in life, and now immortalized him in many a dolorous lay. His character has already been indicated, and we content ourselves with quoting the words of Balhaldie, an impartial admirer of the departed chief—"He was loyal and wonderfully sagacious and long-sighted, and was possessed of a great many shining qualities, stained with a few vices, which, like patches on a beautiful face, seemed to give more *éclat* to his character."

¹ Lords Marischall, Tullibardine, and Seaforth.

² Lockhart Papers.

Alastair Dubh was succeeded in the estates and chiefship by his eldest son John. The new chief was very far from being cast in the same heroic mould as his father, and while contemporary accounts inform us that it was his foible to listen to tales of doughty deeds performed by his clansmen in the past and in the present, he does not seem to have unsheathed the sword himself at any time save in an occasional fencing bout with his henchmen, who were of course not expected to be victorious.¹ John obtained a charter to himself and his heirs male of the lands of Knoydart from John, Duke of Argyll, dated 27th August, 1724. On 1st November, 1735, a Bond of Friendship was entered into between the Glengarry Chief and John and Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, his kinsmen, in which they bind themselves to maintain between the families such kindness and friendship as was formerly kept by their predecessors. We have it on good authority that the Grants of Glenmoriston never sided with the Grants of Grant, but, not being sufficiently numerous to form a regiment, allied themselves to the Macdonalds of Glengarry. The Glengarry Chief was on terms of apparent friendship with the Chief of Grant in 1740, for when the latter stood as a candidate for the Parliamentary representation of Inverness-shire during that year, the former wrote him on 31st June professing the kindest feeling and promising political support.²

John Macdonald of Glengarry did not himself take an active part in the Rising of 1745, though circumstances arose in the course of the movement

¹ The Young Chevalier, p. 21.

² Chiefs of Grant.

which caused him much trouble and discomfort—his position in this respect being precisely analogous to that of old Clanranald. In the summer of 1745, we find Alastair Ruadh, Glengarry's oldest son, holding a commission as an officer in the French army, and raising recruits in the Highlands for service in its ranks. On the 24th June, 1745, shortly before Prince Charles first set foot on Scottish soil, Robert Craigie, Lord Advocate for Scotland, writes Macpherson of Cluny, who held a captaincy at the time in the Earl of Loudon's regiment, that young Glengarry was so engaged, and enclosing a warrant for his apprehension, the tenor of which is as follows :—

“By Robert Craigie Esqr. His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland. Whereas I am informed that Alexander Mackdonnell younger of Glengarry Is guilty of Treasonable practices and that he is Inlisting men and Raising Recruits for the French service in the Highlands of Scotland, These are authorizing you to search for, seize and secure the Person of the said Alexander Mackdonnel and the Persons Inlisted by him and to Deliver him or them to a constable or other officer of the Peace, and to send him or them Respectively to Edinburgh under a sure guard to be examined by me, and to be otherways proceeded against according to law. Given under my hand and seal at Edinburgh this 24th Day of June 1745.”¹

There is no likelihood that Cluny ever attempted to put the warrant into execution. His loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty was luke-warm at the best, and it is not long before we find him engaged under the banner of Prince Charles. Soon after the issue of this warrant, young Glengarry is found in Edinburgh, making preparations for his departure to France with letters from the Highland chiefs bearing upon the position of affairs in Scotland, which he

¹ Gleanings from the Cluny Charter Chest, by Provost Macpherson, Kingussie.

was to submit to the Prince on his arrival. The representation contained in the principal document pledged the allegiance and support of the clans, on the understanding that suitable auxiliaries should at the same time be sent from France. This fact should be carefully noted, in view of the circumstances which afterwards emerged. Young Glengarry consigned his papers, during his stay in Edinburgh, to the care of Rev. James Leslie, a Roman Catholic priest, who appears a good deal in evidence in connection with the Jacobite intrigues of post-rebellion years. At this time Alastair Ruadh narrowly escaped arrest. Two hours after leaving Edinburgh Lochiel arrived there, and acquainted Leslie with the fact that Ross, a Government pursuivant, had got orders for his apprehension. His friends, however, were able to give him sufficient warning, and, although three weeks passed before he embarked, he managed to make good his escape.¹ Had he found Charles before him in France, the message he bore from the Chiefs might have made him pause before launching on his adventurous and most imprudent course. But already the die was cast, for Charles was by this time on his way to Scotland, and young Glengarry adopted the only available course of submitting his message to his brother, Duke of York, afterwards Cardinal York. The young Chief's movements during the succeeding months are not easily traceable. We know, however, that shortly after his interview with Prince Henry, he appears to have recrossed to Britain with a detachment of the Royal Scots in the French service and a picquet of the Irish Brigade, but was taken prisoner on the voyage by some vigilant English frigate, after a desperate

¹ Stuart Papers.

resistance, and lodged in the Tower of London. This untoward event appears to have taken place towards the end of December, 1745. During his imprisonment in London, the Court of France gave him, through the Duke of York, unlimited credit for the relief of such needy prisoners "as they could neither own nor support."¹

Meantime Prince Charles had landed in the Clanranald country, and prevailed upon some of the leading Highland Chiefs to embrace his cause. On the 25th July John Macdonald of Scotus, cousin to old Glengarry, visited the Prince at Borrodale, and when Lochiel agreed to join him, it was on condition that His Royal Highness should give him security for his estates on the attempt proving abortive, and also on the further condition that Glengarry should give a promise in writing to raise the men of his clan.² It does not appear that the Glengarry Chief was personally in favour of the movement, but he was a man of facile and indolent temperament, somewhat lacking in force of character, and his influence appears to have been completely nullified by that of the absent Alastair Ruadh, whose wishes were well known to the clan, as well as by that of the younger but equally energetic sons, and the overwhelming sentiment of his gentlemen and vassals. In any case it is clear that, though he seems to have given an unwilling consent to the rising of his clan, Glengarry became thoroughly alarmed at the turn affairs were about to take; placed himself under the protection of the Duke of Athole at Dunkeld; waited upon Sir John Cope, the commander of the Government forces in

¹ Stuart Papers—The Vindication of the Clanranald of Glengarry.

² Itinerary of Prince Charles.

Scotland, and gave them all the information in his possession concerning the movements of the Highland army. He at one time proposed to accompany Athole to Edinburgh, and even to London, "to avoid disaffection," and as he was powerless to stay the tide of rebellion in his own domains. On advice, however, he decided to return home, and there await the progress of events. How his Hanoverian loyalty held out, the sequel will disclose.¹

Meanwhile 500 Glengarry clansmen, along with the men of Keppoch and Glenco, assembled under the leadership of Angus, Glengarry's second son, with Macdonald of Lochgarry as second in command, and came to the Prince's standard. At the battle of Preston, on 21st September, the Glengarry men were in the first line and on the right wing, and the brilliant victory won over the army of General Cope was in no small degree due to the courage and vehemence of their attack. The friends of Prince Charles were so much encouraged by this success that they resolved to spare no effort to augment the forces at his disposal, and Angus of Glengarry was despatched to the North Highlands for the purpose of obtaining reinforcements. As already mentioned, there was friendship between the families of Grant and Glengarry, and the tie of fosterage had cemented a Glengarry friendship with one of the minor families of Grant in that region, Angus having been fostered by Archibald Grant—*Gilleasbuig an Tom Bheallaidh*—a near relation to the Glenmoriston family. In the Rising of '45, the Chief of the Grants inclined to the Hanoverian side, and on the 30th September, Angus, who held the rank of colonel in the Prince's army, on his arrival

✓ ¹ Unpublished Memorial for John Macdonald of Glengarry.

at Dalwhinnie wrote the following letter to John Grant of Ballintom, Bailie of Urquhart :—

“Delehammie, 30 Sep., 1745.

“Dear Sir,—These serves to give notice that I am this farr on my way to Glengarry, and being clad with the Prince’s orders to burn and harass people that does not imediatly joyn the standard, and ase I have particullar orders to raise your contrie, I doe by these beg the favoure you, on receipt of this line to have att lest on hundred men readdie in five days after receipt of this, to joyn my Standard at Invergarrie : and tho contrarie to my inclinations in caice of not dew observance to this my demand, I shall march to your contrie with the gentlemen here in company, Keapoch’s brother and Timadrish, etc., and shall put my orders in execution with all rigour : and ase I have the greatest regard for Grant and all his concerns, I beg you give nether your contrie or me any truble I doe not choose to give ; and your readdie compliance to this favour will much oblige him who is sincerely, dear sir, your most humble servant,

“ANGUS M'DONALD.”¹

When the foregoing letter was written, the Chief of Grant was in London, but it was replied on behalf of Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, that he had ordered all his people in Urquhart to remain loyal to His Majesty King George. On receiving notice of Colonel Angus Macdonald’s letter, the Chief of Grant renewed his instructions to his tenants by letter on the 16th October, and commanded them to remain quietly at home. On the 16th October Angus arrived at Glen-Urquhart with 120 Macdonalds, and threatened that they and the Frasers—whose Chief at this date was shewing Jacobite leanings—would “spreath the country if the whole people did not join them.” At this point the sources of information at our command are far from clear, but the following, so far as we can gather, was the real sequence of events :—A couple

¹ Chiefs of Grant.

of days after the arrival of Colonel Angus and his men at Glen-Urquhart, and, after a vain endeavour to raise the Grants for Prince Charles owing to the Bailie's attitude, the latter official informed him that, in obedience to orders, he had summoned the tenants to march to Strathspey, apparently to the support of the Government; but only 60 or 70 had obeyed the call. They marched as far as Drumbuie in Glen-Urquhart on their way, but at this juncture Colonel Macdonald and all the gentlemen round about came up with them, and solemnly vowed—with the exception of Shewglie and his son—that, if they did not return immediately, or at the latest two nights thereafter, all their corn would be burnt and destroyed, and all their cattle carried away. These threats had the desired effect. The march to Strathspey was nipped in the bud, and on the return of the 60 or 70 to their homes, Colonel Macdonald promised the Bailie that the country would be safe from hurt. So far the recruiting expedition of Colonel Angus among the Grants had met with no greater success than to prevent the Glen-Urquhart men from rising for King George.¹

On the 22nd October a meeting was held between the Grants of Corrimony and Auchmonie, and James Grant, younger of Shewglie, on the one hand, and the Master of Lovat and Macdonald of Barrisdale on the other. The meeting took place at Torshee, and the Prince's claims were urged so successfully that about 60 of the tenants agreed to espouse his cause. The factor, however, once more interfered, and the 60 repented and refused to join. So far as we can judge from a mass of somewhat conflicting evidence,

¹ Chiefs of Grant.

there were 40 Glen-Urquhart men who, after all, marched to Castle Downie along with the avowed supporters of the Prince. In this centre of intrigue a large number of militant Jacobites, including Angus of Glengarry and Macdonald of Barrisdale, assembled. The number of gentlemen who were gathered there may be estimated from the fact that twelve tables were spread for their entertainment, while their followers, including 200 Macdonalds, numbered about 1000 men. It was intended that the Macdonalds and Grants under Barrisdale, and 200 Frasers under the Master of Lovat, should march to Brahan Castle on the 25th October to force Seaforth to join in the rebellion. It appears that this movement was not carried out. The veteran schemer of Castle Downie, for political reasons probably, prevented the Master of Lovat from leading his contingent; we gather from a letter written by the Bailie of Urquhart to the Laird of Grant that, owing to the failure of the Frasers to muster, the men of Glen-Urquhart did not go north, and as we find Colonel Angus leaving Glengarry on the 29th to join the Prince's army, we conclude that the expedition to Ross-shire was abandoned.¹

Owing to his recruiting expedition to the North, Angus of Glengarry was not along with the Prince's army during its march to Derby and subsequent retreat, but a regiment of his clan formed a part of the rear-guard under Lord George Murray during the latter operation, and at the skirmish at Clifton manifested signal gallantry. Lord George Murray, with a body of horse, and Macdonald of Lochgarry, at the head of the Glengarry men, were posted at

¹ The Chiefs of Grant.

Clifton on the 18th December, while Charles, with the rest of the army, had gone on to Penrith. While examining, for strategic purposes, the parks and enclosures about Lowther Hall, the seat of Lord Lonsdale, about a mile from Clifton, Lord George Murray made two prisoners, who informed him that the Duke of Cumberland, with 4000 horse, was in his immediate neighbourhood. The situation was critical, and Lord George, on receipt of the information, despatched Colonel John Roy Stewart to Penrith with a request for reinforcements. These arrived in due time, and the General soon made his dispositions. Within the enclosures to the right of the highway were the Glengarry men under Lochgarry, while the Macphersons and the Stewarts of Appin were to the left. Across an intervening moor 300 of Cumberland's dragoons advanced after sunset, anticipating, we suppose, an easy victory, it being a fixed belief among the Hanoverian troops that the Highlanders had a holy horror of cavalry, and were incapable of resisting their onset. This delusion should have been dispelled at Clifton. The Stewarts and Macphersons rushed to meet the dragoons sword in hand, while the Glengarry men, as they advanced, discharged a well directed and destructive fire. In a few minutes Cumberland's dragoons were in full retreat, leaving many slain upon the field. Immediately after this the attack was renewed with a still stronger body of horse; but the resistance was conducted with undiminished valour and precisely similar results. Macdonald of Lochgarry was slightly wounded in the knee.¹ After the skirmish at Clifton, the Prince and his Highland host proceeded steadily on their northward march until they arrived at Glasgow, where they rested for

¹ Memorial—Lochgarry to Glengarry.

several days. The next move was to Bannockburn—scene of martial triumphs—and, marching upon Stirling shortly thereafter, the reduction of that town was soon and easily accomplished, and its gates were opened to the Prince and his army on the 8th January, 1746. Siege was immediately laid to the castle, but this had eventually to be abandoned. Before the middle of January, Angus of Glengarry and his recruits who had joined the reinforcements under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond, also Macdonald of Barrisdale at the head of 300 men from the north, arrived at Stirling while the siege of the castle was being prosecuted. These Macdonald reinforcements brought up the Glengarry battalion to the grand total of 1200 men.¹ On the evening of the 16th, Charles, hearing that the Government troops were advancing to Falkirk, ordered the various detachments of his army to concentrate upon Plean Moor, while he left about 1000 men under the Duke of Perth to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle. Next day about noon the Jacobite army marched towards Falkirk, and at two o'clock in the afternoon were less than a mile from that town before General Hawley, who occupied it with troops, knew that they had quitted Bannockburn. With great precipitation the Government regiments flew to arms, and ascended an eminence between the army of the Prince and the town. Hawley commenced the attack with a body of 1100 cavalry, but after a desperate melee, in which the Highlanders, after discharging their muskets with deadly effect, made use of broadsword and dirk just as occasion offered, routed the enemy with great slaughter, and commenced the pursuit. The King's troops would have

¹ Memorial—Lochgarry to Glengarry.

been annihilated were it not for the spirited efforts of two unbroken regiments and a rally of some scattered battalions who checked the onset. The town of Falkirk, the tents and baggage of the enemy, and 700 prisoners fell into the hands of the Highland army. The Macdonalds of Glengarry were at the battle of Falkirk in great force, as we have seen, and with their clansmen of Keppoch and Clanranald contributed materially to the victory.

The young Glengarry leader did not long survive the battle of Falkirk. The Highlanders had picked up numerous firearms upon the field, and one of the Keppoch men was handling a musket which had been twice loaded. Having extracted one of the bullets he fired off the piece through a window in the direction of some officers who were standing on the street, imagining that the charge was blank, and the remaining bullet entered the body of Angus of Glengarry, who was mortally wounded. He lived for three days after this most untoward accident, and with his dying breath attested the innocence of the unwitting homicide, and begged that he should not be punished. The story of his execution is not confirmed by the most reliable authorities. The Prince attended Angus's funeral as chief mourner, but many of his followers, inconsolable at the loss of their young and gallant leader, could not be prevented from returning to their hills. James Macdonald of Glengarry, the Chief's oldest son by a second marriage, a youth of 18, took command of the regiment, as successor to his brother Angus. We have the authority of a contemporary Government document for believing that old Glengarry was accessory to this proceeding on the part of

James. Soon after this the siege of Stirling was abandoned, and the Prince and his army marched once more to the north. President Forbes and Lord Loudon, who commanded the Government forces, were at Inverness with 2000 men when the Prince and his army drew near. Upon this the two Hanoverians with their followers, consisting largely of Macdonalds and Macleods from Skye, crossed Kessock Ferry, taking with them all the available boats, and thus preventing pursuit, except by the head of Beaully Firth, a distance of 20 miles. A detachment of the Prince's army was sent in pursuit under Lord Cromarty; but when they arrived at the Ferry of Dornoch, it was found that Loudon had again shewn great dexterity in the art of flight; had crossed over from Tain to the county town of Sutherland, and had taken with him, as before, all the boats within easy reach. At this juncture the Duke of Perth was sent to join Lord Cromarty with a division of the Prince's army. This consisted of 1430 men, of whom 830 were Macdonalds, 530 being of Glengarry under command of Lochgarry, 300 of Clanranald, the rest being Frasers, Stewarts, and Macgregors. The Duke of Perth marched to Tain with his following, but had to wait for several days until boats were secured in sufficient numbers to transport them to the coast of Sutherland. After some difficulties, dangers, and vicissitudes, the Jacobite force, much inferior numerically to Loudon's, landed about 6 miles from Dornoch, to their own surprise, without the slightest opposition. Marching to Dornoch, they found that Lord Loudon and the President, who by this time had developed a genius for retrograde

movements, had decamped, while they surprised a detachment of the Government army, some 60 of whom, under the Laird of Mackintosh and a Major Mackenzie, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, and their arms were handed over to Macdonald of Lochgarry.¹ This detachment was found to consist largely of Macdonalds from the Sleat country, and the Glengarry and Clanranald men who were in pursuit had a difficulty in distinguishing between their Skye compatriots and their own clansmen, as all wore the Highland garb and bore the heather badge.² On the eve of Culloden, Glengarry became still more involved in the Jacobite movement. He is said to have ordered John Macdonald, younger of Lundie, to march with a body of clansmen to the Duke of Gordon's country, and raise the men of Glenlivet and Strathdon. The Chief himself went to Glenbucket, with whose laird he was allied by marriage, and appointed a rendezvous of the country gentlemen to be held at Glenbucket house for the Prince's cause, on pain of destruction if they refused.³

We do not purpose detailing the various strategic movements that preceded the battle of Culloden, nor yet to tell again the story of that fateful field. The Prince seems all at once to have lost the fair share of military capacity which he displayed on former occasions. He and his staff were at sixes and sevens; the best tactician of them all, Lord George Murray, was over-ruled; the resolution to offer battle to Cumberland was taken with an army wearied with marching, weak with hunger and want

X ¹ Memorial—Lochgarry to Glengarry.

² Lockhart Papers, Vol. II., p. 505.

X ³ Unpublished Memorial concerning Acts of Treason committed by John Macdonald of Glengarry, Prisoner in Edinburgh Castle.

of sleep, and in a state of partial dispersion, and in face of the fact that several thousand Highlanders were on the way to join the army. How could victory be looked for under such conditions, and why try to explain defeat by fastening the charge of cowardice upon the Clan Donald, who shed their best blood upon Drumossie Moor, Donald Macdonald of Scotus, a Glengarry captain, and one of the



INVERGARRY CASTLE.

bravest and worthiest of men, being among the slain?

Prince Charles, after his defeat at Culloden on the 16th April, made for Invergarry Castle, where he rested for some days. Not long thereafter old Glengarry, who does not seem to have been at Culloden, but who, during the more hopeful phase of the rebellion gravely compromised himself, was

placed in difficulties, which proved the futility of a Laodicean policy. Confident apparently, in his relations with the Government, he went to Inverness a few days after the battle of Culloden, with the intention of waiting upon and being presented to the Duke of Cumberland. Upon this the Lord President advised him to return to Invergarry; get the tenants on his estate to surrender to Government, and having done this, to return to Inverness, when he might expect to be all the more graciously received. Glengarry willingly adopted the suggestion; prevailed upon the great bulk of his tenants to submit, and no doubt felt that he was now in a position of security. Yet what was the result? Before he had an opportunity of rendering his personal homage at headquarters, the King's forces made a descent upon Fort-Augustus, burnt every house in the district to the ground—including the Chief's house at Invergarry, so that he and his wife and children had to occupy a wretched hut—pillaged and destroyed his offices; robbed his people and himself of all their stock; took possession of his furniture, plate, charter chest, and writs, and committed a variety of outrages too numerous to detail. To crown all, he himself was taken prisoner in the month of July, and immured in Edinburgh Castle.¹

In order to understand the real cause of this changed attitude of the Government, and Glengarry's consequent misfortunes, we must now make reference to the undoubtedly treacherous conduct of one of the principal cadets of his house, which sheds a flood of light upon the oppressive actions we have just recorded. Among those Jacobite leaders who fell into the hands of the Government

✕ ¹ Unpublished Memorial for John Macdonald of Glengarry.

were Macdonald of Barrisdale and his son, but very shortly afterwards they were set at liberty. Colonel Warren, who in October, 1746, carried Charles safely to France, arrested Barrisdale at Loch-nanuagh, on the coast of Moidart, and shipped him to Roscoff, in lower Brittany, to answer to the charge of treason against King James.¹ The reason for this arrest was that Barrisdale's release, so very quickly and without any trial by the Government authorities, could only be explained by treachery to the Jacobite cause. The Prince's friends formulated seven charges against Barrisdale, and history affords no clue to their ever having been answered. Chief among the accusations was that he had engaged to apprehend the person of the Prince, and deliver him up to the enemy within a limited time.² Two of the charges deeply affected the safety of the Chief of Glengarry. The sixth was to the effect that Barrisdale had made Glengarry's people believe that that Chief had promised to deliver them up to the enemy, and that he was to receive £30 sterling of premium for each gentleman so betrayed. This charge against Glengarry—on the surface extremely improbable, the Chief being as much at the mercy of his vassals as they were at his—was, however, so seriously regarded by them that they gave in an information against him to the Government, with the result which has been related. All this series of misfortunes was wrought by Barrisdale, the undoubted villain of the story, whose action has placed a foul stain upon the page of Glengarry history.

¹ Stuart Papers.² *Ibid.*

In July, 1747, young Glengarry received his liberty, having been 20 months in the Tower. Even then his release was conditioned by exile from Britain, and consequently the last fourteen years of his life were largely spent upon the Continent. During many of these years his worldly fortunes were at a low ebb, nor does it appear that either the old Chevalier or the Prince was able to show him the consideration which was commensurate with the sacrifices made by himself and his family on their behalf. On the 24th September, 1748, he applied to "the King over the water" for the Coloneley of the Royal Scots Regiment in the service of France, vacant by the death of the "gentle Lochiel." The reply, however, was, perforce, unfavourable, the commission having been promised to young Lochiel, for whom, being a minor, it was held as *locum tenens* by his uncle, Dr Archibald Cameron. James was regretful at Alastair Ruadh's impecuniosity, but being hard up himself he could not assist. He sent him enclosed with his reply the duplicate of his grandfather's warrant for the peerage—an interesting document—but not being convertible into hard cash, it did not in the least relieve the embarrassments of the situation. Nor can it be said that the French Government used him well. Through the Duke of York's influence they had given him, while in the Tower, unlimited credit for the relief of destitute prisoners in Britain; but afterwards, with unspeakable meanness, they credited themselves with four years of his pay as Captain in the French army.¹ Nor did he ever receive redress. The Glengarry estates were also so deeply impoverished by various forms of debt, as well as by the

¹ Stuart Papers,

destruction wrought by the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers in 1746, that little aid was obtained from that quarter. He was in such straits that while on a private visit to London he had to sell his sword and shoe buckles, and was beholden for further aid to Leslie, a Roman Catholic priest.¹ After a time, however, the King over the water, or the Prince, as his representative, appears to have come to his assistance by a permit to draw from the Chief of Cluny a portion of the Treasure which had been buried at Loch Arkaig at the close of the campaign of 1745-6, and of which Cluny was in charge. Among the receipts given by Cluny Macpherson for money disbursed to Jacobites is the following, dated 28th November, 1749 :—"I acknowledge to have received from Clunie Macpherson, by vertue of his Majesty's credentials, the summe of 300 Luidors value received by me at Drumochlere 28 Novbre 1749 — Mackdonell." ² Old Glengarry, who was released from captivity in October, 1749, died in 1754, and his son Alexander succeeded to the chiefship and estates. Not till the 23rd February, 1758, was he served heir to the estates as the nearest male representative, first of Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, and second of Lord Macdonald of Aros, a formality which took place before the Bailies of Inverness.³ He still continued to be pursued by financial embarrassments, his father having left him a legacy of personal debts, and the property being much encumbered by wadsetts. His latter years were clouded, not only by money difficulties, but by the

¹ Stuart Papers. ² Gleanings from Cluny Charter Chest.

³ Vindication of the Clanronald of Glengarry.

more grievous shadow of broken health. On the 29th April, 1761, he made his will, leaving his sister Isabella his sole executrix. The will contains some interesting provisions. He left to his brother, Captain James Macdonald of Glenmeadh, his French rifle gun; to Alexander Macdonald of Aberchalder his own fusee: to Duncan Macdonald, his nephew and apparent heir, the arms belonging to him in Edinburgh, in the custody of Alexander Orme, Writer to the Signet, being family arms; requests his sister to call for and recover his trunk at Mrs Foster's, in Beaufort Buildings, London, and deliver the sword therein and his picture to the heir male of the family, and to deal with the rest of the contents in the manner he had verbally directed her. One direction in the will is peculiar—"I further recommend to my said sister, immediately on my decease, to seal up my cabinet, and take care that the same shall not be opened until the friends of the family meet, and then I direct Angus Macdonnell of Greenfield and Allan Macdonell of Cullachy, or the survivor of them then present, to see all the political and useless letters among my papers burnt and destroyed, as the preservation of them can answer no purpose." As Glengarry lived for eight months after his last will and testament was drawn up, it is strange that he did not himself see to the burning of the papers in question, nor did it seem as if he regarded them in any sense incriminating or compromising. He died on the 23rd December, 1761, and though evidence is lacking as to his age, he must have been a comparatively young man. We cannot accept as proven the accusations of villainy made against Alastair

Ruadh by a writer of our time who has been playing the part of detective among the shades of departed Jacobites. As the latter are separated by a great gulf from the modern reviler, and are not in a position to raise actions for libel, his conduct is safe, if not exactly generous. Could we reform our ancestors, such charges, if true, might be fraught with good ; but as this cannot be done, we say *cui bono* ? let the dead past bury its dead. On the other hand, when an elaborate indictment against the head of an illustrious family is built up out of second and third hand tittle-tattle ; one peculiarity of spelling which was, after all, not peculiar to Glengarry ; expert evidence as to handwriting, which, as everyone knows, can be made to prove anything, and a few circumstantial and coincidental details ; and when the Chief in question is made to act the part of betrayer, forger, spy, and bully, on evidence of that nature, we decline to accept of the conclusion.

In an historical work of this nature we cannot afford the space requisite for a full examination of Mr Lang's position. One or two samples of his methods may be examined. He accepts evidence against Glengarry without any questioning of its truthfulness, on the principle that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with. As we have already seen, old Glengarry died in 1754, and in 1755 Colonel Trapaud, Governor of Fort-Augustus, wrote to Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate, a letter, which Mr Lang quotes, charging Glengarry with the most oppressive conduct towards his tenants since his father's death, and stating that among other enormities he "took advantage of his poor ignorant tenants, to oblige them to give up their

wadsetts, and accept of common interest for their money, which they all agreed to,"¹ with more to the same effect. The conclusion drawn from the foregoing is that, in addition to his other vices, Glengarry was a bully. Will it be believed that this is all a myth? In the first place, the Governor of Fort-Augustus and Glengarry were not good friends,² and the former's charges may well be taken *cum grano salis*. In the second place, the wadsetters of Knoydart were neither poor nor ignorant, nor likely to be imposed upon; but were as well educated as and much better off than their Chief; and in the third place, after Alastair Ruadh's death, and on his nephew's succession, the wadsetts on the Knoydart as well as on the Glengarry estates were intact and unredeemed.

The second instance we refer to, as throwing grave doubt on Mr Lang's conclusions, is a letter written by Pickle the Spy to a correspondent in the confidence of the Government in the year 1755.³ Pickle, the writer of that letter, distinctly refers to Glengarry in the third person, and there is nothing at all in the contents which necessarily points to their identity on any other than *a priori* grounds. On the assumption that Glengarry was Pickle, the fact must have been well known to his correspondent, and where was the need on this *one* occasion of going through the solemn farce of writing about Glengarry as if he were a person separate and distinct from himself?

Only one other instance do we refer to, and it is that which Mr Lang regards as the copestone of the

¹ Pickle the Spy. ² Glengarry's Letter-book.

³ Pickle the Spy.

damnatory structure, Pickle's last letter written to the Duke of Newcastle (February 19, 1760), which he signs as Pickle, though he speaks of himself in the third person. The writer proposes to raise a regiment for the King's service if he obtains the rank of full Colonel. As a matter of fact many of the Glengarry men were already in the Fraser Highlanders, both as privates and officers; but during these latter years of his life the Chief was in such miserably broken health—continually ill and confined to bed—that for active service in the field he was utterly unfit, and such an offer by him was extremely improbable. The postscript, however, contains the crowning triumph of Mr Lang's arraignment, and is in the following terms:—"Mack mention of Pickle. His Majesty will remember Mr Pelham did upon former affairs of great consequence."

"Direction—To Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry by Foraugustus."

As to this postscript, it may be remarked:—(1) The fact that Pickle's letters were to be addressed to the Chief of Glengarry does not necessarily involve the identity of the one individual with the other, and we assume that Pickle, whoever he was, desired his letters to be addressed to Glengarry's care. This will appear probable from the following consideration:—Assuming that Pickle was Glengarry, his correspondent, the Duke of Newcastle, for years had possessed the secret of his identity, had often been in communication with him, and had known with perfect certainty that he resided regularly on his estate of Glengarry since 1754. Why should he, in this solitary case, have given a name and address so well known to his corres-

pendent? Surely an inexplicable superfluity, if Mr Lang's conclusions are trustworthy. (2) As Mr Lang lays much stress on spelling, we have the evidence of Glengarry's letter-book for stating that Alastair Ruadh did *not* spell Mackdonell with a small "d," that he did *not* spell "make" as "mack," and that he did *not* spell "Fort Augustus" as "Foraugustus." It is not our business to lift the veil from the mystery of the identity of Pickle the Spy, which still remains as great a mystery as ever, but we demur to the branding of a Glengarry Chief with the character given him in the pages to which we have been compelled briefly to refer, without evidence that is at once direct and overwhelming.

Alastair Ruadh was succeeded by his nephew Duncan, the son of Angus, who was accidentally shot at Falkirk. Duncan was a minor at the time of his succession, and his estates, which were terribly burdened, were under trustees for the benefit of his creditors, and with the view of relieving the financial tension, the estate of North Morar, which was held of the Crown, was sold to General Simon Fraser of Lovat in 1768. The large price obtained for this property proved a considerable relief. In 1772 Glengarry married Marjory, a daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant of Dalvey, and as he himself appears to have been a man of facile and easy temperament, his wife, who was of a resolute and imperious nature, has got the credit or discredit of all that was objectionable in the management of the estates in his time. The rents were raised, the wadsetts cleared, notices of removal were served upon the wadsetters and their dependants, and there commenced that tide of emigration, the successive waves of which in the course of years carried

the very cream of the Glengarry clansmen into the heart of the new world. The personality of this chief did not leave a deep impression on his time. He is said to have opposed, evidently with some success, the adoption of the principal arms of Macdonald by Lord Macdonald of Sleat. Since the time of Lord Aros the idea that they were chiefs of the whole Clan Donald was tenaciously clung to by the House of Glengarry. Duncan of Glengarry died at Elgin on the 11th July, 1788—a comparatively young man—and is said to have been on his way to Peterhead to drink the mineral waters for which that town once possessed a reputation, which it appears largely to have lost. On the 30th April, before his death, the Chief executed a destination of his whole estate in favour of his heirs, and appointed trustees for its administration.

Duncan of Glengarry was succeeded by Alexander Ranaldson while the latter was still some years short of his majority. This Chief was one of the most remarkable Highlanders of his day, on whom a double portion of the spirit of Clann Cholla, the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*, appears to have descended. Like his great-great-grandfather, Alastair Dubh, whom in many respects he seems to have resembled, he had great virtues stained by a few vices. That he had grave faults of character, which often led him into serious scrapes, must of course be admitted. The pride of all the Macdonalds swelled within his breast, and was in many respects his bane. His insult to Lieutenant Norman Macleod at an officer's ball at Fort-George in April, 1798, and all because Miss Forbes of Culloden, a famous beauty, was Macleod's partner in a dance for which Glengarry claimed her hand;—this and the con-

sequent duel with its tragic sequel would never have happened to a man of ordinary prudence and self-control. His opponent's wound was not considered dangerous, and the combatants shook hands after it was over; but Macleod succumbed in a few days to the effect of the injury, and Glengarry was prosecuted for manslaughter by the criminal authorities. He, however, was acquitted, but this and other escapades, unnecessary to detail, but which cannot be ignored in an estimate of his character, are a serious stain on his memory, and won for him in his own and after times the name of *Alastair Fìadhaich*. Yet it would be unjust to forget that there was another and a noble side to his character. Many of his faults were traceable to his having been left, like Byron, without a strong guiding hand in youth, lacking the discipline so greatly needed by a nature so intense and volcanic as his. On the other hand, his virtues were all his own. He was kind-hearted and generous, and dispensed a noble hospitality, so that one of the gentlemen of his own clan has truly placed on record that Glengarry had "the heart of a prince." Still further, he had powers of mind of a high order, and could state a case in which he was warmly interested with great clearness and force. It was, however, as the typical Celt, the Highland chieftain and enthusiast, the patron of bards, the reviver and upholder of the ancient state and customs and language of the Gael, that Glengarry left so deep an impress on his day and generation. Wherever he went there was a Celtic *renaissance*, and men were transported to the ancient days of Gaelic chivalry and song and story. It was this combination of qualities which led Scott to write of him

in these glowing terms:—"He seems to have lived a century too late, and to exist in a state of complete law and order like a Glengarry of old, whose will was law to his sept. Warm-hearted, generous, friendly, he is beloved by those who know him. To me he is a treasure." When he travelled he did so as a Gaelic Prince, with a full retinue of kilted attendants, not a single *articulus* lacking of a Highland Chieftain's tail. When George IV. visited Edinburgh in 1822, Glengarry and twelve attendant gentlemen, including his brother, Colonel James Macdonald of Hougomont fame, "the bravest man in Britain," were not the least picturesque feature of the brilliant show. Every fibre of his being was instinct with Highland sentiment. It was through him that the Society of true Highlanders was formed about 1816, he himself by acclamation occupying the place of Ceann-suidhe, or Chairman, at their re-unions in Fort-William. In an English poem, composed to this Society in 1816, Ewen MacLachlan, the celebrated Gaelic scholar and bard, descants in glowing measures on "Clann Domhnuill's regal line," and of "Th' illustrious Chief of Garry's woody vales." Glengarry was the idol of the bards, not only of his own, but of other clans as well—their hearts were completely won by his considerate and kindly bearing. Allan Macdougall, known as Ailean Dall, sharing as he did the infirmity of Homer and of Ossian, was the family bard of Glengarry for a number of years, and poured forth many a panegyric to his patron's praise. One instance of the bard's ready wit and real genius has been placed on record. On an occasion when gymnastic sports were held at Fort-William, Glengarry told Allan that he would give him the best

cow on his estate if he sang the proceedings of the day without mentioning his own name. The bard immediately replied—

“Dheanaim latha gun ghrian
'S muir blian gun bhi saillt
Mu 'n gabhaim do na Gaidheil dàn
Gun fhear mo ghràidh air ard mo rainn.”

“I would make a day without sun,
And the wide sea without salt,
Ere I would sing to the Gael a lay
Without my loved patron as first in my song.”

Glengarry erected a memorial stone at the stream in which the ghastly bunch of heads of the decapitated Keppoch murderers was immersed by Ian Lom, and called since that day *tobar nan ceann*. Ewen MacIachlan celebrated the erection in lines of chaste and classic beauty. Glengarry's ideas of a Highland Chieftain's state were not in keeping with his means, which gradually grew more straitened, notwithstanding the fact that rents were raised and that an unremitting stream of emigration continued to make place for the breeding of sheep. He had bought the estate of Scotus, which was again incorporated with the barony of Knoydart; but this and the rest of his property became heavily mortgaged, and it was only late in the day that he recognised the necessity of limitation and retrenchment in his expenditure. Had he been spared, it is not unlikely that, with his resolution and force of character, he might have done much to redeem his estates for the benefit of his descendants, as he evidently purposed doing. This, however, was not to be. On the 14th January, 1828, he was killed in the attempt to get ashore from the

wrecked steamer *Stirling Castle* at *Corran*, near *Fort-William*, at a time of life when he might naturally look forward to a goodly term of years. He was a genuine undiluted specimen of a Highland Chief, and as the last link in a line of long ago, those who survived him might well say "take him all in all, we will never see his like again." He was buried in the cemetery of *Killionan*, where many of the heads of the *Glengarry* generations repose. The bards were loud in their lamentations at his violent and tragic end, and one who eulogises his memory makes particular reference to a marked feature of the Chief, his devotion and success as a huntsman—

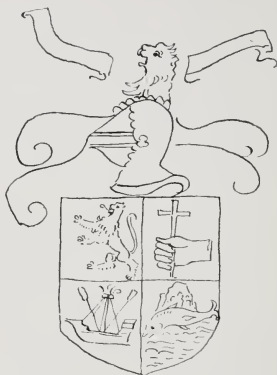
"'S ann na laidhe 'n Cill Ionain
 Dh' fhaig sinn biatach an fhiona
 Lamh a b' urrainn a dhioladh
 'S cas a shuibhal na frithe
 Bu tu sealgair na sithne
 Le d' cuilbheir caol dircach ;
 'S bho 'n a thainig a chrìoch ort
 Gheibh na lan daimh an sìochaint,
 Cadal sàmhach 's cha dìrich an nàmhaid."

After his death the history of *Glengarry* as a territorial family soon came to an end. *Æneas Ranaldson Macdonald*, who succeeded, found the estates so heavily mortgaged that *Glengarry* had to be sold. This chief emigrated to Australia with his family ; but after some years' sojourn there returned to Scotland, and resided at *Inverie* in *Knoydart*, where he died. He was buried in the family place of sepulture at *Killionan*. *Æneas Ranaldson* was succeeded by *Alastair Ranaldson*, his oldest son. It was in his time that the remainder of the patrimonial acres passed out of the family of

Glengarry by the sale of the estate of Knoydart. Alastair Ranaldson died unmarried in New Zealand in 1862, and was succeeded in the chiefship by Charles Ranaldson, who died in June, 1868, on his way from New Zealand to Scotland, and with whose demise the representation of the line of Alastair Dubh became extinct. Upon this the succession devolved again upon the Scotus family in the person of the nearest male descendant of Angus, brother of Alastair Dubh, and second son of Reginald of Scotus, who succeeded Lord Aros. This heir male was admitted by the Lyon King at Arms on the 28th June, 1868, to be Æneas Ranaldson, seventh of Scotus. He had been a member of the Madras Civil Service, and at the time of his succession to the Glengarry Chiefship was resident at Cheltenham. He only survived his succession by a few months, as he died on the 24th October of the same year, and was succeeded by Æneas Ranald Westrop Macdonald, the present head of the ancient and renowned family of Glengarry.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MACDONALDS OF DUNNYVEG AND THE GLENS.



Origin of the Family.—Alliance with England.—Marriage of John Mor.—Acquisition of the Glens in Antrim.—Richard II. in Islay.—Argyle raided by Irish merchants.—John Mor and the Gaelic Charter of 1408.—Battle of Harlaw.—Alleged quarrel between John Mor and his brother Donald.—Tragic death of John Mor.—King James and the Clan Donald.—Imprisonment of the Lord of the Isles.—Donald Balloch defeats the royal forces at Inverlochy.—He finds refuge in the Antrim Glens.—He leads the Clan during the minority of his Chief, John, Earl of Ross.—He heads the rebellion in the North.—He invades Arran, the Cunnibraes, and Lismore.—The Clan Iain Mhoir and the Treaty of Ardhornish.—Donald Balloch again in rebellion in the North.—Death of Donald Balloch.—John of Dunnyveg resides in Antrim.—He receives the honour of Knighthood.—Revolt of the Clan Iain Mhoir.—Execution of Sir John and his son, John Cathanaich.—Struggle between Alastair MacIain Chathanaich and MacIain

of Ardnamurchan.—Alexander of Dunnyveg joins the Lochalsh insurrection.—Lands of the family restored to Alexander.—Alliance between Alexander and Campbell of Cawdor.—Campaign against the Campbells.—Alexander in rebellion against the Government.—He is received into favour.—He defends himself against Argyle.—Several offices and gifts conferred upon him.—Alexander fights for the King of Scots in Ulster.—He has troubles in Antrim.—Alexander's death at Stirling.—James, his son, brought up and educated at the Scottish Court.—Held answerable for his clan.—He receives a Crown Charter of the Barony of Bar.—James is proclaimed Lord of the Isles.—Dispute with Argyle.—He receives from Argyle a grant of Ardnamurchan.—Troubles in Ireland.—James receives a grant of lands in Argyle from Queen Mary.—He establishes his authority over the Route.—Agreements between him and the Earl of Arran.—Struggle in Ireland continued.—Invasion of Kintyre by Sussex.—English efforts to expel the Macdonalds from Ulster.—James receives further favours from Queen Mary.—Gift of ward and marriage of Mary Macleod of Dunvegan bestowed upon him.—Feud with Maclean of Duart.—Indenture between James and Queen Elizabeth.—Agreement between him and Farquhar McAlister of Skirrough.—War with Shane O'Neill.—Death of James.

THE founder of the Family of Dunnyveg, which played so prominent and distinguished a part in the annals of the Clan Cholla, both in the Scottish Highlands and in Ireland, was John Mor, the second son of John, Lord of the Isles, by his marriage with the Princess Margaret of Scotland. The early history of this renowned branch of the House of Somerled has already been dwelt upon under the Lordship of the Isles in the first volume of this work. It is desirable, however, that the history of the family should be traced to its origin as an independent branch, and this cannot well be done without necessarily trenching more or less on the ground taken up already in the first volume.

The family became known in Celtic Scotland as the Clan Iain Mhoir, or Clan Donald South. His father bestowed on John Mor 120 merklands in Kintyre, with the castles of Saddel and Dunaverty, and 60 merklands in Isla, with the castle of Dunnyveg. The possession of so large a territory elevated John Mor on the very threshold of his career into a position of prominence in the Highland polity, and in due course he became a leading actor in the Island drama. The family of the Isles was then in the zenith of its power. The relations between England and Scotland were anything but friendly at the best. A truce was no sooner proclaimed than the restless barons of the borders on either side broke it by a renewal of hostilities. The greatest ambition of either seems to have been the annihilation of the other, and the most powerful influences that affected this unequal international contest were France and the Isles. The one aim of the Family of the Isles in forming an alliance with England against Scotland was to preserve the independence of the Western Gael. An alliance with Scotland itself, or a neutral policy, would have had the opposite effect. In these circumstances, John Mor Tanistear entered heartily into the Anglo-Scottish quarrel. That quarrel had come to a crisis in the summer of 1388, and only a few days before the sanguinary engagement at Otterburn took place John Mor and his brothers, Godfrey and Donald, were received at the English Court by Richard II. On the 14th of July, the brothers entered into a friendly alliance with the English King, John, Bishop of the Isles, being also a party to the agreement.¹ Whether they took any active part

¹ Rotuli Scocie.

with the English in opposing the Scottish invasion is doubtful, but their being in England at all at such a time favours the assumption that they were not idle spectators of the defeat of their allies at Otterburn. The alliance formed between John Mor and the English Court at this time was renewed again and again in the course of the following years.

The addition of a large territory in Ireland to his already extensive possessions in Argyle now elevated the Lord of Dunnyveg into the position of a magnate of the first importance. Not long after his reception at the English Court, John Mor married Margery Bisset, heiress of the Glens in Antrim. The Bissets, who were of Greek extraction, came over to England with William the Conqueror, and settled after a time in Scotland. Before the close of the 13th century, they had acquired the seven lordships of the Glens in Antrim. Through his marriage with Margery, the only daughter of John Bisset, the last male head of this family, John Mor succeeded to the heritage of the Glens—*na seachd tuathaibh Glinneach*—extending from the Inver to the Boyse.¹ From this time onwards he was styled Lord of Dunnyveg and the Glens. He is so styled in an English writ of the year 1400, being a safe conduct from the English King to him and his brother Donald,² but in the history and traditions of the clan he is always known as John Mor Tanistear, a distinction which in the Celtic polity gave him a position second only in importance to the Lord of the Isles himself. There had been a prior connection to the one now formed through the Bisset heiress

¹ Indenture between James Macdonald of Dunnyveg and the Earl of Sussex—Cotton MSS., British Museum.

² Rotuli Scotiæ.

between the Family of the Isles and the Province of Ulster. John Mor's own grandmother, Agnes, wife of Angus, Lord of the Isles, was a daughter of O'Cathán, one of the great chiefs of Ulster, and the Antrim Glens often afforded in after years a welcome asylum to many a scion of the House of Somerled.

It may be presumed that John Mor, who continued his alliance with the English Court, now that he had become a potent factor in the sphere of Irish politics, would throw the weight of his influence in favour of the English interest in Ulster. On the deposition of Richard II., both John and his brother Donald transferred their alliance to his successor, Henry IV. Twice during the year 1400 they visited the Court of the new King. It is somewhat remarkable that in these circumstances the dethroned King Richard should, after his escape from Pontefract Castle, have found his way to the distant Island of Isla, and, in the guise of a beggar, entered by a back door the residence of the Lord of the Isles at Finlaggan. Yet so it was. The Lady of Dunnyveg, who had formerly seen the deposed monarch in Ireland, readily recognised him, though in such humble guise. The Lord of the Isles and John Mor, who had frequently visited the unfortunate monarch's Court in the days of his prosperity, received him now in the hour of adversity with all due respect. Henry of Lancaster himself, though in reality much alarmed on hearing that his rival had found his way to Scotland, ridiculed the idea of the resurrection of an individual at whose obsequies he had but recently assisted. But, in order to ascertain the actual facts regarding the appearance of Richard in Isla, he summoned to a secret interview the Lord of the Isles and his chap-

lain. That he was convinced after this interview of the truth of the report is shown by his sudden change of policy towards Scotland, at whose Court the fugitive King at length found a welcome asylum. There the romantic incident ended.¹

As evidence of the continued friendly relations between John Mor and Henry IV., the King in the year 1405 acted in the capacity of mediator between him and certain merchants of Dublin and Drogheda. It appears that these commercial men had caused much annoyance to the Lord of Dunnyveg and his brother, the Lord of the Isles, by their persistent raiding visits to Argyle. The King, at Bishoptorp, on the 16th of September, granted a commission to John, Bishop of Down, and others, to negotiate a peace between the Islesmen and the Irish traders.² The mediator appears to have succeeded in bringing about the desired peace, and no more raiding Irishmen, either from Dublin or Drogheda, are heard of on the shores of Argyle.

In the year 1408, John Mor is again found visiting the English Court.³ In connection with these frequent visits to England in the capacity of plenipotentiary from the Isles, the question whether the Lord of Dunnyveg was qualified for the duties that devolved upon him on these occasions deserves attention. In the same year that John Mor visited the English Court, Donald, Lord of the Isles, granted a charter, written in the Gaelic language and character, to Brian Vicar Mackay of certain lands in Isla. One of the witnesses to this charter is a "John Macdonald," who signs by a notary "with his hand on the pen." Many Gaelic scholars

¹ Fordun a Goodal, Winton's Chronicle, Rotuli Scotie.

² Rymer's Foedera. ³ Ibid.

have concluded that this individual could have been no other than the Lord of Dunnyveg himself. But it is hardly credible that a person not able to write even his name could have been capable of acting as ambassador to a regal Court, such as that of England, and negotiate treaties, and in this capacity John Mor is found frequently acting.¹ Apart from this, altogether, it is only reasonable to suppose that John Mor would have received equal advantages with his brother Donald, who, we know, received an English education. We have, therefore, good grounds for assuming that the signature of "John Macdonald," who witnessed the Gaelic charter of 1408 is not that of the Lord of Dunnyveg.

In the struggle between the Lord of the Isles and the Regent Albany, John Mor had his full share. The relations between the brothers and their royal cousins had been, indeed, always somewhat strained, but lately these had developed into open enmity, owing to the conduct of the Regent, and the quarrel had reached its height when the Macdonald banner was unfurled in 1411. On the day of Harlaw, which proved so disastrous to the Regent's host, John Mor, at the head of the reserve, contributed largely to the victory of the men of the Isles. And when the Regent afterwards followed Macdonald into Argyle, the resolute Tanistear again came forward to strike a blow for his race, and Albany was repulsed.

Hitherto John Mor and his brother Donald had worked with one aim, but, according to the Seanachie of Sleat, a formidable quarrel sprang up between them over some lands in Argyle, claimed by John Mor. It may be as well to give the

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

story of the quarrel between the brothers in the Seanachie's own words:—"About this time lived the subtle and wicked councillor, the Green Abbot Finnon. . . . Maclean fostered Donald Balloch, John More's eldest legitimate son, by the Abbot's advice, who told John Mor that he had but a small portion of his father's estate, and that he would seize upon all that was beyond the Point of Ardnamurchan southward. The Abbot, being a subtle, eloquent man, brought over to his side the Chiefs of the Macleans and Macleods of Harris, to get the Islands for themselves from the Lords of the Isles, who, hearing a rumour of the insolence of the new faction, raised some powerful forces, viz., the men of Ross, Macleod of Lewis, his own brother, Alister Carrick, MacIntosh, Mackenzie, the Chief of the Camerons, the Islanders, the men of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the Glencoe people, and Macneill of Barra. Now, John and his party could not withstand the forces of his brother; so, leaving Kintyre, he went to Galloway. Macdonald followed them. John went from Galloway to Ireland, and remained in the Glens. Donald returned to Islay. John More and his faction, seeing that both they themselves and their interest were like to be lost, unless Macdonald pardoned himself and spared the rest, for his sake, thought it their best course to go to Islay, where Macdonald resided in Killcummin. Upon John More's coming in his brother's presence, and prostrating himself on the ground, his brother rose and took him up, and embraced him kindly. This sedition was owing to Macfinnon and his kinsman, the Green Abbot."¹ This is altogether a doubtful story, and it is partly, at least, inac-

¹ Hugh Macdonald's MS.

curate. The Abbot Mackinnon, referred to as the instigator of the quarrel, whose "stately tomb" in Iona was to be seen in the time of the Seanachie, could hardly have been a contemporary of John Mor. The "stately tomb" is still to be seen, and from the inscription upon it the death of the Abbot can be seen to have taken place in the year 1500, or nearly 70 years after that of John Mor.

All that remains now to be told of the history of John Mor is the tragic manner in which he met his death. The King, on being restored to his country after his long captivity in England, found his kingdom, both north and south, in a state of lawless confusion. James at once began vigorously, and with a firm resolution, to restore order and good government throughout the realm. In 1427 he held a Parliament in Inverness. One of the problems which on that occasion he found himself face to face with was the virtual independence of the Family of the Isles. He was at a loss how or where to find means to curb its power, or what measures to adopt to bring about its ruin, and either was by no means an easy task. It required all the firmness and decision of character for which he was so remarkable, and perhaps more ingenuity than he had yet displayed. He decided to take John Mor into his confidence. According to the Sleat Seanachie, "the King sent John Campbell to know if John More of Kintyre, Macdonald's uncle, would send to take all his nephew's lands; but it was a trap laid to weaken them, that they might be more easily conquered." The Lord of Dunnyveg would not entertain the proposal to deprive the Lord of the Isles of his possessions, and the King therefore resolved that he should pay the penalty. Campbell, the King's

emissary, sent a message to John Mor, desiring him to meet him at a friendly interview at Ard Dubh in Islay. In the words of the Sleat Seanachie, "John came to the place appointed with a small retinue, but James Campbell with a very large train, and told of the King's intention of granting him all the lands possessed by Macdonalds, conditionally he would, if he held of him and served him. John said he did not know wherein his nephew wronged the King, and that his nephew was as deserving of his rights as he could be, and that he would not accept of these lands, nor serve for them, till his nephew would be set at liberty; and that his nephew himself was as nearly related to the King as he could be. James Campbell, hearing the answer, said he was his prisoner. John made all the resistance he could, till, overpowered by numbers, he was killed." In this treacherous manner perished John Mor, the victim of a dastardly plot. So great was the indignation caused by the murder of the Lord of Dunnyveg, both in the Lowlands and in the Highlands, and so strong was the suspicion of the King's own complicity in the matter, that James was at length obliged to make a show of vindicating himself. He caused Campbell to be arraigned as the murderer of John Mor, but that individual protested his innocence, and strongly asserted that he had only carried out the King's instructions. The King denied this, and as Campbell could produce no written authority from him, his protestations were of no avail. The royal honour must be vindicated, and Campbell expiated his own and the King's crime by paying the extreme penalty of law. But the execution of Campbell had not the desired effect, and instead of

allaying, it only intensified the strong feeling of resentment which pervaded the great body of the Clan Donald and their allies. The state of matters at length brought the King to Inverness, with the determination to make a lasting impression on the Clan Cholla. By a mean spider-like trick the Highland Chiefs were inveigled into what they were led to believe was to be a friendly interview with the Sovereign. The result was the execution, among others, of Alexander MacGorrie, one of the leaders of the Clan Donald, while the Lord of the Isles himself and his mother, the Countess of Ross, were sent to prison, and the King was merry at the thought of his own cleverness. Having taught the Clan Donald, as he thought, a salutary lesson, the King was graciously pleased to release the Lord of the Isles, after a detention of a few weeks. The Island Lord no sooner regained his liberty than he mustered his followers, with the determination to be revenged on the King, but owing to the defection of some of his vassals, he was obliged to submit, and throw himself again on the King's clemency. James spared his life, and sent him a prisoner to Tantallon Castle. But this only furnished a pretext for another Highland revolt, and now had come the young Lord of Dunnyveg's opportunity of avenging the death of his father, and striking at the same time a blow for his imprisoned Chief. Donald Balloch, the eldest son and heir of John Mor, was a bold warrior, who proved himself, in the absence of his Chief, a capable leader of the clan. At his call the followers of the Macdonald banner mustered from island and mainland, and a contingent also from his own Antrim Glens hurried across the sea to the place of meeting. The Earl of Mar, he who

suffered so signal a defeat at Harlaw, and Allan Stewart, Lord Caithness, mustered the King's forces. The total defeat of the King's army at Inverlochy has already been referred to at length in another part of this work.¹ In that famous field the victorious leader of the Highland host, the gallant Lord of Dunnyveg, won his first laurels, and by his deeds of heroism added a lustre to the name of Macdonald, the memory of which will never fade. The King was paid back for his treacherous conduct at Inverness, and the laugh is now turned the other way. Donald Balloch brought his campaign in Lochaber to an end by paying an unwelcome visit to the renegade Camerons and Clan Chattan, who had deserted the standard of his Chief in the previous campaign. After a successful raid, he proceeded to the Isles. When the news of the defeat of the royal forces at Inverlochy reached the Court, a wrathful man was James, King of Scots. He vowed the direst vengeance on the devoted head of the Clan Donald leader, but the Lord of Dunnyveg found refuge in the Antrim Glens. Even there he was not free from the royal vengeance, and except for the seasonable wit and ready resource of an Irish Chief, it is hard to say what his fate would have been. Hugh Buy O'Neill with grim humour presented the Scottish King with a human head, and the credulous James received it as that of the rebel Lord of Dunnyveg.

In the year 1431, Alexander, Lord of the Isles, was released from his imprisonment in Tantallon Castle, and restored to the honours of his house. The Lord of Dunnyveg, whom the Scottish Government believed to be dead, continued to cultivate the

¹ Clan Donald, vol. I., p. 183, *et seq.*

privacy of his Irish home among the Antrim Glens, nor is it likely that he ventured to cross the channel before the death of King James in 1437. The Lord of the Isles himself had now become a man of peace, and the opportunity of again distinguishing himself under his banner never came to the hero of Inverlochy. During the remainder of Alexander's life Donald Balloch disappears entirely from the public view as a man of war and a maker of Scottish Celtic history. But the death of the Earl of Ross in 1449 was the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Family of the Isles, and the pulse of the body politic began again to beat with its wonted vigour. The successor of the Earl of Ross was a minor. During the period of minority, which extended over three years, Donald Balloch acted as chief guardian and principal councillor to his young chief, while in the field he led the clan. His services as military leader were early in requisition under the new order of things. John of Isla celebrated his accession to the Earldom of Ross by entering into a league with the Earls of Douglas and Crawford against the Scottish Government. Acting in concert with the Lowland Earls, and no doubt with the advice of his principal Councillor, the Lord of Dunnyveg, the young Earl of Ross raised the flag of rebellion in the North. Though the Earl was the nominal leader of the Highland host, the actual command devolved on the veteran Donald Balloch. Marching to Inverness, the Highlanders took possession of the Castle and expelled the garrison. From Inverness they proceeded to Urquhart. There also they succeeded in expelling the garrison and taking possession of the Castle. Not satisfied with taking these two royal strongholds, the men of the Isles

pushed on through Moray to Badenoch, and gave the Castle of Ruthven to the flames. Such was the state of matters in the South, and so full were the hands of those in authority, that no notice was taken of the rebellion in the North, and the Highlanders remained masters of the situation. An attempt was made afterwards by the Earl of Huntly to deprive them of the fruit of their victory, but without success. The Lord of Dunnyveg, who was the prime mover in these proceedings in the North, continued in his attitude of defiance towards the Government. The defeat of the Earl of Douglas in Annandale, and his subsequent flight to Argyleshire, brought Donald Balloch again into the arena of rebellion. The Earl was received by Donald in the Castle of Dunstaffnage, in Lorn, where he was afterwards joined by the Earl of Ross. The scheme of invasion propounded by Douglas commended itself to the Earl of Ross and Donald Balloch. Besides an invasion of the Crown lands by the followers of the Macdonald Chief, it was intended to encourage the adherents of Douglas to draw together in the Western counties. The fiery cross was sent round, and Donald Balloch soon found himself at the head of 5000 clansmen. With a fleet of 100 galleys, Donald sailed to Inverkip, whence he proceeded to Arran, the Cumbræes, and Bute, all of which he invaded in turn, and wasted without mercy. Besides burning Brodick Castle to the ground, he carried away from Bute and Arran, and the other islands he invaded, an immense spoil. So thorough was the "spulzie," that he left nothing behind worth carrying with him.¹ But the raiding chieftain did not

¹ Auchinleck Chronicle.

stop here. It appears that Bishop Lauder of Lismore had been a party to the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas. This was enough. The Bishop must be punished for his presumption. To Lismore, therefore, sailed the Lord of Dunnyveg, and laid waste the island from end to end, sparing neither life nor property. The Bishop's own life was spared by his taking refuge within the sanctuary of his cathedral church. The naval raid by the men of the Isles, at the instigation of the rebel Earl of Douglas, failed entirely of its purpose. That ambitious schemer had already formulated those daring plans for his own aggrandizement, which afterwards proved so fatal to the family of the Isles. As for the Lord of Dunnyveg himself, a special immunity from consequences seems to have followed the commission of every offence committed by him against the Scottish State.

In the year 1460, the King of Scotland opened his campaign against England by making an assault on the frontier Castle of Roxburgh. During the siege a strange spectacle was witnessed in the appearance on the scene of the Macdonald Chief at the head of 3000 clansmen, the only instance since the day of Bannockburn of a Lord of the Isles appearing in the field under the banner of the Scottish sovereign. It is doubtful whether the veteran Lord of Dunnyveg followed his chief into the Scottish camp on this occasion, but there is no doubt whatever that shortly thereafter he was actively engaged in an insurrection that broke out in Argyle, which originated in a domestic broil, in which several members of the Clan Dougal were involved.

The Treaty of Ardthornish and its direful consequences have already been fully entered into in the first volume of this work. It is not necessary now to make more than a brief reference to the position of the Clan Iain Mhoir as parties to that league. Not only Donald Balloch himself, who appears to have been always ready to enter into every wild scheme, but his son John, and his brother, Ranald Bane of Largie, were also involved. The writ appointing Commissioners to treat with the King's "dearest cousin John, Earl of Ross, and his dear and faithful Donald Balloch or their ambassadors," was issued on the 22nd of June, 1461. In due course the English Commissioners and the Earl of Ross and his Council met in solemn conclave in the hall of Ardthornish Castle in Morven. To complete the compact between the parties, the deliberations were adjourned to Westminster, where the Commissioners of the Earl of Ross, Ranald Bane of Largie, and the Archdeacon of the Isles, met with the Commissioners of the King of England, and the league known as the Treaty of Ardthornish was concluded on the 13th of February, 1462. The object aimed at by the parties to this compact appears to have been nothing less than the dismemberment of the Northern Kingdom. In terms of the Treaty, the portion of the kingdom north of the Forth was to be divided equally between the Earls of Ross and Douglas and Donald Balloch, while Donald and his son John were to be paid respectively the sums of £40 and £20 in time of war, and in time of peace half these sums. The payment of these salaries was to cease on the division of the kingdom between the parties being completed. In the event of a truce with the

King of Scotland, the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and his son John, were to be included in it. The conspicuous position given to the Lord of Dunnyveg as a party to the Treaty of Ardrhorthish is an evidence of his importance as a factor in Highland politics, while there is every reason to suppose that none of those concerned entered more heartily into the alliance with England. To carry out the provisions of their wild scheme, the confederate Earls resolved on prompt action. In the North the followers of the Earl of Ross were assembled under the leadership of Angus Og, the Earl's son, and Donald Balloch. Angus Og being then a minor, the actual command devolved on Donald. Taking possession of the town of Inverness, they proclaimed the Earl of Ross as sovereign of the North, and commanded the payment of all taxes due to the Crown to be paid to him under pain of death. But this effort, the first and last, to carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Ardrhorthish in the North ended in failure. The expected English help did not come, nor did there appear much hope in the then state of affairs in the Southern Kingdom of immediate aid from that quarter, and the Northern insurrection collapsed. It does not appear that any action was taken by the Scottish Executive to punish the rebels.

The Lord of Dunnyveg evidently feared a movement in that direction, when, after witnessing a charter at Dingwall on the 12th of April, 1463, he betook himself to that harbour of refuge for all Clan Donald rebels—the Antrim Glens. Shortly after his arrival in Ireland, Donald Balloch and his son John took the oath of allegiance to King Edward of England, in terms of the Treaty of Ardrhorthish,

the King having empowered Richard, Bishop of Down and Connor, to receive the same.¹ Growing weary of Scottish strife, Donald Balloch resided now for some time on his Irish property, and is not heard of again for a while. The record of the relations of his family with Ireland at this early period is of the most meagre description. Little, indeed, can be gleaned other than a few references to those times of compulsory residence in the Glens during which it was not convenient to live too near the Scottish Government. The Scottish annals are equally dull, so far as the Clan Iain Mhoir are concerned. From the Treaty of Ardthornish, or rather from the cessation of the hostilities which immediately followed that event, to the forfeiture of the Earl of Ross in 1476, a period of some 14 years, there appears to have been unwonted calm, and the warriors of the Clan Donald who came out so boldly in the Highland Capital sheathed their blades. The two most outstanding of these, Angus Og and Donald Balloch, contrary to all expectations, disappeared from the arena of clan strife in the most mysterious manner. The only references we can find to Donald Balloch himself betoken a time of peace. In his position as principal councillor of the Earl of Ross, he witnessed a charter by that Chief to his brother, Celestine of Lochalsh, dated at Aviemore on the 25th of April, 1467. Again, on the 28th of June, 1469, he witnessed at Aros a charter by the Earl to his brother, Hugh of Sleat. In the absence of any reference in the Scottish Records of the time to the contrary, there is reason to believe that Donald Balloch was now on his good behaviour, so far as his relations to the Government were concerned.

¹ Privy Seals (Tower) Edward IV.

There are not wanting, indeed, faint indications of loyalty to the Scottish throne itself, and Gregory would have it that the honour of knighthood was conferred on the Lord of Dunnyveg. It is true that in a deed by Donald Balloch, dated at Irvine, in Ayrshire, on the 8th of October, 1475, he styles himself *Donaldus de Insulis de Glenys et de Dunna-wak miles ac primus et principalis conciliarius magnifici et potentis Domini Johannis Comitis Rossie ac Domini Insularum*. But several instances could be given, from deeds to which we had access, of the distinction of *miles* being added to the names of men on whom the honour of knighthood had never been conferred. Stronger proof than this single deed affords is needed before we can believe that the honour of knighthood was conferred on one whose relations to the Scottish throne were, to say the least, always doubtful. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a time when Donald Balloch was loyal enough to receive so conspicuous a mark of royal favour. Whatever the exact relations between him and the Scottish Government may have been during the decade prior to 1475, there is no doubt whatever that towards the end of that year they were strained in the highest degree, and what seemed an impassable gulf was fixed between him and those in power. It was then that the compact between the Earl of Ross and the King of England, as embodied in the Treaty of Ardhornish, to which, as has been already seen, both Donald Balloch and his son, John, were parties, came under the cognizance of the Scottish Government. In the indictment brought against the Earl of Ross, the offences of Donald Balloch were also included. His depredations in Bute and Arran, and his siege of Rothesay Castle, were charged against

the Earl. No separate process seems to have been instituted against Donald himself, the chief, no doubt, being held responsible for the treasonable conduct of his clansman. The Earl of Ross, appearing before Parliament in July, 1476, was pardoned for all his past transgressions, and restored to all the honours and dignities of his House. The Lord of Dunnyveg must have come under the same act of grace, for instead of cultivating the seclusion of the Glens of Antrim, we find him in Isla shortly after the restoration of his chief. On the 20th of August, 1476, he witnessed there a charter by the Lord of the Isles of the lands of Grenane, in Ayr, to John Davidson. Donald Balloch and his family had much reason to congratulate themselves on the good escape they made at this critical time in the history of the Clan Donald. The lenient course pursued by the Government is, in all respects, worthy of commendation, and such as one so deeply involved as Donald Balloch could never in his wildest dreams have hoped for. It has been hinted that his lands in Kintyre, held of the Lord of the Isles and resigned by that chief, were retained in the King's hand; but for this there is no ground. Notwithstanding the treasonable conduct brought to light by the Treaty of Ardstornish, the Family of Dunnyveg suffered no change in point of territorial *prestige*. As for the bold Lord of Dunnyveg himself, his sandglass was now well nigh all run out, and he was soon called upon to render his account before a tribunal from whose unerring decision there is no appeal. He apparently never left his native Isla again, dying there, on a little island in Loch Gruinard, in the end of the year 1476, at an

advanced age.¹ In him died the foremost Clan Donald warrior of his time.

Of John, the son and successor of Donald Balloch, little is known beyond the genealogies of the clan. He was a party, as we have seen, to the Treaty of Ardrathornish, but he is not heard of again for many years. There is every reason to suppose that he resided for the most part on the family property of the Glens in Antrim. The only reference to him on record which we can find seems to point to a closer connection with the Glens than with the family territory in Scotland. In 1481, he is found, in the fashion of a provincial sovereign, surrounded by his Irish Council, in imitation of the Island polity. In June of that year, a commission under the sign manual of the King of England was granted to Patrick Halyburton, the King's Chaplain, Henry Pole, Captain of the Fleet, and John Bayn, Mayor of Carrickfergus, to conclude an alliance with the King's cousin, John of the Isles, Lord of the Glens, and his Council.² The agreement arrived at between the parties was afterwards delivered for confirmation at Westminster. In the revolt which followed the surrender of the Earldom of Ross by John of Isla, the Clan Iain Mhoir took no part, though no doubt they shared the resentment manifested by the Clan Donald generally at that time. Their energies appear to have been devoted entirely to the affairs of their Irish territory. In no other way can the disappearance from the scene of clan warfare of such men as John of Dunnyveg, and his son, John Cathanach, be accounted for during the

¹ Hugh Macdonald's MS. MacVuirich MS. Hawkins' and other Genealogies in British Museum.

² State Papers in Tower of London.

campaigns of Angus Og and Alexander of Lochalsh. The upheaval caused by the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1493, however, brought the Clan Iain Mhoir again into prominence in Argyle. Holding their lands of the Island Lord, it behoved them at so critical a time to be in evidence. When King James visited the West Highlands immediately after the fall of the Island Lordship, John of Dunnyveg was among the first to render him homage. The King, besides confirming him in all his old possessions under the Lord of the Isles, conferred the honour of Knighthood on the son of Donald Balloch. James, in his conciliatory mood, wishes to let bygones be bygones, but on account of the opposition to his policy of the Argyleshire chiefs, he found it necessary to place strong garrisons in the castles of Tarbert, Dunaverty, and others. The garrisoning of Dunaverty especially, and the putting of the district of Kintyre under military discipline, seems to have given great offence to the newly-dubbed Knight of Dunnyveg.

The story of the revolt of the Clan Iain Mhoir has already been told in the first volume of this work.¹ It may suffice for the present purpose if the bare outlines of it be given. Before the King had yet left Kintyre, Sir John of Dunnyveg, his son, John Cathanach, and other leaders of the Clan Iain Mhoir, stormed Dunaverty, dislodged the Lowland garrison, and hanged the governor. On his return to Edinburgh, the King took steps immediately to bring Sir John to task. He was declared traitor, and a messenger was sent to Kintyre to summon him for his treason. The rebel knight found it convenient to ignore the summons, and betook himself to Isla as a

¹ Clan Donald, vol. I., page 284, *et seq.*

safer retreat. Here, indeed, he might have defied the King's efforts to reach him but for the treacherous conduct of his own clansman, John MacIan of Ardnamurchan. In the guise of friendship, MacIan apprehended "Sir John of the Isles and Glens, John Cathanach, his son, and their accomplices," and brought them to Edinburgh. After a summary trial, Sir John of Dunnyveg and his son, John Cathanach, were convicted, and hanged on the Boroughmuir. According to Hugh Macdonald and MacVuirich, several sons of John Cathanach were executed at the same time for being art and part in the affair at Dunaverty. Alexander and Angus, known as *Aonghas Ilach*, and any other son of John Cathanach that may have survived, fled to Ireland. Alexander, who succeeded as head of the House of Dunnyveg, did not venture to appear again in Scotland during the reign of James IV.¹ In the interval of well nigh twenty years, during which he remained in Ireland, he was not only able to hold his own against the neighbouring tribes, the O'Neills, and others, but he, besides, increased his hereditary property in that country by the acquisition of the neighbouring territory of the Route. He had been followed to the Antrim Glens by a considerable number of men from the smaller septs of Argyle, such as the Macdonalds of Largie, of his own clan, the MacAlisters, MacNeills, Mackays, and MacEacherns. Alexander needed all the help he could get. He had to contend, not only against Irish and English invasions of his territory, but also against his enemies in Argyle. His bitterest foes were those of his own kith and kin. MacIan of Ardnamurchan, the instrument of

¹ State Papers, volume II., page 136.

Sir John of Dunnyveg's death, received as his reward a grant of many of the lands forfeited by that chieftain. He was determined to strengthen his claim by the utter extirpation of the old family.¹ To accomplish his purpose, he dispatched a body of men to the Glens, under two of his sons, Donald and Somerled, with instructions to apprehend and put to death Alexander and his brother Angus, sons of John Cathanach. Hugh Macdonald gives the following version of the story of the invasion of the Antrim Glens by the MacIans of Ardnamurchan :—

“When they (the MacIans) landed, Alexander (the son of John Cathanach) was at Glensheich with 140 men, and, seeing them land, thought it best to encounter them without delay; so immediately he led on to the attack. When MacIan's sons saw him and his men advance, they asked their own men (seeing Alexander's party so small) whether they believed he had a mind to fight. The men answered in the affirmative, and the Smith of Islay said that, few as they were in number, they would be a venomous thorn in their side that day, and that he, for his own part, would rather be on their side than on that of the MacIans. MacIan said it was much better for them to want any man who thought so at heart than have him in their company. The Smith, singling himself from the rest, asked if any other that pleased to follow him should be hindered. MacIan said they would not. Upon this 50 men more separated themselves from the company, and, following the Smith, made straight for Alexander. The attack immediately commenced on both sides. The MacIans were routed, the most of whom, with MacIan's two sons, were killed. That very night Alexander took the enemy's boats, with which he had transported over his own men to Isla, and went, accompanied by one man, for intelligence; and, falling in with Macniven, the Constable of Dunivaig, who, not knowing Alexander, asked him whence he came. Alexander answered from Ireland. Macniven enquired of him if he knew what was become of that unfortunate man, Alexander MacJohn Cathanach since the MacIans went to Ireland, and whether he was alive or not. Alexander answered that he was alive, and asked what was

¹ Hugh Macdonald's MS. (unpublished).

his concern for that man. Macniven told him he was Constable of Dunivaig, and would deliver up the Castle to him, and likewise that John Brayach (Maclan of Ardnamurchan) was in the Inch of Lochguirm. Without loss of time Alexander surprises the Castle of Dunivaig and goes straight forward to Lochguirm, where he besieges Maclan in the Island, who at length surrenders on condition that he should give up Islay and quit all his rights thereof to Alexander, and that Alexander should marry John Brayach's daughter. This being agreed to, John Brayach left Islay, and Alexander married his daughter. Once Alexander was possessed of Islay, it was impossible for Glencairn to retain possession of Kintyre."

Whether Alexander of Dunnyveg returned to his native Isla in the manner detailed in the foregoing narrative is a matter on which it is not necessary to dogmatise. It is certain that when the cause of his banishment was removed by the death of King James on the field of Flodden, he hastened across the channel and naturally assumed the position to which he was entitled as head of one of the most powerful families in Argyle. The King's death brought about a sudden change in the relations between the Celtic population and the Executive Government, and the kingdom, both Highland and Lowland, was thrown into a state of confusion. The favourable opportunity was not lost on the Knight of Lochalsh. The old claim of his family was revived, and Sir Donald was proclaimed Lord of the Isles with all the ceremonies. Many of the old vassals of the Island Lordship hastened to his standard, and among the first to support his claim was Alexander of Dunnyveg, with his clan and followers. To the Earl of Argyle, with Maclan of Ardnamurchan as lieutenant, was committed the task of suppressing the insurrection, but little success attended their efforts, and the Government

resolved to try diplomacy. A commission was given to MacIan to treat with the rebels, with the view of prevailing upon them to submit to the Regent's authority, but such was the measure of Alexander of Dunnyveg's guilt, that he was specially excepted. Soon afterwards, however, Alexander and several of his friends received a special protection from the Regent, apparently at the suit of MacIan, and Sir Donald of Lochalsh being obliged to submit, the Island commotion subsided.¹

The Earl of Argyle, "ane puyr baron of the realme," now came forward and demanded of the Lords of Council something like regal power over life and property in the Isles. The Council granted him a commission of lieutenandry for three years, with very limited powers. Among other instructions, the Earl was counselled "to ressave all men of the Ilis that will be trew liegis to the Kingis Grace and will keip gude reule in tyme cumying," except the Clan Donald. The Earl, further, is to demand pledges of good conduct from "Sir Johnne of the Ilis barnis . . . and gif the foirsaidis personis, sonis to Johnne of the Ilis, will gif sufficient plegis for geude reule, than and in that cace, becaus thai have na heretage the Lordis counsalis my Lord Governour for pitie to gif thaim sum support sic as was given be the Kingis Grace to Angus of the Ilis."² Alexander of Dunnyveg, who was responsible for the rest of "Sir Johnne of the Ilis barnis," took his own time to consider the proposals of the Lords of Council, and the convenient hour had not yet arrived. Before a year had elapsed, Sir Donald of Lochalsh broke out again into open rebellion, and, still nourishing his deadly feud against MacIan of

¹ Privy Seal.² Acta Dom. Concilii.

Arduamurchan, seized his Castle of Mingarry, and wasted his lands with fire and sword. In these stormy proceedings he had the hearty co-operation of the Lord of Dunnyveg, who also owed a debt to his kinsman of Arduamurchan. While steps were being taken to suppress the rebellion, Sir Donald of Lochalsh died suddenly at Cairnburgh, in Mull, but not, however, until he and Alexander of Dunnyveg had well nigh exterminated the whole race of John Sprangach. Alexander found it now convenient to consider seriously the proposals of the Lords of Council, already referred to, and he was obliged to accept such terms as in the altered circumstances were offered to him. What the precise nature of these was we have no means of knowing, but that extraordinary leniency was shown in dealing with him is quite evident from his subsequent peaceable attitude. The family heritage in Kintyre and Isla, of which they were deprived by James IV., was now restored to the Family of Dunnyveg; and it appears that, at the same time, other lands of the Lordship of the Isles, which remained in the Crown since 1493, were bestowed upon Alexander by the Regent, but on condition that the Clan Iain Mhoir “keip guid reule and mak na extorsioun on the Kingis liegis, gevand plegis sufficient.”¹

Many of the lands of the Island Lordship had not yet been disposed of, though greatly coveted by more than one grasping family in Argyle, and the comparative quietness which now prevailed favoured their designs. The Earl of Argyle and others of the Clan Campbell, who had great expectations, insured against disappointment by entering into bonds of friendship with several of the neighbouring chiefs.

¹ Acta Dom. Concilii.

Alexander of Dunnyveg was one of those who were not unwilling to enter into friendly alliance with the Campbells on favourable terms, and with certain safeguards. In entering into a bond of manrent with Sir John Campbell of Calder, Alexander was fully alive to the gravity of the situation, and was not by any means playing into the hands of his enemies. "At Glenan in the Taraf," on the 6th of May, 1520, "Alexander Konnel de Dunoveg," with his hand on the pen, promised that he would be to Sir John Campbell of Calder "a cuming man and servand hym self and all the brance of the Clan Donyll that he is cumying of." For the services to be rendered by him Alexander is to receive a lease for five years of 45 merklands in Isla, the 15 merklands of Jura, and the Island of Colonsay.¹ What title Calder himself had to these lands is not very apparent. Before the expiry of the lease, however, Sir John Campbell broke his part of the bargain by wasting the lands of Colonsay without, so far as can be ascertained, any provocation on the part of Alexander of Dunnyveg. Calder's motive is difficult to determine, but his conduct had the effect at least of putting an end to the hollow friendship between himself and Alexander of Dunnyveg. Now began the tug-of-war between Alexander and the Campbells. The numerous bonds of manrent by means of which the Campbells sought to extend their territorial prestige had, as it turned out, the opposite effect. The cloven foot was seen, and the Western Clans swore eternal enmity against the race of Diarmid.

This was their attitude when, in 1528, the King, who was still a minor, escaped from his captivity

¹ Thaness of Cawdor.

and took the reigns of Government into his own hands. A complete change in the policy of the Government was the result. The various grants of Crown lands bestowed upon the Western Chiefs during the Regent's tenure of office were revoked. This was the signal for an instant outbreak amongst the clans of the West Highlands and Islands. Alexander of Dunnyveg was one of those individuals whom the Regent had endeavoured to attach to his party by bestowing upon them large tracts out of those lands of the Lordship of the Isles which remained in the Crown. How far the inauguration of the new policy and the reversal of the old were directed by the Earl of Argyle will be at once seen. The clans were up in arms already against the Campbells, and the Earl fell back on the familiar trick of turning the attack away from himself, and pitting them against the Government. The Government had often been misled in this way, and made to fight the battles of the Campbells, but the clans themselves had never any doubt against whom they were fighting. It was well understood by Alexander of Dunnyveg by whom the policy of the Government was inspired, and he accordingly directed his energies against the Campbells. The fiery cross was sent round, and in a short time the whole strength of the Clan Donald south and their followers rallied round the standard of the Lord of Dunnyveg. The Macleans, who were also eager to engage against the Campbells, joined the Macdonalds, and the combined clans burst forth with great fury on the lands of the Earl of Argyle. The districts of Roseneath, Lennox, and Craignish were wasted without mercy by the infuriated clansmen.

So hard pressed were the Campbells, that in the autumn of 1529 the Earl of Argyle was obliged to appeal for help to the Government. But the Lords of Council were not in the humour to comply with the Earl's large demands. Instead of the large reinforcements from the shires of Renfrew and Dumbarton, and the bailiaries of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, demanded by Sir John Campbell of Calder on behalf of his brother, the Council sent the Earl a cannon, two falconets, and three barrels of gunpowder. The Lords of Council being suspicious that the Earl's proceedings rather retarded than accelerated the suppression of the disturbances, thought it expedient to send an officer of arms of the name of Robert Hart to charge Alexander of Dunnyveg to desist from all convocations and gatherings for the invasion of the lieges, and to give his obedience to the King and his lieutenant, under the pain of treason. "Gif the said Allestar plesis to cum to the Kingis Graice to gif him assuurance to pas and repas with ane certane nomer he beand content to gif plegis of Lawland men keping of gude reule and till obey the King and pay him his malis and dewiteis of sic landis as his Graice sall gif to the said Allestar."¹ For some cause not easily determined, the mission of the herald of "Wisdom and discretioun" to Alexander of Dunnyveg failed utterly in its object, whereupon the Lords of Council resolved to send the Earl of Argyle forthwith to the Isles to pursue Alexander for his disobedience.² This resolution, however, was not carried out immediately, owing probably to the magnitude of the preparations necessary for a thorough "danting of the Isles," for Alexander of Dunnyveg was not the only offending Islesman.

¹ Acta Dom. Concilii.² Ibid.

The plan of campaign in the Highlands was at length completed, and in the Spring of 1530 the fighting men of the South were called out to meet the King at Ayr, while the men of Carrick, Kyle, Cunningham, Renfrew, Dumbartonshire, Balquhiddel, Breadalbane, Rannoch, Apuadill, Athole, Monteith, Bute, and Arran, were summoned to join Argyle at such a meeting-place as he might appoint. The King at the same time being still hopeful of a peaceful solution of the Island difficulty, offered protection to such chiefs as would repair to the royal presence "to commune with his majesty upon good rule in the Isles." His conciliatory policy so far proved effectual that nine of the Island Chiefs sent in offers of submission, but Alexander of Dunnyveg, the greatest rebel of them all, still held out. Meanwhile, owing to the death of the Earl of Argyle, and other causes, proceedings against the Islanders were suspended, but in the early months of 1531 they were renewed with great energy. The new Earl of Argyle, who had succeeded his father in all his offices, appeared before the Lords of the Council, and demanded large powers to enable him to reduce the Islesmen to obedience. These were readily granted to the Earl, and the King resolved to lead the expedition to the Isles in person. All these elaborate preparations, which were meant to frighten the Islesmen into submission, came to nought. Argyle never came to grips with Alexander of Dunnyveg, and the Lords of Council were obliged to have recourse to diplomacy. At a meeting of Parliament held on the 28th of April, 1531, Alexander and others of the Clan Donald were cited to the royal presence, but, not appearing, the summons was continued to the 26th of May following. In

the interval friendly negotiations were opened up between the King and Alexander. The King was disposed to deal generously with him, and as a guarantee of good faith a respite was passed in his favour, with thirty of his followers, to come to the King's presence. Alexander accordingly proceeded to Stirling, where the King then held Court, and on the 7th of June he received His Majesty's pardon. An Act of Council was passed in his favour bearing that because he had come to Court and offered his service to the King in the most humble manner, therefore, the King, with advice of his Council, confirmed a lease formerly made to him under the Privy Seal by the Regent Albany of Crown lands in Kintyre and the Isles. This favour was granted to Alexander in anticipation of his future good service "in eschewing of trouble and in quietation of the Kingis lieges and heirschip of the cuntrie;" in assisting the King's Chamberlain to collect the Crown rents in the Isles and in Kintyre; and in prevailing upon the other chiefs to submit themselves to the King, and find surety for the regular payment of the Crown rents. Alexander was likewise bound to set at liberty all prisoners taken by him from the Earl of Argyle and others, and to support the churchmen in their freedom and privileges, and in the collecting of their rents.¹ Alexander at the same time received a gift of £100 from the King,² along with a remission for all crimes committed in the course of his rebellion.³ To ensure his fidelity, his eldest son, James, was placed as a hostage in the King's hands. The young heir of Dunnyveg remained at Court for several years, and

¹ Acta Dom. Concilii.

² Compota Thesaur. Scotiæ ad annum.

³ Privy Seal.

by the King's express wish received a liberal education under Dean Henderson of Holyrood, the effects of which were apparent in after years.

The submission of Alexander of Dunnyveg was, as we have seen, made directly to the King, and not through the medium of the Earl of Argyle, the hereditary Lieutenant of the Isles. This and the favours conferred upon him by His Majesty excited great jealousy in the mind of the Earl, who foresaw a great diminution of the power of his family if the Islesmen should be led in future to follow the example given them by Alexander of Dunnyveg. He saw plainly, too, that the King was disposed to encourage the Highlanders as much as possible to communicate frequently and openly with himself, and that the generous disposition of James, joined to his great popularity, made it highly probable that the chiefs would readily meet that monarch's wishes. It became, therefore, Argyle's principal object so to manage matters as that the King, despairing of success, would be glad again to make use of the Earl as the most proper person to reduce the rebellious Islesmen to obedience. The Earl lost no time in bringing an accusation against Alexander of Dunnyveg, and a long catalogue of crimes, alleged as committed for the most part against the Clan Campbell, was laid to his charge. The Earl's complaint being duly laid before the Council, Alexander of Dunnyveg was summoned to answer the charges preferred against him. He unhesitatingly answered the summons, and, though he waited for thirteen days in Edinburgh in the hope of meeting his accuser face to face, that individual failed to put in an appearance. Alexander then submitted to the Council a written statement, in which he not

only vindicated his own character, but proved to the satisfaction of the Council that the Earl's conduct towards him was actuated by malice. He assured the Council that since the coming in of his "sympilnes" to His Majesty at Stirling, he had obeyed the King's commands in all respects. He offered to raise, should the King command him, a larger force for His Majesty's service than Argyle, with all his influence, could bring into the field. And should the Earl continue to pursue his evil courses, and at any time resist the King's authority, the Lord of Dunnyveg would then compel him "to duell in ane uthir parte of Scotland nor in Ergile, quhair the Kingis Grace may gett ressoun of him." He lays all the recent disturbances in the Isles to the charge of the late Earl of Argyle, and his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder and Archibald Bane of Skipnish. "And mairattour," Alexander concludes, "quhat the Kingis Grace and your Lordschipis will command me to do for his hienes honour and wele of his realme the same salbe done with all diligence of my powar without ony dissimulation." The King was very favourably impressed with the appearance made by the Lord of Dunnyveg, and, being fully convinced of his honest intentions, and of the truth of his statements, he caused Argyle to be summoned forthwith before the Council to answer for himself. After a searching inquiry into the Earl's conduct, including his intromissions with the royal revenues in the Isles, he was convicted, deprived of all his offices, and thrown into prison. The tables were completely turned, and many of the offices formerly held by the Earl were bestowed on Alexander of Dunnyveg, who now rose high in the royal favour. From this time, till his death, Alexander kept up

a constant correspondence with the King.¹ He received from His Majesty on more than one occasion presents of bows and arrows, in order, doubtless, to encourage archery among the Highlanders, which was always a favourite object with the House of Stuart.² Alexander was as good as his promise to the King. In 1532, he raised a body of 7000 men, with whom he crossed to Ireland, and, being no doubt largely reinforced from his own territory of the Antrim Glens, he drove the English from Ulster. Alexander's object was perhaps twofold. He apparently in the first place sought to divert the attention of England from the Scottish war in which she was then engaged; while, on the other hand, there was a strong temptation to enrich himself by adding to his territorial possessions in Ireland. Northumberland, writing to Henry VIII. on the 3rd of September, 1532, informs the King that Makayn had gone over to Ireland with 7000 men, most of whom were foot soldiers, and that they had done much mischief. "The Kyng of Scottes," he goes on, "hath plucked from the Erle of Argyle, and from his heires for ever, the rule of all the out iles, and gyven the same to Mackayn and his heires for ever; and also hath in like case taken from the Erle of Crafford suche lands as he had ther, and gyven the same to the said Mackayne, the which hath ingendered a greate hatred in the said Erles harte against the said Scottes King."³ Alexander of Dunnyveg appears to have spent most of his time during the remainder of his life in Ireland, but not evidently in peace. The ongoing of the Clan Iain Mhoir in Ulster are the constant

¹ *Vide* High Treasurer's Accounts.

² *Ibid.* *Archæologia Scotica.*

³ State Papers.

theme of English correspondents in Ireland. In a communication from Ulster in 1533, the writer refers to them in these terms :—"The Scottes also inhabithe now buysselley a greate parte of Ulster, which is the Kingis inheritance ; and it is greatlie to be feared, oonles that in short tyme they be dryven from the same, that they bringinge in more nombre daily woll, by lyttle and lyttle so far eneroche in acquyringe and wynninge the possessions there, with the aide of the Kingis disobeyasant Irishe rebelles, who doo nowe ayde theym therein after soche maner, that at lengthe they will put and expel the King from his whole seignory there."¹ There seems to be some confusion between Alexander of Dunnyveg and his son Alister Carrach in the State Papers of this period. But there can be no doubt that the Lord of Dunnyveg himself is the person referred to in a letter, dated 1538, from Archbishop Allen to the English Council. "He" (the Scottish King), the Archbishop writes, "hath alsoe this yeare twice sent for Alexander Carragh, Capetyne of the Scottes of this lande who hath gone thider, and by his retorne it is perceyvid what busynes he had ther ; but oonlie it appereth hee was well enterteyned in the Courte of Scotland, though of truth there was no amitie but mortalitie between them, the King of Skottes and his antecessors having killed and put to death the said Alexander's fader, grandfader, and grete-grandfader, and exiled himself out of the Isles wherebye he was compelled to inhabite here."² The visit paid by Alexander to King James on the occasion referred to appears to have been his last. MacVuirich records, without giving the year, that while Alexander was on a

¹ State Papers.² Ibidem.

visit to the King at Stirling he died there, and was buried in the High Church of the town—*Teampull mòr a bhaile*.¹ The most remarkable thing to be noticed in the later career of Alexander of Dunnyveg is his loyalty to the Scottish throne, which undoubtedly was owing in a large measure to the generous nature of the Scottish monarch himself. A close intimacy seems to have sprung up between them, as is evident from the frequent visits of Alexander to the Scottish Court and the constant correspondence kept up between them. From the letter of Archbishop Allen, already quoted, and the fact that his son James appeared at the head of the family in 1539, there appears to be no doubt that Alexander of Dunnyveg died in 1538.

Alexander was succeeded as head of the Family of Dunnyveg and the Glens by his son, James. The young chieftain, as we have seen, was kept as a hostage at the Scottish Court by the King on the submission of his father in 1531. The King had in view, besides a guarantee of the good conduct of Alexander, the training of the future chieftain. The expenses of James's wardrobe are frequently referred to in the High Treasurer's Accounts. On completing his education at the Scottish Court, James Macdonald entered the King's service, as appears from a warrant by James V. to the Justice Clerk anent disturbances in Kintyre.² While still in the King's household he, in July, 1539, as Chief of the Clan Donald South, was obliged to become surety for certain of his clansmen who had got into trouble in Argyle, "thai nocht having lawland men to be souertie for them." Alexander MacAlister of

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¹ Unpublished MS. History by MacVuirich.

² Loose Papers among the Records of the Court of Justiciary.

Loup, and John and Archibald Macdonald of the Largie family, had been put to the horn for the slaughter of certain MacNeills in Gigha, while Donald Balloch MacNeill and his accomplices are accused of slaughtering certain followers of James Macdonald, and notably "Fynlaw Carrowe Mak-Dowsleiy and his sone the crepill with ane fut."¹

It appears that in the course of the following year, after the trouble with the men of Gigha, James Macdonald had left the King's service and assumed his hereditary position as Chief of the Clan Iain Mhoir. On the return of James V. from his chief-hunting expedition to the Isles in 1540, James Macdonald came to meet the King in Kintyre.² Notwithstanding the friendship between them, James was obliged to give his brother, Coll, as a hostage to the King.³ Coll was sent in the first instance to Craigmillar, and afterwards to Edinburgh Castle.⁴

James Macdonald succeeded to a great heritage, both in Scotland and in Ireland, and his influence with the other chiefs of the Isles, if exercised on the side of law and order, would undoubtedly have prevented many of the troubles which were then looming on the horizon.⁵ But James's loyalty, though educated at the Scottish Court, was already on the wane, and when Donald Dubh raised the standard of rebellion, he held aloof more from

¹ Loose Papers among the Records of the Court of Justiciary.

² Lesley's History of Scotland.

³ High Treasurer's Accounts.

⁴ "Item given to Coll Canoch at my lord governors command at his passing to Cragmelor to mak his expensis vi. li xii. s. Item gevin to David Kincaid Constabill of ye Castell of Edinburgh for expensis furnisht be him to Coill Canoch and ye persuandis being in ward in ye said Castill be ye space of three months."—High Treasurer's Accounts.

⁵ See Rental of Kintyre and Isla in Appendix.

reasons of selfish policy than from a desire to oppose that chieftain's pretensions. The presence of his brother, Angus, in the rebel camp is a fair indication of the secret leanings of his chief. From his extensive possessions in the North of Ireland, to which the scene of the Island drama was finally shifted, he could if he wished have been of great service to either party, and he merely held the balance between them. The death of the King in 1542, which brought about many changes, had no doubt much to do with James's attitude. Efforts, however, were not wanting on the part of the Regent Arran to win the support of the young chief and to keep his loyalty warm. In July, 1544, Arran was in communication with "James Kennochsoun in the Isles." In April, 1545, the Regent richly rewarded him for the services he was supposed to have rendered during the progress of the rebellion of the Islesmen, though in reality he had done no more than remain neutral. In name of the infant Queen Mary, and for his good, faithful, and free service rendered to her during her minority, and especially in resisting the "auld enemies of Ingland," the Regent bestowed on James Macdonald a grant in heritage of the lands he and his father formerly held on lease from the Crown, and of nearly all that had ever belonged to his family. These lands were united into a barony, to be called the Barony of Bar, in North Kintyre.

These favours notwithstanding, whenever the opportunity arose James Macdonald showed the value of his attachment to the Scottish interest, and the price at which it was to be estimated. Donald Dubh died at Drogheda in the end of the year 1545, and the Islanders immediately set about to select a leader in his room, when their choice fell

on James of Dunnyveg. It was said that Donald Dubh himself had chosen James, and recommended him as his legitimate successor in his assumed dignities.¹ The Island vassals, however, who had now begun to waver in their adherence to the English interest, were not all unanimous in favour of the Lord of Dunnyveg. James, nothing daunted, accepted the situation with alacrity, and sent letters to the Privy Council of Ireland intimating his election as Lord of the Isles. James, at the same time, despatched a messenger to the King of England with a letter, in which he descants largely on the measure of support he expects to receive in the Highlands and Islands.² Meeting with no response at the hands of Henry VIII., whose convenience it then suited to play a different card, and the Islesmen being divided among themselves, James of Dunnyveg dropped his claim, and returned to his allegiance to the Scottish throne.

Soon after the granting of the royal charter to James Macdonald, to which reference has been made, disputes arose between himself and the Earl of Argyle relative to their respective possessions. Both parties appeared before the Regent and Council at Ardrossan, and exchanged assurances of indemnity, after which their quarrel seems to have been adjusted, and, to complete the reconciliation, the Lady Agnes Campbell was given in marriage to the Lord of Dunnyveg.³ To cement the tie between the families yet more firmly, James received from Argyle a grant of the four score merklands of Ardnamurchan, to be held by him under the Earl and his successors, on which seisin followed immediately thereafter.

¹ Tytler's History of Scotland.

² Clan Donald, Vol. I., 388.

³ P.C. Records.

James, however, paid a price for these lands (the superiority of which Argyle had acquired by the resignation of Mariot MacIan), amounting to 1000 merks, which, no doubt, was considerably under their real value.

James and his brothers now became deeply involved in Irish politics, while they at the same time identified themselves with the French interest in Scotland and the intrigues of the Queen-mother. Certain French noblemen, guided by Angus Uaibhreach, James Macdonald's brother, found their way to Ireland with letters from the French King, and bestowed many gifts on the Lord of the Glens on gaining his alliance.¹ The extensive territories of the family in Ulster had been for years the scene of hostile conflict with the neighbouring tribes on the one hand and the English invaders on the other. The conflict was carried on with great vigour by the Macdonalds, and, though they had met with several reverses, they succeeded, in 1551, in establishing their hold over the whole territory of the Glens and the Route. But they were not satisfied with merely holding their own. They carried the war into the enemy's camp, drove the O'Neills from Clannaboy, and banished out of that country their own cousins, Alasdair Carrach's sons, who were on the side of the English. From the conquered territory the Macdonalds carried away immense spoil, with which for safety they betook themselves to the Island of Rathlin, on the Antrim Coast. These proceedings were closely watched by the English authorities in Dublin, and the Lord Deputy, Sir James Crofts, lost no time in fitting out a formidable armament wherewith to attack the Macdonalds in their island

¹ Irish State Papers.

stronghold. At the head of a fleet of four large ships, he appeared in the North Channel, and forthwith landed his army in Rathlin. A fierce struggle ensued between the invaders and the Macdonald host, and the former were defeated with great slaughter.¹ Two of the English leaders, Bagnall and Cuffe, were taken prisoners by the Macdonalds, but they were afterwards exchanged for Sorley Buy Macdonald, James's brother, who had fallen into the hands of the English, and had been detained a prisoner for a year in Dublin Castle. Sorley Buy exercised his liberty by driving the English from Carrickfergus, and taking the Constable of the Castle prisoner, while James Macdonald, leaving the management of his Irish affairs, which were now in a satisfactory state, in the hands of his brothers, Coll and Sorley Buy, crossed the Channel, and took up his residence at Saddel Castle, in Kintyre.

James's conduct in Ireland had commended itself highly to the Scottish Government, and he was now in great favour at Court. For "faithful and free service" done to the Queen, James Macdonald, in April, 1544, received from Mary a charter of the twenty pound lands of Gigha, 16 marklands in Kintyre, 5 marklands in Islay, and 8 marklands in Knapdale, all of which had been sold to James by Neil MacNeill of Gighay.² The acquisition of these lands led to a dispute with some of the neighbouring Macleans, who pretended rights to some of them, but it was settled in favour of James Macdonald.³ Early in 1551, a pursuivant was sent from Edin-

¹ Annals of the Four Masters.

² Reg. of Great Seal. Argyle Papers.

³ General Register of Deeds, III., 210.

burgh with "cloiss writingis" to James, containing State secrets, with reference probably to affairs in Ireland, which the Scottish Government watched with more than ordinary interest.¹ James, at all events, immediately on receipt of the "cloiss writingis" took his departure for Ireland. The situation in Ulster was critical. Ever since the release of Sorley Buy from prison in 1551, he and his brother, Coll, had not ceased fighting for the heritage of the Clan Iain Mhoir in Ulster. Between the English garrison on the one hand, and the native tribes on the other, the efforts of the heroic clansmen were taxed to the utmost. On the arrival of James in Ireland, he threw himself into the conflict with great energy, appointed his brother Coll Lord of the Route, and in 1556 established his authority over that territory, in spite of the best efforts of the Macquillans and the English garrison.

On the 12th of May, 1556, James Macdonald is in Edinburgh, where he and the Earl of Arran enter into a mutual agreement respecting lands claimed by both in Kintyre and Arran. The Earl on his part promises to infest James in the lands of Saddel with the Castle, which Arran held of his brother, the Bishop of Argyle, in feu farm. With respect to the Castle, the Earl made it a stipulation that James "ressave us and our airis as maisteris, sa oft as we being thair in proper persoun sall requyre the samyn." James on his part agreed to yield to the Earl any right he in reality had or pretended to have to the lands of Ceskane, and the baliary of other ten pennylands, in the Island of Arran.² It is worthy of notice in this unequal

¹ High Treasurer's Accounts.

² General Register of Deeds.

[illegible]

distribution of lands and privileges that the Castle of Saddel had been somehow lost to the Macdonald family not long prior to the contract here referred to, and that James Macdonald is to be permitted to occupy it under the Earl of Arran as "maister."

When the curtain rises again we find James Macdonald in Ireland. In 1557, Sussex made a formidable raid into Ulster against the Macdonalds. After ravaging the whole territory of the Route, the English raiders were at length met in mortal combat by James Macdonald, his brothers, Coll and Sorley, with a large following estimated at 7000 men, a considerable proportion of whom were French, and after a desperate struggle the English were defeated and driven out of the country. The broad banner of Macdonald once more waved triumphantly over the Route. In May of the following year, Coll Macdonald, whom his brother, James, had appointed Lord of the Route, died in the Castle of Kinbann. Coll had been a brave and distinguished leader of the Clan Donald in Ulster. He is referred to by Sussex as the best of all the Macdonalds in Ireland. James Macdonald offered the Lordship of the Route in succession to Alexander and Angus, his brothers, but they both declined it, and it was then offered to and accepted by Sorley Buy. The management of all the affairs of the Macdonald family in Ireland was now left in the hands of Sorley, than whom none of all the Macdonalds was fitter to discharge the trust reposed in him. James still remained in Ireland at the head of a large Scoto-French force. The followers of the Macdonald family had become so numerous in Ulster, and so troublesome to the English, that the Archbishop of Armagh, in his "Opinion touching Ireland, delivered in July, 1558,"

strongly urges the expulsion of the Clan Iain Mhoir by spurring the native Irish to unite against them. The Archbishop enlarges so much on the advantage of this measure that it is evident it was one both important and difficult.¹

Sussex's next move, having been driven from the Route, was to attack the Macdonalds in the Island of Rathlin. The islanders, being taken unawares, offered but little resistance, and Sussex, after wasting the little island from end to end, sailed to Kintyre. The Macdonalds of Kintyre not expecting such an invasion, James being still in Ireland, saw their country fall an easy prey to the ravages of Sussex, whose "endeavours" were nothing if not thorough. Sussex, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated October 6th, 1558, referring to his expedition, says:—"The same daye (Sep. 19.) I landed and burned eight myles of leynght, and therewith James McConelles chief howse called Soudell." "The wynde being contrarye to goo to Ila," Sussex sailed to Arran instead, which he wasted. He finally visited the Cumbræes, "and destroyed all there." A great storm having arisen, but not too soon, Sussex was obliged to sail back to Ireland. On hearing of the harrying of his lands of Kintyre, James Macdonald hurried across the channel with 600 men, but he was too late to offer any effective opposition to Sussex. It appears that the family writs preserved in Saddel Castle had perished in the burning of that house by Sussex. James Macdonald being still in great favour at the Scottish Court, received from Queen Mary, and Francis her husband, in token of their appreciation of his services against the English, a charter granting to him and

¹ Harleian MSS., British Museum.

his successors all the lands specified in the lost deeds, with the addition of the sixteen shillings and eight penny lands of Kilcallumkill, in Isla.¹ There appears to have been some mistake made in respect of the date of James's charter. The date given in the Register of the Great Seal is May 5th, 1558, whereas the Sussex raid to Kintyre took place in September, when James's writs were burnt, which rendered necessary the granting of the charter.

Every other effort to expel the Macdonalds from Ulster by force having failed, Sussex tried diplomacy. He knew that nothing was to be gained by setting the native tribes against them. That card had already been played without success. What he wished now was, if possible, to win over the Clan Donald to his side, and when by their help he had subjugated Ulster to the English yoke, their own expulsion would be all the more easily accomplished. With this object in view, he prevailed upon Queen Elizabeth to write to James Macdonald, strongly expressing her sense of his fidelity and the valuable services which he had rendered her. But while these negotiations were being carried on, James was reported to have "used very evil talk against the Queen," and to have declared that the Queen of Scotland was the rightful heir to the English throne. In fighting against Shane O'Neill, who was a formidable enemy of the English, James Macdonald had not rendered any services to Queen Elizabeth, and the conduct of Sussex had tended to make him anything but favourable to her cause. When war was declared between England and Shane, James and Sorley Buy resolved to stand aloof, and leave them to

¹ Register of the Great Seal.

settle their own quarrel. At the very time that Sussex was using all the arts of diplomacy to win the Macdonalds, the English authorities in Ireland were deeply exercised as to the means to be used for their expulsion from Ulster. While the wise men of Dublin were thus busily formulating what they called a "device for the government of Ireland," Sussex entered into an indenture with Sorley Buy. Sorley, acting in behalf of his brother, James, demanded a lease from the Queen of England, not only of the lands between the Inver and the Boyse, claimed as the inheritance of James, but also the Captainship of the Route. Sorley Buy, who offered to be his substitute in these lands, agreed to pay certain stipulated duties, with 24 horse, and 60 foot, to all hosts of the Lord-Lieutenant. Sussex on his part undertook to bring these demands and offers favourably under the Queen's notice.¹ This friendly agreement notwithstanding, the relations between James Macdonald and the English in Ireland do not appear to have been much improved. It appears that both parties weighed each other's professions, and took them for what they were worth. James's attitude at least was supposed to be meantime neutral, yet Queen Elizabeth, writing to Queen Mary in December, 1561, complains of the "barbarous outrages" of James Macdonald. He and his brother Sorley were represented as "devouring the country." There appears to be no sufficient ground for these charges. Another charge preferred by Elizabeth against James, to whom she refers as "one James MacOnell, sometyne named the Lorde of the Oute Isles," was that of detaining prisoners certain of her subjects

¹ Cotton MSS. British Museum.

[illegible]

James M. Conwell of
Sourabaya

whom he had taken at Rathlin. One of these, George Butsyde, "a poure gentyllman of Yugland," had been a prisoner with "my Lorde Jamys Maconell thes ten yere."¹ In his appeal to Randolphe, the English ambassador in Scotland, Butsyde assures him that his release may be effected for £100, or less. James Macdonald, writing from Kintyre, offers to let the "poure gentyllman of Yngland" go free for 120 crowns, and Randolphe's best horse, which offer was accepted. It is not stated who the other prisoners were, but, not long before this, Con, Earl of Tyrone, had appealed to Elizabeth to procure the liberation of Mary, his Countess, Con O'Neill, his son, and Barnaby, the son of the Baron of Dungannon, who had been kept prisoners by James Macdonald in Scotland.

If on unfriendly terms with the Queen of England, the relations between James Macdonald and the Scottish Government were most cordial. The services rendered by James in Ireland were entirely in defence of his own property there, but inasmuch as he had placed himself in opposition to the English interest, his conduct commended itself to the Scottish Government. There appears to have been a constant correspondence kept up between them, the purport of which, however, is not disclosed. In February, 1562, "ane boy passand of Edinburgh" is the bearer of "ane cloiss writting" from the Queen to James Macdonald.² In September of the same year, there is a Letter of Tack by Mary in favour of James of many lands in Kintyre and Isla.³ As further evidence of her regard, the Queen Regent bestowed upon him a gift

¹ Irish State Papers.

² High Treasurer's Account. ³ Privy Seal.

of the ward and marriage of Mary Macleod, the heiress of Dunvegan, in 1559.¹ The person of this young lady had come by accident or by force into the hands of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who was by no means disposed to give up his prize, but upon James Macdonald raising an action before the Lords of Session against him, he, in 1562, delivered the heiress into the hands of the Queen.² In the end, in place of marrying this rich heiress to one of his brothers, which was doubtless his original intention, James Macdonald transferred his claims to Argyle, by whom Mary Macleod was married to his kinsman, Campbell of Auchinbreck.

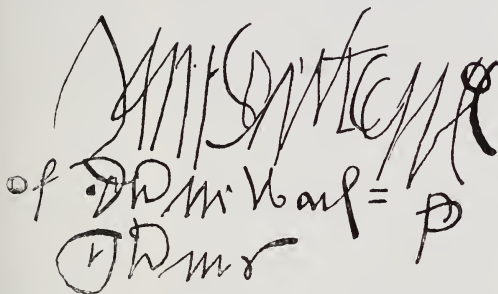
James Macdonald now became involved in a feud with Maclean of Dowart regarding the Rhinns of Isla, to which both claimed to have titles direct from the Crown. It appears that Maclean had been the aggressor. The quarrel between the chiefs rose to such a height that at length it was referred to the decision of the Privy Council. The Council pronounced in favour of James Macdonald in the absence of Maclean, who feigned sickness. It was suspected by the Council that the sickness of Maclean was feigned. The lands were occupied by the Macleans, but by the decision of the Council it was proved that they were held of James Macdonald for personal service, in the same manner as his lands were held by his other tenants. The dispute, however, was not settled by the Council's award, and from this cause flowed that deep-rooted hostility between the families which led eventually to the ruin of the Clan Donald South. Both Macdonald and Maclean were finally detained prisoners in Edinburgh, and were not allowed to depart until

¹ General Register of Deeds.

² P. C. Records.

they had found security for their future good behaviour, each in £10,000. Nothing further regarding this dispute appears in the records for many years.

While the dispute between James Macdonald and Maclean remained still unsettled, negotiations were carried on between the former and the English Government in Ireland, with the object of adjusting their unhappy differences. Elizabeth herself appeared desirous of being reconciled to the Lord



SIGNATURE OF JAMES OF DUNNYVEG.

of the Glens. An indenture was entered into between the parties, the purport of which was that James offered to serve the Queen against her enemies in Ireland, on condition of her confirming to him by patent all the lands to which he laid claim in the province of Ulster, while the Queen, on her part, accepting James's terms, went even further, and, through Pers, Constable of Knockfergus, flattered the Chief's vanity by proposing to make him "Lord of all the Isles."¹

¹ Irish State Papers.

The last transaction on Scottish soil in which we find James of Dunnyveg engaged prior to the final scene in his active life is an agreement between himself and Farquhar MacAlister of Skirhough, a brother of John Moidartach of Clanranald. At Glasgow, on the 13th of July, 1563, it was agreed between the parties that Farquhar MacAlister shall cause James Macdonald to be infefted in the lands of Kilfedder, Kerihellie, Askernish, Frobost, Kerveltois, Kildonan, and Upper and Lower Bornish, lying in South Uist. James Macdonald, on his part, agreed to pay to Farquhar for these lands the sum of 2000 merks Scots.¹ This transaction between the clansmen is worthy of record, if only to show the great extent to which the wide domains of the Lord of Dunnyveg had now extended. But Farquhar MacAlister had by far the better part of the bargain, for the Clanranald would permit no stranger to possess their ancient patrimony of Skirhough.

The final act in James Macdonald's life drama is now drawing near. The state of the political barometer in Ulster indicated a storm in that distracted province. Shane O'Neill, whose rebellious conduct had given so much trouble to the English authorities in Ireland, suddenly and unexpectedly gave in his submission, and was pardoned for all his past offences. Queen Elizabeth not only allowed Shane to use the tribal distinction of O'Neill, but signified her intention to create him Earl of Tyrone. Shane, who appears to have been a man of consummate ability and great resource, had an ulterior object in view in suddenly submitting to the English. It was neither less nor more than the Celtic sove-

¹ Records of Privy Council.

reignty of Ulster. Professing great gratitude for the honours bestowed upon him by Elizabeth, Shane represented to the authorities in Dublin that as the Macdonalds were the greatest traitors to the Queen's cause in Ireland, he was ready to expel them root and branch from Ulster. His offer, it is needless to say, was accepted by the Council in Dublin. Shane, after taking some time to mature his plans, finally took the field early in 1565. James Macdonald was in Kintyre, and Sorley Buy, who was on the spot, appears not to have realised the magnitude of Shane's warlike preparations. Shane's aim was to strike the blow before the brothers joined their forces, but in this he was thwarted by Sorley Buy, who caused warning fires to be lit on prominent headlands along the Antrim Coast, clearly indicating to the men of Kintyre that their kinsmen across the channel were in distress. These signals were so interpreted by James Macdonald, who summoned his followers together and hastened to the rescue, instructing his brother, Alexander, at the same time, to follow with what levies he could collect. On landing at Cushindun Bay, the first sight that met James's gaze was his own Castle of Redbay in flames. He saw at a glance that the work of destruction had commenced, and the further appearance of his brother Sorley with a mere handful of followers in full retreat before O'Neill convinced him of the real state of matters. James joined in the retreat, and the combined forces fell back on Ballycastle, in the hope that reinforcements would soon arrive from Kintyre. None, however, came, and the brave brothers, resolutely setting their faces to the foe, chose as their battle ground a position at the foot of Glentaisi. Here the opposing hosts met each

other in the early morning of the second day of May, 1565, the O'Neills numbering more than 2000 strong, while the strength of their opponents amounted to a little less than half that number. The issue could not for a moment be doubted in a contest so unequal. A desperate and bloody struggle ensued. The Macdonalds fought with conspicuous bravery, but they were overpowered by the superior numerical strength of the opposing host, and almost totally annihilated. Hardly any of them escaped the fury of their opponents. According to O'Neill's own estimate, 700 perished. In the circumstances, this calculation can hardly be deemed an exaggeration. James Macdonald, who was severely wounded, and his brother Sorley, with nineteen other leaders of the Clan Donald, were taken prisoners, while another brother, Angus, was among the slain. Alexander Og Macdonald followed his brother, James, with a force of 900 men, and landed at Rathlin, but on hearing of his defeat, he returned to Kintyre.

James Macdonald was sent a prisoner by O'Neill to Castle Corcke, near Strathbane, where, after a short confinement, he died. Shane reported the death of James in a letter to the Privy Council of Ireland, dated August 25th, 1565. It was said that Shane murdered his captive. From the well-known character of O'Neill there is reason to believe that the suspicion was well founded. The death of the gallant chief was greatly lamented, both in Scotland and in Ireland. In him the Clan Donald lost the greatest ornament of their race in his time, the most powerful chieftain they had seen since the downfall of their Island dynasty, a man worthy to rank beside the most distinguished chiefs of the

House of Somerled. All efforts to save him were futile. Both the Queens of England and Scotland demanded his release, and his own clan would have given any ransom for his life, but the barbarian who held his life in his grasp turned a deaf ear to all entreaties, and resolved to cut short the career of his rival. The impression produced by the death of James in Ireland may be gathered from the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, where it is recorded that "the death of this gentleman was generally bewailed; he was a paragon of hospitality and prowess, a festive man of many troops, a bountiful and munificent man. His peer was not to be found at that time among the Clan Donald of Ireland or Scotland; and his own people would not have deemed it too much to give his weight in gold for his ransom, if he could have been ransomed." According to the Clanranald Seanachie, James died at Dungannon, and was buried at Armagh.¹

✕ ¹ MacVuirich's Unpublished MS. ✕

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MACDONALDS OF DUNNYVEG AND THE GLENS.

(CONTINUED).



Archibald succeeds.—Attempts to relieve his uncle.—Sorley Buy and bond with Argyll.—Early death of Archibald.—Angus succeeds.—Early prosperity.—Feud with Duart.—Enters into bonds of manrent.—Position in Ireland.—Grant of Bisset lands to Donald Gorme.—Donald Gorme's death.—Indenture by English Government with Angus for Bisset lands.—English policy towards Dunnyveg.—Renewal of feud with Duart by treachery of Maclean.—Revenge of Clann Iain Mhoir at Mullintrae.—Royal intervention.—Maclean gives hostages and frees Angus's.—Royal letter to Huntly.—Angus visits Ireland.—Revenge by Duart.—Angus invades Mull.—Interposition of friends.—Pretended remissions by Privy Council.—Angus visits Tyrone.—Sale of Gigha.—Angus entrapped into ward.—Gives James and Angus Og as hostages.—Forfeiture in 1594.—James visits Kintyre and enters into bonds of manrent.—Expedition to Kintyre, 1596.—Intrigues of Dunluce.—Offers by Angus and Sir James, and the King's reply.—Angus submits at Kilkerran.—Fails

to fulfil promises.—Askomull *fracas*.—Expedition to Kintyre proposed and abandoned.--Battle of Traigh Ghruinneart.—Offers by Sir James accepted by Privy Council.—Campbell intrigues.—Imprisonment of Sir James.—Offers by Angus, 1606.—Attempted escape by Sir James.—Argyll confirmed in North Kintyre.—Second attempt of Sir James to escape — Angus surrenders Dunnyveg Castle.—Sir James's trial and condemnation.—Angus sells his patrimony to Calder.—Death of Angus.—Taking of Dunnyveg Castle, and relative intrigues.—Petition by Sir James to Privy Council.—His correspondence seized.--His conduct proved innocent.—Action of Argyll.—Remission to Angus Og and accomplices.—Clan Donald do not surrender.—Their action towards Bishop Knox.—Commission to Calder.—New Offers by Sir James.—Villainy of Graham of Eryns.—Siege of Dunnyveg and surrender by Angus Og.—His execution.—Movements of Coll Mac Gillespieck --Escape of Sir James. —Progress through Perth, Lochaber, Clanranald country, Skye, &c.—Is joined by large numbers.—Reward for apprehension. — Captures Dunnyveg.—Attitude to King and Council.—Fortifies Lochgorm.—Invades Kintyre.—Argyll takes the field.—Descends upon Kintyre.—Defeat of Clann Iain Mhoir.—Sir James's subsequent movements.—Efforts to treat.—Suppression of the movement.—Sir James goes to Ireland.—Thence to Spain.--Return to London and death.—Dunnyveg represented by the Colonsay branch.—Alastair MacColla and his campaigns.—His descendants.

JAMES MACDONALD of Dunnyveg, who is supposed to have met a violent end as a prisoner in the hands of Shane O'Neill, on 5th July, 1565, was succeeded in the Chiefship, as well as the magnificent patrimony of Clann Iain Mhoir, by his eldest son Archibald. This Chief, whose career was brief and uneventful, has left very few traces on the records of his age. On 5th May, 1564, he had received a charter from Queen Mary of lands forming part of the Barony of Bar, and is described in that instrument as the son and heir of James Macdonald of Dunnyveg. The lands were granted to himself and

heirs male, with remainder to his five brothers successively, and after them to the nearest heirs male of Archibald bearing the arms and name of Macdonald. The rent was three suits at the three chief courts of the Sheriffdom of Tarbert, with ward, relief, and marriage fee when due.¹ The charter also included the 30 merklands of Sunart. Shortly after his father's death, Archibald made an unsuccessful attempt to effect his uncle Sorley Buy's release. In this he had the assistance of Argyll, and Archibald appears to have given him a bond pledging himself to relieve that nobleman of any expenses incurred in the effort to relieve Sorley "furth of the hands of O'Neill." We have further notice of Archibald in a precept of Clare Constat by Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, dated 1565-1567, and this is practically all the information we possess regarding him. We do not even know, except by inference, the precise year of his death, but this must have taken place not later than 1569, for in that year his younger brother Angus is found making up titles as Lord of Kintyre and Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir. It is thus clear that Archibald of Dunnyveg did not occupy the position of head of his house for more than about four years, and having left no lawful heirs of his own body, he was succeeded by his younger brother Angus, probably in the early part of 1569. On 6th May of this year, Angus, as heir to his father, received a precept of Clare Constat in Ardnarmurchan, while on 10th October, 1570, he received a precept of infeftment, dated at Duart, as heir of his brother Archibald.

¹ Reg. P.S.

Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg was closely connected with the Argyll family through his mother, Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of the Earl, but this relationship does not seem in these early days to have rendered him quite submissive to that powerful house, nor did it prove in after years aught else than a great misfortune. On the 23rd April, 1573, the great Turlough Lynagh O'Neill, successor to Shane O'Neill, visited Edinburgh, and is said to have given in "ane complaint aganis Angus MacConeill becaus he wold not be subdewit to the Earl of Argyll."¹ The Irish chieftain, who had espoused Lady Agnes Campbell in 1569, was thus in the position of stepfather to the young Chief of Dunnyveg, and wished to exercise authority over the recalcitrant Angus, nor are we inclined to doubt the accuracy of the charge given in by him to the authorities that Angus would not be "subdewit."

Notwithstanding these slight symptoms of a rebellious attitude on the part of Angus of Dunnyveg, these early years of his chiefship were calm and peaceful, and there is little to indicate the days of storm and stress that were soon to dawn on the Clann Iain Mhoir. The fortunes of the family were at this time at the zenith of their prosperity. Both in Scotland and in the North of Ireland the Clann Iain Mhoir exercised a sway which bade fair to rival the splendour of the ancient House of Isla. But all the time there was a canker gnawing at the root of the goodly tree which was destined to lay its proud luxuriance in the dust. On the one hand there was the restless, unscrupulous, and insatiable ambition of Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, and on the other,

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents* printed by the Bannatyne Club, p. 330.

with a sleepless eye to their own self-aggrandisement, was the selfish and grasping family of Argyll. Combined with these, at a later time, was the vacillating policy of the Scottish Solomon, in which low cunning, avarice, cowardice, and some instincts of statecraft were in various measures mingled, winning for their owner the not undeserved character of being "the wisest fool in Christendom." These were the forces which, acting upon the imprudent and undiplomatic character of the Dunnyveg chief, brought about in time the ruin of his family.

As already remarked, however, the beginning of Angus's career was comparatively unclouded, and it was not until 1578 that there threatened to be a recrudescence of the feud between the families of Dunnyveg and Duart over the Rhinns of Isla. Sir Lauchlan Maclean succeeded his father in 1578, and hostilities occurred between himself and Dunnyveg over the old and vexed controversy. Regarding these hostilities, we know little beyond the fact that they engaged the serious attention of the authorities, who insisted on both parties subscribing assurances of indemnity with each other for a limited period, under penalty of treason.¹ For a time there was a stoppage of strife, and a new bond of friendship appeared to be cemented when Angus sought and obtained in marriage the hand of a sister of the Duart Chief.

During the next year or two Angus takes the prudent course of strengthening his position and influence by entering into bonds of manrent with some of the minor septs and landowners in West Argyll and elsewhere. On 1st September, 1579,

¹ Reg. P.C.

and at Toward, he formed a contract of friendship with James Lamont of Inveryne, a branch of the ancient family of Lamont of that ilk, while on the 18th May, 1580, he entered into a similar bond with John Stewart, hereditary Sheriff of Bute. At Machriemore, in Kintyre, on 7th June of the same year, he entered into a similar bond with the Clan Allister Beg of Arran. In this latter instrument one of the oldest and most objectionable features of the tribal, as well as of the feudal system, is contained, inasmuch as the subordinate parties to the contract bound themselves to give "ane bairnis part of gear and their calpes" to Angus and his heirs, who in turn were to be warranty and defenders of the Clan Allister Beg. In 1580 Angus of Dunnyveg, as patron of the church of Kilchousland—part of the present parish of Campbelltown—confirmed a charter by Sir Neil Mackay Vicar to Adam Mackay.

Angus of Dunnyveg was Chief of the Clan Iain Mhoir, not only in Scotland, but in those extensive territories in the North of Ireland which formed the ancient patrimony of the Bissets, as well as in other lands which the Clan Donald had acquired in the Route. Hence we find him during the next few years making several visits to the Glens of Antrim, which were under the protection of one of the most distinguished scions of the Clan Donald Confederacy, the celebrated Sorley Buy, son of Alastair Mac Iain Chathanaich, and uncle to Angus of Dunnyveg. To the story of Sorley Buy, his struggles with the English power on the one hand, and the aboriginal tribes on the other, as well as to the history of his descendants, another chapter will be devoted. At present it will be sufficient to refer to one or two facts bearing upon the connection of the main

Dunnyveg family with the Irish portion of their extensive estates. During 1581-2 we find Angus making visits in force to the Antrim Glens, but his doings on these occasions are not particularly detailed in the records. In various negotiations with the English authorities, both Angus and Donald Gorme, his younger brother, laid claim to the Irish lands of the Clann Iain Mhoir, and were much aided in their efforts to gain possession by their mother, the Lady Tyrone, who seems to have had no small share of the diplomatic talents of her house. It does not appear that Sorley Buy took serious exception to his nephews being in effective occupation of the Glens, so long as he himself was left in undisturbed possession of the Route, which latter he evidently regarded as his own special and exclusive property. Otherwise he would not have acquiesced, as to all appearance he did, in grants of the Glens by the English authorities to Donald Gorme and Angus successively. Amid all the negotiations there seems to have been a tacit understanding between the uncle and nephews which prevented any interruption to their friendliness. At the same time, the grant of the Glens to Donald Gorme on the 18th September, 1584, was evidently regarded by the English Privy Council as a blow at Sorley Buy's position. On that date Donald made his submission, received pardon for his opposition to the Government, as well as letters of denization, and received a grant for all the lands that had of old belonged to the Bissets. The conditions were that Her Majesty should retain the Castle of Olderflete, that Donald should not serve any foreign potentates, that he should keep no Scots save such as were native to Ireland, and that he should book

all men in his country and deliver the book to the Knight Marshall, Sir Richard Bagnall, or to Sir Henry Bagnall, his son. He was, further, to serve Her Majesty with a rising out of 80 horsemen at his own charges. He must not unlawfully intermeddle with any borderers of Ulster. He must pay a yearly rent of 60 beeves, to be delivered at the Newry. He had to serve against Sorley Buy and any other foreign Scot. He was not to alienate any part of the Glens. He must preserve all the hawks bred in the Glens, "and the same yearly to be sent to the Governor of the realm for the time being. He must not draw to him any of the followers of Claneboy, the Route, or the Ardes."¹ Donald Gorme did not long enjoy possession of these lands. In 1586 a large party of the Scots, commanded by himself and his brother, Alastair Carrach, accompanied O'Neill and Macguire on an expedition to assist the Bourks in Mayo and Roscommon against the English forces, commanded by Sir Richard Bingham. The Confederates were defeated at Ardnary, near Tirawly, with great slaughter, and the two brothers were slain.² In 1585, the English Government had opened negotiations with Angus, who offered to become a sworn subject to Queen Elizabeth, and to keep the Scots out of the Antrim Glens as well as out of the north of Ireland generally, an understanding on which he would be allowed to hold undisturbed possession of his lands. The negotiations were carried a step further on the 16th May, 1586, probably after Donald Gorme's death, when an indenture was entered into between Angus and the English

¹ Calendar of the Carew MSS.

² Harleian MS. British Museum.

Government. In return for his humble submission and unfeigned loyalty to the English Queen, Angus was to receive a grant of all the Bisset lands, with the exception of the Castle of Olderflete, which was reserved to the Queen. The conditions of the grant were (1) that neither he nor his followers were to serve any foreign Prince; (2) no Scots under him, whom he may command, to disquiet the peace of the realm, except in case of war between England and Scotland; (3) he is not to retain any Scots above 30 other than natives of Ireland, and he is to deliver a book of their names to the Marshall of the Queen's garrisons in Ireland; (4) to serve Her Majesty with a rising out of 80 footmen in Ulster at his own and their own charges; (5) he and his tenants not to intermeddle with their borderers in Ulster; (6) he is to pay a yearly rent of 60 good and fat beeves at Carrickfergus between Lammas and Hallowtide; (7) he is to serve against all that shall invade this realm except the Scots when war is proclaimed between England and Scotland; (8) he is not to alienate the lands; (9) he is yearly to preserve and give to Her Majesty one eyrie of the best hawks, either "Goshawke or falcons."¹ It is to be noticed that in this indenture there is no stipulation, as in that with Donald Gorme, that service should be rendered against Sorley Buy, from which we gather that the latter Chief was now on more friendly terms with the Government.

It is said that in 1585 Angus of Dunnyveg sold the Isle of Rachrin and Arcadail for £1000 Scots to Harry Stewart of Barskimming, but it is doubtful whether the sale was ever completed, at anyrate as

¹ Calendar of Carew MSS.

regards Ráchrin, which appears long afterwards to have been in the possession of the Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir.

It does not appear that the English Government in Ireland had much faith in any agreement come to with the family of Dunnyveg either in Scotland or in Ireland. In illustration of the attitude at headquarters towards the Irish Scots, it may be of interest to quote one of the many remedies that were concocted for the pacification of Ulster:—"The people which most annoy Ulster from Scotland are the Clan Donells, who are ever in continual wars with another sept of the people of the Isles, named MacAlanes (Macleans), and if on MacAlane Her Majesty would bestow some convenient pension, he will, I think, undertake to keep the Clan Donells so continually engaged as they shall be able to send none of their people to disturb Her Majesty's subjects in Ulster."¹ There is pretty clear evidence that Angus had no definite intention of keeping his engagement with the English Government, and that the officials of the Privy Council had hit upon a policy, not unknown to the Scottish authorities, of turning to their own account existing feuds, of weakening the power of Angus to interfere in Irish conflicts, by setting himself and the Chief of Duart by the ears, and even of subsidising the latter while he played the English game. There is good reason to believe that Sir Lauchlan Maclean, who had an immense capacity for intrigue, and had a special axe of his own to grind in the Rhinns of Isla, was at this time, if not in the pay, at anyrate in communication with, the English Government. Unfortunately, there was little need for such conspiring to confine

¹ Irish State Papers.

the Chief of Dunnyveg to his own side of the Irish Channel, for events were on the eve of occurring which added tenfold bitterness to his former quarrel with Maclean, and were to hasten the downfall of his family and clan in Scotland.

The events which led directly to the revival of the feud with Maclean of Duart belong more properly to the history of the family of Sleat, and will be duly chronicled in that connection. The conduct of two outlawed vassals of Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat caused a violent breach of amity between himself and Maclean, and the Chief of Dunnyveg, without any malign intent, was dragged into the maelstrom of Highland passion and revenge. Perhaps on no other occasion does the history of his time show Angus in so favourable a light as when he unwittingly stirred up the embers of the slumbering feud in connection with the Rhinns of Isla. He had been visiting the Chief of Sleat, and on his homeward way resolved to pay a friendly visit to Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, with the laudable intention of acting the part of peacemaker between the two powerful chiefs whose quarrel had originated in an unfortunate misunderstanding. It was contrary to the opinion and advice of his retainers that he ventured into the lion's den; but Angus did not anticipate disaster in the execution of his well laid scheme of friendly arbitration; and so, accompanied by his cousin Ranald and a few of his retinue, he landed in Mull and wended his way to Duart Castle. The Chief of Maclean is said to have accorded to his brother-in-law a hearty Highland welcome; but with night, dark inhospitable thoughts seem to have taken possession of him, and he resolved to embrace the opportunity which now

seems to have arisen of acquiring by stratagem an indisputable right to the lands he coveted so much. On the morrow the treacherous design was accomplished. Angus and his company were all seized and confined, with the exception of Ranald, the Chief's cousin, who, having scented danger, managed to make his escape. The Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir was detained in captivity until he renounced in favour of Maclean his rights to the Rhinns of Isla, nor was he suffered to depart until he had left his son James and his brother Ranald as hostages at Duart in security for the fulfilment of his promise, until the titles were completed and followed by infestment.¹ This treatment of the Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir by Maclean of Duart was an unpardonable breach of the sacred canons of hospitality, so highly prized and rigidly practised even in the rudest times. The feelings of the outraged Macdonald can be better imagined than described, while "curses not loud but deep" were muttered as he shook the dust of Duart off his feet. The action of Sir Lauchlan Maclean was of a nature to provoke reprisals. Treachery begets after its kind, and having sown the wind he was sure to reap the whirlwind. Nemesis quickly followed. Shortly after the occurrence just related—in July, 1586—Sir Lauchlan Maclean went to Isla to take sasine of the lands which he had so treacherously striven to secure. He left Ranald, the brother of Angus, in irons in Duart Castle, and took with him James, the heir of Dunnyveg, who was then a boy, to Island Loch Gorm, a ruinous fort lying in the Rhinns of Isla. He was not long there when a message came to him from the Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir to come

¹ Conflicts of the Clans, pp. 25-26.

to visit him at Mullintrae, where he then resided, as a more convenient and better stored residence than the fort of Island Gorm. Maclean naturally hesitated to accept an invitation from that quarter ; but on receiving most solemn assurances, and being reminded of the hostages held by him, he at last yielded, taking with him his nephew James and 86 of his own followers. Duart and his retinue were received with due courtesy and banquetted with extreme hospitality ; but in the midst of the feasting Angus had sent word to a large number of his clansmen to be at the house of Mullintrae at nine o'clock in the evening. After Maclean and his men were duly regaled, they were all lodged for the night in a house adjoining the Chief of Dunnyveg's residence, while Duart, as a precautionary measure, took with him James, the young heir of Clann Iain Mhoir. Shortly after they retired, the house in which the Macleans were lodged was surrounded by 300 or 400 men of Isla, and Angus, seemingly on hospitable thoughts intent, stood at the door of the apartment occupied by the Chief of Duart, and called him up to have his sleeping draught—the last cup before retiring. Maclean replied that he desired no more, upon which Macdonald became peremptory, and insisted on his coming forth. Sir Lauchlan, apprehensive of danger, came to the door, carrying on his shoulders the youthful James, his nephew, and the heir of Clan Iain Mhoir. The boy, on seeing his father with a drawn sword in a threatening attitude, besides a number of armed warriors, who stood behind, besought him to spare his uncle's life. Angus, evidently moved by his son's intercession, sheathed his sword, but Maclean was imprisoned in a secret chamber until the following morning. Meanwhile,

his followers were summoned to quit the house, in which they had their quarters, receiving the assurance that on surrendering their lives would be spared. All yielded except two, who were excepted from quarter, one being a near relation of Sir Lauchlan's, a man of valour and high in the councils of his chief, and the other, MacDhomhnuill Herraich, one of the two outlaws of the Clan Uisdein who were the prime movers of Maclean's feud with Donald Gorme. These two made a stand against overwhelming odds, and, while defending a doorway at which they stood, fought with the courage of despair. Indeed, it was found impossible to capture or dislodge them, until at last the house having been set on fire, they both perished in the flames.¹

Whilst these events were taking place in Isla, a kinsman of the Chief of Duart, Allan Maclean by name, disseminated a report which added tenfold virulence to the enmity of the Clan Iain Mhoir. As soon as the news of the seizure of Maclean and his followers reached Mull, he circulated the false rumour that Ranald MacJames, the hostage who was left at Duart, had been executed; and it is said that this falsehood was concocted to consummate Sir Lauchlan's destruction, so that Allan himself—his nearest kinsman—might, during the minority of the heir of Duart, who was very young, enjoy the management of the estates. If this was his object, he was but too successful, though not so much so as he desired. The rumour was believed, and Coll MacJames, who had the custody of the prisoners, wrought a fearful vengeance for the supposed murder of his brother Ranald. It is said that two of the Maclean prisoners were executed every day, until at last only Sir

¹ *Conflicts of the Clans*, p. 30. *Seanachie's History of the Macleans*, p. 56.

Lauchlan and his uncle, John Dubh of Morvern, remained. The Duart Chief would undoubtedly have shared his clansmen's fate save for what proved for him a lucky accident. Macdonald, desiring to be present at the execution of his brother-in-law, had a fall in the act of mounting his horse, which resulted in a broken leg. This postponed the climax of the tragedy, and did so, as it happened, effectually. The Dunnyveg Chief, for the time being, lost taste of witnessing executions, and Maclean was sent back to prison.¹

Tidings of these sanguinary proceedings came at last to the royal ear, and the friends of Argyll, who was then a minor, were called upon to take action for mediating between the foes, and with a view to Sir Lauchlan's deliverance. It appears that the Campbells were at the time unable to muster a sufficient force to compass the invasion of Isla, and when the King despatched a herald to that island, charging Angus to restore Maclean to the hands of Argyll, that official was unable to find shipping to take him across the Sound. Angus had evidently taken measures to make such a voyage dangerous or impossible to any messenger, royal or otherwise, not friendly to his own cause. In the course of a short time, however, a kind of reconciliation between these stubborn chiefs was brought about by the influence of the King, but Angus was able to impose conditions of great stringency before Maclean received his liberty. These were the delivery of his brother Ranald, who was hostage at Duart, and the handing over to him as pledges of Hector Maclean, younger of Duart; Alexander Macleod, brother to William Macleod of

¹ History of King James, the text printed by the Bannatyne Club, p. 221.

Dunvegan ; Lauchlan Mackinnon and Neil Mackinnon, sons to Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathoradill ; John and Murdo, sons to Rory MacNeill of Barra ; Allan Maclean, son to Allan Maclean of Ardgour ; and Donald Maclean, son to Hector Maclean, Constable of Cairnburgh. At the same time, Angus received pardon for his numerous and grave delinquencies. The King and Council, however, regarded the possession of so large a number of hostages by the Dunnyveg chief as a serious and embarrassing fact, and they ordained that letters should be directed to the officers-at-arms, sheriffs in that part, that they command Angus Macdonald, Ruald Macdonald of Smerby, &c., that they deliver these hostages to the Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorne, or to any of his special friends and tutors that should come to receive them, until the final ordering and settling of the matter in controversy. Meanwhile, both Angus and Sir Lauchlan are ordered to keep the peace and refrain from armed gatherings.¹ About this time the Chief of Dunnyveg, no doubt feeling the hollowness of the truce between himself and the implacable Duart, became a party to a bond of friendship with Donald Gorme of Sleat and the Laird of Mackintosh for their mutual aid and protection.² A letter written by King James to the Earl of Huntly on the 20th April of this year manifests much concern at the disturbed state of the Islands. He entreats the Earl to use all diligence in restraining the lawlessness of the Western chiefs ; but reserves dealing with the Chiefs of Dunnyveg and Duart to his own royal influence. “ For we have written effectuously

¹ Reg. P.C., 16th April, 1587.

X ² Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest.

to Angus M^cConnell and hes spoken with MacClane, being heir for the same effect." From the King's letter it appears that Sir Lauchlan, having been transferred from the tender mercies of Angus to the hands of Argyll, was brought before James to receive royal exhortation. Whether this personal dealing was to result "effectuously" or the reverse will very shortly appear.

Angus of Dunnyveg, having to all appearance effected a temporary settlement of his affairs in Scotland, paid a visit to his Irish domains, where his influence as head of Clann Iain Mhoir was being gradually overshadowed by that of his uncle, Sorley Buy, a loss of prestige which was greatly accelerated by the death of his two brothers, Alastair Carragh and Donald Gorme. Angus, on his return to Scotland, is said to have been accompanied by his mother, the Lady Tyrone, who cherished the laudable intention of endeavouring to appease the feud between himself and Sir Lauchlan Maclean. Peace seemed to be further off than ever, for, on the return of Macdonald from Ireland, it was found that Maclean, regardless of the safety of his hostages—who were still, contrary to the orders of the Privy Council, in Angus's power—was once more upon the warpath. With a great force of men, including a number of Spanish mercenaries who had survived the destruction of the Armada, he invaded Isla and Gigha, which he ravaged with fire and sword. The Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir was not slow to take his revenge. He disdained to inflict any punishment upon the hostages, a fact which must be duly placed to his credit. Taking with him a body of English mercenaries, whom he retained in his service and pay in Kintyre, he invaded the isles of Mull, Tiree,

Coll, and Luing, which he spoiled and destroyed, finally coming to Benmore, in Mull, and inflicting terrible losses on the Clan Maclean. This wild work went on for some time; but we find that before either of the disturbers of the peace was brought to task, the Government was guilty of a piece of favouritism, which throws a flood of light upon the fatuity of its Highland policy. In October, 1587, Lauchlan Maclean of Duart received a gift under the Privy Seal of the life-rent escheat of the lands of Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, who was denounced rebel for not obeying the charge given him in April preceding to deliver hostages to the Earl of Argyll, and some months afterwards lands in Isla, forfeited by Angus Macdonald, were bestowed upon Hector Maclean, Duart's eldest son, and one of the hostages whom Angus had been ordained to deliver.¹ The different treatment awarded to the two chiefs respectively appears more than once in the transactions of those times, and is probably to be ascribed to the influence of the Earl of Glencairn, Maclean's father-in-law.

In 1589 an attempt was made by mutual friends to effect a reconciliation between Duart and Dunnyveg. Lady Tyrone, and even the redoubtable Sorley Buy himself, came over to Scotland to a "Parliament of peace," in which Argyll also took part, to arrange a basis of agreement between them.² By this extrajudicial action it was stipulated that Angus should deliver the eight hostages, which were still in his hands, in return for a number of prisoners taken by Maclean, including Maclan of Ardnamurchan, who had been a considerable time a captive at Duart, under circumstances which have already been

¹ Reg. of the Privy Seal.

² Irish State Papers.

detailed.¹ These proposals were evidently carried out, for we find that in March of this year Angus Macdonald, with all his friends and followers, received a remission for all the fire-raising, raids, and slaughters of which he had been guilty in his feud with Maclean.² It is quite clear, however, that these remissions were never really intended to be valid, but formed part of the machinery of an executive which made up for its weakness by extreme duplicity. This year witnessed a manifestation of great friendship between the Dunnyveg Chief and the Earl of Tyrone, his step-father. Probably this would have arisen on the part of Angus from a desire to re-establish his fast decaying influence in the Glens. From Tyrone he received and accepted an invitation to visit him in his Irish castle, and so inseparable do the two worthies become, that for two nights they occupy the same couch, while the cordiality of their friendship is further cemented by mutual gifts. The Earl gave Angus seven of the best horses of the country, while Angus presented the Earl with all the Scots plaids and skulls he had taken over with him.³ So at anyrate are we informed by the State correspondence of the period, though we are tempted to think that the story of the skulls was a humorous gloss upon the report of what really took place, and perpetrated as a jest at the expense of the English authorities. We do not know whether Dunnyveg and Tyrone, in the midst of these amenities, were hatching treason against the English Crown; but the action of the Scottish Council in 1590 appears to have been dictated by some such suspicion. By an Act of the Privy Council, Angus was fined and bound to appear upon

¹ Conflicts of the Clans.

² Reg. P.S.

³ Irish State Papers.

20 days' warning, and to keep peace with the Queen's Majesty of England and her subjects in Ireland without break or violation. In the course of this year Angus is said to have sold the £20 lands of Gigha, which had been acquired by his father from the MacNeills in 1554, to Campbell of Calder for 3000 merks. In 1591, while there was an apparent lull in the tempest of feud and foray, the King and his advisers contrived by one of those exasperating strokes of low cunning which characterised his reign, to entrap both Angus and his more astute opponent into confinement. They were invited to Edinburgh on a specious pretence, and when they arrived were clapped into prison. In the summer of 1592, Angus appears to have been liberated, but on condition of his finding security for his Crown rents; also on payment of a heavy fine, and on his giving hostages for his good conduct. Campbell of Calder became security for him, while his two sons, James and Angus, with Allaster Og, son to Archibald, son of Angus Ilach, were left as hostages in the King's hands.¹ No sooner was Angus clear of ward than he became entirely oblivious of the obligations he incurred, and in common with his old antagonist failed to implement the conditions of his liberation. No doubt he was moved to this course of action by the treacherous policy by which he had been decoyed to Edinburgh. For his non-appearance and non-fulfilment in other respects of the conditions imposed, he was threatened by the Privy Council with the annulment of his pardon and the forfeiture of his estates, and the Council's action in this respect was afterwards confirmed by Parliament. In June, 1593, a summons for treason, duly

¹ Reg. P.C.

executed, was produced in Parliament against him, and this in June, 1594, was followed by sentence of forfeiture. During these years, however, Scottish politics were in such a tangled state, and the country was so honeycombed with conspiracy and intrigue, that the Government was not for a long time in a position to follow these decrees with definite and vigorous action. The Dunnyveg chief was no doubt encouraged in his rebellion by these symptoms of feebleness on the part of the Executive. As has already been noticed, James, his son and heir, was at the Scottish Court since 1592 as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. In 1594, he appears to have visited the regions of Isla and Kintyre, though judging by the records, the licence permitting him to do so was not issued until January, 1596. He could hardly have gone to the Highlands in existing circumstances without the Royal permission, and it is probable that the licence had a retrospective effect, and made formal record of what had already been done. Whatever the explanation may be, it is undoubted that James, who had become a favourite with the King, and received the honour of knighthood, was in Kintyre in the summer of 1594, and that on the 19th July, adopting his father's policy of bygone days, he entered into a bond of manrent with the Clan Neill of that district. The bond was signed at Killionan, and the heir of Dunnyveg is designed "of Smerby," where he must have had a residence with some title to the lands. In 1595 there were movements among the Islesmen to assist Hugh Roe O'Neill in his rebellion against Queen Elizabeth, and, as Angus Macdonald seems to have shown symptoms of restlessness at the time, he was charged by the Privy Council not

to assist the disaffected in Ireland. The Dunnyveg Chief does not appear to have moved further in the matter. During the year one of Angus's sons—we are unable to say which—who had been at issue with him, became reconciled to his father, and obtained for his maintenance a grant of lands in the Antrim Glens.¹ It was in course of this year that Angus granted a lease to Rev. Donald Mac Aonas Mac Vic Finlay, minister of Eilan Finan, and Finlay Maol Macdonald, estate officer, of the 10 merks land of Reseboll, in Sunart. The lease is signed on 17th August, 1595.

Angus was, at this date, still under the sentence of forfeiture, which had been passed upon him in 1594, nor had he yet submitted to the King or fulfilled the conditions of his pardon in 1592. In 1596 the King resolved to proceed against Angus and the other Islanders in person, and all received a summons to meet His Majesty at Dumbarton on the first day of August. Preparations began to be made for an expedition to the Isles, and although the other chiefs who had been dealt with came forward and submitted, Angus still appeared to hang back, and arrangements were made for a descent upon Kintyre. The impecunious King, however, was lacking, as usual, in the sinews of war, and it was the 22nd October before the Lieutenant was able to send troops to overawe the lawless Dunnyveg.

Meantime circumstances had arisen most unfavourable to the future peace and welfare of the Clann Iain Mhoir. The King, exasperated at the defiant attitude of Angus, gave his rival, Lauchlan Maclean, a grant of the Rhinns of Isla.² Furthermore, James Macdonald of Dunluce, who was at that time

¹ Irish State Papers.

² Sir R. Gordon's History of Sutherland.

in Scotland, was in confidential communication with Angus, who appears to have made great promises to him if he would aid in the expulsion of the King's forces from Kintyre.¹ Such conduct on the part of Angus was characteristically rash, yet he scarcely deserved to be so sorely wounded in the house of his friends as he was when his kinsman of Dunluce told the whole story to the King. That Dunluce wanted, for private reasons, to establish himself in the good graces of James VI. does not justify his conduct.

About this time a circumstance occurred which seemed to promise, at first sight, a permanent settlement of the points at issue between the family of Dunnyveg and the Crown, but which, it is to be feared, rather resulted, eventually, in increased complications. Sir James, the heir of Dunnyveg, in terms of the license received in the beginning of 1596, paid a visit to his father in the course of that year. On the 19th January, with a view to still further strengthen his position, he had entered into a bond of manrent with Gillespick Macduffie, indweller in Isla, and John Gromach Mac Vic Eachan, indweller in Colonsay, in which he is designed Sir James Macdonald of Knockrausay, Master of Kintyre. Whether Sir James, on interviewing his father, brought with him definite royal instructions we cannot say, but he was evidently able in the first instance to bring the old chief to reason. Angus sent a letter to the King from Kilcherran on the 1st October by the hands of his son, in which he undertook that Sir James would go to His Majesty to report himself, and that whatever he would promise Angus bound himself to

¹ Balcarras Papers.

submit thereto. He further renounced, in favour of his son, all his lands, so that his son might receive of his prince's favour such rights as might be agreed upon, provided that suitable provision was made for his parents. Sir James, on his return to Edinburgh, made submission on his own and his father's account, promising to fulfil all the conditions prescribed by His Majesty, both as regards the rents payable to the Crown, and any arrears of the same that might be outstanding. He also bound himself to remain with His Majesty hereafter, and not to depart from him without a license. His Majesty's will in regard to this communication was—(1) That James M^cConill shall remain with him at Court, and not depart till he be relieved by His Highness; (2) Angus Macdonald shall, as soon as convenient, remove himself, his family, dependers, and all others who are not actual tenants out of Kintyre and Gigha; (3) he is to keep good rule in Isla, Colonsay, and Gigha; (4) by 25th December he is to enter himself before His Majesty with his eldest son, or with his natural son, Archibald M^cConill, or shall deliver to the lieutenant his house of Dunnyveg and Isla to be kept as the lieutenant shall direct: which being done His Majesty with all possible expedition thereafter shall declare his will anent the whole lands, how much to be retained and on what conditions.¹ It was after this submission on behalf of Angus that the King's Lieutenant, Sir William Stewart, went down to Kintyre to interview the chief in that region. He held a Court at Kilkerran on the 1st November, and there also Angus made his submission.² The Chief of Dunnyveg seems to have been sincere enough in the promises he gave,

¹ Record of the Privy Council. ² Ibid.

and in token of good faith made his appearance in Edinburgh before the King and Council to hear what was to be arranged regarding the tenure of his estates. As a preliminary condition, however, to anything in that connection being determined, he was required to fulfil all the undertakings he had given in connection with the surrender of his estates to Sir James.¹ Here it may be remarked that Angus, being at the time he made his surrender under sentence of forfeiture, was really not in a position to make any such agreement, and this accounts for the fact that no direct answer was given by the Council to these joint proposals. Angus once more promised to do what was required of him, was allowed to take his departure, and Sir James was again detained at Court as a hostage for his father. Early in the following year—1597—James Macdonald of Dunluce, who had already been coquetting with the King at the expense of his cousin Angus, received and accepted an invitation to visit the Court of Scotland. In his letter to the King, to which reference has already been made, he not only divulged the treasonable requests of the Dunnyveg chief, but also, on account of the alleged illegitimacy of Angus, suggested his own superior claims to the lands of Isla and Kintyre. He was much made of at the Scottish Court, but the allegations as to the illegitimacy of Angus were found to be baseless, and he had to content himself with a Knighthood and a grant of 30 merklands in Kintyre.²

The promises made by the Dunnyveg Chief, on the ground of which he had been allowed his freedom and possession of his estates, remained

¹ Balcarras Papers.

² Reg. P.S.

unfulfilled in 1598, and his son, Sir James, who continued to reside at Court in the capacity of hostage, was allowed to pay another visit to Kintyre, with the view of bringing his father to a more compliant attitude. The result of this visit proved a fresh stage in the progress of the Clann Iain Mhoir to deeper and graver disaster. Angus seems to have repented of the act by which he proposed to denude himself of his estates in favour of Sir James, and, as the Privy Council had not confirmed the Bond, he resolved, either on his own initiative or in deference to interested advisers, to act as the head of the house and owner of the family patrimony. About this time there was a violent feud between Gorrie MacAllister, the laird of Loupe, and his guardian, in the course of which the latter was slain. The Chief of Dunnyveg had espoused the tutor's cause, and sheltered his sons in his house of Askomull, in Kintyre, whither they had fled to escape the wrath of the vengeful Chief of Clan Allister. Sir James supported the Laird of Loupe, a course in which he was doubtless animated by opposition to his father, whose abandonment of the bond by which he had surrendered all his estates no doubt rankled in Sir James's breast. Though not ratified by King and Council, the bond should have been honourably adhered to, pending the necessary confirmation. Sir James and the Laird of Loupe, one night in the early summer of 1598, surrounded the House of Askomull with 300 of their followers, and demanded that the tutor's sons should be delivered to them. On this being refused, fire was set to the house, and Angus and his wife barely escaped with their lives. In doing so, the old Chief was severely burnt, and, having been taken prisoner, was put in

irons and conveyed to Smerbie, where he remained for several months.¹ Sir James, who was always the soul of candour, in acknowledging his delinquencies when charged, never admitted being guilty of setting the House of Askomull on fire, a deed which could very well have been done without his permission or consent. For the rest, there is the strongest reason for believing that he acted on the authority of the King himself. After these things had taken place, Sir James assumed the command of the Clann Iain Mhoir both in Isla and Kintyre.



The events that have just been detailed could hardly have been overlooked by the King and Council, however much the former may have wished that Angus should be supplanted by his son. In June, 1598, a Proclamation was issued to the intent that an expedition was to be fitted out to make a descent upon Kintyre. The King announced that he would meet the array of Dumbarton, Bute, and

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, III., p. 5.

Renfrew, and of the bailiaries of Carrick and Cunningham, the lower ward of Clydesdale, and the burghs of Dumbarton, Ayr, Irvine, Renfrew, and Paisley, at Dumbarton on the 20th August, and that he would proceed in person at their head to make measures against the rebellious Clan Donald. James, however, did not always ride when he saddled, and he had an unkingly antipathy to taking the field in person. In the end the Duke of Lennox, as Lieutenant over the Isles, was appointed to command the levies, with instructions how to proceed in dealing with the Islanders, but like other similar expeditions organised by James VI., it came to nothing. Not improbably this change of programme was caused by the fact that the centre of disturbance had shifted from Kintyre to Isla, where during the course of this same month of August there was fought one of the bloodiest and most memorable engagements in the annals of the Clan Donald. According to Gregory, it was towards the end of 1597, and before the *fracas* of Askomull, that Angus of Dunnyveg and Lauchlan Maclean of Duart patched up a hollow peace and combined their forces with the view, ostensibly, of aiding Queen Elizabeth against her Irish rebels. If any reconciliation took place, it must have been with Sir James, and, in 1598, after Sir James's violent action towards his father had occurred. Early in 1598, Maclean of Duart was organising the Irish expedition, in which Donald Gorme, his *quondam* foe, was to take the leading part. In the offers of the Chief of Sleat to Elizabeth,¹ it is quite clear that the Askomull affair was past, that Angus was a prisoner at Smerbie, and that James was at the head of the

¹ For these offers *vide* Appendix.

Clann Iain Mhoir. The temporary co-operation of the Chief of Duart was with Sir James, and not with his father. These symptoms of more amicable relationships very soon passed away, and when Sir Lauchlan found that his overtures to Queen Elizabeth received no countenance, the earth hunger once more took possession of this restless and incorrigible chief, and he revived the ancient feud with Dunnyveg, this time not merely for the Rhinns, but the whole of Isla, in virtue of a Crown right wherewith he had been recently invested. Rightly anticipating that he would be opposed in taking Sasine, Sir Lauchlan assembled his whole force and invaded Isla. Sir James Macdonald, who was in Kintyre at the time, assembled a band of fighting men to resist this invasion of the ancestral rights of his family. Judging from the most reliable contemporary accounts, Sir James showed no unwillingness to meet his uncle's views in the way of compromise. He could hardly be expected, without a struggle, to surrender Isla, but he agreed to let Sir Lauchlan hold the half of it from him during his lifetime, and also to submit the controversy to the judgment of the King. Sir Lauchlan refused all proposals short of a resignation by Sir James of the whole island.¹ This, of course, Sir James would sooner die than give in to, and, the mediation of friends having failed, both sides prepared for battle. Sir James, it is said, had a force numerically inferior, but this disadvantage was heavily discounted by the fact that his men were skilful warriors who had been trained in Irish warfare. A fierce battle was fought at a place called Traigh Ghruinneart, at the head of Loch Gruinneart. The Macdonald leader is said to

¹ Conflicts of the Clans.

have displayed some strategy at the beginning of the day. By making a semi-retrograde movement, he secured the advantage of getting his men posted on a hill, and at the same time avoided the discomfort which his adversaries experienced of having the glare of the summer sun in his eyes. In the end, the Clan Donald, having repulsed the Maclean vanguard, and thrown them back upon the main body, threw the whole force into confusion, with the result that they were totally routed, and the brave Sir Lauchlan, with 80 of his kinsmen and 200 of his common soldiers, were left dead upon Traigh Ghruinneart. Lauchlan Barrach Maclean, who was severely wounded, escaped with the survivors to the galleys. Nor did the Clan Donald get off scatheless. About 30 of them were slain and 60 wounded, while Sir James, who was dangerously wounded by an arrow through the body, was during most of the following night left for dead among the slain.¹

Shortly after this the Clan Maclean, under their Chief, Sir Hector, assisted by the Macleods of Dunvegan, the Camerons of Lochiel, and the MacNeills of Barra, are said to have invaded Isla, encountered the Macdonalds at a place called Bern Bige, and ravaged the whole island. According to the Maclean Seanachie, to whom we owe the account of this battle, the invasion of Isla by these confederate clans was in pursuance of a commission of fire and sword, but this statement is unsupported by the Records, and may be dismissed as unfounded. In after years Sir James was charged with Sir Lauchlan Maclean's death as a serious offence; but the fact that no action was taken against him for it at the time proves clearly that the Chief of

¹ Conflicts of the Clans.

the Macleans was the aggressor, and lost his life according to the fortunes of war.

We hear nothing of Sir James, who was probably laid aside for a considerable time by the severity of his wound, until August of the following year—1599—when he appears before Sir David Murray of Gospartie, Comptroller of Scotland, submitting certain offers “containing the most sure way to establish the King’s authority within the bounds of Kintyre and Isla.” These offers were such as—in the circumstances—the King might be glad to accept, and were on the lines of his own previous injunctions. Sir James offered, on behalf of himself and his clan, to evacuate and leave at the King’s disposal their whole lands of Kintyre, and not only to abstain from molesting any new tenants who might be placed there, but to support them to the best of their power. He offered to place the Castle of Dunnyveg in the hands of a Governor and garrison appointed by the King, and to assign 60 merklands in the neighbourhood for their support. He offered, further, for a grant of the remaining lands of Isla, amounting to 300 merkland, to pay £2 for every merkland, in all £600, and to give for the maintenance of his father a yearly pension of 1000 merks, or £670, wherever the King should appoint his father’s residence. In pledge of all this he was to give his brother as a hostage, and to support him fittingly while in that position. These proposals were submitted to the Scottish Privy Council on 6th September, 1599, and actually approved of.¹ It now seemed as if the Clann Iain Mhoir were on the eve of less troubled and more prosperous times. The past seems to have been

¹ Privy Council Records.

forgiven—their great enemy, Sir Lauchlan Maclean, had now ceased from troubling—and the way seemed clear for a final and peaceful settlement between the Dunnyveg family and the Crown. If, however, the Duart claim was no longer likely to be pressed with vigour, there were other and more treacherous foes whose game would have been entirely spoilt by the reconciliation which now seemed so near. It is no injustice to the memory of the Earl of Argyll and Sir John Campbell of Calder to aver that from this time onwards they left no stone unturned by dint of systematic roguery to consummate the ruin of the Clan Donald of Dunnyveg. About this time Sir James Macdonald formed a matrimonial alliance with the Calder family by marriage with a sister of Sir John's, and this connection led Sir James naturally to repose confidence in his advice which he would hardly otherwise have done. To his advice was it owing that Sir James took no action to give effect to the proposal, of which the Council had approved, doubtless in expectation of better terms. Further, the subsequent proceedings clearly shew that Argyll consistently took the side of Angus, to whom neither years nor experience taught prudence, as against Sir James, whose ability, education, and force of character would with fair play have placed the affairs of his family upon a firm and lasting foundation. That Sir James threw away the chance of acquiring in heritage nearly the whole of Isla, at that time forfeited, showed that he was under the temporary guidance of friends that were "fair and false," whose governing policy as of old was the coveting of Naboth's vineyard. The duplicity of the Chiefs of Campbell, who were

rapidly rising into favour with the royal simpleton at Holyrood, was only equalled by the simplicity of their dupes, who very soon became entangled in a network of intrigue from which extrication became impossible.

From 1599 on to 1603 we have no further notice either of the old or the young Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir. In the latter year, however, a new and unfortunate chapter opened in the annals of that ill-starred house. Matters had been proceeding too smoothly for the taste of the race of Diarmad, whose chiefs showed a touching interest in the welfare and good estate of the old chief, whom they generally expected to be of use in stirring up commotion when it suited them. On the 15th August, 1603, Angus entered into a bond of friendship with Campbell of Auchinbreck, and this friendship very shortly thereafter took the form of imposing on the old man's credulity by the invention of a cock-and-bull story to the effect that his son Sir James was meditating a plot against him. The wrathful Angus was unfortunately too willing to believe what Sir James afterwards emphatically denied, and he at once succeeded in apprehending him, and detained him for a time in his own custody. Afterwards he delivered him to Auchinbreck, who gave him up to the Earl of Argyll, by whom, after a short detention, he was exhibited to the Privy Council at Perth before the end of the year. Early in 1604 Sir James was sent to the Castle of Blackness, from which, with the assistance of his clansmen, he very nearly succeeded in making his escape, and would have done so save for treachery on the part of someone privy to his design.¹ Upon this he was, for greater security, transferred to

¹ Pitcairn, Vol. III., 7-11.

Edinburgh Castle. It is noteworthy that this conspiracy against the heir of Dunnyveg was hatched and carried out almost immediately after James's elevation to the English throne, a time when greater distance from the Highlands, as well as heavier cares of State, prevented a close inspection of the doings of the members of the Scottish Council, either in their collective or individual capacity.

In the summer of 1605 Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, with Angus Og, his lawful son, Archibald Dubh, his natural son, and many others, was charged to appear personally before Lord Scone, the Lord Comptroller, at Loch Kilkerran. Angus, who had resumed his position as head of Dunnyveg, as before the surrender in favour of Sir James, was ordered to produce his titles, and find security for his crown rents, on pain of having his title-deeds nullified, and of being prosecuted with fire and sword. The Government issued a proclamation, summoning the chiefs and fighting men within Argyll, Tarbat, and Kintyre, to meet the Comptroller on the 15th July, well armed, and with 40 days' provisions, to aid in pursuit of the rebellious and disobedient.¹ It need only be remarked, with reference to these proceedings, that the Government still recognised that Angus had some title to his possessions, else where was the relevancy of a proclamation threatening his rights with extinction?

Immediately after the foregoing proclamation, Angus was enjoined to surrender the Castle of Dunnyveg to Robert Hepburn, lieutenant of the King's guard, within six hours after he was summoned by that officer—and this under pain of treason. Another proclamation was issued,

¹ Rec. P.C.

ordering the surrender of their boats by the inhabitants of the West Isles, and forbidding the retention of such without a special license, while the meeting of the array of the Western shires with Lord Scone was postponed from the 15th July to the 25th August. Not, however, till the month of September did the Comptroller get the length of Kintyre to hold his Court. From the Dunnyveg Chief he obtained payment of all the arrears of rent due by him to the Crown, while he took with him, as hostages for his future obedience, Angus Og, his second son, and Archibald Macdonald of Gigha, his natural son, the latter of whom appears to have been imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle.¹

We have little further record of the doings of the Clann Iain Mhoir or their Chief until the autumn of 1606, when the attitude assumed towards the Dunnyveg family by the Council seemed so hostile that nothing short of their ruin was likely to satisfy that body. On the 8th September a conference was held between a Committee of the Privy Council and Lord Scone to consider certain offers which were submitted on that date by Macdonald of Dunnyveg. In these offers Angus reiterates former promises, submits to trial by the laws as to his obedience to His Majesty, offers to pay all rents due to the Crown and give sufficient caution within the Lowlands to appear before the Privy Council when wanted, and to concur with and assist any to whom the King may give his commands for the reformation of "the barbarities of the North Isles." Two days after these offers were made, the Dunnyveg Chief, not greatly trusting in the goodwill of the Council, wrote a letter directly to the King, "beseeching

¹ Privy Council Records.

your Majesty for the cause of God to respect my age and poor estate, and to let me know your highness's own mind signed with your Majesty's own hand." Unfortunately for the Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir, the Committee of the Privy Council was entirely dominated by Argyll, through whose influence Angus and his memorials were denied access to the royal ear, as well as entirely ignored by the Council itself. So long as there was any likelihood of a settlement between Sir James and the King, the Dunnyveg Chief received ample countenance and encouragement from Argyll and his satellites in his opposition to such an arrangement, but now that Sir James's ruin has been successfully compassed, Argyll's support is entirely withdrawn. The cloven foot loses all disguise in November, 1606, when Argyll proposed himself as crown tenant for the lands of Kintyre, along with any others that the Comptroller might ask him to accept.

The news that the machinations of Argyll were not improbably to result in the expulsion of the Clann Iain Mhoir from Kintyre, filled the Chief and vassals of that tribe with wrath and consternation. Among the effects of the proposal which occurred early in 1607 were the unsuccessful effort of Sir James Macdonald to escape from Edinburgh Castle, and the escape of his natural brother, Archibald Macdonald of Gigha, from his prison in Dumbarton. This latter event, which is accounted for in contemporary annals by the carelessness of the guards, was the cause of considerable excitement and searchings of heart among the authorities, which suggests that Archibald was a man of con-

siderable influence and importance among the Clann Iain Mhoir.¹

In the summer of 1607 Sir James Macdonald, moved by the straits in which his clan and their fortunes were placed, wrote two letters from his Edinburgh prison. One was written on the 27th June, and addressed to the Duke of Lennox, supplicating the exercise of his influence, in his favour, offering to accept from His Majesty either a portion of his patrimony or a settlement in any part of the kingdom, or even a sentence of banishment as preferable to his wretched and forlorn state. The other letter was to the King, asking pardon for his past offences, and admitting that his great misery was justly deserved. "For Christ's cause, sir, once forgive me my past offences, and with God's grace I shall ever behave myself dutifully."² We do not find that either of these letters received any response.

It was about this time that the ill-gotten grant of North and South Kintyre, and also that of the island of Jura, were confirmed to the Earl of Argyll, who immediately began to oust the native inhabitants, and plant the district with settlers from the south. The old Chief of Clann Iain Mhoir was not likely to witness the passing away of the inheritance of his race unmoved. At the end of July, 1607, it is brought under notice of the Council that he has shaken off the King's authority, gathered large numbers of his clansmen, as well as a considerable fleet of galleys, and altogether assumed a very threatening attitude.³ The usual precautions were taken of summoning the fencible men of the

¹ Balfour's State Papers.

² Denmilne MSS.

³ Records of the Privy Seal.

Western Counties; but the result of Angus's movements was that many of the Lowlanders whom Argyll had introduced into Kintyre took fright, and fled to the north of Ireland, where they took refuge—many of them at least—in the Route, and seem to have been received and protected by Sir Randal Macdonald, the Antrim Chief. It is said that Angus threatened to follow them with his galleys, and visit them with a spulzie, but he does not seem to have carried his threat into effect. In his demonstrations among the Isles, Angus was actively supported by Donald Gorme of Sleat, and the Irish authorities took steps to resist a movement which was on the eve of proving serious, but appears to have fallen short of actual invasion.¹ According to MacVurich, Archibald Dubh Macdonald o' Gigha was murdered in 1607 in "Eilean Mhic Carmaic," and his body was buried in Kilmore in Knapdale.

In December, 1607, another effort was made by Sir James Macdonald to regain his freedom. The scheme was planned by Lord Maxwell, his comrade in misfortune. At four o'clock one Sunday afternoon, Lord Maxwell came and sat with Sir James in his room, where they smoked together in social amity, or, to use the quaint language of the Dunnyveg knight, they "drank twa pipes of tobacco." Lord Maxwell told him that the plan for escape was ripe, and that there were men and horses at the Castle gates to bear them away. Sir James hesitated, but after two quarts of wine were ordered and discussed, the prospect naturally brightened. The keepers were quickly disarmed, and the two prisoners passed out of the chamber to

¹ Irish State Papers.

the Castle gate.¹ Lord Maxwell succeeded in getting away, but Sir James, being encumbered with his fetters, sprained his leg in jumping from the Castle wall, and was shortly afterwards recaptured. There was soon a hue and cry that he had made his escape; a proclamation was issued for his apprehension, in which it was stated that he was believed to be in London,² but all this was idle rumour, and he certainly never got out of Edinburgh, if even beyond the precincts of the Castle. In the following month and year, January, 1608, instructions were issued by the King, which resulted in a warrant to have Sir James brought to trial for his various misdemeanours, real and imaginary, including his late attempt to break ward; but some time was to pass before effect was given to the warrant.

It would be wearisome to reiterate in detail the relations between Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg and the Privy Council during the remainder of his life. The principal facts must, however, be referred to. The connection of the Clann Iain Mhoir as chiefs and Lords of Kintyre had finally determined, and now a process was inaugurated for driving them out of their patrimony in Isla. In 1608, Angus Og, second lawful son of the chief, was in occupation of the fortalice of Dunnyveg, and had apparently declined to give it up to Argyll even on the King's authority. On a mandate from the Council, however, peaceful delivery was given to Lord Ochiltree, and His Majesty was pleased to intimate forgiveness in these terms:—"We have remitted the rancour of our royal mind against him (Angus Og) for his treasonable keeping of the

¹ Macleod Papers.² State Papers, Domestic Series.

Castle of Dunnyveg, and for his disobedience to our letters, by which he was ordered to restore it to Argyll." The surrender took place on the 4th August, and by the month of October Lord Ochiltree reported to the Council that he had placed a garrison in the Castle of Dunnyveg, and that he had demolished the fortress of Lochgorm.¹

In May, 1609, Sir James Macdonald was brought to trial. The accusations against him were two-fold—(1) That he had been guilty of fire-raising at Askomull as well as the seizure and unnatural treatment of his father in 1598, thus committing "maist high and manifest treason;" and (2) the treasonable attempts made by him on various occasions to break ward. It is noteworthy that five years had elapsed between the occurrences at Askomull and Sir James's imprisonment, a fact suggesting that his conduct was condoned, and there is no hint of any further crime brought home to him in connection with his imprisonment in 1603. Mr John Russell, advocate, received a warrant from the Privy Council to act as counsel to Sir James. but he refused to do so without a warrant from the King. Sir James admitted the attempt to break ward, but denied having injured any of the keepers, though some of them had been severely wounded. He denied having set fire to the house at Askomull, but admitted having apprehended his father and placed him in confinement. He produced a warrant from the King authorising and approving of that action, but on second thoughts he refrained from using it—a piece of self-restraint which probably saved his life. It was, in fact, his last card, and had he played it and implicated the King in the proceedings

¹ Records of the P.C.

of 1598, he would no doubt have been led to instant execution. As it was, by holding the document in reserve, his forbearance imposed a check upon the King's will, as well as placed him under a deep obligation. The trial was in itself a great sham. The judge was deputy to Argyll, who occupied the chief judicial place in the realm. The principal witnesses, Sir James's father and mother, and the keepers of the Castle, were not cross-examined in presence of the jury, a feature of criminal trials in that age, while much of the evidence which was taken in writing passed through the hands of the Earl of Argyll. Sir James rightly protested that no evidence taken by Argyll should be available for the trial, seeing that he had "mellit with his blood and living," and was deeply interested in procuring his condemnation. Sir James was condemned to be beheaded as a traitor, and his possessions forfeited to the Crown; but the sentence was not carried out, and the unfortunate heir of Dunnyveg was re-conveyed to prison for another term of years as long as that he had already endured.¹

Reverting to the history of the old Chief of Dunnyveg, there is not much to be recorded during these years. His connection with the events that issued in the Statutes of Icolmkill does not differ materially from that of other chiefs, and does not demand special attention. The Castle of Dunnyveg was in 1610 still occupied by the royal garrison, and the officers of Isla were ordered to furnish 10 marts and 200 in silver to defray the charges of supporting it until His Majesty's pleasure regarding it should be made known. In May of the same year the King wrote a letter to the Council, directing that Bishop

¹ Pitcairns' Criminal Trials.

Knox should be appointed Steward of the Isles, with his headquarters at Dunnyveg, and on the 28th June following orders were given to Lord Ochiltree to deliver up the castle, with the whole munition of war it contained, to the Bishop, or any in his name, according to directions received from His Majesty. Shortly after this the Council—still acting under royal direction—bestowed upon the Bishop for life a grant of the Constabulary of Dunnyveg and of the office of the Stewardry of Isla. The Bishop also received a gift of arrears of taxes due—along with others—by Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg.

By the last recorded transaction in the life of the old Chief of Dunnyveg, he figuratively sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. The triumph of Campbell intrigue was signalized when Angus surrendered his patrimony in Isla to Sir John Campbell of Calder for the paltry sum of 6000 merks. The deed was signed by the parties in Edinburgh on the 1st January, 1612. Angus was now an old man, laden with years and broken in fortune. All his entreaties for titles to his lands had fallen upon deaf ears, for Argyll and Calder were now high in the royal favour, and Angus, being probably in financial straits, was forced—for this trifling consideration—to part with an estate which was, after all, under attainder. It seems doubtful whether the conveyance to Calder took place in legal form at that time; but so far as the Dunnyveg chief was concerned it proved an absolute surrender. Angus appears to have spent his latter days among the Stewarts of Bute after his connection with Isla was finally severed. A bond of manrent signed many years before shews that he was friendly with the sept, while his renunciation of Isla is signed by John

Stewart, burgess of Rothesay, who is described as his servitor. According to MacVurich, Angus died in Rothesay on the 21st October, 1614, and his remains were buried in the old place of sepulture at Saddell. This Seanachie adds a stone to the cairn of the departed chief by describing him as "the best of the Macdonalds in his own time." His eldest son and his successor in the Chiefship of Clann Iain Mhoir was still pining in undeserved captivity with a death sentence hanging over his head.



SIGNATURE OF ANGUS MACDONALD OF DUNNYVEG.

After the death of Angus, the Castle of Dunnyveg soon became a rallying point for Clan Donald resistance and a centre of political intrigue. Towards the end of 1614 this fortalice, which was but slenderly garrisoned, the principal inmates being Robert McGilchrist, Janet Hamilton, spouse to Patrick Knox, and his daughter,¹ was taken by a small party of the Clann Iain Mhoir, consisting of about half-a-dozen individuals. At the head of these was Ranald Og, thus described in contemporary records—"allegeand to be bastard sone to umq^lo Angus M^cConeill of Donyveg whom the said Angus did never in his tyme acknowledge to be his sone. . . a vagabound fellow without any certain residence."² Angus Og, who, since his father's death and owing to the Chief's captivity, was now leader of the Clann Iain Mhoir, lived at

¹ Denmilne MSS.

² Ibid. 18.

the time of the capture about six miles distant from Dunnyveg. On hearing of the Castle being taken, and the Bishop's servants expelled, Angus at once sent round the fiery cross, warning all those who were well affected to the King to help him in the recovery of the house.¹ The siege was entrusted to Coll MacGillespick, with the result that, after holding out for six days, its occupants abandoned the defence, and managed to make their escape, the besiegers occupying it in the King's name. Ranald Og was afterwards apprehended, and several of his accomplices put to death by Angus. When questioned as to his reason for taking the Castle, Ranald blamed Donald Gorme, a natural son of Sir James Macdonald's, who told him that the island was to be given away by the King, and the Clan Donald banished. Donald Gorme pressed Ranald to take the Castle, and promised to protect him from the consequences. At the same time Ranald had in his possession a letter supposed to contain important light upon the subject, but when Angus strove to obtain possession of it, he tore it in shreds. It is hard to say how much or how little truth Ranald Og's statement may have contained. The whole atmosphere surrounding Dunnyveg in those days was saturated with falsehood and intrigue. It is to be noted, however, that if the letter destroyed by Ranald contained information as to the taking of the Castle, it is difficult to account for his reluctance to deliver it to Angus, if the latter instigated him to the capture, as Bishop Knox afterwards accused him of doing. For some time afterwards the Castle continued to be held by Angus Og and his friends, among whom

¹ Denmilne MSS.

was Donald Gorme and a number of the Clan Allister, but the Clan Donald leader professed his readiness to surrender it to the Bishop on receiving remission for all offences committed by himself and his followers, particularly for putting to death the four accomplices of Ranald Og.¹

At this time Sir James Macdonald presented a petition to the Council giving an account of his distress and misery so long endured, and offering, if set at liberty, to reside in any part of the kingdom His Majesty might dictate, offering security for his compareance before the Council whenever charged, and for not visiting his native country without the royal permission. Sir James being under sentence of death, the Council could do nothing without the King's authority, and they accordingly wrote His Majesty on the subject on 22nd June, 1614. Before an answer could be obtained, a circumstance occurred which placed Sir James's conduct in a very favourable light. Since Angus Og's possession of the Castle, the Bishop had reported that the Clan Donald leader refused to give it up, and had furnished it for a siege. The Council, concluding that Sir James was privy to this course, seized his correspondence, and placed him in stricter confinement, if possible, than before. The investigation proved beyond a doubt that Sir James was advising Angus Og all along to surrender, and that the latter offered to give up the Castle if his conduct in apprehending his bastard brother was approved. It came out afterwards in evidence that during the summer, 1614, Angus was encouraged in his resistance to the Bishop by secret messages from Argyll, who sought to convince him that the sur-

¹ Denmilne.

render of the Castle would result in the absolute ruin of himself and the Clan Donald South. He further promised that Angus would obtain a grant of Isla and Dunnyveg Castle if he persisted in his defence. The motives for the Earl's conduct are easily guessed; its influence upon Angus Og was powerful and disastrous. On the 16th August, and at the Bishop's request, a remission was granted to Angus Og and his accomplices for the capture of Dunnyveg, and thus having done good service to His Majesty—by killing “four of the principal of the lymmaris, who surprised and took the same”; but all on condition of surrendering the Castle to the Bishop. Despite this remission by the Council, the Clan Donald declined to surrender, except to the Bishop himself personally, and upon receiving written promises of future friendship. A number of Western chiefs were called upon to assist the Government in their efforts to bring the stubborn men of Dunnyveg to task, but the appeal came to nothing. The Bishop, who had gone to the island with a small retinue, was placed in a great difficulty when the islesmen burnt his boats, and, being largely outnumbered, as well as deprived of his means of departure, was forced into a treaty, which, in other circumstances, he would never have agreed to. He promised to obtain for Angus Og a seven years' lease of the Crown lands of Isla, as well as possession of the Castle of Dunnyveg. To secure these undertakings, he gave as hostages his son, Thomas Knox, and his nephew, John Knox of Ranfurly. To strengthen further their position, the Clan Donald built a new fort on the island of Lochgorm, and placed Ranald MacJames there in command of a garrison.

The Bishop on his return to Edinburgh received neither sympathy nor aid from the Privy Council to fulfil his contract or release his friends. A commission of lieutenandry was given to Campbell of Calder, who undertook, if provided with artillery and ammunition, to reduce the island at his own expense. The proposal was not disinterested, for Sir John at the same time offered a high rent for a grant of Isla, with good prospects of his offer being accepted. Bishop Knox was far from approving of the arrangement for giving the Campbells a footing in Isla, for if the Macdonalds were in his view "pestiferous" their rivals were quite as objectionable.

Once more Sir James Macdonald, seeing his family inheritance slipping out of his grasp, made a final offer to the Privy Council. Chief among his proposals were these:—An offer of 8000 merks per annum for the Crown lands of Isla on a seven years' lease to test his obedience. Should the King prefer to keep these lands in his own possession, he promised to make the island worth 10,000 merks a year, and to transport himself, his brother, and his clan to Ireland or wherever else the King would decide, on receiving a year's rent to buy land with; and he engaged, if these offers were rejected, that on receiving his liberty he and his brother and clan would remove themselves out of the King's dominions on receiving a free pardon for past offences, a letter of recommendation to the States of Holland, and power to raise men in Scotland for the service of these States if such services were accepted. We do not find that these offers—the last ever made by Sir James—were accepted or even seriously considered. On the other hand every facility was

afforded for fitting out Calder's expedition, and it was decided that veterans skilled in Irish warfare should be put at his disposal. Meantime pardon was offered to all who would separate themselves from Angus Og within 24 hours after a Proclamation to that effect was published, and even that delinquent himself was included in a remission upon his giving up the Castle, the hostages, and two of his associates of his own rank. Calder was at this time collecting forces for a descent upon Isla.

As if all the foregoing circumstances were not in themselves sufficiently damaging to the Clan Donald South, a fresh intrigue was developed under the auspices of the Earl of Dunfermline, the Scottish Chancellor, and through the agency of Graham of Eryns, an individual who proved himself a past master in the art of lying. The object was the release of the Bishop's friends, and Graham, who really had no official authority, went to Dunnyveg with what appeared to be instructions from the Privy Council. He convinced Angus Og that on giving up the hostages he had power to stop all the proceedings that were being taken against the garrison. Angus, having given up the Castle and the Bishop's relatives, was again offered by Graham the custody of the Castle and the office of Constable, until he had further instructions from the Chancellor, a course which Angus Og, after considerable hesitation, adopted. So successfully did he play upon the credulity of Angus, that when an accredited herald summoned the garrison to surrender, not only did the Clan Donald refuse, but they threatened him with personal violence. To the very last—even after Calder, reinforced by Oliver Lambert, arrived upon the scene—Angus Og and his garrison resisted, in

the belief that they were thus acting up to the instructions of the Council. At last the dupes of the treacherous Graham understood that they had been deceived and more gravely compromised with the Government than ever. In the early days of 1615 a strong body of men, with a battery of artillery, was brought to the siege of Dunnyveg, and the formidable measures for assault convinced the Clan Donald that further resistance would be useless. On the 24th January, 1615, Ranald Mac-James entered into a bond with Sir John Campbell of Calder, promising on his own behalf, and that of Donald Gorme, his son, to surrender the fortalice of Island Lochgorm before the 28th of the same month, and promising to become a loyal subject. This fort was accordingly given up, and, after some hesitation and several delays, Angus Og and his associates surrendered the Castle of Dunnyveg without conditions. Coll MacGillespick and a few others contrived to get away; but of these Coll alone eventually made his escape, six others being apprehended and put to death. This proved eventually to be the fate of Angus Og and his principal accomplices. On the 3rd July following, nearly six months after their submission, they were all condemned for high treason, and executed five days afterwards. More sinned against than sinning, they were victims of the cruel fate which so consistently pursued the family of Dunnyveg down to its final ruin.

For several months after the surrender of Dunnyveg, Coll MacGillespick led the life of a pirate among the Western Isles. For reasons that will afterwards appear, we may at this stage indicate, as briefly as possible, Coll's position in the Clann Iain Mhoir. This worthy, who was yet to play an

important part in the history of his house, was the grandson of Coll, supposed to be the second son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach. This Coll, the son of Alexander, was known as *Colla maol dubh* on account of physical characteristics, and as *Colla nan capull* from the fact of his being a leader of horsemen. The greater part of his life was spent in Ireland, where he had his residence in Kinbann Castle, and, despite the warlike operations conducted by the English against the Gael of Ulster, he continued to hold it against all comers. He died in 1558, and was accounted one of the best and bravest of his race. He was succeeded by his son, Archibald, who, like his great-grandfather, was fostered in the O'Cathan family. He met with a violent death on arriving at his majority. This event was celebrated at Ballycastle by, among other amusements, the sport of bull-baiting, and an infuriated bull having unfortunately broken loose, rushed upon Archibald, and inflicted a mortal wound before there was time to interfere. He left an infant son, Coll MacGillespick, who was removed at an early age to Colonsay, where he was brought up with the MacDuffies, and which he ever afterwards regarded as his home. He was called Colla Ciotach, from the fact that he was ambidexter, able to use his left hand with as much facility as the right, thus rendering him a formidable antagonist in battle.

Colla Ciotach's connection with the Macdonald stand against combined tyranny and treachery at Dunnyveg has been shown in the preceding pages of this chapter, and now we find him, after having escaped from the ancient fortress of his sires, launching on a brief piratical career, committing many irregularities, but apparently enjoying interludes of

feasting and conviviality. Accompanied by various individuals of the Isla dispersion, as well as by some Lewis Macleods, brethren in the bonds of misfortune and rebellion, Coll visited a number of the Hebridean islands. In Canna he spent eight days enjoying the hospitality of MacCallan O'Cahan's wife, her husband being at the time away on the mainland. Donald Gorme's lands in Skye and Uist were also visited, and it is said that the lady of Sleat, who was then in Uist, sent Coll and his associates four horse loads of meat, consisting of "two swyne, one salted and one unsalted." Thence they sailed to "The Arte," now known as St Kilda, taking with them great store of barley and 30 sheep for their provision. There they stayed for a month, and it is interesting to note that the population of that solitary little island consisted then of 20 souls, equally divided between the sexes, there being 10 men and 10 women. On his return south, Coll paid a visit to Iona, where Lachlan Maclean, brother to the laird of Duart, resided, and there so hospitably regaled was our hero of Dunnyveg that he drowned the sorrows of a fugitive by copious draughts of *aqua vitae*. Finally he came to Rathlin, took the principal men of the island prisoners; kept them bound for a night; loosed them next morning and burnt all their boats. In the course of his wanderings he captured an Irish fisher-boat laden with oats for Scotland, and a Glasgow boat bound for Loch Foyle with a cargo of salt, wine, beer, and "3 score Scotts gallons of aquavity."¹

The foregoing piratical deeds are probably but samples of Coll's delinquencies during this phase of his stirring life, and so seriously were his ongoing

X ¹ Macleod Papers. Deposition by Robert Williamson.

regarded that in the month of April (1615) a commission of fire and sword against himself and his accomplices was issued by the Privy Council to eight of the principal chiefs of the Isles.

While the authorities were thus devising means to extinguish the flickering flame of rebellion, they were startled by the tidings that Sir James Macdonald had been successful in making his escape from Edinburgh on the 23rd May. Immediately there was a reward of £2000 offered for his capture, and it was with much difficulty he was able to elude his pursuers. Passing through Atholl, near Loch Rannoch, so hot was the pursuit that only by abandoning his horses, baggage, and books did he avoid apprehension. Once in the region of Lochaber, where the Keppoch chief, who had aided him in his escape, held sway, he was comparatively secure. Thence he passed through the countries of Clanranald and Donald Gorme; but while the chiefs of these regions may have sympathised with his cause, neither of them openly espoused it, though a contingent of the men of Sleat is supposed to have joined him. A number of the broken Clann Iain of Ardnamurchan also gave him active support. When Sir James arrived in the Island of Eigg he was joined by Coll MacGillespick, and, after many demonstrations in his honour in that ancient rendezvous of the Clan Donald, he and his followers, to the number of 300, left Eigg and came to Colonsay on the 18th June, taking with them a quantity of slaughtered cattle for purposes of commissariat. Leaving Colonsay, he sailed to Isla, and soon the Castle of Dunnyveg, in possession of Calder's followers, fell into his hands. His action while in Isla was characterised by the strictest moderation, and

he satisfied himself with expelling Calder's followers from the island. Before the end of July his following was largely augmented.

In Sir James's correspondence at this time, and in his communications with the Council, he clearly shows that his efforts were in no sense directed against the King and his Government, to whom he desired to manifest all manner of loyalty. He would fain be readmitted to his allegiance on any tolerable condition; but it was impossible for him to be reconciled to the possession of Isla by the Campbells. When we think of all he had suffered through their machinations, can we wonder at his deep exasperation against them?

While in Isla Sir James strengthened the fortifications of Island Lochgorm, and, having placed a garrison in Dunnyveg under his natural son, Donald Gorme, he sent Coll MacGillespick with a force to Jura, while he himself took with him a strong body of men to Kintyre, both movements being intended to extend the area of the Clan Donald insurrection. On the 4th August the Council, who by this time had increased the price of Sir James's head to £5000, appointed the Earl of Argyll to the Lieutenandry of the Isles, with specific instructions to proceed against the rebels. The Earl, however, was delayed through absence in England, whither he had gone to escape the embarrassing attention of his creditors; but Auchinbreck meanwhile, instructed by the Council, was able in some measure to keep the rebels in check with a force of 300 men. At last, in the month of September, Argyll, with a large force, placed at his disposal by the Council, took up his position at Duntroon, having a part of his fleet and land forces on the west, and part on the east side of the isthmus

now cut by the Crinan Canal. Sir James, with 970 men, a force greatly inferior in numbers to that of his adversary, was encamped at a point of Kintyre opposite Cara, about 30 miles further south, near which his vessels were collected. The Earl, assuming the aggressive, sent a portion of his army—700 or 800 men—under command of Campbell of Caddell, by sea to Cara to fall upon Sir James's fleet by night, while he led the rest by land to a point on East Loch Tarbert. Sir James could hardly have hoped to succeed against a force nearly double his own, but he made the best dispositions that were possible in the circumstances. Ranald MacJames, the Chief's uncle, who had broken through his bond with Calder, was sent with some 300 or 400 men towards East Loch Tarbert to stop Argyll's advance on land, while Coll MacGillespick was despatched with a small fleet to reconnoitre on the other side. Both movements failed. The larger detachment, led by Ranald MacJames, had to retreat before Argyll's greatly superior force. Coll, with his squadron, had also to retire, but not before he had taken prisoners a small party under Campbell of Lochnell, whom the Laird of Caddell had sent forward for scouting purposes. The leaders of Sir James's main fleet at Cara—Keppoch and his son and Sorley MacJames—were warned by beacons lighted in the Largie country of the approach of Caddell by sea, unfurled their sails, and fled ; but by the time the Campbell fleet, in overwhelming force, had taken possession of Gigha, Coll found himself intercepted, and it was only after abandoning his boats and losing some 15 of his men that he was able to make good his escape by land. Sir James, perceiving that the day was

hopelessly lost, quitted his camp and sailed for the Isle of Rachrin, while Coll, Sorley MacJames, and the other Clan Donald leaders, who, as we saw, retired from Cara, made the best of their way to Isla, Coll taking possession of the forts of Dunnyveg and Island Lochgorm. On Sir James returning from Rachrin to Isla to test his chances there once more, he and Coll, with a remnant of 400 or 500 men, encamped on the south-western extremity of the island at the Point of Rhinns close to the islet of Oversay. Argyll hearing of this move goes to Isla strongly reinforced by Government ships from England, which had been expected for some time. Sir James, abandoning all hope of successful resistance, proposed a four days' truce, promising before its expiry to make an unconditional surrender. Argyll consented, on the understanding that the forts should be given up within 24 hours. Sir James was willing to do this, but Coll MacGillespick, who acted treacherously at this crisis, declined to surrender the forts which were under his charge. Argyll made preparations to surprise the Dunnyveg chief, and landed a force of 1000 men; but some faithful friends lit warning beacons on the point of Oa, and Sir James, Keppoch, Sorley MacJames, and 40 others, made their escape to a small island on the Irish coast. Next day Coll treated with Argyll on terms favourable to his own safety. He received pardon by a surrender of the forts, but he was guilty of a cruel act of betrayal by giving up Macfie of Colonsay and 18 other rebels, who were soon afterwards put to death. Coll's liberation was doubtless facilitated by his having in his possession Campbell of Lochnell and other prisoners whose safety would have been compromised by Argyll's

refusal to treat. Sir James Macdonald and Donald Gorme, his son, spent a short time in concealment in Galway, and the former soon managed to make his escape to Spain. There he remained for about five years. Towards the end of his exile in the sunny south, he and Keppoch were joined by their *quondam* foe Argyll, who, through conjugal influence, had secretly abandoned Protestantism, and fallen into disfavour with the Government. It does credit to Sir James' magnanimity that he seems to have accorded a welcome to the fallen Earl. It is significant that almost immediately after Argyll's fall and exile, Sir James Macdonald received a remission under the Great Seal¹. Shortly after this he returned to Britain, took up his residence in London, and received from the King a pension of 1000 merks sterling. Had His Majesty got his own way, Sir James would have been allowed an unconditional return to his native Highlands, but, through the influence of the Privy Council of Scotland, though his pardon passed the Great Seal in October, 1621, he was debarred from visiting Scotland. He was always a favourite with James VI., and, if he had had a son to carry on the succession, part, at least, of his patrimony might have been restored. As he had no lawful issue, he may have been indifferent to such a prospect. He died in London in 1626. In his youth he may have been guilty of excesses, but a careful review of his career brings little or nothing to light that is barbarous or vindictive, though it may suit Campbell dignitaries to traduce his memory in justification of the darker and deeper guilt of those who undermined him in property and position. His abilities

¹ Calderwood, VII., 427.

were considerable, and during the long years of his confinement he cultivated a taste for literature. On his death the main line of Dunnyveg became extinct, and the representation of the family—no longer, alas! accompanied by territorial prestige in Scotland—devolved upon the descendants of *Colla na Capull* of Kinbann, second son of Alexander, son of John Cathanach. The head of Clann Iain Mhoir therefore proved to be Colla MacGillespick, already so much in evidence, and, unfortunately, not always to his credit, in the recent history of Dunnyveg. The exigencies of space do not permit us to enter at any length into the history of Coll and his descendants; nor is it necessary to do so in this volume, owing to the termination of the Dunnyveg family as a territorial house in Scotland. Owing to this territorial termination of the Dunnyveg family, the further history of Colla MacGillespick and his heroic son, Alastair MacColla, will fall to be dealt with quite as—if not more—appropriately in the concluding and genealogical portion of this work. All that need now be said is that the great house of Dunnyveg is still worthily represented by several branches, both in Scotland and in the North of Ireland, as we hope hereafter, and in greater detail, to shew.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MACDONALDS OF KEPPOCH.



Alastair Carrach.—His contract with Thomas, Earl of Moray.—Alexander in rebellion.—Quarrel with the Bishop of Moray.—Burning of the town of Elgin.—Alexander at Harlaw.—Insurrection in Lochaber.—Alexander at Inverlochy.—His forfeiture.—Angus of Fersit.—Donald of Keppoch involved in troubles arising out of the surrender of the Earldom of Ross.—He pays homage to the King at Mingarry.—Fined for “distrucione” of William Dallas to Rathlin and afterwards forfeited.—Donald killed in a fight with the Stewarts of Appin.—Iain Aluinn deposed from the Chiefship.—Alastair nan Gleann elected Chief.—Donald Glass does “wrang” in occupying Crown lands in Lochaber.—Ranald Mor at Blar Leine.—Executed at Elgin.—Battle of Boloinne.—Death of Alastair Boloinne.—Ranald Og’s loyalty and friendship with Campbells.—Bond of manrent to Mackintosh.—Alastair nan Cleas.—Troubles with Mackintosh.—Agreement with Argyle.—Huntly friendly to Keppoch.—Concerned in the escape of Sir James Macdonald.—Fled to Spain.—Returns and is pardoned.—Charter of lands in Lochaber by the Earl of Enzie to Keppoch.—Keppoch’s fame as a conjuror.—The

story of the Chief's candlesticks.—Ronald of Keppoch outlawed for his share in the escape of Sir James Macdonald.—Befriended by Huntly.—Espouses the cause of Charles I.—Plundering raid by Argyle.—Donald Glass of Keppoch joins Montrose.—Signs the Bond of Union at Fort-Augustus.—Alastair Buidhe as Tutor of MacRanald supports Charles II.—The Keppoch murder.—John Lom Macdonald and the Keppoch murderers.—Commission to Sir James Macdonald of Sleat to apprehend the Keppoch murderers.—Alastair Buidhe succeeds his nephew Alexander, the murdered Chief.—Archibald, the poet Chief, supports the Macleans against the Campbells.—Differences with Mackintosh.—Keppoch joins Claverhouse against the Western Whigs.—Troubles in Argyle.—Bond of manrent to Breadalbane.—Quarrel with Mackintosh renewed.—Coll of Keppoch imprisoned by Mackintosh at Inverness.—Battle of Mulroy.—Coll raids Mackintosh's lands and takes possession of the town of Inverness.—Joins Dundee.—At Killiecrankie.—Defeat at Cromdale and subsequent harrying of the lands of the Mackintoshes.—Coll submits to Government of William of Orange.—Mackintosh determined to disturb the peace of the country by invading Lochaber.—Agreement with Mackintosh at Fort-William.—Coll signs congratulatory address to George I.—Joined in the Rebellion of 1715.—Escaped to France.—Alexander of Keppoch at Sheriffmuir.—Entered the French service.—Negotiates for the restoration of the Stuart Family.—Joins Prince Charles in 1745.—Death at Culloden.—Ronald of Keppoch entered the army and served in Fraser's Highlanders in America.—He retired from the army and died at Keppoch.—Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch entered the army and served under Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt.—He died in Jamaica.—Richard of Keppoch served with the Gordon Highlanders in the Peninsula.—He died in Jamaica.

THOUGH in point of territorial importance the family of Keppoch may be said to be the least of all the branches of the House of Somerled, yet in the history of the Clan itself none fills a more conspicuous place than the descendants of Alastair Carrach. Alexander Macdonald, the founder of the

family of Keppoch, was the fourth son of John of Isla and the Princess Margaret of Scotland. His father bestowed upon him the Lordship of Lochaber. According to Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat Seanachie, "Alastair Carrach refused the country of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye, preferring to it the forest lands of Lochaber, and so received the lands beyond the river Lochy, Mamore, and Glenspean." The Sleat Seanachie is in error here, so far as the lands of Troternish are concerned. These lands did not at that time form part of the extensive territories of the Family of Isla, the whole lands of Skye being then included in the Earldom of Ross. Alastair Carrach, like the other sons of John of Isla, occupies a prominent place in the annals of the Clan Cholla. The few glimpses of him which the records of the time afford us show him to have been a bold, self-assertive, and restless man. It has been inferred from the qualifying Gaelic epithet of *Carrach*, by which he has been distinguished in the history of the Clan, that Alexander was no less dexterous in the use of arms than he was in the use of his mental faculties. Dean Munro in his Manuscript Genealogy of the Macdonalds would have it that he was "the fairest haired man that ever was," but the word *Carrach* has a much less complimentary meaning, and signifies a physical defect, which, in the case of the Lord of Lochaber, may have meant no more than a profusion of warts.

The first appearance made by Alastair Carrach as Lord of Lochaber, of which there is record, was in the year 1394, when he entered into a contract with Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, in terms of which he became bound to take under his protection, defence, and safeguard, for the space of seven

years, all the possessions of the regality of Moray, and all the Church lands in that Province, which the Earl of Moray had by a former contract bound himself to protect. He likewise promised to adhere to and stand by the Earl against all persons for the like space of seven years, the King, the Earl of Fife (afterwards the Regent Albany), and the Lord of the Isles only excepted. The Earl of Moray, on the other hand, promised to pay to the Lord of Lochaber 80 merks a year, and, further, to adhere and stand by him in all his affairs against all persons, excepting only the King, the Earl of Fife, Malcolm Drummond, Earl of Mar, and Alexander Lesley, heir of the Earldom of Ross. This contract contains several other clauses, the most curious of which is one providing that the Lord of Lochaber shall not allow his own men, or other caterans over whom he may have influence, whatever their rank may be, to beg through the lands of Moray, or to waste and destroy these lands, by sorning, that is, living at free quarters upon the inhabitants.¹ This contract did not serve the purpose for which it was intended, nor was it renewed in terms of the agreement between the parties after the expiry of the seven years. Much had happened in the interval to prevent the accomplishment of this purpose. The marriage of the Wolf of Badenoch to Euphemia, Countess of Ross, in 1383, with the subsequent surrender by the Countess to her husband of the lands of her Earldom, had more or less directly influenced the agreement between the Earl of Moray and the Lord of Lochaber in 1394, while the death of the Wolf in the same year opened the way to complications, which

¹ Chartulary of Moray.

rendered the terms of the compact difficult, if not impossible, of fulfilment. In the scramble for the lands of the Earldom of Ross which took place on the death of the Wolf of Badenoch, Donald, Lord of the Isles, eagerly watched the proceedings in behalf of his wife, a prospective heiress of the Earldom. Donald, as a matter of policy, decided to remain in the background, but Alastair Carrach, from his place of vantage, resolved to strike a blow for his brother. Alexander summoned his followers to his standard. The lands of the Earldom of Moray, put under his protection, served as a base of operations in carrying out his designs on the Earldom of Ross. As a first step in the conquest of Ross, Alexander took possession of the Castle and lands of Urquhart. How far the rebellion extended beyond Urquhart the records give no direct evidence, but that it assumed an alarming aspect is evident from the fact that it called forth the interference of Parliament. Alexander and his brothers, Donald and John Mor, who had joined him, were summoned for treason, but, having made their submission, Donald and John were pardoned, and Alexander, as the leader of the insurrection, was sentenced to a short period of confinement under his brother, Donald. After the storm of the rebellion had subsided, and the brothers had given in their submission, there was a complaint lodged on the 20th of November, 1398, by William de Spynie, Bishop of Moray, against "the illustrious man and potent Alexander of the Isles, Lord of Lochaber," the purport of which was that Alexander, led by the advice of some persons, had bestowed the lands of Upper Kinmylies on Ranald MacAlexander, probably one of his own family, and the lands of Lower

Kinmylies on John Chisholm of the Aird, while the fishings of Lower Kinmylies had been assigned by him to John White, a burghess of Inverness. These lands being the property of the Church, the Bishop desired the Dean of Inverness and the Chaplain of the Parish Church, under pain of Canon law, to charge Ranald MacAlexander, John Chisholm, and John White, not to meddle with the said lands in any manner, under pain of excommunication. The threat of excommunication with book, bell, and candle, with its direful consequences, had evidently the desired effect on the usurpers of the Kirklands. The thought of the Church's displeasure had a different effect on the bold Lord of Lochaber. On the expiry of the seven years during which he had bound himself to protect the Church lands in the Province of Moray, Alexander entered the Canonry of Elgin with his band, and plundered it of all he could find, burnt most of the town of Elgin, and carried off the spoil. When he came back to the Canonry with a great army, he was informed that, having been a sanctuary from ancient times, its violation would induce sentence of excommunication on him and his people. Alexander then returned to his duty, and humbly besought absolution, which was granted by the Bishop of Moray clothed in his pontificals, first before the doors of the Church, and afterwards before the High Altar. The penitent Lord having offered a great torch set in gold, his captains were brought forward in their turn, and he ordered a cross with a bell to be erected towards the town where the sanctuary begins.

The next appearance made by Alastair Carrach on the stage of history was in the year 1411, when he joined his brother's forces at Harlaw.

According to Hugh Macdonald, Alexander was not allowed to take a prominent part in the engagement, "lest the whole of the brothers should be hazarded at once." In the rebellion of John Mor, instigated by the Abbot MacKinnon, Alexander took the side of his brother Donald, and rendered important services on that occasion.

The visit of James I. to Inverness in 1427, which had for its object the pacifying of the Highlanders, had exactly the opposite effect. The execution of Alexander of Garmoran, a prominent leader of the Clan Donald, and the murder of John Mor, the uncle of the Lord of the Isles, for both of which the King was responsible, were deeply resented wherever the Lord of the Isles held sway. The result was an appeal to arms, and a general rising among the vassals of the Isles. With the events which followed we are already familiar. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, appeared at the head of a large army in Lochaber, where he was joined by Alastair Carach with a large following of his dependants. From Lochaber the Highlanders marched to Inverness, burnt the town, and, in revenge for the treacherous conduct of the King, wasted all the Crown lands in the neighbourhood. In all these transactions the Lord of Lochaber and his followers had their full share. Pressed by the royal army, the Lord of the Isles retraced his steps, and fell back on Lochaber. The Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron having deserted his standard, he was obliged to sue for peace. It ended in a humiliating and unedifying surrender at Holyrood, followed by the imprisonment of the proud Lord of Innsegall at Tantallon Castle. This was a signal for renewed hostilities in the Isles, and Donald Balloch raised the banner

of his Chief at Inverlochy, where a bloody battle ensued between the Macdonald host and the royal forces, commanded by the Earl of Mar. The Lord of Lochaber with his archers rendered conspicuous services in this engagement, and contributed largely to the defeat of the royal forces which followed. The Sleat Seanachie records that "Alastair Carrach took possession of the hill above the enemy with 220 archers, being unable by the smallness of his number to face the enemy, but expected that some of his friends would at last come to his relief. Upon seeing his nephew, Donald Balloch, he was much animated." As the combatants faced one another Alastair Carrach and his archers poured down the brow of the hill on which they had planted themselves, and shot their arrows so thick on the flank of the royal army as to compel them to give way.

For his share in the insurrection which terminated so successfully for the Macdonalds at Inverlochy, Alastair Carrach was forfeited and deprived of his lands in Lochaber. Some of these lands were bestowed on Mackintosh, who, with the Clan Chattan, had fought on the other side. Whether any of the lands so gifted were afterwards restored to Alexander by the Lord of the Isles is uncertain. The Lord of the Isles was released soon after the battle of Inverlochy, but it was not until 1443 that he granted a charter of the lands formerly in the possession of Alastair Carrach to Mackintosh *pro suo fideli servitio nobis*. What faithful services Mackintosh had rendered to the Lord of the Isles we know not: that he performed every service of which he was capable against him we do know. It appears in reality that the Lochaber lands were granted to Mackintosh for

what he had suffered at the hands of Donald Balloch in 1431, and for the services he had rendered to the royal cause at that time. On the restoration of the Lord of the Isles to royal favour, he, no doubt under royal compulsion, confirmed Mackintosh in these lands, but if under compulsion the illustrious Chief ought not to have added *pro suo fideli servitio nobis*. Of the Lord of Lochaber we hear no more. He is supposed to have lived to an old age, but there is no record of the date of his death.

The family of Keppoch, being much crippled territorially and otherwise by the forfeiture of Alexander, are not often in evidence during the generation that followed that event. They still, however, held their own in the Brae of Lochaber, where they continued to dwell, and which, without any written title, they continued to defend against all-comers. Of Angus, the second chieftain of the family, we find little or no account, either in the public records or elsewhere. He witnessed a charter of John, Earl of Ross, dated at Dingwall November 8th, 1463, in which he is styled "Angus Alexandri de Insulis."¹ Angus, who lived at Fersit, is known in the clan traditions of Lochaber as "Aonghas na Fearste." Although there is no distinct record of the actual part acted by the family of Keppoch in the history of the clan during the chiefship of John, Earl of Ross, yet it is safe to assume that they were not idle spectators of the stirring events which took place before and after the forfeiture of that nobleman. There are not wanting, indeed, indications of trouble on their own account, for, although protected and sheltered to some extent by the Island

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal.

Lord, who was still superior of the Lands of Lochaber, they were exposed at times to the menaces of hostile neighbours, by whom they were surrounded on every side. In 1478, John, Lord of the Isles, was summoned before Parliament to answer, among other things, for supporting and resetting Donald MacAngus of Keppoch, and his accomplices, who had invaded the King's lieges.¹ Donald appears to have given his hearty support to Angus, the heir of the Lord of the Isles, in his efforts to maintain the family prestige in Ross. In the battle of Lagabraad, where the gallant Angus crushed the Mackenzies and other enemies of the House of Isla in Ross, Alexander, the brother of Donald of Keppoch, was present at the head of the followers of the Keppoch banner. In 1491, when Alexander of Lochalsh raised the standard of rebellion and entered Badenoch with a large body of Western Highlanders, Donald of Keppoch joined him with his followers. After taking possession of the Castle of Inverness, Alexander of Lochalsh raided the lands of Alexander Urquhart of Cromarty. The Lochalsh insurrection ended in the skirmish of Park, where Alexander, fighting with a mere handful of men, was defeated. Whether Donald of Keppoch took part in the engagement is uncertain, and Alexander, his brother, who was on his way to join Lochalsh at the head of 240 men, was, it seems, too late to render effective service.² The rebellious proceedings of Alexander of Lochalsh resulted in the final forfeiture of John, Lord of the Isles, an event which threw the West Highlands and Islands into great confusion. The King hastened to the Highlands to restore order among the clans, and among others

¹ Acts of Parl.² Hugh Macdonald's MS.

who paid homage to His Majesty at Mingarry was Donald Angusson of Keppoch.¹ As further security for their good behaviour, Donald Angusson and others appeared the following year before the Lords of Council, and bound themselves "by the extension of their hands" to the Earl of Argyle, in behalf of the King, to refrain from mutual injuries, each under a penalty of £500.² In the same year "Gargavach alias vocat the Inche of Lochquhabir" is occupied by Donald of Keppoch as the King's tenant, at a rental of 40 merks.³ Royal favours and extension of hands notwithstanding, Donald evidently did not remain long in the attitude of a loyal subject. Early in 1497, a complaint was lodged at Elgin against him by William Dallas of Cantray for violence and slaughter, and "distrucione" of that individual first to Rathlin and then to the Isles to be in the keeping of Angus Makane. Donald, who failed to appear to answer the charge, was fined by the Lords of Council in 200 merks.⁴ The "distrucione" of William Dallas to the Isles was a bold act on the part of the Chieftain of Keppoch, and is one evidence at least of the reviving influence and power of the descendants of Alastair Carrach. The inevitable consequences, however, followed, and Donald of Keppoch had to pay the penalty of his greatness by forfeiture. The usual proceedings were taken, and Donald was summoned for holding his lands without a proper legal title, but the chieftain was obliged to answer another and a sterner summons. Donald was killed at a place called Leachada, on Ben Doran side, in Glenorchy, fighting against the Stewarts of Appin. It appears that the

¹ Reg. of the Great Seal. ² Acta Dom. Con.

³ Crown Rentals. ⁴ Acta Dom. Con.

Macfarlanes from Lochlomondside came to the Braes of Lochaber and took away all the cattle, the Lochaber men being from home with their chief, Donald Angusson, in Morayshire on a similar errand. On the return of the Lochaber men, and finding that their cattle had been stolen, they pursued the Macfarlanes, whom they overtook near Lochearnhead, and, after a bloody fray, recovered the spoil. Before they had gone far on their way home, they met Dougald Stewart of Appin, who, with his men, had followed the Macfarlanes with the intention of depriving them of the Keppoch cattle. The Lochaber men, exhausted as they were, had again to fight, but they succeeded in beating their new opponents. In the conflict Donald of Keppoch and Dougald Stewart of Appin were both killed, with many of their principal followers.

↓ The successor of Donald, his son, Iain Aluinn, enjoyed the honours of the chiefship for a very brief space. At the very outset he gave offence to his retainers by surrendering to Mackintosh a notorious thief, known as Domhnall Ruadh Beag, against whom a complaint had been lodged by the Clan Chattan for sundry depredations. It appears that Donald was given up to Mackintosh, on condition that "his blood should not be spilled," a condition which Mackintosh fulfilled to the letter by hanging the thief. The men of the Brae were greatly incensed at the conduct of Iain Aluinn in thus yielding to Mackintosh, and acknowledging his authority in Lochaber. Iain's character was, no doubt, well known before this incident brought matters to a crisis, and his followers were resolved to be rid of a man whom they conceived to be utterly unfit for the position he held. Iain Aluinn

was weighed, and found wanting. The tribe met, and solemnly deposed him from the chiefship, and elected another in his stead, which, according to the tribal Celtic law, they were entitled to do. The deposition of Iain Aluinn and the selection of his successor created no small stir in the little community. A sept, the most powerful then among the followers of the family of Keppoch, named Clann Mhic Ghillemhantich, who asserted that they had come originally from Barra, proposed to send for an individual to that island to be their chief, probably a son of MacNeill of Barra. Another sept, for some time settled in Lochaber, proposed to send to North Uist for Godfrey, a descendant of the Lord of that island. The descendants of Alastair Carrach naturally desired one of their own family to be chief, and finally Alexander, the son of Angus, and grandson of Alastair Carrach, was chosen. Iain Aluinn, who apparently accepted the situation with great calmness, retired to a place called Urchair, where he spent the remainder of his days. Some of his progeny are still to be found in Lochaber, and to this day they bear the name of "Sliochd a bhrathair bu shine."

The newly-elected chief, who was known to his contemporaries as "Alastair nan Gleann," had already during his brother's chiefship played an important part as a clansman. He was, as we have seen, concerned in the invasion of Ross by Angus of the Isles in 1483, and later on in the raid of Cromarty and the affair of Park. Alexander died shortly after his election to the chiefship. He was killed, according to tradition, at a place called "Carn Alastair," by a Cameron who lay in ambush

for him while he was leading home a foray taken by him from the neighbourhood.

“ Alasdair cridhe nan Gleann,
 Gun thu bhi ann 's mòr a chreach
 'S tric a leag thu air an tom
 An damh donn leis na coin ghlaiss.”

Alexander lived generally at “Coille Diamhain,” at Torran nan Ceap, about a mile from where the Castle of Keppoch was built by his son. From him came the earlier designation of the family of Keppoch as “Sliochd Alastair Mhic Aonghuis.”

Alexander of Keppoch was succeeded by his son, Donald Glass, regarding whom we find several notices on record. In 1498 we find him with Ewin Allanson of Lochiel entering by the mediation of the Privy Council into mutual securities with Munro of Fowlis, Grant of Freuchie, and others, with a view to check the progress of various feuds arising out of the Lochalsh insurrection.¹ It appears that the Castle of Novar, belonging to Munro of Fowlis, had been seized and garrisoned by Alexander of Lochalsh, assisted by Donald of Keppoch, for which the latter for his part had now agreed to make amends. Alexander, Lord Gordon, received in 1500 a grant of many lands in Lochaber, then in the King's hands, by the forfeiture of John, Lord of the Isles, and in the following year he was instructed to collect the King's rents, by force, if necessary.² If Lord Gordon used pressure to enforce payment of the King's rents in Lochaber, it failed utterly of its purpose, so far as Donald Glass of Keppoch was concerned. About this time an inroad had been made into Lochaber

¹ Acta Dom. Con.

² Register of Great Seal.

by the Clan Chattan, and great devastation was committed. The leaders in the raid were Gillies M^cPhail and Patrick M^cBane, to whom a remission was granted for their crimes, dated 9th June, 1500.¹ In December, 1501, it was found by the Privy Council that Donald Glass and others did "wrang" in occupying the lands of Lochaber pertaining to the Crown, from which they were ordained to remove accordingly.² This mandate, there can be no doubt, was disobeyed, but it serves to illustrate the unsettled state of the Highlands immediately after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles. A few months afterwards, Huntly, along with Lord Lovat and Munro of Fowlis, received a commission to let the King's lands of Lochaber for the plenishing thereof and expelling of broken men.³ At this time Donald Glass seems to have submitted to the Earl of Huntly, and to have received from him a lease of the lands he then occupied in Lochaber. In 1503 Lochaber was the scene of a great turmoil raised by the rebellion of Donald Dubh, but it does not appear that Donald Glass of Keppoch was prominently concerned in this insurrection. He disappears from the clan scene altogether about this time. The date of his death is uncertain. It was he who built the old Castle of Keppoch, which stood on Tom Beag, at the foot of the river Roy, where it joins the Spean.

Donald Glass was succeeded by his son, Ronald Mor, of whose history we know nothing more with certainty than that he was one of the principal supporters of John Moidartach of Clanranald at the Battle of Leine. The Earl of Huntly having received a commission to apprehend the principal

¹ Reg. of the Privy Seal.

² Acta Dom. Con.

³ Reg. of the Privy Seal.

leaders of the victorious party, exerted himself so much that before long he, by the assistance of Mackintosh, secured the persons of Ranald of Keppoch and Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, next to John Moidartach himself the persons most deeply implicated. They were imprisoned for a time in Ruthven of Badenoch, and afterwards tried at Elgin for the slaughter of Lord Lovat, and, being found guilty, were beheaded, and their heads were fixed over the gates of the town, while several of their followers were hanged. There is a tradition that one of these was a son of the Chief of Keppoch, and that his death was directly attributed to Mackintosh. It is said that Keppoch's wife, who was a sister of Mackintosh, implored vengeance from heaven upon her brother, and prayed that for many generations to come a son should not succeed his father in the succession of the Mackintosh Chiefs, a curse which was literally fulfilled. Ranald Mor Macdonald of Keppoch was executed in 1547. From him the family took their later patronymic of *Mac Mhic Raonuill*.

Ronald was succeeded by his son, Alexander, known as "Alastair Boloynes," who lived but a short time after his accession to the chiefship. Alexander celebrated his accession to the chiefship by engaging in a "herschip." This, doubtless, had been a *creach* made according to the old custom to prove himself worthy of his rank. Accompanied by Alastair McCorrie, and John MacInnes, and their followers, Alexander of Keppoch invaded in turn the fertile plains of Urquhart, Glenshee, and Strathardle, and left nothing behind that he could carry with him. Some time thereafter, he and his accomplices received a respite, under the Privy Seal, to endure

for 21 years. Alexander appears to have been on anything but friendly terms with his Cameron neighbours. Their differences were at length brought to a test in a clan battle at Boloinne, behind Mulroy, in which, though both sides fought with equal bravery, the Camerons were worsted. The leader of the Camerons was killed, while Alexander of Keppoch was severely wounded. John Dubh of Bohuntin, his brother, took Alexander's place as leader of the men of Keppoch, and followed up the pursuit of the retreating Camerons, whom he drove across the Lochy into their own country. The engagement between the Macdonalds of Keppoch and the Camerons is noticed in the "Chronicle of Fortingall," where it is recorded that in February, 1554, "Ewyn son of M'Ewin lard of Lo . . . abyrythyth againis Alexander son to Rannald M'Conilglas quhen mony war slayn on . . . sydis and boyth their cuntreis bryint." Continuing to suffer from his wound, Alexander of Keppoch was obliged to consult a well-known herbalist at Kingussie, who, it is said, in applying his remedy, knowingly poisoned the wound, from the effects of which Alexander died.¹ *Alastair Boloinne*, as he was afterwards known, for his share in the battle of Boloinne, died shortly after that engagement, and was succeeded by his brother, Ranald Og.

Ranald Og of Keppoch appears to have been distinguished beyond any of his predecessors for his loyalty to the Scottish throne and friendly relations with the Campbells. In 1563, he entered into a contract with Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, in terms of which Campbell set in assedation the twenty pound lands of Rannoch to Keppoch. It

¹ MS. History of the Macdonalds of Keppoch.

appears that some of these lands had been gifted to Glenorchy through the forfeiture of the Clan Gregor. Glenorchy binds himself to defend Ranald and his sub-tenants in the possession of the lands, and to assist them in all their honest quarrels; while Keppoch on his part binds himself to support Glenorchy and his heirs in all their just quarrels, labour and manure the lands of Rannoch, make his principal residence there, and have no intromissions with the Clan Gregor.¹ The Macgregors were by no means disinterested spectators of these proceedings. They resolved instantly to oppose the entrance of Keppoch into their lands in Rannoch. So great was the turmoil which they created that Glenorchy and Keppoch received a joint commission of fire and sword against them.² His newly-acquired lands in Rannoch became a source of great trouble to Keppoch, and he resolved to be rid of them. He accordingly entered in 1569 into another contract with Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, whereby, notwithstanding the former contract between them, Keppoch renounced the lands of Rannoch in favour of Glenorchy, and left that Chieftain to fight his own battles.³ As an indication of the good relations between Ranald and the Government, and his determination to be friendly with his neighbours, when the Regent Moray came to Inverness in 1569 Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton appeared before him, and obliged himself to make security to Keppoch of such lands and possessions as he held of Mackintosh, according as the Regent shall think reasonable and just.⁴ The settlement recommended by the Regent, although we are ignorant of the

¹ Black Book of Taymouth.

² Privy Council Records.

³ Black Book of Taymouth.

⁴ Records of Privy Council.

details, seems to have given satisfaction to Keppoch, for three years later he, in 1572, granted at the Isle of May a bond of manrent and service for himself and all his followers to Mackintosh, against all persons, the King and the Earl of Huntly alone excepted.¹ Mackintosh and Keppoch seem now to be in a fair way towards a final adjustment of their relations as landlord and tenant. This satisfactory state of matters was, no doubt, brought about through the friendly interference of the Regent, influenced by Keppoch's loyalty and past services.

When the Earl of Argyle threatened to invade the territories of Donald MacAngus of Glengarry in 1577 in pursuit, as he alleged, of such as disturbed the peace of the country, but in reality in quest of plunder, Ranald of Keppoch was one of those called upon by the Privy Council to defend Glengarry. Ranald died in 1587, and was succeeded by his son, Alexander, known as "Alasdair nan Cleas."

The stormy career of this rebellious chief opened by his entering heartily into the quarrel between the Earls of Huntly and Moray, which then raged with great fury. Keppoch, Lochiel, and the Lochaber men espoused the cause of Huntly, and that nobleman played them off against Mackintosh and Freuchie, who had ranged themselves on the other side. Early in 1588, Huntly, Mackintosh, and Freuchie were empowered by a Royal Commission to proceed against Alexander of Keppoch, his brother Ranald, and others, with fire and sword, for depredations committed on the lands of Mackintosh and Freuchie in 1584.² Instead of carrying out

¹ Mackintosh of Kinrara's History of the Mackintoshes.

² Chiefs of Grant.

his part of the commission, Huntly protected the men of the Brae against Mackintosh and Grant. Peace, however, was somehow patched up between the parties, and Keppoch, in January, 1589, renewed his father's bond of manrent to Mackintosh, but this temporary truce did not last long. The death of the Earl of Moray early in 1592 had the effect of bringing about a sudden change in the relations of parties in the North. The partisans of the murdered Earl, who were eager to avenge his death, proceeded to waste the lands of the Earl of Huntly. The Grants and the Mackintoshes were in return invaded by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and the Camerons.¹ Alexander of Keppoch was sent by Huntly with a large following of Lochaber men to waste the lands of the Grants, which having done to some considerable extent, and killed eighteen of the followers of Freuchie, he turned his attention to Mackintosh.² After wasting the lands of Mackintosh in the neighbourhood of Inverness, he took the castle of that town and held it for Huntly. He was ultimately, however, obliged for want of victuals to surrender it to Mackintosh, who hanged Keppoch's brother, and Gorrie Dubh, one of his followers. Government at length interfered between the parties, and a commission of fire and sword was granted to Lord Lovat, Mackintosh, Grant of Freuchie, and a number of other Grants, against Alexander of Keppoch and his accomplices, who were accused of being "gilty of opin and manifest oppressioun, murthour, slauchter, soirning, theft, and resseit thair of, and othereis odious and capitall crymes."³ The resistance offered by Keppoch,

¹ Chiefs of Grant. ² Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland.

³ Chiefs of Grant.

Lochiel, and others, to this formidable combination brought north the Earl of Angus, armed by the King's commission, but his interference was of no avail.¹ Supported by Huntly, the men of Lochaber continued to raid the lands of the Grants and the Mackintoshes as often as opportunity offered. So great was the terror with which they had inspired some of the neighbouring chiefs that Rose of Kilravock was obliged to seek an assurance from Huntly, Lochiel, and Keppoch, that his lands and those of his kin and friends would not be molested by the Lochaber men, which they signed by their hands on the 18th day of March, 1593.² In the autumn of 1594, Keppoch joined the Earls of Errol and Angus in their attempt to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland, and was present at the battle of Glenlivet, where the Earl of Argyle, the King's lieutenant, was defeated. In the following year, on the 3rd day of November, when Huntly and the other noblemen had been forfeited, and Argyle was triumphant, Alexander of Keppoch, to accommodate himself, entered into an agreement with the Earl's Commissioners at Achinton, near Glenlivet. In terms of this agreement, Keppoch promised faithfully to become a true and sincere servant to the Earl in all time coming against all persons, the King only excepted. For fulfilment of this obligation, he gave the Commissioners his son Angus as a hostage; and should the Earl not deem this a sufficient pledge, he will find surety to present Ronald, his son and heir, without delay. Keppoch further promised to go to Inveraray and wait upon the Earl on or before Christmas, 1595, to find sufficient security for his faithful service: provided always

X ¹ Douglas Charter Chest. ² Roses of Kilravock.

that he receive a safe conduct from the Earl for himself and his brother ; that his son was to be placed in the hands of no one but a gentleman of rank of the name of Campbell ; and that the Earl should give Keppoch his bond of maintenance, binding him to maintain and defend him in " all kyndlie possessiounis that he may clam kyndness to."¹ Keppoch regarded himself bound by the terms of the agreement with Argyll no longer than it suited his convenience. When the Earl of Huntly returned from his banishment, and was restored to royal favour in 1598, Keppoch at once returned to his allegiance to that nobleman, and in the same year he rushed into rebellion by joining Sir James Macdonald in Kintyre. In 1602, " the Kingis majesteis darrest sister, the Queen of England, having lovinglie intreated his majestie for the supply and levy of some Hielandmen, for the bettir repressing of the tressonabill rebelloun intertenit aganis hir within the cuntrey of Irland," James responded by ordering such Highland chiefs as were of " maist power" to be levied forthwith, Keppoch to the extent of 100 men.² There is no evidence that there was the slightest notice taken of this order, the probable reason being in the case of some at least that the war in Ireland for which the services of the Highlanders were in demand was soon thereafter brought to an end. However this may be, the Macdonalds of Keppoch were too busy elsewhere, even if they had been inclined, to obey the royal summons to arms. They were at the time engaged in the congenial task of raiding the lands of the Mackintoshes. Letters were raised in April, 1602, at the instance of John Campbell, Commissary of Inverness, against

✕ ¹ Charter Chest of Ardnamurchan.

² Privy Council Records.

Donald Glass and Ranald, brothers of Keppoch, and others, for hership and fire-raising at Moy.¹ The restless Chief himself appears to have taken no part in the invasion of Moy, but he is, nevertheless, held responsible for the conduct of his followers, and is with them duly denounced rebel.² It may have been some comfort to Keppoch to find that on the same day Huntly, Mackintosh, Glengarry, and Macgregor of Glenstrae, were likewise denounced rebels, and for the same cause.³ The denunciation by the Privy Council had little effect on the Lochaber men. Strathardle, the scene of a former raid by the men of Keppoch, was now again visited, and a large *creach* taken away. To Huntly was again assigned the task, in the summer of 1604, of exhibiting Alastair MacRanald of Gargavach, Donald and Ronald, his brothers, for the herschip of Strathardle.⁴ There appears, however, to have been no "exhibitiousne" of the Chief of Keppoch and his brothers, whose services to Huntly were reckoned by that nobleman a sufficient price for their liberty. But the Lords of Council were determined to bring Alexander of Keppoch to book, and he was accordingly summoned in 1605 to appear personally before Lord Scone at Loch-Kilkerran, in Kintyre, on the 20th of July, to exhibit the titles by which he held his lands, and to find good security for the payment of the King's rents, under pain of rebellion and military execution.⁵ The lands of Gargavach, from which Alexander took his territorial distinction, were 40 merk lands held on lease under Huntly. He had no other title. It does not appear that he paid any heed to the royal mandate. The obstinate chief pursued the tenor of his wild way, and turned

¹ Records of Privy Council.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.⁵ Ibid.

a deaf ear to the King's horn. He is not again heard of for some time. In 1608, a remission is granted him under the Privy Seal for a very serious catalogue of crimes. He is charged with slaughter in Strathardle and Glenshee, with slaughter in the town of Inverness, and the burning of the house of the Commissary, and fire-raising in Athole, with the burning of the house of Neil Stewart MacGillechallum, in which perished John Dow MacGillechallum.¹ In the beginning of the following year, Alexander is one of those charged not to aid the Islanders who were then in rebellion.² Failing to observe this injunction, he was in due form declared rebel. When he again appears, his conduct is not so easily explained. It appears that the unfortunate Macgregors, being hounded by Argyle, took refuge at a place near Tirnadrish, about two miles from Keppoch. While in hiding in this place, and having escaped so far from the fury of Argyle, they were taken unawares by the men of the Brae, and many of their number were killed.³ For his services against the Clan Gregor, Keppoch was rewarded by a grant of £100 from Government.⁴

Alexander of Keppoch was the principal person concerned in the escape of Sir James Macdonald of Dunnyveg from Edinburgh Castle in the summer of 1615. Secret negotiations had apparently been carried on between Sir James and his kinsman of Keppoch. At the opportune moment, Keppoch, assisted by his son Ranald, and young Clanranald, fell upon a plan by means of which he succeeded in liberating the captive chief of Dunnyveg. Sir James and Keppoch, conducted by a party of

¹ Reg. of the Privy Seal.

² Reg. of Privy Council.

³ MS. History of Keppoch.

⁴ Privy Council Records.

Keppoch's followers, found their way to Lochaber. Sir James now resolved to make one final effort for the recovery of his patrimony, but the details of his rebellion fall to be recorded elsewhere in this volume. Accompanied by Keppoch and his sons, he proceeded to the Western Isles. Throughout his campaign, his Keppoch kinsmen adhered loyally to Sir James, separating from him only when defeat obliged them to seek refuge in flight. In their flight Keppoch and his sons found refuge first in Cara, where they were befriended by Largie's people, then in Gigha, whither they were pursued by the Campbells. From Gigha they found their way under cover of night to the Island of Inchboll on the coast of Ireland. They succeeded, after a stay of a few days on that island, in making their way back to Lochaber, where they remained for some time in hiding. The Government took immediate steps to punish the principal leaders in the insurrection. A reward of 5000 merks each was offered for Alexander of Keppoch and his son Ronald, dead or alive, while a commission was given to Lord Gordon, eldest son of Huntly, to proceed against them with all possible haste, in order to their being apprehended and brought to justice. Lord Gordon appeared to be in no hurry to carry out the injunctions of the Privy Council, and in any case it was no easy task that had been assigned him—that of apprehending the Macdonalds of Keppoch in their own country. In these circumstances, another commission was given to the Marquis of Huntly and his son conjointly, directing them to use every endeavour for the speedy apprehension of the Keppoch rebels. So keen had the pursuit become, that Janet MacDougall, Keppoch's

wife, had to find caution against holding converse with or resetting her husband.¹ But in spite of the best efforts of the Government, Alexander of Keppoch and his second son, Donald Glass, contrived to make their escape to Spain, where they joined Sir James Macdonald. After remaining in exile for some years, Keppoch and his son were recalled by King James, and they returned to London in 1620. They owed their good fortune to information which they were able to convey to the English Government of a contemplated Spanish invasion of Britain. For his good service in supplying this information, which it appears was found to have been reliable, Alexander of Keppoch was received into royal favour, and the King granted him a yearly pension of 2000 merks for the rest of his life.² While still in London, he received in common form a remission signed by the King, and to be passed under the Scottish Seal, for all his past crimes and offences.³ Keppoch being desirous of visiting Scotland, the King further granted him a license for that purpose, to last for six months.⁴ He, however, met with considerable opposition in his attempts to visit Lochaber, being thwarted by the Privy Council, on the plea of its being unsafe to permit a person formerly so rebellious to return to the Highlands.⁵ The Privy Council, indeed, went the length of strongly remonstrating with the King on this point, and insisted on Keppoch remaining in Edinburgh until he found sufficient security for his future good behaviour.⁶ The Lords of the Privy Council, looking down from the lofty pinnacle of Lowland virtue, are greatly exercised by the King's

¹ Privy Council Records. ² Bond by Keppoch in Dunvegan Charter Chest.

³ Denmylne MSS.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Balfour MSS.

⁶ Denmylne MSS.

conduct in insisting on setting at liberty a "man whose bipast lyffe and conversatioun hes bene so lewde and violent in bloode, thift, reafe, and oppressioun that to this hour he never randerit obedyence."¹ Alexander is still in Edinburgh in June, 1622, when having entered into a little transaction in the way of "fryndlie borrowing," he gives his bond of obligation to Sir Rorie Mor Macleod of Dunvegan.² Sir Rorie Macleod and Sir John Macdougall of Dunolly having become security for Keppoch, and the Council being satisfied with the same, he was allowed to return to Lochaber, where he lived in peace during the rest of his life.

Alexander of Keppoch received from George, Earl of Enzie, in terms of a contract between them, a charter dated at the Strand, near London, 7th July, 1628, granting and letting to him in feu farm the 4 merkland of Fersit, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ merkland of Cleonag and Monessie, the three merkland of Breeklatter, the 2 merk and 8 shilling land of Inverlair, the one merkland of Kilmanaevek, the one merkland of Lochtreig, lying on the east side of the Water of Treig, extending in whole to 15 merks and 16 penny lands of the Barony of Lochaber. The lands were to be held for a yearly feu-duty of 200 merks, and the usual service in watching and hunting, providing, however, for redemption and reversion of the lands on payment to Alexander Macdonald, or his heirs, of 6000 merks.³ Alexander afterwards, in July, 1630, with consent of Ronald Macdonald, his eldest son and apparent heir, assigned to Donald Macdonald, his second son, and Jean Robertson, his spouse, in life-

✕ ¹ Melrose Papers. ✕ ² Macleod Charter Chest.

✕ ³ Laing Papers, University of Edinburgh.

rent, the lands of Fersit, which were then possessed by Donald Glass M^cRonald, Keppoch's brother.¹ We find no further reference on record to Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch. He appears to have died in 1635. In that year his son Ranald appears in record as "younger of Keppoch," while in March of the following year he is referred to as "of Keppoch" simply. It is said that Alexander was educated in Rome, and was one of the most accomplished men of his day. Several documents which have come down to us bear abundant evidence that he was a man of considerable literary culture for the age in which he lived. Keppoch certainly proved himself a man of no ordinary character during his wild and romantic career. No chief of Keppoch is better known in the traditions of Lochaber. He is generally believed when abroad to have learned the magical art. At all events, he had in his day a great reputation as a sorcerer. From his frequent performance of conjuring tricks, which to the uninitiated of that time seemed to belong to the black art, he got the name of *Alastair nan Cleas*, by which he was known in the Highlands. Alexander was a liberal entertainer, and had often visitors at a distance in his hospitable mansion at Keppoch. It is of him the story of the chief's candlesticks is told. On his return from exile in Spain, he was entertained at the house of an English gentleman who had been the companion of his college days. While they sat at dinner, the conversation turned on the massive plate displayed by the host, among which were some massive silver candlesticks, of rare workmanship and of great value. The host drew the attention of Keppoch to them, remarking that in his mountain home he

X ¹ Hay Deeds.

could not boast of such magnificent candlesticks. Keppoch replied and said that in his house he could produce candlesticks that surpassed them far both in beauty of design and intrinsic value, and if he could not prove his assertion, he was prepared to pay his host three times the value of his candlesticks. In course of time, on Keppoch's return home, his English friend was a guest at his house, when he reminded him of his boasted candlesticks and his wager. "You shall see them immediately," answered Keppoch. Dinner soon followed, when into the banquetting hall marched twelve stalwart Highlanders, in their picturesque native garb, and, ranging themselves round the hall, they held aloft flaming pine torches. "These are my candlesticks," observed the proud chief, "and all the gold in England would not buy them." The Englishman at once acknowledged that he had lost the wager."¹

Ranald, his eldest son, succeeded *Alastair nan Cleas* as Chief of Keppoch. He joined his father and Sir James Macdonald, as we have seen, in their rebellious proceedings in 1615. For the part he then played he was declared rebel, and 500 merks were offered for his apprehension, but refusing to surrender he was outlawed. When his father and brother fled to Spain, Ranald chose to remain among his friends in Lochaber, where he lay concealed for several years, in spite of Mackintosh's efforts to discover his hiding place on Lochtreig side. In July, 1621, some time after his father's return from exile, a commission was given to Lord Gordon to apprehend Ranald, who was still an outlaw.² Lord Gordon's proceedings in virtue of his commission

X ¹ MS. by Miss Josephine Macdonald of Keppoch.

² Privy Council Records.

against him are uncertain. The probability is that Ranald, now that his father was in favour at Court, was pardoned unconditionally, and without any formal trial. It may have been in connection with this matter that he visited London in the summer of 1622.¹ However that may be, it is certain that shortly thereafter he was reinstated in his position in Lochaber. He no doubt owed his liberty to the friendly intercession of Huntly. Ranald at the same time made friends with Mackintosh. In a letter written by him to Sir John Grant of Freuchie early in 1623, and signed "Rannald M^cDonnald Appeirand of Keppoch," he marvelled much why Freuchie should be so hard on him in respect of his possession, seeing he had never deserved it at his hands; and seeing that he had agreed with Mackintosh, he expected Freuchie would be none the less friendly. Their "werrience," whatever it may have been, Ranald referred to the decision of Lord Kintail.² Ranald now appears to have settled down, and practically ceased from making history. He is referred to, as we have already seen, in his father, Alexander's, assignation to Donald Glass in 1630. In December, 1633, he gave his bond of obligation to Janet Kincaid, relict of John Robertson, merchant burgess of Perth.³ In July, 1635, he was committed to ward in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh for failing to conform to the terms of the Act of Parliament, commonly called "The General Bond."⁴ This Act had done little, after all, to restrain the lawless "broken men" who then infested many parts of the Highlands, and Ranald was evidently not able to check those for whom he

¹ Hay Deeds.² Chiefs of Grant.³ Gibson Deeds.⁴ Privy Council Records.

was held responsible. The Privy Councillors themselves were apparently convinced of the difficulties of the situation, and accordingly they resolved in March, 1636, to liberate Keppoch on condition of his finding sufficient security.¹ Whether Ranald was able to satisfy the Council in this respect does not appear, but when in the course of events he again comes into the public view his situation is very different. Ranald entered heartily into the quarrel between King Charles and the Scottish Covenanters, and without hesitation espoused the King's cause. At the very outset of the struggle his loyalty brought down upon him the vengeance of Gilleasbuig Gruamach of Argyle. The Earl manifested great zeal in the prosecution of those who were "proven enemies to religion," and to carry out his pious purpose of utterly destroying them, he asked and obtained a commission of fire and sword from the Estates.² In 1640, he burnt the house of Keppoch and plundered all the lands of Lochaber. He behaved with great severity, especially against all who were opposed to the Covenant. He left a party of 220 men in Lochaber to keep the country in order, but they were soon either killed or chased out by the natives.³ At this point Ranald of Keppoch disappeared finally from the scene, but we have not been able to find any record of the exact time of his death.

Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch was succeeded by his brother, Donald Glass. He was involved, as we have seen, in the rebellion of Sir James Macdonald, in consequence of which he was obliged to leave the country and seek refuge with his father in Spain. He afterwards received pardon and returned to

¹ Privy Council Records.

² Acts of Parliament.

³ Spalding's History.

Lochaber. The first appearance made by Donald Glass as head of the family of Keppoch was in the year 1644, when he and his followers formed part of the Marquis of Huntly's force, collected at Aberdeen in support of King Charles. Keppoch remained with Huntly's army until it was dispersed. In the same year, when the Marquis of Montrose raised the royal standard in Scotland, Donald Glass hastened to join him. Alastair MacCholla, in returning from his recruiting expedition to the Isles, was on his way to Blair-Athole joined by the men of the Brae under their Chief.¹ From Blair-Athole Montrose marched with his army to Argyle, and harried that country, when the Keppoch men had full opportunity of avenging the injury done to them by Gilleasbuig Gruamach in 1640. Argyle retaliated by entering Lochaber at the head of 3000 men, and wasting, among others, the lands of Donald Glass.² Donald was one of those who signed the Bond of Union entered into by Montrose and the Highland chiefs at Killiechumin, now Fort-Augustus, on the 30th of January, 1645. At the battle of Inverlochy which followed, the Keppoch men fought with the other Macdonalds in the centre of Montrose's army, and contributed their share to the decisive victory gained over the opposing forces. From Inverlochy they followed the banner of Montrose throughout the remainder of his campaign, and took part in all his engagements until after the affair of Kilsyth they were obliged to return with the rest of the Highlanders to protect their homes from the fury of the Covenanters. After the stirring events of Montrose's campaign, we can find no reference to

¹ MacVuirich.

² Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland.

Donald Glass on record, either public or private, and the probability is that he died at that time, or shortly thereafter. His eldest son, Alexander, being a minor at the time of his father's death, the command of the clan devolved on his uncle, Alastair Buidhe. The scanty records of the period throw hardly any light on the affairs of the family of Keppoch.

During the period of the Protectorate of Cromwell, Scottish business got into utter confusion, and Scottish records ceased practically to be kept. We are not again on solid historical ground until the Restoration of King Charles in 1660. It is certain, however, that Alastair Buidhe espoused the King's cause in 1650, and in the following year, shortly after the King's coronation at Scone, he is mentioned in the list of Highland Chiefs and colonels of foot regiments then drawn out. In this list he is styled "Tutor of M'rannald."¹ In 1652, he received a Commission from Charles, empowering him to levy men, and raise money for his service.² The Tutor afterwards joined the Glencairn rising, and with the Keppoch men fought under the banner of Glengarry. Alastair Buidhe continued as Tutor of Keppoch until the Restoration, when Alexander, his nephew, coming of age, assumed his proper position as head of the family. We meet with Alexander, for the first time in record, in 1661. In that year the Privy Council charged chiefs of clans, among whom was "Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch," to appear before them to find caution for themselves and their tenants. Alexander appears to have paid no heed to the summons. The young Chief found enough scope for his energies nearer home. The

¹ Acts of Parl. X ² Clarendon MSS.

domestic atmosphere of the Brae appears to have been far from wholesome. Owing to causes not perhaps easily traced, the relations between the Chief and some of his followers had been for some time somewhat strained. The internal affairs of the little community at length assumed a serious aspect, and now the shadow of that disaster which was soon to overtake him was already upon the Chief. In January, 1662, a complaint was lodged before the Privy Council, at the instance of Alexander Macdonald of Inverlair, against Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, setting forth that Keppoch and his followers, "to the number of 60 persons, all armed, came to the complainer's lands of Inverlair, and there having broken up the doors, violently entered, destroyed and took away the plenishing, pulled down some houses on the said lands, burnt the timber in other houses, drove away his nolt, sheep, and horses, and the said Alexander Macdonald boasts that he shall root out the said complainer from his possession, and that before his heart is satisfied one of them two must die."¹ The defenders, not appearing, were put to the horn. The Council ordained forthwith that no caution offered by Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch be accepted until he appear personally before them. Alexander answered the indictment brought against him by a counter charge against Alexander Macdonald of Inverlair. In June he raised letters against Inverlair, but the decree of suspension which he sought for being incomplete, we have no means of knowing the exact charges Keppoch preferred against his opponent. It is difficult to say who the aggressor was, but the quarrel was perpetu-

¹ Privy Council Records.

ated between the parties. In regard to the origin and progress of it we are left mainly to depend on tradition, which regarding this, as well as other clan quarrels, is always unsatisfactory. The story of the Keppoch murder has been variously told by the clan seanachies. For our present purpose it will perhaps suffice if we lay before our readers the main features of it, leaving those interested to form their own conclusions. According to one version of the story, the principal actors in the foul deed were Alexander Macdonald of Inverlair and his six sons. The Macdonalds of Inverlair were, it is said, of the Clanranald of Moidart, and were called "Sliochd Dhughail," from Dugall, the first of them that came to Lochaber. During Keppoch's minority, old Alexander got a lease or wadset of Inverlair from the Marquis of Huntly independent of Keppoch. This the young chief greatly resented, and his ire accordingly was kindled against the Macdonalds of Inverlair. The deed of conveyance coming into his hands, he angrily destroyed it. This exasperated the "Siol Dughail," and made them ready to follow the instigations of Alastair Buidhe, Keppoch's uncle, who is generally believed to have plotted the murder of his nephews. Alastair Buidhe is said to have been present at the perpetration of the murder, and showing a desire to save his younger nephew, who clung to him for protection, he was forced by the "Siol Dughail" to give him the first blow, that all might be equally guilty.¹ Another version of the story has it that the perpetrators of the Keppoch murder were the "Sliochd Ghoirridh," who had remained in Lochaber since the deposition

X ¹ MS. History of the Macdonalds of Keppoch.

of Iain Aluinn, when an attempt had been made to obtain the chieftainship for one of that branch. The deed, according to this version, was committed on the occasion of a banquet given in the old Castle of Keppoch, to celebrate, as it is supposed, the formal nomination of Alexander to the chieftainship. During the banquet, the clansmen began to discuss some topic which seems to have greatly agitated all present, and being probably heated with wine, from high words they came to blows. In the *mêlée* the young Chief and his brother, Ronald, were murdered before anyone could interfere. Although the Macdonalds of Inverlair were the actual perpetrators, it is said that they were only the instruments in the hands of others.¹ Of the part acted by Alastair Buidhe, it may be said that there has always been a suspicion that he was deeply implicated, although no actual proof, so far as we know, was ever brought against him. Of the guilt of his eldest son, Allan, there is no doubt whatever, the Privy Council Record being witness.

The Keppoch murder was committed in the month of September, 1663, but some time elapsed before any attempt was made to bring the murderers to justice. It was owing to the indefatigable efforts of John Lom Macdonald, the devoted Bard of Keppoch, that steps were at length taken to punish the Macdonalds of Inverlair. The Bard in the first instance appealed to Glengarry, but in vain. He then turned to Sir James Macdonald of Sleat. "Where do you come from?" asked Sir James. "From Laodicea," replied the Bard. "Are they cold or hot in that place?" asked Sir James. "Abel is cold," said the Bard, "and his blood is crying in

X ¹ MS. by Miss J. M. M'Donell of Keppoch.

vain for vengeance : Cain is hot and red-handed, and hundreds around are lukewarm as the black goat's milk." The earnest solicitation of the Bard moved Sir James to take immediate steps to avenge the murder of his kinsmen of Keppoch. In June, 1665, a Royal Commission was granted to Sir James "to search for and apprehend Allan Macdonald, son to the Tutor of Keppoch, Donald Macdonald, brother to the said Allan, Alexander M^cDougall in Inverlair in the Brae of Lochaber, Dougall MacCoull in Tallie, Patrick Dunbar there, and others, for not compearing personally to underly the law on the 8th of June, for coming upon the — day of September, 1663, to the place of Keapoch, armed with swords, dirks, and other weapons, and there setting upon Alexander M^cDonald of Keapoch, and — M^cDonald, his brother, by giving the said Alexander 33 great wounds, and to the said — Macdonald, his brother, 28 wounds, of which they immediately died upon the place ; all which is set forth in the Letters of Denunciation raised against them at the instance of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, Knight, and the Justice General."¹ In pursuance of his commission, Sir James Macdonald despatched a party of men from Skye under the command of his brother, Archibald, the well-known "Ciaran Mabach," who proceeded to Lochaber under the guidance of the faithful Iain Lom. Local tradition avers that the Macdonalds of Inverlair, and the other murderers, being apprised of the approach of the Skye party, barricaded the house of Inverlair and gave such a warm reception to the "Ciaran Mabach" that 30 of his men were killed and wounded. The Skye party finally succeeded in setting the house on fire, and

¹ Privy Council Records.

the besieged rushing out were all killed. In the Privy Council Record it is stated that Sir James Macdonald "engaged with the murderers and killed Alexander McDougall in Inverlair,¹ in the Brae of Lochaber, John Roe McDougall, brother to the said Alexander, Donald Or McCoull in Inverlair, Dougall McCoull in Talzie, and Patrick Dunbar there, and has sent their heads to Edinburgh."² It is said the heads of the murderers were carried first by John Lom to Lord Macdonald at Invergarry Castle, whence they were sent to Edinburgh. They were ordered to be "affixit on the gallows standing in the Gallowlie betwixt Leith and Edinburgh."³ Sir James Macdonald was thanked for his services in punishing the Keppoch murderers.

Notwithstanding the suspicion attached to him on account of the Keppoch murder, Alastair Buidhe succeeded the murdered Chief apparently without any opposition. His sons, Allan and Donald, were among those to be apprehended in terms of Sir James Macdonald's commission, but what punishment they received does not appear. It is said that Allan left the country, and that there are now living in Nova Scotia several families who claim descent from him. There is little recorded of Alastair Buidhe himself after his succession to the chiefship. In January, 1669, he is charged, with others, to appear before the Privy Council for being accessory to the violence used by a great convocation of the lieges in Lochaber, who, by force of arms, abused a company of soldiers sent to assist in recovering the excise taxation and other dues.⁴ In September of the same year, Archibald,

¹ Alexander Macdonald, but patronymically McDougall.

² Privy Council Records. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

his son, and several other prominent members of the clan, are charged to appear at Inverlochy, and sign a bond of caution for their tenants, and others, depending on them.¹ In the following year a quarrel, the precise cause of which is not condescended on, sprang up between the Macdonalds of Keppoch and the Camerons. They appear to have met at Inverlochy, and fought over some differences which had developed into a feud between them. Lord Macdonald and Lochiel were charged to appear before the Council to answer for their followers.² These chiefs succeeded in bringing about a temporary truce between their clansmen, but in the course of the next year the quarrel was renewed with such violence as to again call forth the interference of the Privy Council, and Sir James Macdonald of Sleat was summoned to Edinburgh in November for the purpose of receiving instructions prior to his proceeding to quell the disturbance. On this, as on former occasions, Sir James succeeded in restoring order in Lochaber. Alastair Buidhe of Keppoch, who was now a very old man, died about this time, but the exact date of his death is not known.

Alastair Buidhe was succeeded by his son Archibald as chief of the Keppoch branch of the clan. There is little heard of him during the lifetime of his father, owing to the subordinate position of his family previous to the Keppoch murder. Archibald is justly celebrated in the history of the Clan as a bold and resolute chief, cultured beyond many in his position in that age, and withal a prudent and sagacious man. He added to his other accomplishments the gift of poetry, and the few pieces of his composition which have been preserved are master-

¹ Privy Council Records.

² Ibid.

pieces of wit and humour. The first authentic reference which we find to the poet chief is in an order of the Privy Council calling upon Æneas, Lord Macdonald, "as Chief of the name and Clan of Macdonald," to exhibit before the Council in October, 1672, Archibald, and several others of the Clan to find caution for their tenants and servants. Lord Macdonald, presuming on his peerage, is often found in the Privy Council Records masquerading as Chief of the Clan Donald, but neither the Keppoch nor any other branch outside his own acknowledged him as such. It suited the convenience of the Council to hold Lord Macdonald responsible for the lawless members of the Clan, and to gratify his vanity, if only by so doing he could be got to act as Chief Constable of Lochaber and the surrounding country. The measure of his success in this respect is not evident, but if it may be gauged by the frequent appearances made by him before the Council, the result of his labours was anything but edifying. The Keppoch branch of the Clan Donald remained lawless, in spite of the efforts of Lord Macdonald. That Chief was himself not above suspicion. In his campaign with the Macleans against the Campbells, none gave him heartier support than Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch. It must have finally dawned on the Privy Council that Glengarry was not the person most likely to restore order among his clansmen of Lochaber. The only other alternative was Sir James Macdonald, of whose services they frequently availed themselves in punishing the "broken men" of the Clan. Notwithstanding these considerations, the Council again in 1677 employed Lord Macdonald, with the addition of Sir James Macdonald and Lochiel, against a

number of lawless persons of the name of Macdonald, who, with their allies, had been raiding on a large scale in the County of Perth. The Chief of Keppoch was not responsible, at least directly, for these raids, though the guilty parties were undoubtedly the Macdonalds of Keppoch. Lawlessness seems to have been the order of the day in Lochaber. Matters had at length come to such a pass that the militia of the neighbouring shires had to be called out to concur with the garrison to be placed at Inverlochy, for executing commissions of fire and sword against the Clansmen. Mackintosh, taking advantage of the favourable opportunity which the lawlessness of the Keppoch men had created, now pressed for a severance of the tie between him and them as "maister and tennents." The Captain of Clan Chattan scrupled not to make the most serious charges against the descendants of Alastair Carrach. But the men of the Brae took shelter under a bond granted by Lord Macdonald, in terms of which they were not to remove at the instance of Mackintosh until they first "gett lawfull advertisement." "For clearing themselves as to what their master can lay to their charge," the Council recommended both Mackintosh and the Macdonalds to refer the matters in dispute between them to arbitration, and appointed as arbiters the Earls of Moray and Caithness and Sir George Munro.¹ Their award, whatever it may have been, cannot have satisfied the parties. The quarrel between them will take many years yet to settle, and the cat will continue to scratch yet a while.

¹ Privy Council Records.

In the midst of this turmoil in Lochaber, it is interesting to find the Chief of Keppoch going so far afield as to have positively entered the Lowlands at the head of a party of armed men of his clan to help the King. The moment the King stretches his prerogative beyond that which is lawful and gets into trouble the men of Lochaber become loyal. When Charles raised a regiment in 1677 for the suppression of the Western Whigs, and gave the command of it to Graham of Claverhouse, Keppoch hastened to join him. It was then, no doubt, that *Iain Dubh nan Cath* inspired the Keppoch men with that devotion to his person for which they were afterwards known, and which was so characteristic of all those Highlanders who followed his standard.

The campaign against the Campbells, which had been entered into by Lord Macdonald and Keppoch in 1675, was again renewed with great vigour in 1677, and continued at intervals until the summer of 1679. The numerous and very serious accounts afterwards rendered by the aggrieved parties for the "spuilzie" of Argyle amounts to several thousand pounds, and, though probably exaggerated, are clear evidence of the enormous extent of the depredations committed by the combined forces of Keppoch and Glengarry.¹ Argyle retaliated later on by carrying off many of the Brae-Lochaber cattle, and finally hostilities ceased.² His recent differences with the Campbells notwithstanding, Keppoch, on the 26th of January, 1681, gave his bond of manrent to John, Earl of Breadalbane, obliging himself to restrain the inhabitants of the Brae of Lochaber, and others of the name of Macdonald, whom he can influence, from

¹ Report on Argyle Papers by Hist. MSS. Commission.

² Lord Brodie's Diary.

committing robberies within the bounds of the Earl's lands.¹ Keppoch found himself again face to face with Mackintosh, and the quarrel between them was renewed with increased violence in September, 1681. Mackintosh obtained a commission of fire and sword against Keppoch, but that Chief, "slighting the remedies provided by law," dared Mackintosh to execute his commission, nor, so far as we know, did he attempt to do so. As for Keppoch himself, he bequeathed the quarrel with Mackintosh as a legacy to his son, Coll, and paid the debt of nature in December, 1682.

Coll, known as "Coll of the Cows," was a student in the University of St Andrew when his father died. The death of his father necessitating his coming North, and being in the town of Inverness, he sent messengers to Mackintosh offering to submit their differences to a legal decision or "amicable determination." Mackintosh replied to this very just and sensible request by committing the young Chief a prisoner to the Tolbooth of Inverness, without even the pretence of a trial. Against this mean conduct on the part of the hereditary enemy of his family, Coll appealed to the Privy Council, who immediately granted a warrant to the Magistrates of Inverness for the release of the prisoner, on his finding sufficient caution that he shall present himself before the Council on the 15th of March, 1683. Keppoch, having found the necessary caution, was accordingly released.² In this manner, then, did Coll enter on his career as a Highland chieftain. He duly appeared in Edinburgh as stipulated in the warrant for his release from the Tolbooth of Inverness, and presented his bond of caution, but in

¹ Black Book of Taymouth.

² Privy Council Records.

January, 1685, he and his cautioner are summoned to appear before the Council to renew their bond, and failing to appear a warrant is granted for their apprehension. The conduct of the Keppoch Chief had evidently not commended itself to the Privy Council in the interval after his imprisonment at Inverness, and he now to all appearance assumed an attitude of defiance. At the time the warrant for his apprehension was issued, he was busy harrying Argyleshire with the Gordons and others, who had invaded that country. And there are not wanting indications of the coming struggle with Mackintosh. Coll had neither forgotten nor forgiven his imprisonment in Inverness in 1683, and the hatred towards Mackintosh which he had been nursing ever since will find an utterance by and by. Mackintosh resolved at length to make one great effort to possess himself of the lands of Keppoch. For this purpose he obtained the usual commission of fire and sword in March, 1688, and made preparations on a vast scale for the invasion of Brae Lochaber. He summoned the whole Clan Chattan to his standard, and all obeyed the summons except the Macphersons, who "after two citations disobeyed most contemptuously." Reinforced by a company of regular soldiers under Captain Mackenzie of Suddy, the great host of Clan Chattan, without the Clan Mhuirich, estimated at 1200 men, entered Brae Lochaber in July, and took possession of the house of Keppoch, from which Coll, who was unprepared for this invasion, had barely time to escape. Keppoch retired to the hills, and sent round the fiery cross to summon his clan and followers, while Mackintosh lay in security at Keppoch taking measures to establish his authority,

and constructing "a little fort," in which he intended to leave a garrison to secure him in his possessions. He reckoned without his host. Keppoch meantime had mustered his followers, estimated at 700 men, and set out very early one morning from his rendezvous in the hills with the intention of surprising Mackintosh, but the Clan Chattan had left the house of Keppoch at the same time with the same intention against the Macdonalds. In this way they were pressing in opposite directions at some distance on the hill of Mulroy, to the eastward of the house of Keppoch, when they mutually descried each other, and immediately prepared for battle. After a smart action, the Macdonalds of Keppoch prevailed, and the Clan Chattan fled in every direction, leaving a number of killed and wounded on the field. Among the number killed were Lachlan Mackintosh of Aberarder, and several other prominent members of the Clan Chattan. Captain Mackenzie of Suddy, the officer in command of the regular troops, was killed accidentally. Keppoch had given particular orders to his men before the commencement of the action not to interfere with the King's forces, if it could be avoided. Mackintosh himself, who was a man advanced in years, was walking up and down the garden at Keppoch during the time of the battle. He was taken prisoner by Coll, but treated by him as if he had been his guest. It is said that Mackintosh, finding himself at the mercy of his enemy, offered him a charter of the lands in dispute between them, and that Keppoch replied by saying that he would never consent to hold by sheepskin what he had won by his sword. Mackintosh was liberated and allowed to return home.

When the news of the Battle of Mulroy reached the ears of those in authority, their wrath knew no bounds, though they tried to relieve themselves by swearing great oaths and exhausting their vocabulary of abuse in the King's name. A proclamation was forthwith issued, calling on His Majesty's lieges to use their utmost endeavour to suppress and root out the barbarous and inhuman traitors, the outlaws and other desperate thieves and robbers, bearing the surname of Macdonald, and their associates, who had dared to defeat the Clan Chattan at Mulroy. A force under a Captain Straiton was at the same time ordered to be in readiness to proceed to Lochaber to punish the rebels. The lieges not being in the humour to espouse the Clan Chattan quarrel, a party of Dragoons were sent to Lochaber under the command of Captain Crichton, who plundered and laid waste Keppoch's lands. Although Crichton's commission was to destroy every man, woman, and child of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, it does not appear that any of them perished at his hands. The men of the Brae, who were prepared for the invasion of Crichton, had concealed themselves and their families in places not easily accessible to the Royal Dragoons. Crichton, after remaining in the Brae for a month endeavouring to carry out his orders, returned to the Lowlands. Keppoch was in the meantime declared rebel, and more severe measures were in progress against him, but these were suddenly dropped by the breaking out of the Revolution. Coll, however, abated none of his efforts to strengthen his position against a possible attack by Mackintosh, who had received a commission of fire and sword against him in February, 1689. Government help having failed him owing to

the disturbed state of the public peace, Mackintosh hesitated risking a repetition of his defeat at Mulroy. Mackintosh's discomfiture was Keppoch's opportunity. In the month of April, Coll, at the head of a force estimated at little short of a thousand men, marched through Mackintosh's lands, causing considerable loss of property as he proceeded, and halted on the outskirts of the town of Inverness. The townsmen of Inverness had assisted Mackintosh in his late expedition to Lochaber, and besides there were other scores against the good town which Coll had now resolved to wipe out. The appearance of so large a force in the immediate vicinity of the town caused a great alarm among the people of Inverness. Keppoch entered without any opposition, and threatened to burn the town to the ground unless a fine of 4000 merks was paid, and a scarlet laced coat provided by the burghers. For three days the people were kept in a state of abject terror by the invaders, who had passed an order that every townsman must ground his arms at the mere sight of any one wearing the Macdonald tartan. The tension was at length relieved by the arrival on the scene of Lord Dundee, who at once acted the part of mediator. Dundee gave his bond to Keppoch, pledging himself to see that the town paid him a fine of 2000 dollars. Dundee was not quite so successful in his attempt to reconcile Keppoch and Mackintosh. Mackintosh's cattle, in consequence, were afterwards found to be a valuable and welcome acquisition to the commissariat of the Highland army. Coll now with his following joined Dundee, and proceeded with him to Lochaber. From Lochaber the Royalist leader marched southwards, and made a descent on Perth

on the 11th of May. On the 13th he appeared before the town of Dundee. During these proceedings, Coll of Keppoch harried the lands of Mackintosh in Strathearn, Strathnairn, and Badenoch, and burnt his castle of Dunachton, for which latter act Dundee, it is said, afterwards severely reprimanded him. After punishing Mackintosh, Coll proceeded on a recruiting expedition to beat up his clansmen in the Isles. On the 18th of May we find him at Armadale, in Skye, accepting of the lieutenant-colonelcy of a regiment to be raised by Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. In accepting the commission, Keppoch bound himself to bring all his followers to join the regiment.¹ On his return to Lochaber, a large number of men from the Western clans, as the result of Keppoch's recruiting efforts, joined Dundee's standard. While Dundee was still in Lochaber, Keppoch was sent to besiege Ruthven Castle, which was held for the Prince of Orange. After a protracted siege, the castle at length surrendered, and Keppoch having set fire to it, took the whole garrison prisoners to Dundee's camp at Lochaber. It was at this time, during Dundee's residence in Lochaber, that Coll of Keppoch received his name of "Coll of the Cows," because "he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way."² At Killiecrankie, Coll, "arrayed in his tartan and carrying a shield studded with brazen knobs," fought at the head of his men next to Glen-garry, in the centre of Dundee's army. Their prowess on that occasion was afterwards amply acknowledged in a letter addressed from Dublin by

X ¹ Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest.

² Proceedings in the Process against Dundee's representatives—Evidence of Lieut. Coll.

King James to Keppoch.¹ On the death of Dundee the command was assumed by Cannon. Keppoch joined him at the Braes of Mar, and afterwards fought with him at Dunkeld, but losing confidence in him as a leader of a Highland army he returned home. On the 24th of August Keppoch became a party to the Bond of Association entered into by the Highland chiefs at Blair-Athole, by which they bound themselves to continue in the King's service. Keppoch bound himself to bring a hundred men to their place of meeting in September.² When Buchan succeeded Cannon in command of the army of King James, the chiefs held a meeting at Keppoch to deliberate as to the course to be pursued at that juncture. The result of their deliberations was a resolution to continue the war. Buchan proved himself as incapable of leading a Highland army as Cannon had been. The new attempt ended in failure. The defeat at Cromdale in April, 1690, scattered the last remnant of the Highland followers of King James. After the battle, Keppoch and his followers took refuge at Craigellachie, and attempted before returning to Lochaber to atone for their defeat by besieging the Castle of Rothiemurchus, but they failed to take that stronghold. From Rothiemurchus Keppoch and his followers turned their attention to the Clan Chattan, who lay in their way, and whose property was always fair game. The lands of William Mackintosh of Aberarder, of Farquhar MacGillivray of Dunmaglass, of William Mackintosh of Borlum, and of Lachlan Mackintosh of Daviot, were all wasted and plundered to the extent that these

✕ ¹ Original in Antiq. Museum, Edinburgh.

² Acts of Parl.

gentlemen and their tenants were reduced to "beggare and a starving condition." So thorough was the raid, that not so much as "a paire of plaids for bedding" were left behind.¹ Keppoch's cup was now full, and judging him even from the ethical standpoint of his own day he deserved condign punishment for his wanton and reckless destruction of life and property. Mackintosh, for whom and the Clan Chattan we cannot help having a feeling of commiseration, appealed to Parliament for help, and estimated his losses at 40,000 merks. The usual steps were taken, but commissions of fire and sword were of no avail against the incorrigible Coll of Keppoch. Notwithstanding letters sent to the Sheriffs of Ross, Inverness, Nairn, Aberdeen, and Perth, charging all men within these bounds from 16 to 60 years of age to join Mackintosh, Coll stood defiantly at the head of his men and refused to - surrender. Matters remained in this way until the Government of William and Mary issued a proclamation offering pardon for all past offences to those who would make their submission before the last day of the year 1691. Keppoch, to whom the strain of holding out so long must now have become irksome, and who of all men was the most guilty, readily availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded him of escaping from the consequences of his transgressions against the Clan Chattan. On the 24th of June, he appeared before the Earl of Breadalbane, the Commissioner appointed by Government to treat with the Highland chiefs, and earnestly desired for himself and nine of his principal followers, and the rest of his kinsmen, the intercession of the Commissioner with the Govern-

¹ Acts of Parl.

ment, promising on oath to adhere to such terms as he can procure for them.¹ On the same day and in the same manner, Coll engaged on his faith and word to submit to the Government.² It was well for him that he had thus submitted, for he had undoubtedly been marked out for destruction with Glencoe. Coll, in common with all the other Highland chiefs, had little faith in the sincerity of the Earl of Breadalbane. When the Earl and his henchman, Glenlyon, were being taken to task for their share in the massacre of Glencoe, Coll, who appears to have closely watched their schemes, went to Edinburgh, under protection, to give evidence against them. "Cappoch understands the business, and the private transactions Breadalbane had with the Clans, which is desired by the Government be discovered truly, and will bring the Glencoe affair to be best understood."³ Keppoch is now clearly on his good behaviour. He is reported in 1694 as "quyett, and in a condition to live without stealing." All was well, so far as Keppoch's relations to the Government were concerned, but Mackintosh still considers himself greatly oppressed, his "caice being singullar, matchless, and unparalleled in the world." One of "three insuperable difficulties" of the situation in the Highlands, which the country had then to face, was the reconciliation of Coll Macdonald of Keppoch and Mackintosh. As Keppoch would not "heighten his rent to Mackintosh's lykeing," it was suggested that Government should buy the lands of Keppoch, "and put the interest of the pryse as a few dewty upon the possessors."⁴ Mackintosh, who is referred to in this connection as

✕ ¹ Howell's State Trials. ² Ibidem.

✕ ³ Atholl Papers. ⁴ Marchmont Papers.

a "gentleman," appears to be unwilling to come to any such arrangement with the Government. He is angry because Keppoch is "quyett," and accuses Colonel Hill, governor of Fort-William, of harbouring him. The notorious rebel of Keppoch had escaped unpunished, while the loyal Captain of Clan Chattan, who has ever been steadfast in his principles, has been denied redress. In a letter to the Earl of Marchmont, dated 30th December, 1696, Mackintosh writes in a bitter tone against Colonel Hill. The colonel, he alleges, could have secured Keppoch, dead or alive, if he wished, "but he gives it now outt that Coll M^cDonnald is gone to Irland, which is meere knavishness, for he is keeped privatlie att home by his ordore." There seems to be no protection anywhere for the much injured Captain against "thatt nottorious and signall robber, murderer, and rascall."¹ If all else has failed him, it is very evident the choleric Captain's vocabulary of expletives has stood him in good stead. Though he is the "most faithfull, sincere, and most dutifull subject" in all the Highlands, except the Laird of Grant, yet for the loyal Captain of Clan Chattan there is no "speedie relieff."² He again petitioned the Privy Council, rehearsing all his grievances since 1681, and craving a renewal of his commission of fire and sword against Keppoch. "If itt be unduly delayed itt will undoe him utterly." The Government seemed slow to take so strong a measure against one who, however rebellious his past, was now on his good behaviour. He had been to Edinburgh "anent the public concerns of the Government," and had returned home with a high idea of

¹ Marchmont Papers.² Ibidem.

the responsibility of citizenship and a strong determination to keep the peace. The Government was unwilling to disturb the tranquility of Lochaber even for so loyal a subject as Mackintosh. Colonel Hill, of Fort-William, writing on "the State of the Highlands in the summer of 1697," refers to the differences between Mackintosh and Keppoch, and observes that "there is a discourse of a commission of fire and sword which can tend to noe advantage, but to destruction, as well as the unsettling of the countrey (now in a very peaceable condition), especially considering that (if I get orders) I can give M^cintosh the possession with 12 men as well as with 1200."¹ Mackintosh, however, is determined to disturb the peace of the country. Writing from Inverness in May, 1698, he deprecates any hindrance to the passing of the commission. He has found a friend and ally in Brigadier Maitland, the new Governor of Fort-William, who has "resolved to be very uneasy to Coll untill he gett him apprehended." He and his kinsmen intend invading Lochaber without delay, if only he received the desired commission.² Mackintosh's appeals were at length heeded by the Government, and a warrant was granted to Brigadier Maitland to execute a commission of fire and sword against Keppoch. Whatever efforts were made by Maitland in this direction, they certainly did not prove successful. Keppoch assumed once more an attitude of defiance. Mackintosh, writing from the Isle of Moy in August, 1689, gives a glowing account of his invasion of Keppoch. He had gone thither with "ane considerable pairtie off good resolute men." He had sent several parties while there to seize the person

¹ Atholl Papers.² Marchmont Papers.

of Coll, "but the great mists upon the hills did mar that interpryse." After seizing such goods and cattle of the tenants as he could find, and building several timber houses, the Captain of Clan Chattan returned in triumph to Moy.¹ The gallant Captain had barely taken his departure when "the great mists upon the hills" rose, and the form of Coll became only too palpably visible to the terrified remnant of Clan Chattan occupying the crannogs erected by Mackintosh. The panic-stricken clansmen hurried off to Strathnairn, and looked not once behind them.

"'Nuair dhuigeadh gaisgich nam buadh,
A chum an cath 's a Mhaoil Ruaidh,
Bhiodh air cait an taobh tuath ratreuta."

While Mackintosh busied himself building timber houses during his occupation of Keppoch, Coll, under cover of "the great mists upon the hills," found his way to Glengarry, having previously secured to some extent the goods and cattle of his dependants. He had now returned with a large contingent of his kinsmen of Glengarry, and was prepared to fight another Mulroy, but the Clan Chattan had fled, and, finding their services no longer required, the men of Glengarry returned to their homes. It was now patent to all concerned that nothing was to be gained by force. Coll had never been beaten out of Keppoch, and never would. The friends of both parties ultimately interfered, and Mackintosh and Keppoch were prevailed upon to enter into a mutual agreement in order to adjust their relations. At Fort-William, on the 22nd day of May, 1700, Mackintosh, accompanied by several of his Clan Chattan

¹ Marchmont Papers.

followers, and Keppoch, with Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat as cautioner, appeared before Brigadier Maitland, and entered into a solemn engagement. Coll Macdonald as principal, and Sir Donald Macdonald as cautioner for him, bind and oblige themselves to grant Mackintosh, "in lieu and satisfaction of what he can ask, crave of him or his representatives, criminally or civilly," the three ploughs of Davoch Laggan, namely, that of Tullochchrom, Aberarder, and Strathchruinachen. Mackintosh and his friends bind themselves to give Coll a tack of the two davoch lands of Keppoch, and others, as possessed by the late Archibald Macdonald for the space of 19 years. Coll is to pay in name of tack duty the sum of 400 merks yearly for the first two years, 600 merks for the third and fourth years, and 800 merks for the fifth and subsequent years. In the event of the tack duty not being paid, Mackintosh is to have access to the lands, and if he or his tenants should be molested by Keppoch any time during the rest of his life, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat shall pay £250 sterling to Mackintosh. Sir Donald is, further, to secure the peaceable behaviour of Coll Macdonald and his sub-tenants, and Coll himself shall be obliged, with his sub-tenants, to attend Mackintosh at hosting and hunting during the currency of his lease, and wait his courts, when called, within his jurisdiction of Lochaber.¹ This bond of agreement between Mackintosh and Keppoch is a remarkable document, in view of the past relations between the parties. It is certainly difficult to imagine the hero of Mulroy following humbly, and at a respectable distance, in the train of Mackintosh at hosting and hunting. Whatever

X ¹ Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest.

Coll's motives may have been in entering into the agreement with Mackintosh, and giving away his case on paper, it is certain that he fulfilled none of its conditions. For the first two years' tack duty Keppoch paid Mackintosh only 600 merks. After that period he ceased paying any rent, and fell back on the old mode of holding his lands at the point of his sword. Ultimately, Lachlan Mackintosh, younger of Torcastle, in his father's name, and with consent of his father's trustees, raised letters of horning against Keppoch and Sir Donald Macdonald in 1712.¹ The decree which followed failed, however, to extract the arrears of rent, which had accumulated, from Keppoch. Of the relative positions of the parties in regard to the lands of Keppoch, we hear no more.

When Coll Macdonald of Keppoch again emerges from his retirement he appears in an entirely new light. On the accession of George of Hanover to the British throne in 1714, one hundred and two chiefs and heads of families in the Highlands, among whom was Keppoch, presented him with a congratulatory address, in which they profess the most unbounded loyalty to His Majesty's person and government. This address was entrusted to the Earl of Mar for presentation to the King, but the Earl, being slighted at Court, returned to Scotland without fulfilling his engagement. It is said that this circumstance had no small effect in inducing many of the Highlanders, who would otherwise have remained quiet, to join in the rebellion of the following year. The standard of King James was raised at Braemar in September, 1715, but not before Coll Macdonald of Keppoch

X ¹ Lord Macdonald's Charter Chest.

had been summoned to Edinburgh, in terms of an Act of Parliament, lately passed, to find security for his good behaviour. Coll disregarded the summons, and joined Mar. The Keppoch Chief was among the first to strike a blow for the legitimate King. Immediately after the raising of the royal standard at Braemar, Coll at the head of his men, with some Macleans and Camerons, made an attack on Fort-William, and seized two redoubts with the men in them, but he was unsuccessful in his principal design, the seizure of the fort itself, for want of cannon. Coll afterwards joined the army under Mar, and continued with that leader to the end of the campaign. At Sheriffmuir the Keppoch men, who with the other Macdonalds formed the right wing of Mar's army, fought with conspicuous bravery. Charging Argyle's left wing, the Macdonalds made a furious onset on their opponents, and drove them headlong off the field. "With the exception of the Macdonalds, who particularly distinguished themselves on the right, and the Perthshire and Angus horse, who withstood the repeated attacks of Argyle's cavalry, the remainder of the insurgent army made little resistance."¹ Keppoch and his men continued in arms for some time after the Battle of Sheriffmuir. His men, however, were ultimately obliged to surrender. Coll himself succeeded in finding his way to South Uist, where, in the month of May, he and Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald, and others engaged in the rebellion, took ship and escaped to France. Keppoch remained in exile for three years, during which he lived in great poverty. Taking advantage of the Jacobite Attempt of 1719, he,

¹ Mar's Journal.

Clamranald, and others, took ship at Bordeaux, and returned to Scotland in the month of April.¹ Coll prudently avoided becoming involved in the affair of Glenshiel. Of his subsequent movements we know nothing. In 1722, he received a Precept of Clare Constat from Alexander, Duke of Gordon, for infefting him as heir to his grandfather in the lands of Achnacoeichean, Cleonaig, Monessie, Brackletter, Inverlair, Kilmonivaig, and Loch Treig, at a yearly rental of 100 merks, with the usual personal service.² The extraordinary career of the Chief of Keppoch closed shortly after this. We have not been able to ascertain the exact date of his death, but he appears to have been dead in 1729, for in that year Alexander, his son, received a lease of the lands of Keppoch, and others, from Mackintosh.³ Coll had been singularly fortunate in escaping the consequences of rebellion, for although both in 1691 and in 1716 many persons much less deeply implicated than he were forfeited, yet his name does not appear in the Acts of Parliament among those who were attainted.

Coll Macdonald of Keppoch was succeeded by his son, Alexander. Of the early life of this Chief little is definitely known. In 1713, he matriculated as a student in the University of Glasgow, where he remained until the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715. Following the example of his father, he joined the standard of the Earl of Mar, and espoused with all his youthful ardour the cause of the legitimate King.⁴ On the dispersal of James's followers after the Battle of Sheriffmuir, Alexander,

¹ Jacobite attempt of 1719, Scott. Hist. Soc.

² Historical Papers, Reg. House. ³ Forfeited Estates Papers.

⁴ Account of the Trial of Donald Macdonald.

like so many others, was obliged to take refuge in flight. He found his way to France, and, on completing his education in that country, he entered the French Army.¹ He served in the French Army for some time, but how long he remained there is uncertain. In the Precept of Clare Constat by the Duke of Gordon in favour of Coll of Keppoch in 1722, to which reference has just been made, Alexander appears as a witness, and the probability is that he had returned home about that time. Of his movements afterwards there is practically nothing recorded until the commencement of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745. It appears that in 1743 the Highland and Lowland Jacobites held a private meeting, at which it was decided to take immediate steps for the restoration of the Stuart family. Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, and Stewart of Appin, who both attended the meeting, were despatched to the French Court and to Prince Charles to lay before them respectively the proposals of the Scottish Jacobites.² No immediate steps, however, were taken. The Duke of Perth early in 1744 came North to stir up his neighbours, and sent for Keppoch to acquaint him with the situation of affairs.³ In June of the following year, Keppoch was visited at his house by Murray of Broughton, who was sent to press him "to get things in as much forwardness as the time and circumstances would permit."⁴ When Charles at length landed at Eriska in the month of July, 1745, Keppoch, in common with all his supporters, was greatly disappointed to find him accompanied by so slender a

¹ MS. by Miss J. M. Macdonald of Keppoch.

² MS. by John McDonell of Keppoch.

³ Murray of Broughton's Memorials. ⁴ *Ibidem*.

retinue. He resolved, however, to join the Prince in the hope that there would be a general rising of the clans in his favour. He urged upon the wavering chiefs that as the Prince had actually thrown himself upon their protection, they were bound in duty to defend his person. Keppoch bestirred himself without delay to raise his own immediate followers. In a letter dated at Keppoch on the 12th of August, and addressed to Alexander Macdonald of Dalchosnie, he urges that clansman to hasten with all possible speed to his standard, "if he is to expect a continuance of his friendship and that of a person of the highest consequence." No doubt similar notices were sent to other followers of the Chief of Keppoch. The neighbouring garrison of Fort-William receiving the intelligence that Keppoch and Lochiel were marshalling their forces, became greatly alarmed, and took steps immediately to strengthen the position by sending for reinforcements to Fort-Augustus. The Governor of Fort-Augustus accordingly despatched on the 16th of August two companies of the Scots Royals, under the command of a Captain Scott. When within eight miles of Fort-William, Captain Scott was met at Highbridge by Donald Macdonald, Keppoch's brother, who, with a small party, had been sent to intercept his march. Donald succeeded in artfully concealing the real numerical strength of his party, which consisted only of about twelve men. Captain Scott finding himself, as he believed, face to face with a large force, retraced his steps, and fell back on Laggan Achadrom. Meanwhile Donald, being joined by a considerable number of Keppoch men, pursued Scott, and came up to him at Laggan Achadrom. A short scuffle followed, when Scott

and his party surrendered, and all were taken prisoners.¹ In this way the Keppoch men had the honour of striking the first blow for Prince Charles, and the Rebellion was already begun. On the 17th of August the standard of Prince Charles was raised at Glenfinnan, and in the afternoon of the same day Keppoch arrived there at the head of 300 clansmen, bringing with him an English officer, Captain Sweetenham of Guise's Regiment, whom he had taken prisoner on that officer's way from Ruthven to take command at Fort-William. The Prince and his advisers now formed the resolution of making a descent on the Lowlands, and, with this in view, they pushed their way Southwards. On the 4th of September they entered Perth, and in the evening the Prince despatched Keppoch and Clanranald with a party of Macdonalds on a foraging expedition to Dundee. The Macdonalds entered the town early next morning, and proceeding to the harbour, where lay two vessels containing arms and ammunition, they captured them, and carried off the spoil to the Highland camp at Perth. From Perth the Highland Army proceeded on its way to Edinburgh. Keppoch was one of those selected by the Prince to lead the force sent to take the city by surprise. Having rested for three days in Edinburgh, the Prince, hearing that Cope had landed at Dunbar, resolved to march out to meet him and give him battle. At Duddingston he called together a council of war to deliberate as to the course to be pursued. Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, being an experienced officer who had served in the French Army, was selected by the chiefs to be their spokes-

X ¹ MS. of John McDonell of Keppoch.

man on this occasion. Keppoch, speaking briefly and with caution, said that as the clans had, many of them, never been engaged against regular troops, it was difficult to foresee how they would behave, but he assured the Prince that such was their devotion to their chiefs and the cause, that they would follow wherever their leaders ventured to lead them. At the Battle of Prestonpans, which followed, Keppoch, at the head of his men, fought in the right wing of the first line of the Highland Army. The Macdonald regiments, occupying the place of honour, asserted the ancient valour of the race of Conn, and, rushing on the enemy, fully justified their claim to the position assigned to them on the right. In one account of the battle, it is stated that Archibald Macdonald, Keppoch's brother, who fought with great bravery, was killed.¹ In the beginning of November, Charles and his army crossed the border into England. At Derby the Prince, who was eager to press on at all hazards, held a council of war, at which it was decided almost unanimously to return to Scotland. Keppoch appears to have been the only chief who favoured the Prince's views, but his arguments were of no avail, and the retreat was determined on. In the skirmish at Clifton Bridge with Cumberland's cavalry, Keppoch and the Macdonalds fought again on the right hand, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. In the next engagement with the enemy, the Keppoch regiment behaved with great gallantry. At Falkirk the Macdonalds of Keppoch were on the extreme right of the first line of the Prince's army, while the left of Hawley's Dragoons stood directly opposite. The Dragoons were ordered to take the rising ground

¹ Scots Magazine.

to the right of the Highland army. Lord George Murray, perceiving their design, sent the Keppoch regiment to prevent their taking possession of the heights. A deadly struggle ensued, in which the regiments of Clanranald and Lochiel joined, and the dragoons were obliged to retire in great disorder. A misfortune befell the Keppoch regiment in the capture of the gallant Major Donald Macdonald of Tirnadrish, who, mistaking Hawley's right wing for Lord John Drummond's regiment, ran up to the enemy and found himself a prisoner.

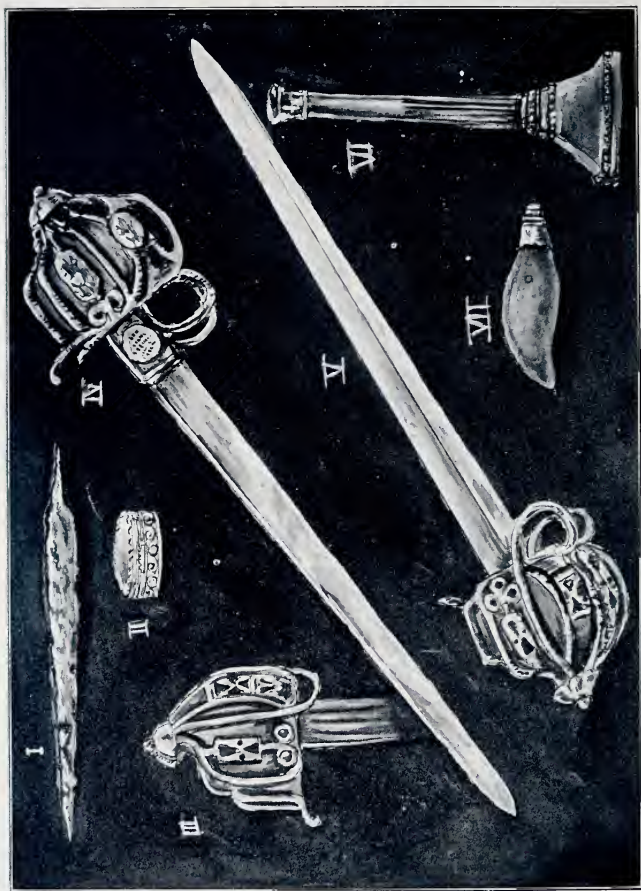
After the Battle of Falkirk, the Chiefs represented to the Prince the advisability of retiring to the Highlands, on account of many desertions from their ranks, the inclemency of the season, and other reasons. The Prince with great reluctance finally agreed to this course, and the Highland army turning northwards, arrived at Inverness on the 18th of February, 1746. Early in March, the Prince detached a force, 1500 strong, under Brigadier Stapleton, to attack the garrisons of Fort-Augustus and Fort-William. Of the number comprising this force were the Macdonalds of Keppoch. The garrison of Fort-William had, during the absence of the Highland army in England, made frequent raids on Keppoch's lands, burnt the houses of the country people, and carried off their cattle. Keppoch was glad of the opportunity of punishing them, but for want of artillery the siege of Fort-William had to be abandoned, and Stapleton was recalled to Inverness. The Macdonalds of Keppoch remained behind meditating an attack on the Campbells. In a joint letter addressed by Keppoch and Lochiel to Stewart of Invernahaile, and dated at Lochaber, March 20th, 1746, very severe anim-

adversions are made on the conduct of the Campbells during the progress of the war. According to the chiefs, it appears that "in spite of all the clemency that a prince could show or promise, the Campbells have openly appeared with their wonted zeal for rebellion and usurpation in the most oppressive manner. Nor could we form a thought to ourselves that any men endowed with reason or common sense could use their fellow creatures with such inhumanity and barbarity as they do ; of which we have such daily proofs, by their burning houses, stripping of women and children, and exposing them in the open field to the severity of the weather, houghing of cattle, and killing of horses ; to enumerate the whole would be too tedious at this time." The desired permission to proceed against the Campbells was granted by the Prince, and Keppoch and Lochiel were ordered to march to Argyleshire "with full power to act at discretion," but the order, much to the disappointment of the chiefs, was countermanded, and they were required to join the Prince at Inverness. The Keppoch men arrived in the Prince's camp on the morning of the fatal day which was to blast their hopes for ever on the bleak moor of Drummossie. Keppoch was one of those chiefs who strongly advised the Prince against the choice of ground at Culloden. Well would it have been for the Clans had this advice been acted upon. To the Macdonald regiments was assigned a position on the left of the front line of the Prince's army. In all the other engagements during the war they had fought on the right. To Lord George Murray must be given the credit of disposing the Prince's forces in this manner. The Macdonalds were greatly offended

at being deprived of the place of honour on the right, and with good reason. This honour they claimed as an heritage handed down to them from the ever memorable day of Bannockburn, where their illustrious Chief, Angus, had earned it for them at the hands of the renowned restorer of Scottish liberty, King Robert Bruce. It was not an honour to be lightly thrown aside. The brave clansmen stood sullenly nursing their pride and facing the foe. Lord George Murray, it is said, appealed to them to waive their pretensions. The Duke of Perth endeavoured in vain to rouse them, and vowed that if they behaved with their usual valour he would ever after call himself a Macdonald. But it was too late. The day could not possibly be saved by any effort of theirs. When they saw the right wing repulsed, they knew that all was lost. To have remained in the field in the face of such overwhelming odds would have been a foolish and unnecessary sacrifice of life, and this proved to be the case with those of them who remained. The gallant Keppoch, seeing his clan hesitate, advanced alone with drawn sword, exclaiming as he proceeded, "My God, has it come to this, that the children of my clan have forsaken me." He rushed forward, followed by a handful of his Lochaber clansmen, among whom were his brother, Donald, who was killed, Angus Ban, his son, and Donald Roy Macdonald of Baleshare. He had not proceeded far when he was struck by a musket ball and fell. His kinsmen then rallied round him, and endeavoured in vain to persuade him to leave the field, for he was not yet mortally wounded. He advanced once more, received another shot, and fell to rise no more. At this point his

kinsman, Donald Roy Macdonald, rushed forward to help him, when the gallant chief, looking at him, said, "O God, have mercy upon me; Donald, do the best you can for yourself, for I am gone." His clansmen carried him off the field into a small hut near the scene of action. The hut was afterwards, with its wounded, dying, and dead, set on fire by the alien savage who commanded the forces of the Elector of Hanover. In this manner perished the brave Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, "the mirror of martial men." An accomplished and chivalrous Highland gentleman, Keppoch was greatly beloved by his clan. An anecdote is told of him which serves to show the chivalrous side of his character. On one occasion he entertained several friends in his house at Keppoch, when one of the guests somewhat rudely asked him what his rental was. "Come," he said, "fill a bumper to the lad o'er the water, and I will tell you. My rent roll is five hundred fine fellows ready to follow me wherever I go."

Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch was attainted in due form, as if he had been still in life, and his family and dependants were now subjected to rigorous treatment by Cumberland. The house of Keppoch was burnt to the ground, the Chief's wife and children having barely time to escape. The Keppoch clansmen, who continued in arms until every hope of the Stuart cause was lost, were able for a time and in a manner to defend life and property from the savage and rapacious followers of Cumberland. By the 20th of May all the clans involved in the rebellion appear to have accepted Cumberland's offers, except the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch, and John Roy Stewart.



- I. The remains of the Dirk worn by Alexander of Keppoch at Culloden.
- II. Snuff Box of Jessie Stewart, wife of Alexander of Keppoch.
- III. Sword of Donald, nephew of Keppoch, who was executed at Kennington in 1746.
- IV. Sword presented to Alex. Macdonald of Keppoch by his clansmen in 1802.
- V. Sword of Alex. of Keppoch, killed at Culloden.
- VI. Candlestick of Silis, the poetess of Keppoch.
- VII. Powder Horn of Alexander, killed at Culloden.

How long the Keppoch men remained in this attitude is uncertain, but the probability is that in the course of the Summer they accepted the terms offered to the neighbouring clans and laid down their arms.

Angus Ban Macdonald of Keppoch, who had fought with his father at Culloden, remained at the head of the Keppoch family until the coming of age of his brother, Ranald. The Keppoch tenants, meanwhile, continued to pay rent to the family, notwithstanding the Act of Attainder passed against the late chief, as appears from a Judicial Rental of the Keppoch lands of the year 1751, and a protest by Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch, to be referred to afterwards. In 1748, the Barons of Exchequer sent a David Bruce to make a survey of the forfeited lands of Keppoch, but no immediate action, however, appears to have been taken to force payment of the rent, which the family on good grounds withheld.¹ From an affidavit made by Mrs Macdonald, the widow of the late chief, before the Sheriff-Substitute of Inverness in 1751, it appears that the lands of Keppoch, Inveroybeg, Boloyne, Easter Bohuntine, Achroatie, Breagach, Bohinie, Achaderry, Urchar, and Tolly, had been granted on lease by Lachlan Mackintosh from 1729 to 1741 to the late Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, for which he paid a yearly rent of 800 merks.² The other lands possessed by Alexander at the time of his death were held by him of the Duke of Gordon, and consisted of Inverlair, Achnacoichean, Monessie, Cleonaig, Kilmonivaig, and Brackletter.³ In 1755, the Barons of Exchequer sent an individual

¹ Protest by Ronald Macdonald of Keppoch.

² Forfeited Estates Papers. ³ *Ibidem*.

of the name of Mungo Campbell to again survey the lands possessed by the late Alexander of Keppoch, and to raise all the bygone rents, whereupon Ranald of Keppoch appeared personally before them and protested against these proceedings. He protested, in the first place, that notwithstanding the estate which pertained to the deceased Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, his father, had been forfeited, yet that he, as his heir male and representative, has undoubted right to the whole estates personal and real possessed by his father; that in virtue of his right and title he claimed the same before the Court of Session, where his claim was then in dependence; that he had unexceptionable evidence of the death of his father in the month of April, 1746, previous to the attainder passing into a law by which he could not have been attainted, nor his estate forfeited; and he, therefore, protested that no proceedings by Mungo Campbell by order of the Barons of Exchequer may any way hurt or prejudice his right to his father's lands or estate. Ranald further protested that notwithstanding the Barons had taken a survey and rental of the estate of Keppoch by David Bruce in 1748, and afterwards by George Douglas, Sheriff-Substitute of Inverness-shire, they never appointed a factor, and as no acts of property had been used by the Barons since the attainder, but on the contrary his guardians and administrators did constantly uplift and receive the rents, profits, and emoluments of these lands *bona-fide* since that period without any molestation, impediment, or opposition whatever, he therefore submitted that no process for the recovery of bygone rents is in any way

competent to the Barons or their factor.¹ Ranald appears to have been successful in his action before the Court of Session referred to in his Protest. In 1757 he received the commission of lieutenant in Fraser's Highlanders, or the old 78th Regiment, raised in that year. The young Chieftain afterwards went with his regiment to America, where he served under Wolfe, and was wounded at the Siege of Quebec in 1759. Shortly afterwards the regiment was ordered home, and Keppoch did not again enter on active service for some time. In the interval he lived at Keppoch, where he devoted himself with great assiduity to agricultural pursuits, and was not by any means indifferent to the great Ossianic controversy which then raged. In a letter, written by him from Keppoch in January, 1764, he, in common with most Highlanders of that time, defends Macpherson, and pledges his unqualified faith in the authenticity of the poems of the Blind Bard of Selma. Fraser's Highlanders being again ordered for active service, Keppoch joined his regiment, and served with it in Jamaica. On his return from abroad, he retired with the rank of Major, and lived at Keppoch. He died there, greatly lamented, in September, 1785.

Major Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander. Alexander entered the army at an early age, and was present at the siege of Toulon in 1793, where he was wounded. He afterwards served with his regiment in the West Indies. In 1797, he received the commission of Captain in the First, or Royal Regiment of Foot, now known as the Royal Scots.² He served

¹ From the Original Protest among the Keppoch Writs.

² Commission in possession of his nephew, Alex. Macdonell Stewart, Esq., Edinburgh.

under Sir Ralph Abercromby in Egypt in 1801, and was wounded at the Battle of Aboukir. In 1802, he was presented with a sword by his clansmen, the scabbard of which bears the Macdonald Red Hand and the following Gaelic inscription:—*Do Mhac ic Raonuill na Ceapaich le a chud-daimh agus a bhudtack 1802*. In 1805, Alexander received the commission of Major in his regiment. In 1808, Keppoch went with his regiment to Jamaica, and died there in that year, unmarried. During his absence abroad the lands of Keppoch were let to Macdonald of Glencoe, and thus for the first time during a period of more than 400 years they passed out of the possession of the descendants of Alastair Carrach.

Major Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch was succeeded as representative of the family by his brother Richard. Richard entered the Gordon Highlanders as an ensign in March, 1808. After joining his regiment, he lived for the most part abroad. In 1809, he was promoted to a lieutenancy, and joined the Walcheren Expedition. He afterwards served with his regiment in the Peninsula. In 1812, the freedom of the Burgh of Inverness was conferred upon him. He immediately thereafter rejoined his regiment, and proceeded to the Peninsula. He was wounded in action both at St Sevor and at Ayre in 1814. He was again wounded at Orthez. He was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and was slightly wounded in the latter battle. He afterwards accompanied his regiment to Jamaica, where he died of yellow fever in 1819, unmarried. It would be unnecessary, even if space permitted, to follow further the succession

of the Chiefs of Keppoch here. What remains to be told falls more appropriately within the scope of the next volume of this work. It may be sufficient merely to say that the family continued to be worthily represented in Lochaber until a few years ago.

CHAPTER XV.

THE MACDONALDS OF ANTRIM.



Sorley Buy, founder of the Family of Antrim.—Imprisonment in Dublin Castle.—Defeats the English.—War with the Macquillins.—Macquillins expelled by Sorley from the Route.—Indenture between Sorley and Sussex.—Shane O'Neill's War against the Macdonalds.—Defeat of the Macdonalds at Glentaisie and Imprisonment of Sorley by O'Neill.—Shane put to death by the Macdonalds.—Sorley defies the English Government, and expels the English garrisons on the Antrim Coast.—James Macdonald's Widow.—Her marriage and intrigues.—Invasion of Ulster by Essex.—Defeated by Sorley Buy.—Massacre of Rathlin.—Invasion of the Route by Perrot.—The Bisset lands offered to Donald Gorm.—Raid of the Glens and Route by the English.—Sorley drives the English from the Route, and takes Dunluce Castle.—Indenture between Lord Deputy Perrot and Angus Macdonald of Dunmyveg.—Angus receives a grant of the Bisset lands.—Submission of Sorley Buy.—Grant of lands in his

favour.—Death of Sorley.—James Macdonald of Dunluce at war with Macquillins.—He drives them from the Route.—James visits the Scottish Court, and attempts to deprive Angus of Dunnyveg of his lands in Kintyre.—He is knighted by King James, and receives a grant of lands in Kintyre.—James defeats the English garrison at Knockfergus.—He joins Tyrone.—His death.—Angus Ultach and Ranald Arranach strive for the succession to Sir James Macdonald.—Ranald Arranach joins Tyrone.—Randal deserts Tyrone, and joins the English army.—He is knighted by the Lord Deputy.—Grant of lands by King James to Sir Randal MacSorley.—Opposition of the English Officers.—Dispute about the fishing of the Bann.—Dispute with Sir Aula Macaulay of Ardincaple.—Wardship of Sir Randal's heir granted to the Earl of Abercorn.—Sir Randal obtains a lease of Isla.—He is raised to the peerage.—Another attempt to acquire Isla.—Lord Dunluce and the Family of Abercorn.—Lord Antrim and the Barony of Kintyre.—Death and character of Lord Antrim.—Lord Dunluce brought up in the Highland way.—Antrim espoused the King's cause, and is appointed one of His Majesty's Lieutenants in the Highlands and Islands.—Catholic Insurrection of 1641.—Antrim sent a prisoner to Carrickfergus.—His escape.—His return to Ireland, second imprisonment at Carrickfergus, and escape.—Antrim appointed Lieutenant-General in the Highlands and Islands.—Agreement between him and Montrose.—Irish force sent to Scotland under Alastair MacCholla.—Antrim created a Marquis.—Supports the King's cause in Scotland.—Sent to St Germain's by the Irish Catholics to bring Prince Charles to Ireland.—Came to terms with Cromwell.—Ill-treated at the Restoration.—His triumph over his enemies.—Bond between him and his Scottish kinsmen.—His matriculation of arms.—His death.—Alexander, the third Earl, joined the Catholic movement of 1641.—Retires to England during the Cromwellian occupation of Ireland.—Entered the English Parliament as member for Wigan.—Correspondence between him and Clanranald.—Antrim sided with King James.—Attempt on Londonderry.—At the Boyne.—His forfeiture.—His death.—Randal, fourth Earl, attempted to join Rebellion of 1715.—His imprisonment in Dublin.—His death.—Alexander, fifth

Earl.—Randal William, sixth Earl and second Marquis.—
Hugh Seymour, seventh Earl.—Mark, eighth Earl.—William
Randal, ninth Earl.

THE founder of the noble family of Antrim was Sorley Buy Macdonald, or yellow-haired Somerled, the sixth son of Alexander of Dunnyveg and the Glens. After the execution of his father, towards the end of the 15th century, Alexander, when quite a youth, was obliged to find refuge in the family territory of the Glens, where he continued to reside until the death of King James at Flodden made it safe for him to return to Scotland. During Alexander's residence in Ireland, Somerled, his son, was born some time in the first decade of the 16th century. Both the exact place and date of his birth are uncertain. His early history is equally obscure, overshadowed as it was by that of his older brothers, who all acted so distinguished a part in the early struggles of the family in Ulster. Up to the death of his eldest brother, James, in 1565, the main features of Sorley's public life have already been dwelt upon to some extent in the history of the family of Dunnyveg. It will not, therefore, be necessary to refer to these in detail in this chapter. The Irish State Papers, which are not by any means an unbiassed source of reference for the history of the Clan Donald in Ulster, give us our first glimpse of the career of Sorley Buy as a Clan leader, and he was then a middle-aged man. The early part of his career, it may be presumed, was in keeping with the remainder of his life. In 1550, he appears somehow to have come into collision with the English authorities in Ulster, with the result that he was taken prisoner, and committed to ward in

Dublin Castle.¹ In the following year, Sorley was released after an imprisonment of several months. The gulf between the Clan Donald of Ulster and the English, already wide, was made wider by the imprisonment of Sorley Buy. Summoning his followers, Sorley, in 1552, invaded Carrickfergus, and in a pitched battle defeated the English garrison with great slaughter. The Constable of the Castle, who was taken prisoner, was afterwards dismissed for his "demerits," but not before he had paid a heavy ransom to Sorley. After the unfortunate officer had paid his fine, Sorley entertained him to supper, and being in a communicative mood, he gave vent to his feelings by telling his guest that "Inglische men had no rygt to Yrland." Of the relations between Sorley and the English nothing further is heard for some time. Sorley, after his success at Carrickfergus, turned his attention to the Macquillins, the original possessors of the Route. The Macquillins, having been deprived of their lands by the Macdonalds, had now become the Philistines of the Route, and Sorley was determined to drive them out. He found this, however, no easy task. The war between them continued for two years, during which there was considerable slaughter on both sides, but it ended in the expulsion of the Macquillins.² The Macdonalds found themselves now in a situation difficult to maintain, harassed as they were by the native tribes on the one hand, and by the English on the other. The Lord Deputy Sussex invaded Ulster at the head of a large force in 1566, and again in the following

¹ Irish State Papers.

✕ ² MS. History of the Macdonalds of Antrim.

year, but he was repulsed with great loss on both occasions by the Macdonalds. On the death of Coll Macdonald, in 1558, the captaincy of the Route was offered by James of Dunnyveg in turn to Angus and Alexander, his brothers, but neither of them would accept the post. This situation, which was by no means a sinecure, was then offered by James to Sorley, who readily accepted it. Sorley had barely entered on his duties as Captain of the Route when he found himself again confronted by his old enemies, the Macquillins. The Macquillins had evidently been making elaborate preparations since their last unsuccessful effort for another attempt to repossess themselves of their lost heritage, and the death of Coll Macdonald was the signal for renewed hostilities. Assisted by a large number of men from the broken tribes of Ulster, and a body of English troops, the Macquillins invaded the territory of the Route.¹ In the face of this formidable force, for which he was not prepared, Sorley was obliged to retreat. In the spring of 1599 he hastened across the Channel to Argyle, and levied a large force among his kinsmen of Kintyre and Isla. In the month of May he appeared in the field against the Macquillins. After a series of skirmishes, in some of which the Macdonalds were repulsed, the Macquillins were finally defeated with great slaughter at *Sliabh an Aura*, between Glenduin and the Braes of Glenshesk and Glenbush.² Sorley was now undisputed master of the whole territory of the Route. How long he might remain in this independent position was the problem which the shrewd chieftain set himself next to solve. The English convinced themselves of the wisdom of

¹ MS. History of the Macdonalds of Antrim.² Ibid.

coming to terms with him, and Sorley on his part was ready to reap the fruit of his victory by taking what he could get and giving as little as possible in return. Negotiations were accordingly begun between Sorley and the English authorities with a view to settling their differences. In July, 1559, Queen Elizabeth sent instructions to Sussex to accept Sorley's "sut in good parte," but he is not to make any agreement with him to Her Majesty's prejudice. Sorley, in name of his brother James, agreed to be received with "all his kynne, freinds, and followers" into the Queen's favour, and to become and remain faithful subjects on condition of receiving a title at Her Majesty's hands for all the lands in the possession of the family of Dunnyveg in Ireland. Sorley's offer to become and remain a faithful subject of Elizabeth was so far altogether satisfactory, in view of his having "under his gouernance certyn people named Scottishmen who of long tyme had remayned in doubtful termes, shewing themselfs sometyme toward subjects and sometyme contrary."¹ The price which Sorley set upon his loyalty seems to have staggered the English authorities considerably. They were at a loss how to proceed. The price demanded was too much even for so great a prize, but an effort must be made to bring about a settlement of the difficulty. It was highly desirable from the English point of view that Sorley's services should be secured in the then critical state of affairs. The Queen herself was most anxious to be reconciled to the redoubtable chieftain. After much deliberation and correspondence, Sussex, in September, 1560, entered into an indenture with Sorley

¹ Denmilne MSS., Advocates' Library.

for and on behalf of his brother James, in which that chief demanded to have by lease from Queen Elizabeth not only all the lands between the Inver and the Boyse, claimed by him as his own inheritance, but also the Captainship of the Route, which is between the Boyse and the Bann. James further agreed that Sorley should be his substitute in these lands on condition that he pay certain stipulated duties with 24 horse and 60 foot to all hosts of the Lord Lieutenant. Sussex undertook on his part to bring these demands and offers favourably under the notice of the Queen. These negotiations appear after all to have come to nothing. Sorley insisted on remaining neutral in the quarrel between Shane O'Neill and the English. This, however, did not move Elizabeth to accept his terms. She used her utmost endeavour to press James Macdonald into the service, but all in vain. Neither James nor Sorley would strike a blow in the English cause until the Queen secured both in their possessions in Ulster. James, writing to Sussex, informs him that "he and Sorley will perform their parts on receiving the patent." While negotiations are still carried on between the parties, it is rumoured that Sorley has taken the part of Shane O'Neill. In a letter from Pers, Constable of Carrickfergus, dated May 4, 1561, it is stated that "James and Sorley devour the country." It was further reported that "Sorley Buy shall foster with Shane, and shall give him 500 kine and 8 horsemen's furnitures for a buying, and shall serve him with 4 or 500 men in every journey." There was no foundation for these rumours. James Macdonald, writing to Sussex, explained to him that "Sorley was obliged to make an arrangement with

Shane for safety." Sinister rumours notwithstanding, a constant correspondence was carried on between James Macdonald and Sussex anent the "patent." James finally, in April, 1563, forbids any intercourse between Sussex and Sorley Buy until the "patent" be delivered, and the "patent" was not delivered. So long as it suited the policy of Sussex, the "patent" was dangled before Sorley, but the snare was spread in vain before that wary bird. Now that Shane O'Neill had suddenly and unexpectedly laid down his arms and made his submission, no more is heard of the "patent." This detestable rebel was loaded with honours by Queen Elizabeth. To evince his gratitude, and as proof of his newborn zeal, Shane offered the Queen his services against the Macdonalds of Antrim, and vowed he would reduce them to obedience. The Queen, who was greatly impressed by this wild outburst of loyalty, accepted Shane's offer, an offer which was also accepted with great satisfaction in Dublin. Shane was as good as his word. He made immediate preparations for a campaign against Sorley. In December, 1564, he reports "great usurpation of territory by the Scots." Sorley had his first brush with his enemy on the west side of the Bann, where Shane had taken up a position in the Monastery of Coleraine, which he fortified. This position was attacked with great vigour and determination by the Macdonalds, but they failed to reduce the garrison, after a siege which lasted for twenty-four hours. In this engagement Sorley was slightly wounded.¹ Early in the following year Shane made more elaborate preparations for an invasion of the Glens. Sorley can hardly have been

¹ Irish State Papers.

aware of the magnitude of these preparations, though he must have known Shane's resources, altogether independent of English aid, and as matter of fact Shane received no help on this occasion from the English garrison. It was only after O'Neill had poured his legions into the Macdonald territory, and Sorley found himself face to face with overwhelming odds that the real state of affairs



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dawned upon him. Messages of distress were sent with all haste to Kintyre. Meanwhile the resolute chieftain endeavoured to stem the tide of invasion the best way he could. When at length his brother, James, arrived with reinforcements from Kintyre, he found himself greatly outnumbered by his opponent, O'Neill. The brothers resolved to fall back on Ballycastle, pending the arrival of Alastair

Og Macdonald with further reinforcements from Argyle. Alastair Og, however, though he had mustered a large force, was hindered in his progress owing principally to the shortness of the time at his disposal, and his brothers being hard pressed by the enemy, were obliged either to give him battle or surrender. On the 1st of May, 1565, the opposing forces met at Glentaisie, the Macdonald force numbering about one thousand strong, while that of their opponents amounted to more than twice that number. After a prolonged struggle, the Macdonald host were defeated with great slaughter. Sorley Buy, who escaped unwounded, was taken prisoner by Shane. Shortly afterwards an effort was made in vain by Archibald Macdonald of Dunivaig to effect the release of his uncle, Sorley. Archibald gave his bond to the Earl of Argyle, pledging himself to relieve that nobleman of any expenses he may incur in fulfilment of his promise "to do what he may lauchfully for the relief of Sorley furth of the hands of O'Neill."¹ Sorley, however, in spite of these efforts, was kept in close confinement by O'Neill for the space of two years. He owed his liberty partly to a train of events that conspired to that end and partly to his own diplomacy. After the defeat of the Macdonalds at Glentaisie, Shane, notwithstanding his protestations of loyalty to Elizabeth, imagined himself strong enough to carry out his original intention of driving the English beyond the Pale. In the face of this threat, the English readily enlisted the co-operation of the Macdonalds. Alastair Og, who now acted as leader of the Macdonalds in the absence of Sorley, was panting for

✕ ¹ Dunstaffnage Papers.

an opportunity to redeem the defeat of Glentaisie. After two years' hard fighting, Shane found himself reduced to such straits that he readily yielded to Sorley's suggestion to negotiate for an alliance with the Macdonalds. It may seem infatuous on the part of Shane to have thus delivered himself into the hands of his enemies, but, on the whole, it was a wiser course than to have rushed on his fate forthwith by putting his head into the English halter that awaited him in Dublin. Alastair Og, "with all glaidnes of hairt," accepted the situation. Elaborate preparations were made to celebrate in due form the establishment of concord and amity between the parties. O'Neill, accompanied by the Countess of Argyle, his secretary, and a small retinue, proceeding to the place of meeting, were received with a great show of friendship by the Macdonalds. For two days they regaled themselves on the good cheer provided for them, and though it consisted principally of the fruit of a *creach* taken a few days before from O'Neill's own lands of Clan-naboy, it was relished none the less on that account. In the course of the feast a dispute arose between O'Neill's secretary and a young Macdonald, a son of Archibald MacRanald Buy, regarding a rumour which had gained currency of a contemplated marriage between O'Neill and James of Dunnyveg's widow. The Macdonalds resented the idea of a marriage between their Chief's widow and his murderer, and the result was a scuffle, in which O'Neill and his attendants were put to death. Shane's head, after being "pickled in a pipkin," was received with great joy in Dublin. In this way the defeat at Glentaisie and the death of their Chief was avenged by the Clan Iain Mhoir. A

handsome reward had been offered by the Lord-Deputy for O'Neill, dead or alive. Sydney had offered £1000 for Shane's body, 1000 merks for his head, and £500 "to him that shall kill him, though he bring neither heade nor bodie." Had Alastair Og Macdonald been aware of the commercial value of his enemy's head, it would, no doubt, have added further zest to the festivities at Cushindown, but, as it was, he lost no time in preferring a claim to the promised reward. He was not, however, successful. The Lord-Deputy, believing that the Macdonalds had been sufficiently rewarded in the removal from their path of so powerful an enemy as Shane, gave the reward to one of the English officers. Now that his arch enemy stood no longer in his way, there seemed a fair prospect of Sorley Buy being reinstated and finally settled in the possessions of his family in Ulster. But such a readjustment of their relations did not by any means commend itself to the authorities of the Pale. So long as the services of the Macdonalds were required against O'Neill, every encouragement was held out to them by the English Government. When that "cruell tyrant" no longer troubled them, they decided on pursuing a different policy, which was neither less nor more than the expulsion of the Macdonalds and the planting of "English gentlemen" in the Antrim Glens. Elizabeth herself had dictated this line of policy, and nothing now remained but to carry it into effect. Sorley Buy, on his part, deeming discretion to be the better part of valour, was not disposed in the first instance to appeal to arms in defence of his rights. On condition of his receiving a grant from the Queen of the family possessions in Ulster, he avowed his readiness to acknowledge

Her Majesty's Government in Ireland, and become and remain a law-abiding subject. This was more than the English authorities had bargained for. Sorley's submission, even on terms so advantageous to himself, was so unexpected an event as to have greatly perplexed the statesmen of Dublin. They hesitated as to the course they should pursue. Their silence was construed by Sorley as a refusal of his demands, and he would not be trifled with. He hastened across the Channel, and appealed to his kinsmen of Argyle. After a recruiting tour of some months' duration, he returned to the Glens in November, 1567, at the head of a body of men estimated by the English officers at 800 strong. Before taking any aggressive step, Sorley again opened negotiations with the English authorities, and "offered to be at peace till May Day, if they will recommend his business to the Queen." These terms were accepted, but Sorley's "business" not being prosecuted expeditiously, he resolved on doing it for himself, and in his own way. He had now ceased to believe in the promises of English officers, and they placed little reliance on the plighted troth of Sorley Buy. That he was single-handed more than a match for them in this game subsequent events will amply verify. Sorley in the first place appealed to the neighbouring Irish Chiefs, and appealed successfully, to make common cause with him against the "English gentlemen." Early in 1568, he betook himself to the Highlands of Scotland to beat up further recruits in that region. In this second appeal to his kinsmen of Clan Cholla he was altogether successful. Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat joined him at the head of a large body of the Clan Donald

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North. About the end of May he sailed from Isla, and returned to Ireland accompanied by 4000 clansmen. Uniting this large force with the native levies, the army of Sorley presented so formidable an appearance that little resistance was offered by the "English gentlemen." The English garrisons along the Antrim coast soon disappeared, and Sorley, having driven the "English gentlemen" everywhere before him, became master of the situation. Much-needed peace now reigned over the Glens. Advantage was taken of this lull to adjust domestic arrangements and cement the newly-formed friendship between the Clan Iain Mhoir and their Irish allies. James Macdonald of Dunnyveg's widow, and his daughter, the Ineen Dubh, were reckoned great prizes in the matrimonial market by the Irish Chieftains. Sorley himself had laboured to encourage this idea. James's widow, who was a sister of the then Earl of Argyle, exercised great influence both in Kintyre and in Ulster. Inheriting the duplicity of her family in a large measure, and much of its talent, she took full advantage of the situation in which she now found herself for the advancement of her sons. She herself was willing to match with any Irishman selected by the Queen of England, provided Her Majesty allowed her and her family enjoy the possession of her late husband's inheritance. While these negotiations were being carried on between her and the English authorities, she was busy plotting mischief between them and those Irish chieftains who were candidates for her hand. Angus, her eldest son, being much engaged elsewhere, she made a strong representation in favour of her second son, Donald, for a portion of the

Glens. All these movements were keenly watched by Sorley Buy. It was quite evident that Sorley was the only Macdonald leader then capable of holding the Clan territory in Ulster. Though Angus of Dunnyveg was still nominal Lord of the Glens, he was unable to make good his claim, owing largely to his situation in Argyle. In these circumstances the followers of the Macdonald banner, both in Ulster and in Argyle, looked to Sorley as the only possible leader of the Clan in Ireland. Sorley's own aim in striving to resist English encroachment seems to have been not so much his own advancement at the expense of the heir of the Glens as the preservation of the ancient inheritance of his family. With this object in view, he gladly welcomed the proposed family alliance with the Irish through the marriages of his brother's widow and her daughter. After a keen competition, the "Lady of Cantyre," as James's widow was called, and her daughter Ineen Dubh, fell to the lot respectively of Turlough Lynagh O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell, both powerful chiefs in Ulster. The union between James Macdonald's widow and Turlough Lynagh was not a happy one, if the Lord Deputy Sydney is to be believed. Shortly after their honeymoon at Rathlin, it was rumoured that Turlough was on the point of separating from his wife, and that the Macdonalds were getting tired of him. There does not appear to have been much truth in this rumour, at least so far as the relations between Sorley and Turlough were concerned. Turlough, who is described by the English as "a very valiant man," collected a force, 3000 strong, in Scotland, through the influence of his wife, and was reported to have "as many Irish as ever had any O'Neill." Both Turlough's wife

and her daughter, Ineen Dubh, pass and repass continually between Ireland and Scotland on recruiting expeditions. The menaces of the English garrison in Ireland entailed a continual drain on the resources of the Clan Donald in Scotland, but by their help and that of the Irish Chiefs who were friendly to him, Sorley maintained his position. The matrimonial alliances with Turlough Lynagh O'Neill and O'Donnell had so far proved satisfactory, at least to Sorley and the Macdonalds. A recruiting tour in Scotland in the spring of 1571 by Sorley Buy, accompanied by Turlough Lynagh, is at once an indication of the friendly alliance between these chieftains and of the offensive attitude of their English neighbours. The English authorities had repeatedly appealed to Elizabeth for reinforcements, but none were sent, until, in the summer of 1572, it was announced that the Earl of Essex had undertaken the hazardous task of reducing Sorley Buy, and others, to the level of English rule in Ireland. Elizabeth advanced a sum of £10,000 for the fitting out of the expedition upon a mortgage of the Earl's estate, and gave him the title of President of Ulster. The Queen, besides, made a grant in favour of Essex of half the County of Antrim and the Barony of Farney in Monaghan. Confiscation of property was the order of the day in Ulster. Why should not Walter Devereux, Viscount Hereford, and Earl of Essex, enrich himself with Irish spoil and gain for himself other and higher honours than those already heaped upon him by the Queen? He would make the attempt at least. But he reckoned without his host. He landed at Carrickfergus accompanied by a large force, and set about reducing, in the first instance, some of the minor

tribes. This he accomplished without much difficulty, and on terms rather favourable to the vanquished. He was so generous as to have bestowed on them "all the Scots harvest," without ever enquiring whether such an arrangement would be agreeable to Sorley Buy. On this subject the gallant Earl got light afterwards. Sorley made instant preparation for defence, and "swore to maintain the war." At the head of a force of 3000 men he attacked the English army at Newry, and inflicted upon Essex a crushing defeat. In several other minor encounters which took place afterwards, Sorley was equally successful. It now began to dawn on the Earl that little was to be gained by force against so powerful an enemy as Sorley, and he tried diplomacy, but even in this he met more than his match. His policy was to enlist Sorley against the "Irishry," and when by his help they were subdued, to crush in turn the redoubtable chieftain himself. Sorley on his part was willing to enter into negotiations with the Earl, provided his rights to the lands he claimed were respected. Essex, however, in his "instructions" to the English Council misrepresented Sorley. He gave them to understand that he would be satisfied with a portion of the Glens claimed by him by inheritance from the Bissets, and if made a denizen, and assigned a service in lieu of rent as Captain of Her Majesty's "Kerne," he would readily consent, he being a mercenary man and a soldier. But Sorley would not consent on these terms, and when the Queen's "patent" conferring upon him a portion of the Bisset lands, and the dignity of a citizen, came into his hands, he made a bonfire of it in the courtyard of his castle. He

would hold his lands at the point of his sword, and he would hold not a portion but the whole of the Glens, and the Route as well.

While Sorley stood in this attitude, Essex was preparing for a final invasion of the Glens. In the summer of 1575, the Earl moved northwards at the head of a large body of English troops, with the avowed intention of utterly exterminating the race of John Mor, root and branch. Sorley determined to make the best defence possible in the face of this formidable army. As a first step, and to ensure their safety against the ruthless invader, he sent the wives and children of many of his immediate dependants, with some members of his own family, to the Island of Rathlin. On learning this, Essex, instead of marching to the Glens against Sorley, sent his troops to Rathlin, where by his orders, and in the name of the Queen of England, there was perpetrated one of the foulest deeds on record. Norris, the officer to whom Essex entrusted the execution of this bloody work, was instructed to put the whole population of the island to the sword, and to spare none, young or old, which the savage Englishman carried out to the letter. Bruce's Castle, the only stronghold on the island, was garrisoned by fifty of Sorley Buy's men, who had under their protection upwards of 200 women and children. On the garrison surrendering at discretion, Norris massacred them to a man, and cut the throats of the women and children. He then proceeded to hunt out the rest of the population, who had taken refuge in the caves and fastnesses of the island, and "slaughtered them as if they had been seals or otters." Over 600 victims perished in this dreadful massacre. While the

work of destruction was going on on the island, Sorley Buy, according to Essex, stood upon the mainland looking on, "and was likely to run mad for sorrow, tearing and tormenting himself, and saying that he then lost all he ever had." It was no doubt the most trying hour in the gallant old Chief's whole career; while none of the many black acts which can be charged against the English Government in Ireland has left a deeper stain behind it than the massacre of Rathlin. When Essex afterwards reported the details of the tragedy to Elizabeth, "Good Queen Bess" gratefully acknowledged his services, and added, "I am well pleased with your good service, and will take care to reward John Norris."

Recent events notwithstanding, Sorley's position in Ulster appeared to be stronger than ever. Highlanders from Scotland of all the clans had been pouring in for some time and rallying round the veteran leader. Every other weapon having failed them, an attempt was made by the English authorities to divide the allegiance of Sorley's followers. It was proposed to bring in James Macdonald's sons, who were the legal heirs of the Macdonald inheritance in the Glens, and restore it to them. The sympathies of James's widow, now known as Lady Tyrone, were easily enlisted on the side of this movement. She made suit to have a grant of the Glens for her second son, Donald Gorm, for whom she engaged that he would, if the lands were granted to him, be the Queen of England's liegeman, render all reasonable service to Her Majesty, and defend the lands against Sorley Buy and his followers.¹ The answer to this petition was an attack on Knock-

¹ Cotton MSS., Brit. Mus.

fergus by Sorley, the slaying of the Captain, with forty of the garrison, in a pitched battle, "besides townsmen and others dyvers hurte and maimed." Thus the massacre of Rathlin was to some extent revenged. After "wasting and layeing desolate the whole cuntrey rounde," Sorley returned home with considerable spoil. The Lord-Deputy reported afterwards to the English Government that the country of Sorley Buy was full of corn and cattle, and Sorley himself "verie hawtie and prowde by reasone of the late victories he hath had against our men." Sydney is now willing to let Sorley have the Glens, to which "he hath an apparent title, but the Route is to be flatly denied him," having no right to it. But Sorley would not have the one without the other, and he considered that he had a perfect right to both, the one by inheritance and the other by conquest. He was prepared, however, to accept a title to these lands at the hands of the Queen of England, provided he were left undisturbed in his possessions and free from the interference of English interlopers like Sydney. As it was, the Macdonald banner waved with its bloody hand triumphantly over both the Route and the Glens. No serious attempt appears to have been made for some time on Sorley's position. In 1597 there seems to have been a plot, the object of which was to confine the Macdonalds to their ancient inheritance of the Glens, and limit their number to 400 armed men, which was not to be exceeded without special license. An effort was made to enlist Turlough Lynagh and other Irish chiefs in favour of this scheme, but it failed in spite of the most lavish promises. Another matter that vexed the righteous soul of the Lord-Deputy was "the abundance of the Scots coming

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yearly into Ireland." He endeavoured to rouse the jealousy of the "ancient natural inhabitants" on this point, but without success.

When Sorley again appears before us we find him in a threatening attitude. Great forces were expected from Scotland, according to the English officers, and, in consequence, great consternation prevailed in the English camp. Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg was reported as coming at the head of 4000 men, while Macleod of Harris and Macleod of Lewis had marshalled respectively 2000 men. "The flames from this Northern fire will hardly be quenched." The great Scottish invasion after all proved to be a phantom of the English brain, and the conflagration in which Sorley would have rejoiced to see Sydney and his myrmidons perish to the last man was stayed. Sorley, however, was not idle. He and Turlough Lynagh were reported as being ready to break into the Pale with 4000 men. Knockfergus appears to have been a continual source of temptation to Sorley. In the spring of 1583, he "preyed the town of all their cattle," and stood in a threatening attitude towards the Castle. We have this on the authority of the English officers, one of whose virtues was not a strict regard to veracity. The policy of the authorities in Dublin was to represent the character of Sorley and his Scots in as bad a light as possible. When the chieftain was often obliged to act on the defensive, he was represented by the Lord-Deputy as taking the initiative, and wantonly resisting the Queen's authority. The whole system of English government in Ireland was based on misrepresentation and fraud. It was on account of the misrepresentations of Perrot that in the autumn of 1584 the English

Government was moved to send an army to Ireland to quell an imaginary insurrection of the Scots. To justify himself, Perrot strove hard to provoke a quarrel with the Scottish settlers. Uniting all the Irish levies he could collect with the English force, he marched through the Scottish settlements without opposition until he came to Dunluce. This stronghold he found garrisoned by a party of 40 men of Sorley Buy's following, whom he peremptorily summoned to surrender. The captain "proudly answered (speaking very good English) that they were appointed and would keep it to the last man for the King of Scots' use." After a gallant struggle against overwhelming odds, the brave little garrison at length surrendered. There appeared now to be nothing further for Perrot to do. There was no trace of Sorley Buy. There was no one to fight. There were indeed rumours of a Scottish invasion, but he could not remain in the field indefinitely with so large a force. Tidings of the state of affairs in Ulster had reached the ears of the Queen, and an angry woman was Elizabeth at the needless invasion by Perrot. Perrot himself sent glowing accounts of his triumph over the Scots. To lend colour to these, he now started on a raiding tour through the Macdonald territory, and Perrot's raid was nothing if not thorough. He went off with all the cattle he could drive before him, and wantonly destroyed others. Sorley, who formerly was "Lord over 50,000 cows had now but 1500 to give him milk." But the plundering Perrot did not stop here. He thievishly rifled Sorley's several residences, destroyed his furniture, and carried away with him his household gods. Some of these he generously distributed among his friends. To Wal-

singham he gifted a "mazor," garnished with silver gilt and bearing Sorley's coat of arms. To Burghley he presented "Holy Columbkil's cross, a god of great veneration with Sorley Buy and all Ulster."¹ Sorley having been taken unawares was not able to offer any resistance to Perrot's formidable force. Of his whereabouts no one seemed to know during the time of Perrot's raid. It was supposed he had gone to Kintyre and was preparing for retaliation. However this may be, a plot was laid at Carrickfergus to assassinate him. But the English officers failed to discover his hiding place. Sorley may be trusted to give an account of himself all in good time.

One result of the invasion of Ulster by Perrot was an agreement between himself and Donald Gorm, brother of Angus of Dunnyveg, through the intercession of the Lady Tyrone, their mother. Donald Gorm agreed to swear allegiance to the Queen for the Bisset lands in the Glens, and find "a rising out of 80 foot and a yearly rent of beeves." Whether or not there had been any secret agreement between Donald Gorm and Sorley in regard to the Glens, it is certain that their relations were not in any way changed on account of the bargain with Perrot, and as proof of this it was reported from Dublin that Donald was "not so honest as was looked for." Whatever the cause may have been, the agreement between Donald Gorm and Perrot came to nothing, so far as Donald was concerned. Meanwhile Sorley returned from a recruiting tour to Argyle, and finding himself in a strong position, and at the head of a large force, he addressed a letter from his camp in the Route to a Captain Carleill, an English officer, demanding in firm yet

¹ Irish State Papers.

dignified language quiet possession of such lands and towns as he had possessed for the last 40 years, and offering one of his sons as a pledge. He will pay every year as much rent for the Route and the third part of the Glens as formerly he had paid for the whole Glens and the Route. He will have in readiness to serve Her Majesty 20 furnished horsemen and 80 able footmen. Sorley's letter was answered by an English invasion of the Glens, followed by a large prey in goods and cattle. From the Glens the English army marched through the Route, and, according to their own account, "made it utterly waste." Sorley's movements are not easily followed. He evidently was unable to check the English in their march through the Route. According to the English officers, he fled to Kintyre, while his son Alexander, in his absence, offered to give up all claims to the Route and pay rent for the Glens. Whether Alexander made this offer or not, it is quite evident that the English authorities will not have Sorley at any price. They made it their aim to foment quarrels among his followers, while they were always ready to consider offers for the Glens if made by any other member of the Macdonald family than Sorley. It was proposed to swear in Angus of Dunnyveg as a subject of the Queen, and give him the Glens, on condition of his keeping out the other Scots. To this Angus appears to have agreed, and by way of showing their loyalty to the Queen of England, he and his mother repaired immediately to the Court of the Scottish Solomon. Several months after this, they were expected at Newry to meet Perrot and conclude the bargain about the Glens. The bargain, however, was not then concluded. Meanwhile,

Sorley had been busy collecting his forces for the purpose of carrying on the war against the English invaders. Marching through the Route, he drove them before him like chaff before the wind and recovered the Castle of Dunluce. After a stubborn fight, the gallant garrison were obliged to surrender. The Constable, Peter Carie, was hanged over the Castle rock, while many of his comrades were



DUNLUCE CASTLE.

slain. The authorities in Dublin were now convinced that the sooner they came to terms with Sorley the better, and the latter readily entered into negotiations with them. The gallant chieftain boldly demanded a recognition of his rights, and offered to submit to Her Majesty's Government on condition of their being respected. These negotiations were temporarily interrupted by the death of

Sorley's eldest son and heir, Alexander. It appears that Alexander had headed a skirmishing party against Captain Merriman, one of the English officers, and according to the English version of the affair Alexander was worsted. After receiving many wounds, Alexander "swame over to a lough for refuge, and there he was found by great chance, being layed in a deape grave in the gronde, strawed over with green rushes, and on each side of the grave six ould calliox weeping." Alexander's head was cut off and sent to Dublin. In spite of this serious interruption, and Sorley's great grief over the death of his gallant son, the old hero abated none of his efforts to bring about a final settlement of his relations with the Queen, while great distrust of his sincerity marked the deliberations of the English Council at Dublin. After due consideration, the Council gave instructions to deal with Sorley. It was agreed that he was to have that part of the Route which he formerly held for the rent and services stipulated by Sir Henry Sydney. As he had no interest in any lands in Scotland, he was considered the fittest of all the Macdonalds to be made a free denizen in Ireland. Angus of Dunnyveg, his nephew, is to have the Glens for such rent and services as may be thought best, but Sorley may have the Glens under Angus, provided they agree between themselves. Both Sorley and Angus will forfeit their estates, if they make incursions on Her Majesty's subjects in Ulster, and they must on no account bring into the Glens more than 200 Scots at any time, while these must swear allegiance to the Queen and have no lands in Scotland. On the 16th of August, 1586, Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg entered into an indenture with Lord

Deputy Perrot and the Irish Council. In consideration of his professed loyalty to the Queen, and at the earnest suit of the Lady Agnes Campbell, his mother, Angus received a grant of the Bisset lands in the Glens. About a month later, Sorley repaired to Dublin and sent in his submission to the Council in writing, in which, taking a philosophical view of the situation, he confessed his transgressions with all appearance of contrition. The Council could hardly have hoped for a more abject surrender, nor for fairer promises of future amendment.¹ As further proof of his loyalty to Elizabeth, when the astute old man was admitted into the Lord Deputy's apartments in Dublin Castle, and beheld a portrait of the Queen, he immediately bowed down before it and made obeisance. If there was any suspicion formerly of Sorley's loyalty, there could be none now. From the altar of devotion to Elizabeth it was an easy step to the indenture into which Sorley now entered with the Lord Deputy and Council. In terms of this agreement, Sorley was pardoned for all his past misdemeanours, and received as a free denizen of the Queen in Ireland. A grant was made in his favour of the touth from the Boyne to the Bann, the three touths of Dunseverick, Loughgill, and Ballymoney, with the Constablenesship of the Castle of Dunluce, under the tenure of Knight's service, the yearly payment of 40 beeves, 12 horsemen and 40 footmen to every hosting. Sorley now left Dublin "to his good lyking," clothed in a velvet mantle adorned with gold lace, the gift of Lord Deputy Perrot and his Council. He had succeeded at last in attaining the object of his life long struggle against English tyranny and misrule in

¹ For Sorley's Submission, see Appendix.

Ireland. By the terms of the indenture between Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg and the Lord Deputy, it was provided, as we have seen, that Sorley Buy was to have the Bisset lands in the Glens under Angus, on such conditions as might be agreed upon between them. What these conditions were we know not definitely, but Angus and his family ceased to have proprietary connection with



FUNERAL OF SORLEY BUY.

the Glens from this time, and Sorley emerges as Lord both of the Glens and of the Route. The stormy career of the old warrior was now drawing to a close. The remaining few years of his life were spent at his favourite seat of Dunanannie, where he died in 1590. His remains were carried, amid the lamentations of his faithful clansmen, to their last resting-place in the picturesque Abbey of Bunamargie.

Sorley Buy Macdonald was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, James, who in his father's lifetime became Constable of the Castle of Dunluce. He appears to have made this old fortress his principal place of residence, for he is ever after styled of Dunluce. Of his history previous to his father's death little is known, though it may be readily presumed that he played his part well during that stirring time. At the very outset of his career, he found himself face to face with a serious insurrection by the Macquillins, the original Lords of the Route. It appears that a small portion of this territory had been allotted to the Macquillins under Sorley in 1586, and, as might have been expected, "they showed great discontentment therewith." Taking advantage of the death of Sorley, the Macquillins, with the help of the O'Haras, Macquins, Macgerries, and other small Irish tribes, resolved to make one great effort to recover the Route. James M'Sorley mustered his forces at Dunluce, and marched out to meet his opponents. After several skirmishes, in which the Macquillins were always worsted, they were finally defeated with great slaughter in a pitched battle at Ballymoney. According to a Macdonald manuscript, James "possessed himself of the Route peaceably for eleven years after the defeat of the Macquillins." The relations between the Lord of Dunluce and the English Government appear to have been on the whole satisfactory. The absence of any reference to the contrary in the Irish records is of itself an indication of the peace that reigned over the Route and the Glens. The English officers were only too ready to complain, and a very slight pretext would have sufficed for an accusation against the Lord of

Dunluce, yet none was made during those years. Not resting satisfied with the extensive territories of the Route and Glens, which he now held in peace, James began to cast envious eyes on the patrimony of the Clann Iain Mhoir in Kintyre. In a letter to the King of Scotland, dated October 26th, 1596, he, after referring to the services rendered to His Majesty by his "forbears" in Ireland, claims the lands of the Clan Donald in Scotland on the ground of being "more lawfullie descended" than those who then possessed them. Besides insinuating that the descent of Angus of Dunnyveg was tainted by illegitimacy, he acts the part of informer against that chief. His Majesty is to understand that "most verelie and trewlie" Angus had offered James the "most pairt" of his lands, on condition of his joining him in rebellion against the King. Early in the following year, James visited the Scottish Court for the purpose of further pressing his claim, and was cordially received by the Scottish Solomon. The Lord of Dunluce appeared personally before the Council in Edinburgh, and "desyrit infeftment of the haill landis possest be Angus M'Coneill to be gevin to him be ressoun that he allegis the said Angus to be bastard." James is described by one who was present as "ane weray veill manerit gentilman and abill of body and in this toun verey temperat of his mouth." But that is little to be wondered at, if, as was alleged, he spoke nothing but *Erse*. While James's petition was being read, the Earl of Argyle came into the Council Chamber, but James "schew na signe of reverence unto his Lordschip." Argyle interested himself in behalf of Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg, who had also been in town. But the ground on which James of

Dunluce had principally based his case—the illegitimacy of Angus of Dunnyveg—was found to be untenable, and his petition was accordingly dismissed.¹ The King, however, who bore “ane greit effectioun to him,” bestowed on James the honour of knighthood, and being “veray desyrous to give him sum peice of land within this realme fra the quhilk he may tak the style of Knychtship,” gave him a grant of 30 merklands in South Kintyre.² James appears to have cut a great figure during his visit to the Scottish metropolis. He is described as “ane brow manne of persoun and behaviour bot had nocht the Scottis toung nor na langage bot Eirse.”³ He visited the Castle, and gave “great and noble rewards to the keepers.”⁴ “He rode a white horse and all his train together. The King was mightily pleased. James showed His Majesty and the nobility the ancient Irish pickeering, or riding in their high pillions made all of pure velvet and scarlet. He presented the King with a cannon piece bearing the following inscription:—*Jacobus filius Sorolinus M^cDonald mihi Jacobo sexto Scotorum dono donavit.*”⁵ On his leaving for Ireland, and “for honour of his bonyalla the cannons shott out of the Castell of Edinburghe.”⁶

The exhibition of “Irish pickeering” in Edinburgh had greatly affected Sir John Chichester, the Governor of Carrickfergus. The warmth of the Lord of Dunluce’s loyalty to the Scottish throne had the effect of greatly widening the breach between him and the English authorities in Ireland.

¹ Balcarres Papers. ² Privy Seal.

³ MS. Chron. of the Kings of Scotland.

⁴ P. Anderson’s MS. History of Scotland.

⁵ MS. History of the Macdonalds of Antrim.

⁶ Birrel’s Diary.

Sir James Macdonald had barely returned to Dunluce when Sir John Chichester, writing to the English Government, complained of his want of loyalty to Her Majesty, Elizabeth. He was accused of "detaininge her rents," though repeatedly demanded, and fortifying Dunluce Castle, no doubt with rebellious intentions. Chichester at length took active steps to recover the Crown dues, and sent tax collectors to the Route for that purpose, but before they had made much progress Sir James summoned his retainers and drove the publicans and their assistants back to Carrickfergus. This provoked an attack on the Macdonalds by Sir John Chichester and his garrison, but they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, and Sir John himself was reckoned among the slain. Sir James Macdonald now joined in the Earl of Tyrone's rebellion, and took part in the engagement of the Blackwater in 1597. He continued to support Tyrone, and in 1599 had 400 foot and 100 horse under arms. His attitude towards the English Government remained unchanged to the time of his death, which took place on Easter Sunday, 1601. It was believed at the time, and with good reason, that he had been poisoned by a secret agent hired by the English Government. Sir James Macdonald was greatly lamented by his clansmen, to whom he was "the Hector of all Ireland," while the Four Masters reckoned him "the most distinguished of the Clan Donald in peace or war." Sir James died at Dunleipse, and was buried at Bunamargie.

Sir James Macdonald of Dunluce left several sons, but none of them appears, in the disturbed state of the country, to have been fit to succeed him. In an old manuscript history of the family,

it is stated that Alastair Carrach, Sir James's son, was deemed incapable of defending the family inheritance against the intrusion of the Macquillins on the one hand and the designs of Sir Arthur Chichester on the other. According to the same authority, Angus Ultach, Sir James's brother, called together the inhabitants of Glenarm and Carey, and consulted with them as to the steps to be taken in



BUNAMARGIE ABBEY.

the emergency which had arisen. After due deliberation, it was agreed that if Angus chose to lead them and take possession of the Route, the clansmen would defend him. Angus accepting the situation, forthwith made preparations for an invasion of the Route, but while these preparations were going on, a messenger was despatched by those clansmen who opposed Angus's pretensions

for Ranald Arranach, Angus's brother, who was then in Scotland, to acquaint him with the state of affairs. Ranald lost no time in repairing to Ireland, where he found a considerable number of the family retainers ready to support him against Angus. Before taking any active step, he sent a message to Angus desiring him to meet him at a private interview, but Angus declined. "However, God was pleased not to let them engage, for that very day came St Patrick's Clerk, who was called O'Dornan, and St Patrick's bell in his hand. He entered the camp ringing the bell, and they were all amazed seeing O'Dornan coming, for his duty was to curse. Rannel McSourl and all his camp made obeisance to St Patrick's Clerk, O'Dornan, and threw off their head clothes, and cried pardon. O'Dornan said, 'No pardon, nor pardon.' Rannel McSourl said, 'What is the matter, holy Clerk?' O'Dornan answered, 'I am much concerned for you and your foolish prodigal brother, Angus.' Rannel said, 'That is none of my fault.' 'I am well satisfied with you,' O'Dornan said. 'In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and my Holy Patron, St Patrick, I proclaim you Lord and master of the Baronies of Dunluce and Kilconway, with your ancient Baronies of Carey and Glenarm, if the lawful successor of James Og Mac-Angus MacJames of Kintyre comes not to challenge them.' O'Dornan goes to meet Angus Ultach and his powerful army coming down the Brae of Glenbush. He takes his bell and rings it very hard. Angus cries halt, and says, 'For your lives move not a step.' 'What is all this ringing for,' he said. 'It is I,' said O'Dornan, 'to curse you and your army for your unlawful insurrection against your

brother Rannel.' 'Pray, holy Clerk, bless me, and I will go and ask my brother's pardon.' 'I will bless you conditionally, that is, you will disperse your army and send them back to defend the country.' Angus immediately sent back his people to defend the country, came to meet his brother at Loughgill, and they kissed and embraced each other."¹

Other influences much more potent than O'Dornan's curses operated in favour of Raonull Arranach, and helped to put him in possession of the family inheritance. Watching eagerly the current of events, he saw the tide rising which was to carry him on to fortune. During his residence in Scotland, where he was fostered with the Stewarts of Arran, he appears to have lived on terms of intimacy with King James. The King, in view of his succession to the English throne, had great faith in the diplomacy as well as in the sincerity of Randal, and he well knew that when the time came he could not employ a more powerful instrument in pacifying the distracted Province of Ulster. But Randal was, besides, the most capable leader of the Clan Donald in Ireland, and the most likely to preserve the family inheritance in the crisis through which they were then passing. And the situation was not improved by the rebellion of Tyrone. Randal deemed it the best policy at that juncture to join Tyrone rather than fight on the other side, a policy which he knew commended itself to the King of Scotland. This drew upon him the attention of the Governor of Carrickfergus, Sir Arthur Chichester. In November, 1601, Sir Arthur, in the absence of Randal, invaded the Route, and, according

✕ ¹ MS. Hist. of the Macdonalds of Antrim.

to his own account, "spared neither house, corne, nor creature." Randal continued with Tyrone until it became evident that that rebel was on the losing side. In the autumn of 1602, he is still in rebellion, but when the opportune moment arrived, for which he had been waiting, he forsook his ally, and joined Sir Arthur Chichester with a following of 500 foot and 40 horse. Randal MacSorley was a welcome



GLENARM CASTLE.

acquisition, as he well knew he would be, to the English army, and, as a first step in his advancement to royal favour, Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, conferred upon him the honour of knight-hood.

Queen Elizabeth dying on the 24th of March, 1603, at Richmond, the King of Scotland at last attained the great ambition of his life—the English

throne. The accession of James to the throne of England brought about a sudden change in the relation of parties in Ulster. To the Clan Donald it was a welcome change, and James was not slow to gratify their expectations. On the 28th of May, 1603, the King by Letters Patent granted to Sir Randal Macdonald the extensive baronies of Dunluce, Kilconway, Glenarm, and Carey, "enjoyed of long by him and his ancestors." In the following year, he added to these territories the Island of Rathlin, which was always reckoned as forming part of the seven *toughs* of the Glens. The favour shown to Sir Randal by the King excited great jealousy among the representatives of the English Government in Ulster. Sir Arthur Chichester especially could not conceal his resentment and disappointment. Every device he could think of was used to poison the King's mind against his favourite. The most unfavourable reports, containing the grossest misrepresentations, were sent to the English Cabinet against him. When these failed, Chichester endeavoured to stir up religious animosities by making a complaint against Sir Randal of harbouring Catholics, a stretch of religious license which he knew the King, if he would, could not tolerate, far less defend. Besides, the Celtic Lord of the Glens thwarted the advancement of English institutions in Ulster. The only mode of civilising Ireland was by the introduction of English law and English manners. Every vestige of the old Celtic constitution must be rejected as "barbarous." The tribal system of property in common must be set aside. The tribal authority of the Chiefs must be taken from them by law, and the English system of judges and trial by jury substituted for the proceed-

ings under the Brehon law. The poetry and literature which threw lustre over the Irish tongue were only fit to be thrown into the dust heap of the ages. The enlightened scheme of government for Ulster on English lines, propounded by Sir Arthur Chichester, failed of the desired effect. The King would hear nothing to the prejudice of Sir Randal Macdonald, nor was he likely to cast him adrift now to make room for Sir Arthur Chichester and other amateur legislators to practise their ill-concerted notions of local government. On the contrary, the King, in answer to a petition by Sir Randal, made a grant "to him and his kindred, and his and their heirs," of all their lands and heritages. Sir Arthur Chichester, writing to Salisbury shortly after this renewed favour by the King, regards the reformation of the Route and Glens as being now beyond the range of possibility, and Sir Randal, besides resetting men from Argyle, is "neither thankful nor obedient." An attempt was now made to deprive Sir Randal of his share of the fishing of the Bann, from which he derived a considerable income, and which he considered indeed "the best stay of his living." After a good deal of correspondence with Salisbury, and lodging several complaints against Sir Arthur Chichester and an individual of the name of Hamilton, Sir Ranald repaired to the King and rehearsed his grievances in person. The visit to the King had the desired effect, and a warrant accordingly was forthwith sent in His Majesty's name to Sir Arthur Chichester peremptorily requiring him to take order that Sir Randal shall enjoy his own portion of the fishing of the Bann. Sir Randal, after presenting Salisbury with "a cast of falcons as a simple token from a humble servant," returned in

triumph to the Glens. The dispute about the fishing of the Bann had barely been settled when a new trouble arose, and from an unexpected quarter. A petition from Sir Aula Macaulay of Ardincaple, in Scotland, to the King, dated February 28th, 1609, was duly presented before the English Council for their consideration. The petitioner prayed that he and his heirs might be confirmed in the *tough* of the Park and the *tough* of the Larne, together with the Castle of Glenarm. The petitioner affirmed that by an agreement under their hands between Sir Randal and his brother, Angus Ultach, on the one hand, and Angus Macdonald of Dunnyveg and his son, Sir James, on the other hand, the lands now claimed, with the Castle, had been assigned to the latter parties; while "for good considerations" Sir James had transferred his interest in them to the petitioner. The transference of the lands in question, if such a transaction ever took place, must have been agreed upon prior to the Crown charter to Sir Randal in 1603, in which case it would have been no doubt held for Sir Randal that the agreement between him and the Macdonalds of Dunnyveg had thereby become null and void. In any case, no success attended Sir Aula Macaulay's efforts to get a holding in Antrim. The case of Sir Aula is important, as throwing some light on the relations to which the different members of the Clan Iain Mhoir stood to one another in respect of the family inheritance in Ulster. It is quite evident that several of them were dissatisfied with the share of it which fell to them, and that Sir Randal himself was much envied for his great good luck in 1603. Some means had been found of quietening Angus Ultach, while the agreement referred to in Sir

Aula's petition appears to have been an attempt to satisfy the claims of Dunnyveg, but now Alastair Carrach, the son of Sir James of Dunluce, comes forward and rebels because he is not acknowledged heir to his father. Sir Randal had a difficult part to play, but by his conciliatory and prudent policy he succeeded in disarming opposition and satisfying the claims of his kinsmen. Amid these surroundings a royal warrant was sent to Sir Arthur Chichester, granting to the Earl of Abercorn the wardship of the body and lands of the son and heir of Sir Randal Macdonald, His Majesty being "very confident that the Earl will be careful to bring him up religiously and civilly." The wardship of the heir of Sir Randal in the family of Abercorn proved a troublesome and expensive arrangement afterwards.

While Sir Randal was busy exercising his gifts as "a patron of civility" in Ireland, settling family disputes, and making domestic arrangements, the Clan Donald of Kintyre were making a last and desperate fight for their inheritance in Argyle. Sir Randal was not by any means a disinterested spectator of this struggle. Though no love was lost between him and his cousin, Angus of Dunnyveg, he naturally preferred to see him on the winning side than Campbell of Calder. Angus, in a weak moment, during a lull in the stormy proceedings, went to Edinburgh, and for a sum of 6000 merks signed a renunciation of his lands in Isla in favour of Calder. Sir Randal, who had been watching the movements of Campbell, appeared also in due time in the Scottish Metropolis, and interfered between the parties. He put forward a claim

to these lands as the legitimate heir of the old family, and succeeded in the first instance in getting the agreement between Angus of Dunnyveg and Calder cancelled, on the ground of some flaw in the deed of conveyance. Sir Randal then, through the influence of Sir George Hamilton, brother of the Earl of Abercorn, obtained a lease of the Isla lands for seven years in his own favour, and returned in triumph to the Glens. He had not been long, however, in possession of the Isla lands when a complaint was made against him in behalf of the tenants of introducing Irish laws and manners into the island. It was represented to the Privy Council, no doubt through the intriguing of Calder and his friends, that Sir Randal and his officers imposed upon the tenants heavy and grievous burdens; that "for everie horss, kow, and meare four shillingis daylie, and for everie scheip tuelff penneis daylie, while fra everie wobster and cordinar within the bounds of Yla fourtie aucht shillingis yeirle in quarterlie payment, and tuelff penneis for everie kow that ane ressavis with his wyffe, the time of his marriage." It is further complained against Sir Randal that he intended to subject the tenants to the "formes and lawis of Yreland and to compel thame to persew and defend in all thair actionis and caussis according to the forme and custome of Yreland." The grievances of the Isla men, which were a "verie greit grief" to them, were speedily redressed. Sir Randal was charged to desist from raising new exactions, and from bringing "foreigne lawis or customes" into the island. There the matter ended. In the following year, the "Queen of the Hebrides," the nursery of

Siol Chuinn, passed, it is to be feared for ever, from the grasp of the race.

“The Halls of Finlaggan no longer sound
To the joyous feasts and dances as of yore :
The bard is dumb, the harper plays no more
Where the proud princes of the Isles were crowned :
The Chiefs and Chieftains of the Isles and West
Are seen no more at great Macdonald’s Court ;
Their galleys traverse not the Island seas :
They with their furious feuds are now at rest :
Rased is each castle, ruined is each fort,
Within thy bounds, Queen of the Hebrides !”

In the year 1614, Sir Randal Macdonald was the recipient of further favours at the hands of the King. By Letters Patent, dated July 10th, His Majesty directed that the Castle of Dunluce, excluded from his former grant, should be granted to him and his heirs. In return for these favours, Sir Randal continued to render important services to his Sovereign in “reducing to civility the barbarous people” residing on his estates. In consideration of these services, the King raised Sir Randal, on the 29th of June, 1618, to the dignity of a peer of Ireland, by the style and title of Viscount Dunluce. On the 12th of December, 1620, the still higher dignity of Earl of Antrim was conferred upon him. These honours and dignities, however, did not shield him from the bigotry and envy of his English neighbours. Almost immediately after he had been raised to the dignity of the Earldom, Lord Antrim was arraigned before the Lord-Deputy at Dublin on the charge of sheltering Roman Catholic priests within his bounds. Lord Antrim acknowledged his sin, and was absolved on condition of his not falling into the like again.

In 1627, Lord Antrim made another attempt to possess himself of the lands of Isla. In that year he made overtures to Sir John Campbell of Calder for the purchase of the island. The King's permission being obtained, Lord Antrim proposed a meeting with Calder, older and younger, and Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, to complete the bargain, and offered the sum of £5000 sterling as the purchase price.¹ No further steps appear to have been taken by the parties, probably through the interference of the King, influenced by Argyle, and thus Lord Antrim was again foiled in his attempt to wrest the ancient patrimony of the Clan Cholla from the grasp of their avaricious enemies.

Lord Antrim now found himself face to face with a charge which seriously affected his relations with his sovereign, and which seems to have given him great pain. He had been accused of sheltering the sons of Hugh O'Neill, late Eárl of Tyrone, attainted for high treason, and of "divers other accusations and scandals." The King, to whom he appealed for protection, was greatly incensed at the conduct of the Earl's traducers, and so far from entertaining any suspicions of his "affection and loyalty, of which he had so many and good testimonials," His Majesty caused investigation to be made in order to discover the slanderers and punish them.

Lord Antrim was obliged to settle another matter with the King. Reference has already been made to the wardship of Sir Randal Macdonald's son and heir in the family of Abercorn, and the serious consequences which were to follow from that arrangement. It was agreed that the young ward, now Lord Dunluce, should marry Lady Lucy Hamilton,

¹ Thanos of Cawdor.

Lord Abercorn's daughter, but in case the engagement should be broken, Lord Antrim bound himself in a penalty of £3000 sterling. Lord Dunluce, for reasons better known to himself, failed to implement his part of the transaction, and the King himself, no less, interfered in behalf of the disappointed lady, whose matrimonial prospects had been greatly shattered. The penalty of £3000, which Lord Antrim was called upon to pay, represented at that time a very large sum of money, and it is not surprising to find that there was some delay in clearing off so heavy a burden on his estates. In 1630 it still remained unpaid. In September of that year, the King wrote to Lord Antrim requesting him to make no further delay in paying the money to the lady, "that she may be speedelie provydit for and preferred to some good match." The King's request had no doubt the desired effect.

The last transaction in which we find Lord Antrim engaged is an effort to redeem the family inheritance of the Clan Iain Mhoir in Kintyre. The whole peninsula of Kintyre passed into the hands of the Earl of Argyle in 1607. The Earl bestowed it upon a younger son, James, who in 1622 was created Viscount Kintyre. In 1630, Lord Kintyre became so deeply involved in debt that he was obliged to offer his estates for sale. It was made a condition when Argyle conveyed the lands to his son, that they were not to be sold to any of the Clan Donald. Lord Antrim may not have been aware of this provision, but in any case, when the lands of Kintyre were exposed for sale, he became an offerer in behalf of his son, Lord Dunluce, and an indenture was accordingly entered into between him and Lord Kintyre, dated 11th December, 1634,

whereby the whole lands and Barony of Kintyre were sold to Lord Dunluce. Before completing the bargain, the King was appealed to in behalf of Lord Antrim, and His Majesty agreed that the clause in Lord Kintyre's title excluding the Clan Donald should be dispensed with. On the 10th of January, 1635, Lord Kintyre subscribed two charters upon parchment, conveying the Lordship of Kintyre to Lord Dunluce, and all that now remained to be done to complete the transaction was the legal infestment of the latter. Before this, however, could be accomplished, Lord Lorn, Kintyre's brother, appeared in Edinburgh, accompanied by some of his principal kinsmen, and laid a petition before the Privy Council protesting in strong terms against the sale of the lands of Kintyre to the Family of Antrim, and craving an arrestment in the steps taken to complete the sale. Lorn, who appears to have been greatly alarmed at the thought of having Lord Antrim for a neighbour, represented to the Council the danger to the lieges which was likely to arise if the lands of Kintyre ever again came into the possession of a Macdonald. He succeeded in his appeal, but before coming to any definite decision, the Council, apprehending the gravity of the situation, resolved to refer the matter to the King. His Majesty, with that inexplicable tendency in his family to believe the Campbells when they lied most, gave effect to the Council's recommendation, and prohibited the Earl of Antrim, his son, Lord Dunluce, or any of the Clan Donald, from entering into possession of the lands of Kintyre and Jura. The King at the same time wrote to Lord Kintyre, requesting him to pay back the purchase money

to Lord Antrim. Notaries were prohibited by the Council from being parties to "instruments of seasing" in favour of Lord Dunluce, and finally in July, 1635, the writs of the Lordship of Kintyre made in favour of Lord Dunluce were cancelled. Lord Lorn and his friends succeeded in their misrepresentations, and the Family of Antrim were unjustly deprived of the Lordship of Kintyre.

Lord Antrim shortly after this fell into ill-health, and died at Dunluce on the 10th of December, 1636. His remains were buried at Bunamargie in a vault erected by himself, in the south wall of which he inserted a stone bearing the following inscription :—

" In Dei
 Dei-matrisque virginis honorem
 nobilissimus et illustrissimus Randulphus
 Macdonell comes de Antrim hoc sacellum
 fieri curavit. Anno Dom. 1621."

Lord Antrim's character, his relations with his people and to the time in which he lived, may be best described in the words of a contemporary Seanachie, who, though inclined to be eulogistic, is probably in the main accurate. After giving a long list of "ye ancients of the Root, and others, his kinsmen," whom Lord Antrim confirmed in their lands, the Seanachie records the virtues of his patron with no stinted hand. "He was the best of all his name, a master just and generous, the best of fathers to children, tender and merciful to widows and orphans. He was severe in punishing malefactors, but he was sweet and indulgent to his gentlemen, and was beloved by all. He built and repaired Dunluce, Ballycastle, the Clogh, and Glenarm, and Sir John Bisset's old house at Glenarm

river, and the old Castle of Redbay. He made a deer park at Ballintoy, and another near the town of Glenarm. He roofed the Monastery of Bunamargie and built his own chapel. He roofed St John the Baptist's Well in Leinster. He also roofed St Bridget's Well, and caused the Macdonald arms to be cut upon it, with the following inscription:—"Built by the Right Honourable Randall M'Donnell, first Earl of Antrim, 1625." He built a house at Loughderg, and gave also a yearly pension to the Prior of Loughderg. He gave a yearly pension to his own Convent of Franciscans of £40 sterling. He gave besides £20 sterling to the Franciscans of Ardmage. He built mills in every parish, and bridges upon every river. He cleaned and paved highways in all his estates, and especially the highway between Balmony and Maghrehoghel, in the parish of Rasarkan. There was no parish church, by reason before the Reformation there was a controversy between the inhabitants of the Bann side and the people of Killtimorie, so the Church lay unfinished. He built the parish church of Maghresharkan upon his cost and charges. He kept good laws and justice in all his country. He corrected and punished people for being lavishers and spenders. He chastised people for burning corn, for drawing mares and fillies by their tail, for killing fish out of season, for barking leather at home instead of sending it green to the tanhouse, and no man durst spoil game without his special license." There is no doubt that Lord Antrim deserved in a large measure the praise bestowed upon him by the seanachie, and that he justly earned for himself the distinction of being "a singular promoter and patron of civility in the North of Ireland."

The first Earl of Antrim was succeeded by his eldest son, Randal, Lord Dunluce, who was then in his 27th year. Lord Antrim took care to have his son and heir brought up in the "Highland way," as every Highland chief should be brought up. As the heir to a great inheritance, transmitted to him through a long line of Celtic ancestors, it was fit that the young Lord of the Glens should be before all things a Highlander. It was in those days before it had become the fashion to despise the manners, traditions, and language of our ancestors—before the advent of the enervated drawing-room chief, whose one great fixed idea is to be, what he never can be, an English gentleman. It may be taken for granted that Lord Antrim's first care was to teach his son to cultivate that dear old language so near to the heart of every true Highlander—

"'S cha teid a glòir air chall
Dh'aindeoin gò
Agus mi—run mòr nan Gall."

To make him hardy, the young heir was not permitted to wear either hat, cap, shoe, or stocking, until he was seven or eight years old. After finishing his education, and living for a while with the family of Abercorn, where he was not likely to see much of the "Highland way," Lord Dunluce travelled for some time on the Continent. On his return to England he was presented at Court, where on account of his attractive person and manners he became a great favourite, none the less because he had been bred in the "Highland way." His marriage shortly afterwards to a wealthy heiress, the daughter of the Earl of Rutland, in addition to a great family heritage to which he succeeded,

elevated Lord Antrim into a position of great power and influence in the country. Everything seemed to augur well for a prosperous future, but the state of the political atmosphere soon changed the spirit of the young Lord's dream. The quarrel between King Charles and his Parliament brought Lord Antrim into prominence as a political partizan on the very threshold of his career. No one espoused that obstinate monarch's cause with greater heartiness than he. But if Charles was obstinate, the people were as stubborn as their King, and the result was an appeal to arms on both sides. On the 5th of June, 1639, the King granted at his camp at the Birkes a commission to the Earl of Antrim and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, constituting them "conjunctlie and severallie" His Majesty's lieutenants and commissioners in the Western Isles and Highlands of Scotland, with full power to convocate the lieges, and pursue the King's rebellious subjects with fire and sword. To encourage Lord Antrim in his undertaking, the King promised to reward him in the event of his being successful by putting him in possession of Kintyre. No attempt seems to have been made by the royal lieutenants to convocate His Majesty's lieges in the Highlands. Antrim attempted, however, to raise a force in Ulster for service in Scotland against the Covenanters, but in this he was thwarted by Strafford, whose hatred to Antrim appears to have been stronger than his zeal for the King's cause. Meanwhile a peace was patched up between the King and the Scots, and Lord Antrim joined His Majesty at Oxford, ready to offer his services when required. After a stay of some months at Oxford, Lord Antrim returned to Ireland

in the summer of 1640, and took his seat in the House of Lords. He continued to reside in Dublin until the breaking out of the Catholic insurrection in October, 1641, necessitated his removal from the Irish capital. The Catholic insurrection was not entirely of a religious character. It owed its origin to several causes. The Catholics of Ireland had suffered for a long time under the most cruel and oppressive penal laws, and, it must be added, with commendable patience. Their lands had been confiscated to make room for greedy English adventurers, whose tyrannical proceedings would have been enough to rouse a less impulsive nature than that of the Irish. It was not the love of the Saxon for Protestantism, nor his hatred to Catholicism, but his inordinate affection for himself which was at the root of centuries of misery in Ireland. The Catholics of Ireland were not, therefore, by any means disinterested spectators of the struggle now going on between the King and the English Puritans. Their sympathies were entirely with the King. They knew what to expect if the Puritans succeeded, for the English Parliament had avowed its determination to root out the Catholic religion in Ireland. Lord Antrim, knowing that the insurrection would neither advance the cause of the Catholics, nor that of the King, wisely avoided identifying himself with it. As a Catholic, it was natural to suppose that he would sympathise with the Catholic movement, and he was accordingly accused by his enemies of having been one of its principal promoters. He afterwards, however, vindicated himself against this charge, and produced sufficient evidence to show that, instead of joining in the insurrection, he had done

all he could to prevent the outrages committed by the rebels. At the very outset of the troubles, he was obliged to leave Dublin, and take shelter with his sister at Slane. From Slane Castle he went to Maddenstown, the seat of the Earl of Castlehaven, where he lived in seclusion for several months, but after the defeat of the Catholics by Ormond at Kiltrush in April, 1642, he was obliged again to change his place of residence. He now went north to his own country, which he found in a state of war. Finding the town of Coleraine, which was occupied principally by the Scotch, in a state of siege, he took steps at once to relieve it. Alastair MacCholla, who was in command of the besiegers, was prevailed upon by Lord Antrim to allow the necessary supplies to be sent to the besieged Scotch, and he accordingly sent them 60 loads of corn and 100 head of fat cattle. Lord Antrim, whose policy was to remain neutral in this quarrel, retired to Dunluce Castle, where he evidently thought he would be left unmolested. Meanwhile Major-General Munro arrived at Carrickfergus at the head of 2500 Scots sent by the Parliament of Scotland to carry on the war against the Irish Catholics. Munro believed it to be the first part of his duty to waste Lord Antrim's country. With this pious purpose in view, the leader of the Scottish Covenanters in the first instance burnt Glenarm. He now proceeded to Dunluce, plundering as he went, and finally his prey amounted to 5000 cows. This Scottish fanatic, believing Lord Antrim to be a "treacherous papist," who was plotting for the overthrow of Protestantism, demanded the surrender of Dunluce Castle. The Earl, who had no means of defence, and believing himself safe

on account of his neutral attitude towards parties, readily yielded to Munro's demand. Munro took possession of the Castle, and after robbing it in name of the Covenant of its valuable contents, left it in the keeping of Sir Duncan Campbell of Achinbreck and a garrison of Argyleshire Covenanters. He sent Lord Antrim a prisoner to Carrickfergus. In this manner was Lord Antrim rewarded for his hospitality to Munro's countrymen at Coleraine. After six months' confinement at Carrickfergus, the Earl succeeded in effecting his escape. A minute account of Lord Antrim's escape on this occasion has been preserved in a manuscript written by George Gordon, a brother of the Earl of Sutherland, who married Lady Rose Macdonald, Lord Antrim's sister. According to this manuscript, the Earl was kept a prisoner in Lord Chichester's house, where General Lesley and the Earl of Eglinton "often feasted him with great intercourse of humanity and civility." At length the Earl, growing tired of Covenanting generals, resolved to make his escape by the help of his servant, Thomas Nandicke. Nandicke succeeded in procuring "a small barque of the Ile of Man," and Lord Antrim, disguised in the clothes of his other servant, passed out of his prison house by a back door at night, through "30 muscats," escaped detection, and found his way to the boat in waiting for him. The wind being fair, he put off to sea at once, and after encountering many difficulties, he landed at length at Holyhead, where he gave himself the name of Thomas Nandicke. From Holyhead "Thomas Nandicke" travelled by easy stages, and met with many adventures by the way. On arriving at Newcastle, he was met by his wife, the Duchess of Buckingham,

“who did not know him for halfe an hour until he thrue off his disguise.”

According to the manuscript of George Gordon, Lord Antrim returned to Ireland early in 1643. “After the Queen’s arrivall out of Holland into England, she came to Yorke, where severall well affected of the Scotch nobility whom the Covenanters called by ye name of Banders came express out of Scotland with an offer of their service to oppose the Parliamentary Party of that kingdome which Her Majesty cheerfully entertained. The Scotch Lords meeting in that cittye with the Earle of Antrim prevailed with Her Majesty to engage him in that designe, whereupon he within few days after received instructions in severall nots and characters, and soe tooke his journey for Ireland to indeavour to begine a diversion in Scotland, he having kist the Queen’s hand, appearelled himselfe in a meane disguise with two servants in his company he tooke his journey.” Arriving at Newcastle, in the North of Ireland, he cast anchor, and sent one of his servants, James Stewart, his foster brother, ashore to make arrangements for his landing in safety. Stewart, falling into the hands of a party of Munro’s army, was taken prisoner, and brought before the General. Munro commanded him with “a pistle layd to his breast,” to confess whether Lord Antrim was on board the vessel by which he had arrived. Stewart, with the “feare of deathe upon him,” confessed that Lord Antrim was on board. Munro then compelled him to make the sign by which the Earl was to come ashore, which was “to shake his hatt over his head, and shout out aloud three times.” This having been done, the Earl came instantly ashore, walked

into the trap, and found himself a prisoner. "Major Ballantine then searched him with his own hands, and finding £35 in gold, besides £12 in silver, he was not contented with that, but left him neither ringe, nor seale, nor any other thinge. Munro appointed him an ordinary nagge to ride on to goe to Carrickfergus with a troop of horse for his con-voye." Lord Antrim was kept a prisoner at Carrickfergus for seven months, during four of which no one was allowed to see him but a soldier of the Castle. He, however, in spite of all precautions, succeeded in escaping the second time out of Munro's hands. This feat was accomplished through the ingenuity and friendliness of one of the officers of the garrison, George Gordon, the author of the manuscript referred to. Gordon, whom none in the Castle would suspect, being one of the Covenanting officers, carried a coil of rope hid among his clothes into the Earl's room. Fixing one end of the rope to the window of the chamber, the Earl, in letting himself down, lost his hold, and fell into the sea. He succeeded, however, in swimming ashore, none the worse of his bath. After wandering about the country for weeks, suffering great privations, and finding his knowledge of the Gaelic language useful to him among the Irish peasantry, he at last joined the King at Oxford. Thomas Nandicke was shot by Munro for being concerned in the Earl's first escape, while George Gordon's plot does not seem to have been discovered by anyone.

At Oxford Lord Antrim found the King and Montrose busy making preparations for a campaign against the Scottish Covenanters. He at once entered heartily into their plans, and placed his services

at the disposal of the King, whether in Ireland or in the Highlands of Scotland. His services, it is needless to say, were readily accepted by Charles, who granted him a commission appointing him His Majesty's Lieutenant-General in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, while Montrose at the same time was appointed Lieutenant-General in the Lowlands. With the view of acting in concert, the Earls entered into an agreement, dated at Oxford, January 28th, 1643.¹ The Earl of Antrim, on his part, obliged himself to do his utmost to raise forces in the Isles and in Ireland, with these invade Argyle's country, and endeavour to establish His Majesty in his just rights in Scotland. Instead of going to the Highlands, or making any effort to raise forces there, Lord Antrim returned to Ireland, where on account of the state of parties he found many obstacles in the way of the success of his project. He had hitherto, for political reasons, stood aloof from the Catholic party, but he was now prepared to make any sacrifice, if only he could serve the King. He found that his only chance of success lay in allying himself with the Irish party, and accordingly he without any scruple took the Oath of Association, by which he bound himself to maintain and defend the free exercise of the true Roman Catholic religion against all persons, while he at the same time swore allegiance to the King, and vowed to defend him with life, power, and estate, against all persons. Such was Lord Antrim's enthusiasm in the King's cause that he vowed if need were he would sign the Covenant itself to

¹ The date of the document, which is preserved at Glenarm Castle, should have been 1644.

first of apriyl next shall be the
9th day betwixe which he will ma
the Entering the Wardwife of apriyl
by then to be delivered by a writte
as to him by the Writte of the
Hear in his last right within that
law of Scotland and to appeare
therein that the rebellious party
shall make upon the pryncesse of
and to the performance hereof
the initially of the pryncesse there honours
and others as witness our hands
seale, the day and date aforesaid

Montrose
Antrim

the pryncesse of
apriyl

made

Edith

further it.¹ As the result of his efforts in behalf of the royal cause, Lord Antrim sent an Irish force to Scotland in the summer of 1644, under the command of Alexander Macdonald, better known as Alastair Cholla Chiotaich 'Ic 'Illeasbuig. Alastair in due course joined Montrose's standard. He and his Irish brigade performed prodigies of valour under Montrose, to which reference is made elsewhere in the course of this work. Lord Antrim made strenuous efforts to augment the Irish force under Alastair Mac Cholla, but from various causes he failed to raise any more men for the service in Scotland, while his attempt to raise men for service in England met with no better success, largely owing to the opposition of Ormond. The King, who seems to have greatly appreciated Antrim's diligence and earnestness in his service, wrote him a letter of thanks in September, 1644, and promised to restore to him the lands of Kintyre, when he should be in a position to do so. And further, the King shortly thereafter marked his sense of Antrim's loyalty and services by raising him to the dignity of a Marquis. After his elevation to the Marquisate, the King reposed such confidence in him that he employed him in carrying letters from His Majesty to the Queen, who then lived at St Germain's, in France. While there, the Papal Nuncio offered him a bribe of £1000 if he would carry him to Ireland, but the Marquis wisely withstood the temptation, knowing that in the then state of parties his being associated with the Nuncio in any way would prove detrimental to the royal cause. The Queen impressed upon him the desirability of making another effort to raise troops for

¹ Paper in Antrim Charter Chest.

the service in Scotland. On his return from his French expedition, the Marquis brought with him two Spanish frigates, which carried some ten pieces of cannon, and a good store of ammunition. These vessels he delivered at Falmouth to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles II., for His Majesty's service. The Prince afterwards found the vessels useful when he escaped out of harm's way to the Continent. After delivering his message from the Queen, the King sent Antrim to Scotland for the purpose of keeping the Irish Brigade together until His Majesty, as he hoped, would appear in person among them in Argyle. This hope was doomed to be disappointed. The King soon found himself in the hands of his enemies. The surrender at Newark, with the disastrous defeat at Philiphaugh, suddenly changed his plans. His Highland followers, however, were still hopeful of being able to save him if they could strike a blow in time. Lord Antrim, who continued at the head of his men in Kintyre, was busy negotiating with his friends for a great rising of the western clans. But the King had evidently given up all hopes of being saved by the Highland Host. His policy now, on finding himself at their mercy, was to conciliate the Covenanters. They could if they would save him from the English Puritans. If the King was to be saved by the Scottish Covenanters, the Highland Royalists must lay down their arms immediately. Peremptory orders were accordingly sent by His Majesty to Lord Antrim and others to lay down their arms without delay. Obeying the royal injunction, Lord Antrim withdrew from the scene of warfare, and retired to Ireland. The Covenanters meanwhile sold their King to the English Puritans.

It seemed now as if the only hope of redeeming the Royalist cause lay in utilising the Irish forces. The Irish Royalists, however, were divided among themselves, the principal cause of division being the religious question, but it was thought that the presence among them of Prince Charles, who was then at St Germain, might unite parties. Lord Antrim laboured with great zeal to effect a reconciliation between Protestant and Catholic on the common ground of loyalty to the King. His efforts were so far successful, in spite of the opposition of Ormond, that he was despatched by the Irish Council to St Germain to assure Prince Charles that if he only would come to Ireland Catholic and Protestant alike would rally round him. The Prince, no doubt for weighty reasons, could not see his way to accept this invitation, and Lord Antrim, after remaining at St Germain till September, 1648, returned to Ireland. He resolved to retire from the conflict. Nothing in reality could now be done with any prospect of success. He had already done all he could for the Royal cause, and nothing that he could do now could avert the impending ruin.

With the advent of Cromwell in the autumn of 1649, the situation in Ireland was by no means improved. Lord Antrim was in great straits. His estates were in the possession of English adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers. He had not received any revenue from them for years, and in consequence he was now reduced to penury. Accepting the inevitable calmly, he with wise discretion endeavoured to get the best terms possible in the circumstances from the conqueror. Compared with others, he appears to have fared

well at the hands of Cromwell, no doubt because he had offered no resistance to the Cromwellian Government in Ireland. The usurper allowed him, in the first instance, an income of £500 out of his estates, and he afterwards increased it to £800 a year. The Marquis was permitted to retire to England, where he lived till the Restoration.

The Restoration of Charles II. brought no immediate relief to Lord Antrim. The restoration of the Monarchy naturally excited lively hopes in the minds of those who had suffered for the royal cause. All would be well, they thought, when the King "came to his own again." It proved the darkest hour in Lord Antrim's whole career. The enemies of the King in Ireland fared better at his hands than his friends. The men who had been his bitterest foes until they saw the tide turning in his favour were those whom the strange monarch loaded with honours and emoluments. Some of these and their friends were in possession of Lord Antrim's lands. It would have been difficult, even dangerous, to disturb these favourites, and they took good care that they would not be disturbed on the Marquis's account. Every possible opportunity was taken to blacken his character. Coote, Clotworthy, and others, formed themselves into a league against him. It was represented to the King that he had betrayed his cause, and was therefore not worthy of His Majesty's countenance. He was besides a Catholic, and therefore excluded from the general pardon extended to the King's enemies. And worst of all, the King believed Lord Antrim's slanderers. When he appeared at Whitehall to pay homage to His Majesty, and at the same time to vindicate his character from the serious



RANDAL, MARQUIS OF ANTRIM, 1609-82

aspersions which had been cast upon him, Charles, instead of extending a hearty welcome to the loyal cavalier—his father's friend—sent him as a prisoner to the Tower. Lord Antrim was detained in the Tower for several months. Meanwhile, he determined with the help of his friends to vindicate himself against the slanders of his enemies in Ireland, and demanded a judicial investigation of his case. To enable him to bring forward evidence in his own behalf, his wife in March, 1661, petitioned the King for his release. This was agreed to on condition of his finding bail for £20,000, and returning to the Tower within six weeks. The evidence which Lord Antrim in the interval had been able to lay before the King was, with the charges made against him, referred by His Majesty to the consideration of a committee of the Privy Council. The result of the deliberations of the Committee was altogether favourable to Lord Antrim. It now dawned on the King that the adventurers in Ulster were playing for their own hand, and were actuated by the basest motives in misrepresenting the character of Lord Antrim. His Majesty forthwith ordered Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his Council, to prepare and transmit a bill for the restoration to Lord Antrim of his estates. Ormond and his Council were of the opinion that such a bill ought not to be passed, and now began the real tug of war between Antrim and his enemies in Ireland. Every obstacle was thrown in his way. His case was referred to the Court of Claims, but such was the opposition of his enemies that no definite decision could be obtained for or against him for years. He, how-

ever, finally triumphed over them, and obtained access to his family inheritance in the year 1665.

Lord Antrim having been deprived of his property for many years, now found himself involved in almost insurmountable financial difficulties. He had no sooner entered into possession of his estates than a swarm of English creditors pounced upon him. Much of his debt had been contracted during the civil war and in His Majesty's service. These adverse circumstances notwithstanding, Lord Antrim turned his attention to the improvement of his property, and did what he could to satisfy the claims of his creditors. The remainder of his life appears to have been uneventful. It is interesting to find a friendly connection kept up between him and his Scottish kinsmen. In the midst of his financial and other difficulties prior to the restoration of his estates, his Highland cousins banded themselves together to help him. In 1663, Lord Macdonald, Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, and Donald Macdonald of Clanranald, had given their bond of security in behalf of the Marquis, and now Lord Antrim in October, 1676, in order "to save them from any loss or damage," entered into an indenture with his kinsmen, whereby he disposes in their favour the lands known as the Long Liberties of Coleraine, lying in the Barony of Dunluce, at a rent of one grain of pepper yearly.¹

In 1677, the Marquis of Antrim matriculated arms in the Scottish Lyon Office. The entry is as follows :—"The Right Honourable and truly noble Marquess, Ronald, Marquess and Earle of Antrim Viscount of Dunluce in the Kingdome of Ireland

¹ Antrim Charter Chest.

descended of the ancient familie of M^cDonald in Scotland beares four coats quarterlie first argent a lyon rampant gules armed and holding in his dexter paw a thistle slipped or second azur a dexter hand couped at the wrest fessewayes argent holding a cross crosslet fitched palewayes gules, third or in the sea proper a gallie with her oars disposed saltire-ways sable fourth parted per fess waved argent and vert in the center a salmond najant proper. Above the shield ane helmet answerable to his high quality over the same on ane Marques coronet with a mantle gules doubled ermine and torse of his collours is sett for his crest a hand erected the fist thereof being closed proper; supported on the dexter be a savage wreathed about the head and midle with laurell and on the sinister be a falcon proper armed chessed and belled or the motto in ane escroll above all *Vis Conjuncta Fortior.*"

In 1681, Lord Antrim made a settlement of his estates, and executed a deed of entail of the four baronies of Carey, Kilconway, Glenarm, and Dunluce, giving life interests to himself, his brother, Alexander, and his heirs, with remainder to Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, whom failing, to Donald Macdonald of Clanranald.

The Marquis of Antrim died at Balmagarry in February, 1682, and was buried at Bunamargie. His coffin, on a brass plate, bears the following three inscriptions in Gaelic, English, and Latin :—

"Mòr an beud bàs ui Cholla
Do Leth-Cuinn 's don taobh-tuaith
Ceasnaidh go deirgh sileas orra
O lò raghno sill chum an uaigh."

“The Most Hon^{bl} Randle, Lord Marquis of Antrim.
Borne the 9th day of June, in yeare
of God, 1610 ; died ye 3rd day of Feb. 1682.”

“Invictus patriæ Caroli Randelle Deique
Hoc plumbo resides aureus ipse pugil
Cujus inadversa Bellonæ sorte rebelles
Hedere vel furcæ non potuere fidem.”

The Marquis of Antrim was succeeded in the estates and Earldom of Antrim by his brother, Alexander. The title of Marquis, being limited to heirs male of his own body, died with himself. His father, the first Earl, bestowed upon Alexander the Barony of Glenarm. He had just come of age when his father died in 1636. For the next three years he travelled on the Continent, visiting in turn France, Germany, Italy, and other countries. On returning from his travels, he manifested his loyalty by paying homage to the King at York. Shortly after this the great civil war broke out in Ireland. Unlike his brother, the Marquis, Alexander had no hesitation in taking the side of his Catholic countrymen. He appears, however, to have been by no means a bigot. He, on the contrary, laboured earnestly to unite the different parties among his countrymen irrespective of creed, but in this he was, unfortunately, not successful to any appreciable extent. It was too late now that the dogs of war had been let loose to hope that any effort to unite Irishmen of different creeds could be successful until the storm of passion which the Catholic movement evoked had spent itself. It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the Irish campaign commenced in 1641. The part played by Alexander Macdonald is not always definite, but it may be presumed it was not unimportant.

At the very outset of the insurrection he was forfeited. His lands of Glenarm were taken possession of by Scotch and other adventurers. Early in 1642, the confederated Catholics gave him the command of a regiment, which he retained until the confederate army surrendered to Cromwell in 1652. In the previous year, Alexander had taken part in the engagement with Macmahon, the Catholic Bishop of Clogher, whom Ormond, to spite Antrim, had appointed general of the Ulster forces. Alexander was taken prisoner in the engagement, but he appears to have been shortly afterwards released. On the coming of Cromwell, the lands of Glenarm were gifted to new adventurers, friends of the usurper, men of a more genuine Puritanical type than their Scottish predecessors, while Alexander Macdonald had to rest satisfied with 3500 acres in Connaught. These lands he sold to an individual of the name of Dillon, who got into trouble over the transaction afterwards when confiscated lands were restored to their original owners. Growing weary of Irish strife, Alexander sought and found an asylum among his friends in England. At the Restoration he fared better than his brother, the Marquis, though like the latter he was denied access to his property in Ireland. In the case of Alexander, his being a Catholic seems to have been the only bar to his being reinstated in his Irish possessions. This, however, proved no barrier against his being returned to the first Parliament elected after the Restoration, in which he sat as member for Wigan. This burgh he continued to represent at intervals for many years. Finally, the Barony of Glenarm was restored to him by a Crown Charter in 1665. Of his doings for several years after this event in his life there is no record.

In 1680, he was honoured by being admitted *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Antrim, and in 1682 he succeeded his brother as Earl of Antrim and Viscount of Dunluce. The relations between the Macdonalds of Antrim and their Scottish cousins appear to have been always most friendly and clannish. Shortly after his accession to the Earldom a correspondence took place between Lord Antrim and Clanranald which throws such pleasant light on the character of the Earl that even if it were not a happy relief from Irish insurrections and other disturbances, it should find a place in these pages. Clanranald appears to have been anxious to try his hand at Irish farming, and become a tenant of Lord Antrim's in the Barony of Carey. With reference to this matter, Lord Antrim wrote the following letter, addressed to "Donald Macdonald of Moidart," then at Castletirrim :—

"Dunluce, Decr. 12, 1683.

"Dear Cousin,—The Trustees for the Barony of Carey intend to set the Barony between this and May Day next, so that if you have thoughts of anything in it, you must be here by March or April at farthest, till which I shall endeavour to de'ay your concerns, and shall be sure to serve you in them all I can the little power he (the Marquis) left me in that or anything else. I marvel I could not all this while hear one word from you, as easily you might by the way of Edinburgh or Erwin, which is all from your affectionate and humble servant,

"ANTRIM."¹

Whether Clanranald took any further steps in this matter we are unable to determine, but in the following year he had evidently set his heart on the Island of Rathlin, with regard to which he received the following letter from Lord Antrim :—

"Dunluce, Dec. 8th, 1684.

"Dear Cousin,—I have ever since my brother's death put a stop to the setting of Rathlin, expecting you, and shall till May next.

¹ Antrim Charter Chest.

I have lately been in Dublin, and spoke to Mr Nugent, who is content you shall have it before any other ; he will be here next March, at which time it were necessary you were here, because he cannot come every day, and he only has the power to set the lands, so that it is fit you be here then, or sooner if your health and weather will permit ; and I pray bring your son [the gallant Allan of Clanranald, who fell at Sheriffmuir], along with you. I long to hear how my cousin, Sir Daniel [of Sleat], doth in health. I fear not so well as I could wish him. No more, but I am your affectionate cousin and humble servant,

“ANTRIM.”¹

In 1685 Lord Antrim was admitted a member of the Irish Privy Council, and appointed by James II. Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Antrim. On the breaking out of the Revolution, in 1688, the Earl unhesitatingly took the side of King James. His services were in requisition at an early stage in the proceedings which followed. The King had recently appointed him to the command of an infantry regiment, which he now held in readiness for service. At Coleraine he received orders from the Lord-Lieutenant to march to Londonderry and occupy the town. The people of Londonderry were greatly agitated by rumours, which had reached them early in 1689, of an intended invasion by Lord Antrim and other Catholic leaders. Some of the town's people were for closing the gates, and resisting the approach of the invaders, while others temporised and reckoned it useless to offer any opposition. Meanwhile, and before anything was done to fortify the town, Lord Antrim sent a detachment of his regiment across the Foyle to demand quarters for his men in name of the King. At this moment thirteen young men, apprentices in the town, rushed to the guardroom, took possession of the keys of the town, and locked the Ferry Gate in the face of Lord

¹ Antrim Charter Chest.

Antrim's men. The whole town was now roused to instant action. All the other gates were closed, and the intruders, believing discretion to be the better part of valour, retreated with all possible speed to the other side of the river. Lord Antrim, being afraid to risk an attack, retired to Coleraine.

At the Battle of the Boyne, on the ever-memorable first day of July, 1690, the fate of Lord Antrim's division of King James's army was sad enough. They ran like sheep at the approach of the English column. "Whole regiments flung away arms, colours, and cloaks, and scampered off to the hills without striking a blow or firing a shot."

Lord Antrim was, as a matter of course, forfeited by William of Orange for his adherence to the legitimate King. His estates were, however, afterwards restored to him under the Articles of Limerick, while the sentence of forfeiture passed against him as a Catholic was at the same time cancelled. The sentence of outlawry in England, which was still in force against him, seems to have greatly exercised the Earl. He petitioned William of Orange repeatedly, praying him to remove his sentence. In this he finally succeeded. The Earl, while in England in connection with this business, died, May 31, 1696, at Thistleworth, near London, and was buried at Holywell, in Wales.

Randal, the successor of the third Earl of Antrim, was a minor when his father died. His early life appears to have been uneventful. Like his immediate predecessors, his political leanings were strongly Jacobitical. When the Stuart standard was raised in Scotland, in 1715, Lord Antrim attempted to make a demonstration in

favour of the exiled family. He was accused, and no doubt justly, of making preparations for raising a force to be sent to Scotland in support of the Stuart Prince. His enemies, who had an eye on his estates, spoiled their own cause by lodging complaints against him with the authorities in Dublin, and thus arresting the rebellious career of the Earl. The result was the seizure of Lord Antrim as a suspected rebel, and his imprisonment in Dublin Castle. His Castle of Glenarm was meanwhile searched for arms, and suspected persons, by order of the alarmed authorities at Dublin, but in this they were not successful. Lord Antrim himself was fortunate in having as his jailor a friend of his own, one of the Stewarts of Ballintoy, through whose good offices he was released, after a short period of confinement. The Earl, who was still a young man, died in 1721, and was buried at Christ Church, Dublin.

Alexander, the fifth Earl of Antrim, was only eight years of age when his father died. He was placed, in terms of his father's will, under the guardianship of the Dowager Lady Massereene, his grandmother, and Lord Massereene, his uncle. By his guardians the young Earl was brought up a Protestant, the first of his family who had deserted the ancient faith. He took his seat in the Irish House of Lords in 1733, was immediately thereafter sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Governor of the County of Antrim. Whatever his secret leanings may have been, he made no attempt to support Prince Charles in 1745. The chances are that his early training would have influenced him the other way. The Earl, in any case, appears to have had no ambition to cut a figure in the political

world. He is described as "a good-natured, honourable man, unsuspicious of others, but rather prone to the indulgence of extravagant habits." He lived almost exclusively on his property in the Glens, where he seems to have greatly enjoyed the simple life of a country gentleman. The Earl died, greatly regretted, in October, 1775, and was buried at Bunamargie.

Randal William, the sixth Earl of Antrim, lived in an uneventful time. He does not appear to have taken much part in public affairs. He lived for the most part in the town of Dublin. In 1780, he was created a Knight of the Order of the Bath, and some time thereafter he was admitted a member of the Irish Privy Council. In 1785, the Earl addressed a memorial to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, craving to be recommended to the King for a new patent of his Earldom in favour of heirs female, failing male issue. The prayer of the petition was granted, and the Earl was accordingly recreated Earl of Antrim and Viscount Dunluce with limitations, in failure of male issue, to Lady Anne Catherine, Lady Letitia Mary, and Lady Charlotte, his three daughters, and their issue, male and female. The Earl again petitioned the Lord Lieutenant, in 1789, praying him to recommend to His Majesty to revive in his favour the dignity of Marquis of Antrim, which had been conferred on his predecessor by Charles II. in 1644. His Majesty was pleased to grant the prayer of the petition, but in the new patent there was no reversionary clause, and the marquisate therefore became extinct with the death of Lord Antrim. The Marquis of Antrim died in July, 1791, and was buried at Bunamargie,

where his coffin, on a brass plate, bears the following inscription :—

“The Most Noble Randle William M^cDonald,
Marquis of Antrim, Earle of Antrim, Viscount Dunluce
of the Glens, and Baron of Antrim,
Governor of the County of Antrim,
Knight of the Most Noble and Military Order of the Bath,
And one of His Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council.
His Lordship was born 4th Nov. 1719 and departed this
Life 28 July 1791.”

The Marquis of Antrim was succeeded by his daughter, Lady Anne Catherine, as Countess of Antrim in her own right. On the death of the Countess Anne Catherine, in 1834, her next sister having died unmarried, she was succeeded as Countess of Antrim by her sister, Lady Charlotte, the Marquis's third daughter. Charlotte, Countess of Antrim, married in 1799 Vice-Admiral Lord Mark Kerr, third son of William, fifth Marquis of Lothian. Hugh Seymour, their fifth son, on the death of his mother in 1835, became seventh Earl of Antrim, and succeeded her in the north part of the estate. The Earl, in the year 1852, on the death of Mr Edmund M^cDonnell, second husband of his aunt, Anne Catherine, Countess of Antrim, succeeded to the south part of the estate, and thus the entire property, which had been divided between his daughters on the death of the second Marquis, again became one. The seventh Earl dying in 1855 without male issue, the title and estate passed to his brother Mark, who became eighth Earl of Antrim. Following his father's footsteps, the Earl entered the Royal Navy, but on succeeding to the Earldom he retired with the rank of Commander. The Earl

died in 1869, and was succeeded by his eldest son, William Randal, as ninth Earl of Antrim. Lord Antrim was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. On leaving Oxford, he settled down on his estate, in the management of which he has always taken an active interest. He prefers a country life, and devotes a great part of his time to farming and stock-raising, which he carries on to a large extent. Lord Antrim is a large employer of labour and a good landlord. His estate has suffered less than many other Irish properties, as the rents were moderate and the tenants well treated.

de cōcessiō nri p̄ris u cōsili dēdissē & cōcessissē
la & cōsili dēdissē p̄m̄t f̄m̄entibz ac m̄p̄t̄n
bāle nēill p̄ juas rectas metas & antiquos f̄
u & p̄petuū elim̄ q̄m̄d libed & quiete plenēt
rat p̄asone vōst̄ film̄s mole d̄m̄s ac aln̄s
reliq̄ plen̄ q̄m̄et̄q̄ & liber̄q̄ aliq̄ue aliē t̄re
n religio s̄is loc̄ m̄ postern cōcedit̄. Inc̄m̄
fecim̄ h̄n̄s testibz p̄ntibz v̄z regnal̄do d̄m̄
h̄m̄d̄ice Colm̄o ferguiss̄ d̄m̄ cancellariō
bris. Anno d̄m̄ a^a cccc lxxxv

APPENDICES.

CARTA REGINALDI FILII RODERICI. 1334.

Dauid Dei gracia rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem Sciatis quod super finali concordia inter nos et Reginaldum filii Roderici de insulis habito prius diligenti tractatu communique utilitate regni nostri ac tranquillitate eiusdem preuisis dedimus concessimus et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus eidem Reginaldo pro homagio et servicio suo omnes et singulas insulas et terras subscriptas videlicet totam insulam Uwest cum suis pertinenciis totam insulam de Barram cum suis pertinenciis totam insulam de Roumre cum suis pertinenciis octo uncias terre de Garw Morwarne videlicet Mudeworth Mordhower Aresayg Chudeworth cum suis pertinenciis Tenendas et habendas omnes insulas et terras predictas eidem Reginaldo et heredibus nostris in foedo et hereditate libere quiete plenarie et honorifice et integre cum aduocationibus piscacionibus venacionibus ecclesiarum cum aucupationibus piscacionibus venacionibus unacum aeriis falconum et omnimodis aliis libertatibus commoditatibus aysiamenis et iustis pertinenciis in omnibus et per omnia tam non nominatis quam nominatis ad predictas insulas et terras spectantibus seu juste spectare valentibus in futurum quoquomodo Faciendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris predictus Reginaldus et heredes sui seruitia tam per mare quam per terram de omnibus et singulis insulis et terris predictis debita et consueta tempore recolende memorie domini patris nostri volumusque quod dictus Reginaldus et heredes sui omnes insulas et terras predictas habeant teneant et possideant in eadem libertate in omnibus sicut teneri consueuerunt tempore domini patris nostri et temporibus aliorum predecessorum nostrum regum Scocie In cuius rei testimonium &c. Apud Villam de Are duodecimo die Junii anno regni nostri quinto decimo.

CONFIRMATIO REGINALDI FILII RODERICI. 1342.

Dauīd Dei gracia rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terre sue salutem noueritis nos inspexisse ac veraciter intellexisse cartam dilecti nepotis nostri Willielmi comitis de Rosse non abolitam non cancellatam nec in aliqua sue parte viciatam in hec verba Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Willielmus comes de Rosse filius et heres quondam domini Hugonis comitis de Rosse Salutem in domino sempiternam sciant presentes et futuri nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Reginaldo filio Roderici de insulis pro fideli seruicio suo nobis impenso et in futurum impendente decem dauatas terre nostre de Kennetale in Ergadia boreali prout iacent ibidem procul et prope tam in longitudine quam in latitudine tenendas et habendas prefato Reginaldo et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate per omnes rectas metas suas et rectas diuisas libere, quiete plenarie et honorifice bene et in pace cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis in boscis et planis moris et maresiis aquis stagnis et piscariis viis et semitis pascuis pratis et pasturis in aucupationibus et venacionibus in nemoribus et siluis cum molendinis et bracinis et cum omnibus aliis libertatibus commoditatibus et aysiamētis tam non nominatis quam nominatis ad dictas decem Dauatas terre nunc spectantibus seu quomodolibet spectare valentibus in futurum Faciendo inde prefatus Reginaldus et heredes sui nobis et heredibus nostris fidem et fidelitatem Reddendo eciam nobis et heredibus singulis annis unum denarium sterlingorum ad festum Pentecostes si petatur nomine albe firme ac faciendi forinsecum seruicium domini nostri regis quantum ad predictas decem Dauatas de Kennetale cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinenciis suis sicut prescriptum est dicto Reginaldo et heredibus suis pro seruitio et fidelitate sua supradictis contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus acquietabimus et imperpetuum defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum nostrum apposuimus apud castrum de Urchard quarto die mensis Iulii anno gracie millesimo CCCmo quadragesimo secundo coram hiis testibus venerabilibus in Christo patribus dominis Roberto de Lawedre Jacobo de Kerdale et Willielmo de Mowbray militibus domino Thoma de Lichtoun canonico Moraviensi Johanne de Berclay Adam de Vreharde Johanne Yongo de Dyngvale et multis aliis clericis et laicis Quamquidem cartam in omnibus punctis et articulis conditionibus et

circumstanciis suis forma pariter et effectum approbamus, ratificamus et pro nobis et heredibus nostris confirmamus imperpetuum Saluo seruicio nostro In cuius testimonium &c.

INDENTURE BETWEEN JOHN OF ISLA, LORD OF THE ISLES,
AND JOHN OF LORN, LORD OF ARGYLE. 1354.

Anno Dni M.CCC. quinquagesimo quarto, in nativitate Beate Marie Virginis, apud Jwon sele facta fuit nec conventio et interposita inter nobiles viros Johannem de Yle, Dominum Insularum, ex una parte et Joannem de Larin, Dominum Ergadie ex altera, super quibus defenderunt et finaliter concordarunt: Imprimis predictis Joannes de Larin concedit et quietum clamat, cum fusto et baculo, omne jus et clamium quod habuit, vel habet, seu habere poterit Joanni de Yle, Domino Insularum, de omnibus terris, castris, et insulis, cum pertinent. suis inferius nominand. de quibus dictus Joannes de Yle est incartatus per Dominum David, vel Dominum Robertum senescallum patrem ejusdem, regis, Scotiae viz., castra de Kerneburch et Hystylburch, cum omnibus suis pertin. et castrum de Dunconill, cum omnibus pertinent. suis, et insulis superiore parte de Duray, cum suis pertin. insulam de Tereyd, cum omnibus pertinent. suis et libertatibus, exceptis terris infra scriptis viz., Insula de Colle, demptis terris liberis ecclesiarum de Durobwar et Glencown, cum omnibus suis pertinent. quas terras et insulam, cum omnibus suis justis pertinent. et consuetudinibus aut exactionibus quibuscunque, idem Johannes de Yle, Dominus Insularum dat, concedit, et per presentes confirmat, absque calumpnia vel repetitione, seu clamio aliquo, a predicto Joanne, vel heredibus suis, in perpetuum predicto Joanni de Larin libere et pacifice possidendas. It. ordinatum est quiscunque fuerit sen.¹ in predictis tribus unciatis terrae de Tereyd, ex parte Johannis de Larin, non faciet domesticaturam seu habitaculum in predicta insula, sine licentia predicti Johannis de Yle. Item concordatum est inter predictos nobiles q. semper de cetero ex nunc sint carnales fratres, et compadres singule alterius commodum respicientes liceat enim id. Johanni de Larin componere, seu fabricare, octo naves, q. sint de numero xvi. remorum, vel xii. remorum, in sua debita forma et

¹ Word cut out.

quantitate. Insuper ordinatum est inter predictos nobiles quod Joannes de Larin dabit Joanni de Yle tres obsides in manu sua, donec habuerit castrum de Kerneburgh sibi deliberatum, viz. unum filium legitimum Ywray M' Lulli, et filium legitimum Johannis M' Molmari, vel alterius boni de parentela sua. Item Johannes de Yle obligat se, quod nunquam impetrabit nec capiet literas, donum vel infeodacionem a quocunque rege, vel custode regni Scocie, superpredictis terris per ipsum concessis eidem Joanni de Larin. Item concordatum est inter predictos, quod idem Johannes de Yle nunquam insurget ad guerram contra Johannem de Larin per se, vel per alium vel alterum aliter auxilium dabit cum quacunque persona vivente, presente vel futuro, excepta presona regis Scociae; simili modo idem Josannes de Larin se obligat Joanni de Yle. Concordatum est, quod Johannes de Yle nunquam dabit custodiam castrum de Kerneburgh ulli de natione clan Fynwyne. Item conventum est, quod quicumque facerit vel perpetraverit homicidium ex premeditata nequiscia inter predictos nobiles, exilio ab utroque specialiter deputetur. Item si quis a retinentia unius, ad retinentiam alterius, propter malefacta sua, procedere voluerit, ab alterno non admittatur, nisi de suis transgressionibus justicie complementum voluerit exhibere. Et ad omnia ista et premissorum singula fideliter observanda, tactis Dei evangeliiis, ac diversis aliis sanctorum reliquiis et sanctuariis, comporalea prestiterunt juramenta. Parti vero hujus indenture remanenti penes Johannem de Larin, sigillum Johannis de Yle, sigillum Johannis de Larin est appensum. Dat. die, et loco, et anno supradictis.

CHARTER BY ANGUS, MASTER OF THE ISLES, TO THE ABBEY OF IONA. 1485.

Pateat universis ad quos presentes nostre littere pervenerint nos Agussium de Insulis magistrum earundem et dominum de Trontarnis de consensu nostri patris et concilii dedisse et concessisse ac eciam presenti carta nostra confirmasse venerabilibus dominis et confratribus nostris abbati monasterii Sancte Columbe de Y insula et eiusdem loci conventui pro nunc servientibus ac in futurum ibidem servituris unam denariatam jacentem inter p. nris de Mule que wlgaliter nuncupatur Kyllbrenain in letfiar bale neill per suas rectas metas et antiquos fines pro salute anime

Omibus hanc cartam
via nos dedisse concessit
nostro Confessio et auctoritate
tate ballivatus Insul
sus de Jura et auctoritate
melioribus modo et f
nascent, aliquibus
nas p. suar. oul. n. u.
omib. Solo. frunde.
et. Le. Am. ex. quo
vond. Sigillis. Dn.
mition. Rodica. m. l. c.



nostre ac parentum nostrorum in honorem Dei omnipotentis et sanctissimi Columbe nostri patroni in puram et perpetuam elemosinam libere et quiete plene et pacifice cum omnibus suis fructibus terrenis sive marinis unacum officio balliviatus prefate terre planis pratis pascuis boscis silvis molendinis ac aliis omnibus commoditatibus libertatibus ad eandem denariatam spectantibus seu in futurum spectare valentibus prout melius plenius quicquid et liberius alique alie terre a dominis temporalibus in regno Scociæ sive in dominio insularum concesse fuerunt aliquibus monasteriis seu religiosis locis in posterum conceduntur In cuius rei testimonium ex quo sigillum proprium non habuimus sigillum Johannis M'Gilleoin domini de Lochbuye procuravi fecimus hiis testibus presentibus videlicet Reginaldo domini insularum filio Angussio Angussii Mic Regnaill Lacclanno M' Murghaich archipoeta Hullialmo archiindice Colino Fergusii domini cancellario Terleto Laclani nigri cum multis aliis ad hoc vocatis pariter et rogatis xiiij^o die mensis Novembris anno Domini m^o cccc^o lxxxv^o.

CHARTER OF THE BALIARY OF THE SOUTH PART OF TIREE BY
JOHN, LORD OF THE ISLES, AND SIR ALEXANDER MAC-
DONALD OF LOCHALSH, TO MACLAINE OF LOCHBUY. 1492.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris nos Johannem de Yle dominum Insularum ac Alexandrum de Insulis dominum de Lachals salutem in domino sempiternam nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos dedisse concessisse ac confirmasse ac per presentem nostram cartam cum consensu et assensu totius nostri consilii damus concedimus et confirmamus benedilecto nostro consanguineo et armigero Johanni M'Gilleoin domino de Lochbwe presentis carte conseruatore sibi suis heredibus et successoribus a nobis heredibus nostris et successoribus dimedietatem balliuiatus insule nostre de Tyrey viz. partis australis cum omnibus et singulis fructibus redditibus proventibus obuencionibus emolumentis ceterisque vniuersis quibuscunque terris de Jura et consuetudine pertinentibus dicto baliuiatui seu pertinere valentibus quomodolibet in futurum ita libere quiete pacifice honorifice bene et in pace melioribus modo et forma quibus Lachlannus Hectoris M'Gilleoin et predecessoris eius de nobis et predecessoribus nostris habuerunt

possiderunt et tenere consueuerunt aliquibus reuocacione seu diminucionem non interuenientibus quam quidem cartam dictas donacionem et concessionem in se continentam pro nobis heredibus nostris et successoribus nostris ante dicto Johanni suis heredibus et successoribus approbamus varindizamus ratificamus ac hereditarie perpetualiter confirmamus omnibus dolo fraude friuola ficta exceptione ac malo ingenio semotis expulsis exclusis et tergiuersatis. In quorum omnium singulorum premissorum fidem et testimonium ex quo sigillum proprium de presenti non habuimus sigillum nobilis viri Alexandri de Insulis domini de Lochalss procurari et hiis appendi facimus vnacum sigillis dominorum consilii nostri viz. venerabilis patris ac dompni dompni Johannis dei gracia abbatis de Y Johannis m^c kayne domini de Arduamurchon, Rodrici m^cleoid domini de leowis Colinii m^cneill de gygha Apud Orwnsa primo die mensis augusti anno domini m^{mo} cccc^{mo} nonagessimo ij^o.

DOWILL M'RENYLL LETTYRIS OF MANRENT. 1510.

Be it kend to all men be thir present lettres, me Doul Ranaldsone, the sone and ayr of wmqhile Ranald Alanson of Alanbigrim, to be bundin and oblist and be the tenor of thir presentis, and faitht in my body lelelie and trewlie, but fraude or gile, bindis and oblissis me, in the stratest stile and form of obligatioun, to ane noble and mychtie lorde, and my lord Alexandere erle of Huntlie, etc., for his rewarde, helpp, and supple done to me, and to be done to his man and seruitour, and sall continewe, wss, and persenere his manrent and seruice, indurande all the dayis of my lyff, na persone except, bot the Kingis hienes allanerlie. In witness of the quhilk thing, I haif, witht instance procurit the sele of ane honorable man Jhon Cutbert, Aldirman of Inuernis to be affixit to thir presentis, becauss I hade na seil of my awin propire present for the time, at the burgh of Inuernis the X day of Marche, the year of God MV^e and ten yeris, befor thir witnes John Auchlek, Jhon Ker, Henry Kare, Thomas Patersoun, burgessis of the said burgh, William Lauchlansoun of Dunnathane, Ewin Allanson in Lochabre. Turnbull of Wachaop, and Maister Andrew Sinclar vicar of Lagan, notar publict wtth otheris diuerss.

BOND OF SURETY BY JAMES MACDONALD OF DUNNYVEG. 1539.

I James M'Connel be the tennor heirof becumis souertie to ane richt honorabill man Thomas Scot of Petgorno Justice Clerk for Alexander M'Alister of Loup, Archd. M'Charle and Johne M'zonil M'crannald Bayne that thai sall compeir befor the justice or his deputtis the third day of the next justice aire of the schire quhair thai duel or sounar upoun xv dayis warnying quhen & quhair it sall pleis the Kingis grace & lordis of counsale to underly the lawis of art & part of the slauchter of umqle Gillecalthum m'nele Johnne M'Were and thair complices. At Edinr. the 31st July 1539.

RENTAL OF JAMES MACDONALD IN KINTYRE AND ISLA
IN 1542.

<i>North Kintyre.</i>	<i>South Kintyre.</i>
Money, £125 10s.	Money, £162 8s 4d.
Oatmeal, 388 $\frac{3}{4}$ stones.	Meal, 480 stones 2 pints.
Malt, 4 chalders 10 bolls.	Malt, 25 ch. 14 bolls 2 firloths.
Marts, 6.	Marts, 48.
Cow, 1.	Mutton, 53.
Mutton, 41.	Cheese, 342 $\frac{3}{4}$ stones.
Cheese, 307 $\frac{3}{4}$ stones.	

Isla.

Money, £45 0s 1d. Meal, 2593 stones. Marts, 301. Mutton, 301.
Cheese, 2161, 3 lib. Geese, 301. Poultry, 301.

Total Money Value.

Money ..	£332 18 6
Meal, 3061 $\frac{3}{4}$, 2 lib. at 2s ..	366 2 10
Malt, 30 chal. 8 bolls 2 fir. at 5s ..	122 2 6
Marts, 356 at 2 marks ..	553 6 8
Mutton, 595 at 2s ..	45 11 10
Cheese ..	237 2 0
Geese, 301 at 4d ..	} 6 0 4
Poultry, 301 at 2d ..	

Total in Scots Money £1666 2 11

JOHN MUDGWARTIS CONTRACT. 1553.

At Rovan of Badzenocht, the xi day of September, yeir of God ane thousand fyve hundretht fefte and thre yeris, it is apontit, concordit, and fynalie agreit, betwix ane nobill and potent lord George erle of Huntlie, lord Gordon and Badzenocht, lefetenent generall of the north, and honorabill mene Jhone Mudgwart capitane of the Clane Ronald, and his son Allane, thair kyne, freindis, allys, and pertakaris, in maner, form, and effect as efter followis, that is to say, the said erll hes teane in servuice, and be thir presentis in mene and seruandis takis, Jhone Mudgwart capitane of the Clane Ronald, his son Allan, thair kyne, freindis, allys, and part takkaris, remytting tham and hartlie forgiffing all offensis, wrangis, and disobediens down in tymes bypast to the said erll, or one of his, in onie manir of behalf, and speciell the last offens and brak maid be thaim, thair freindis, allis and part takkaris, upon his gud freind the lord Louett, etc., for the quhilk the said Jhone Mudgwart, his son Allan, allys and pairt takaris, promittis and oblis thaim be the faytht and trewytht of thair bodies to keype guid rewill within thair bondis, and to obey the autorite as tha be chargit, and to reman fra the day and daitt heiroy, thair liffis durane, with thair kyne, servandis, allis, and pairt takaris, afald, leill, and trew seruandis to the said erll, etc.; and to that effect that be thar way and labouris gud rewill may be better kepit within the ilis pertening the luftenentrye of the said erll, the said Jhon, and his son Allan, with their freindis, foresaid, promittis faythfullie to do thar wttir diligens and laubour to cauce entir and bring in the handis of the said erll, Donald Gormeson betwix the dait heiroy and aucht days befor Hallomes nixt, witht all udir capitens and chiftenis within the north illis, to pas to the Quenis grace, my lord guvernoris, and the consell, and thar to do as it becummyt trew subiectis to our souerane ladie, etc., and for obseruing and keping of thir presentis the said erll hes subscribit this contract with his hand, and the said Johne hes subscrinit the samyne witht his hand, at the pene led be schir Donald Murray Archdeane of the ilis, notar publik, the holie evangelist twichit, day, yeir, and place aboun wretin befor thir witnes ane nobil lord Johne erll of Atholl, Alexander Archebischop and commendatour of Inchecheffray, George lord Gordon, maister James Gordon chancellor

of Murray, Jhon Grant of Frewchquhy, James Gordon of Lesmoir, witht uderis dyverss.

GEORGE erll of Huntly.

JOHNE MOYDEORTACH

witht my hand at
the pen led by Schir
Donald Murray.

BOND OF OBLIGATION BY JAMES MACDONALD OF
DUNNYVEG. 1564.

Be it kend till all men be thir present lettres me James M'Conill of Dunnyveg and Glennis To be bundin and obleist and be ye tenour heirof bindis and obleisses me that I sall keip guid rewl and ordour in ye cuntre be myself my sonnys breyir men tennentis seruandis and assistaris And on na wayis sall molest or persew ony of oure souerane ladiis lieges in yr. bodiis landis possessionis and guidis be force and way of deid in tyme cuming Reseruand and exceptand to me alwayis the just defence and protectioun of myself my sonnys, breyir, tennentis and seruandis. And gif I failze herein bindis and obleisses me yat I sall compeir befoir Or Souerane Lady undir ye pane of 10,000 pundis. And for my entrie at the tyme and place foirsaid under ye said paine ar becum souertie and cautioun James Stewart of Donn, Colene Campbell of buchane knyt., James Striveling of Keir, Sir Hew Kennedye of Girvanmanis knyt., and James Campbell of Ard-kinlass. Providing alwayis yat quhen my Lord of Cassilis gevis his obligatioun in maner foirsaid for me and beis actit in the buikis or yat I the said James enteris my awin body quhilk I faytfullie obleisses and promittis to obtene or do betwix and ye first day of Maij nixt to cum that the utheris souerties foirsaid be relevit and dischargeit of yis band and Archd. Erll of Argyle obleisses him and his aires to relief the saidis cautiounaris. And I the said James M'Conill obleisses me and my airis to relief the said Erle airis. At Edinr., 13th January 1564.

DONALD GORME'S BAND. 1586.

Be it kend till all men be thir presentis, me Donald Gorhame of Sleat to becum trew thrall, and awfald man, to a nobil and potent lord George erle of Huntly, lord Gordoun and Badzenocht,

to serwe him lelely and trewly, with my kin, alys, frendis, servantis, parttakaris, and assistaris, in all his adois of hostilitie or peace, as it sall happin him to haif ado, aganis all and quhatsumeuir person or personis, the Kingis majestie onlye exceptit, etc.; and that in respect the said nobill lord hes giffin to me his band of maintenance; in witnes of this my band of manrent hes subscryvit the same with my hand, at Elgin the twentye day of Maii, the yeir of God M^V^c four scor sax yeris, befor thir witnes honorabill men Schir Patrik Gordoun of Achindoun, knycht, Lachlan M'Intoische of Dunnachten, James M'Intoische in Gask, Angus M'Intoische of Termet, and maister Frances Cheyne of Cragye.

DONALD GORME of Sleatt.

SUBMISSION OF SORLEY BUY MACDONALD TO THE LORD
DEPUTY PERROT. 1586.

Most honorable Governor, it is and maybe truly said that there is no unhappiness comparable to his that may say he hath been once in good Estate, and is fallen from it through his own folly; amongst many others in that case, I may and do reckon myself for none of the least, for being a man born out of this realm, and gotten large possessions in the same, whereupon I lived, though I might claim none by inheritance, I have very inconsiderately presumed to think I might as well hold it as I got it, by strong hand: carried on with this imagination, as one ignorant of Her Majesty's might and force, (and withal ill persuaded by others) I unhappily refused to come in to your Lordship, as the rest of Ulster did, now almost two years past, thinking it might suffice for me upon your Lordship's repair unto those parts to write a letter of some kind of observance unto you, with an offer after a sort to come myself. Also upon such capitulations (as now to my smart I find,) were unmeet for me to make. But your Lordship having no mind as it hath well appeared, to take advantage of my rash oversight, vouchsafed to license the Earl of Tyrone and Sir Edward Moore to send unto me such gracious conditions, as I grieve to think that I refused them, and wish the unadvised letters I wrote to your Lordship, the haughty words I uttered, and the indiscreet means I then made (to have men of far better sort than myself to lie in pledge for me) were buried up

in forgetfulness. I condemn my folly in leaving such men in the Castle of Dunluce, within this Her Highness' land as should say they kept it in the name, or to the use of the King of Scots, a Prince that honoureth Her Majesty and embraceth her favour. I sorrow for my perseverance in that purpose, whereby I have justly drawn Her Majesty's force, and whet Her Majesty's sword against me, which hath slain my son and most of my people, spoiled me of my goods, and left me with a few distressed, being no way able to stand against Her Majesty's force, wherefore I do prostrate myself here at the foot of Her Majesty's clemency, submitting myself wholly thereunto, and most humbly praying to be restored, only thereby through your noble favour, that is accustomed as well to pity the humble as to suppress the proud and obstinate. And I do most faithfully promise to depend for ever upon Her Majesty's gracious goodness, according to such conditions as it shall please your most honourable Lordship to afford me on the behalf of Her Highness, whom I pray God long to preserve. Amen.

Your Honour's most humble suppliant,

SORLE MC CONELL.

INSTRUMENT OF SASINE IN FAVOUR OF DONALD GORM
MACDONALD OF SLEAT. 1597.

In Dei nomine Amen per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit notum anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo septimo mensis vero Decembris Diebus septimo decimo quarto et decimo quinto regnorum excellentissimi principis nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Scotorum regni illius sexti anno tricesimo. In mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presentiis perspecialiter constitutus discretus vir Donaldus Macfinlay Macquein

in Tronternes actornatus et in eo nomine honorabilis Domini Donaldi Gorme de Sleatt de actornatoria potestate mihi notario publico subscripto lucide existavit documento habendi tenendi et in manibus suis extendentibus quondam preceptum sasine subinsertum capelle cartam S. D. N. Regis sub testimonio sue maiestatis sigilli nostre cancellarie directo vicecomiti et ballivis suis de Innernes Necnon dilectis suis Davidi Dick incola burgi Innernes vicecomes deputatus vicemomitatus

S. D. N. Regis in hac parte eiusdem vicecomitatus de Innernes per eius preceptum sasine subinsertum e cancellaria nostra manent specialiter constitutus pro statu et possessione hereditarie danda prefato Donaldto Gorme de Sleatt heredibus suis et assignatis vel suo certo actornato aut procuratori legitimo haberi presentem de omnibus et singulis terrarum infra scriptarum Vizt viginti Libratas terrarum antiqui extentus de North Wist viginti mercatas terrarum de Skeirhow duodecem mercatas terrarum de Beambecula alias callit benevill unam denariatam terrarum Gergreyminis duas denariatus terrarum de Scolpite alias Scolpick quatuor denariatas terrarum de Grimineis, duas denariatas terrarum de Balmertein sex denariatas terrarum de Orinstaig alias Oirwinsig dimidiam denariatam terrarum Wainliss Dimidiam denariatam terrarum Ellangellegerrie cum castris turribus fortaliciis domibus molendinis silvis piscationibus pendiculis et suis pertinentibus una cum omnibus privilegiis libertatibus immunitatibus tam per mare quam per terram solis et consuetis quibuscumque jacentibus in dominio nostro insularum infra vicecomitatum de Innernes Et ibidem prefatus Donaldus Mackfinlay M'Kquein actornatus procuravit et in eo nomine quo supra predictum sasine preceptum subinsertum prenominato Davidi Dick vicecomiti in hac parte antedicto presentavit eundem eaque quatenus huiusmodi precepti debite executioni demandaverat. Qui vero vicecomes dictum preceptum sasine subscriptum de manibus eius accepit ac mihi notario publico subscripto per legendum publicandum et in vulgari testantibus exponendum tradidit cuius precepti tenor sequitur et est talis Jacobus dei gratia rex Scotorum vicecomiti et ballivis suis de Invernes necnon dilectis nostris Davidi Dick incola burgi de Innernes et eorum cuilibet coniunctim et divisim vicecomitatibus nostris de Innernes in hac parte salutem Quia nos per nostram legitimam et perfectam etatem viginti quinque annorum completam generalemque educationem atque ideo post legitimos descutiones per omnes cum avisamento et consensu concilii regni nostri statuto factam in parlamento nostro tento Apud Edinburghum Octavo die mensis Junii Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto omnium terrarum nostrarum

avo annexit

subinsertum ut eedem allocari possunt in feudifirmam et augmentationem antiqui rentalis veteribus et antiquis seu nativis tenentibus hic Hielandmen fundi aliquibus qui ad easdem jus titulum et feofamentum antea habuerunt quocirca nos intelligentes dilectum nostrum Donaldum Gorme de Sleatt eiusque predecessores

omnium et singularum superscriptarum Et quod originales carte et infeofamentum sasina et huiusmodi evidentie alieque securitates earundem terrarum ipsius progenitoribus pertinentes occasione spoliorum depredationum incendiorum crudelium inimicitiarum ac temporis injuria omnino perduntur perdunt et nullatenus extant Idcirco nos solita nostra naturali clementia regali affectione moti omnes nostras subditos precipue vero anidvertentes prefatum Donaldum Gorme nunc maxima cum humilitate ac serio expostulantem sibi fieri novam infeodationem terrarum inframentionatarum modo in carta nostra desuper confectarum contentarum. Atque ut ipsum Donaldum heredes suos et successores firmiore vinculo astringamus ut nobis nostrisque successoribus Scotie regibus sese devinctos fideles et dicti nostre cessionis et collegii nostrique predictis Walteri domini Blantyre nostri Thesaurii Magister Joannes Lindsay de Balcarais nostri Scuttarii Magistri Thome Hamiltoun de Dunbarre nostri Advocati Magistri Jacobi Elphinstone Rectoris de Eglishame Magister Davidis Carnegie de Cullechie Magister Joannes Skeine nostrorum rotulorum clerici nostri ac Magister Petri Young de Seytoun presentium nostris ballivis dominorum nunc vice et loco representantium nostrorum computorum rotulorum atque adeo cum consensu et assensu dominorum commissionariorum nominatorum et specialiter constitutorum per actum devolutionis subscripti ex certa scientia maturaque deliberatione prehabita dedimus, concessimus disposuimus locavimus et ad feudifirmam seu empheteosim perpetuum hereditarie dimissimus predicto Donaldo Gorme heredibus suis et assignatis omnes et singulas terras infra-scriptas viz Viginti libratas terrarum antiqui extentus de Sleatt Quadraginta libratas terrarum antiqui extentus de North ewist Triginta mercatarum terrarum de Skeirhow Duodecem mercatas terrarum de Beambecula alias Benhuill Unam denariatam terrarum de Gergriminis duas denariatas terrarum de Skolpick Quatuor denariatas terrarum de Greminis duas denariatas terrarum de Balmertein Sex denariatas terrarum de Orinsack dimidiam denariatam terrarum de Waynlis dimidiam denariatam terrarum Ellengellegerrie cum castris turribus fortaliciis domibus molendinis silvis piscationibus pendiculis et suis pertinentiis unacum omnibus privilegiis libertatibus immunitatibus tam per mare quam per terram solitis et consuetis quibuscumque jacentibus in dominio nostro insularum infra vicecomitatum nostrum de Innernes Proviso tamen quod castrum de Camis semper et omni tempore in futurum pateat et in promptu sit nobis nostrisque successoribus locum tenentibus Camerariis aliisque nostris servi-

toribus illic frequentantibus nostramque commissionem et potestatem habentibus Reservand etiam quadraginta solidatas predictarum terrarum de Wiest nobis et nostris successoribus per nos elegendas, utendas, et possidendas per huiusmodi incolas ut nobis optimum visum fuerit sub hoc tenore lege et provisione quod antedictæ quadraginta solidate terrarum suprascriptarum nullo pacto disponentur tempore affuturo hominibus insularis lie hielandmen nisi et excepto quod eodem prius afferanter prefato Donaldò heredibus suis et assignatis prout in dicta carta nostra desuper confecta latius continetur Vobis precipimus et mandamus quatenus dicto Donaldò vel suo certo actornato latori presentium sasinam omnium et singularum terrarum particulariter supra nominatarum viz Viginti libratarum terrarum de Sleatt antiqui extentus quadraginta libratarum terrarum antiqui extentus de North Wist triginta libratarum terrarum de Greminis duarum denariatarum terrarum de Belmertein sex denariatarum terrarum de Orwinsaig dimidiæ denariate terrarum de Elen gillgerrie cum castris turribus fortaliciis domibus molendinis silvis piscationibus partibus pendiculis et suis pertinentiis una cum omnibus et singulis suis libertatibus (privilegiis et immunitatibus tam per mare quam per terram quibuscunque) secundum formam et tenorem antedictæ cartæ nostre quam de nobis inde habet iuste haberi faciatis et sine dilatione Et hoc nullo modo omittatis ad quod faciendum vobis et vestris cuilibet conjunctim et divisim vicecomitibus nostris de Innernes in hac parte committamus potestatem datum sub testimonio nostri magni sigilli Apud Falkland decimo septimo die mensis Augusti Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo sexto et regni nostri tricesimo Post cuiusquidem precepti sasine capelle serenissimi principis presentationem exhibitionem receptionem lecturam et intellectam Idem vicecomes deputatus vicecomitatus de Innernes in hac parte accessit una mecumque notario publico subscripto et testibus subscriptis ad omnes et singulas prescriptas terras in predicto precepto particulariter prescriptas viz Viginti libratarum terrarum de Sleatt antiqui extentus Quadraginta libratarum terrarum antiqui extentus de North Wiest triginta mercatarum terrarum de Skeirhow duodecem mercatarum terrarum de Beanbecula alias Benvill unius dawate terrarum de Gargramnis duarum denariatarum terrarum de Skolpick Quatuor denariatarum terrarum de Griminis duarum terrarum de Belmerteine Sex denariatas terrarum de Orumsage dimidiæ denariate terrarum de Uanilis dimidiæ denariate terrarum de Ellen Gilligerrie cum castris turribus fortaliciis domibus molendinis silvis piscationibus

partibus pendiculis et suis pertinentiis unacum omnibus et singulis suis libertatibus secundum formam et tenorem dicti precepti sasine per terre et lapidis fundi earundem traditionem ut moris est contulit tradidit deliberavit sasivit et investavit prefatum Donaldum Mackfinlay ac eo nomine prefati Donaldi Gorme de Sleatt realem actualem et corporealem possessionem induxit et investavit ac in pace demisit Super quibus omnibus et singulis prefatus Donaldus M'Kinlay M'kquein actornator ac in eo nomine prefati Donaldi Gorme de Sleatt a me notario publico subscripto petiit unum vel plura publicum vel publica instrumentum seu instrumenta Acta erant hec super solo et fundo predictarum terrarum respective specialiter supramentionatarum horas circiter nonum decimum undecimum antemeridie primum secundum tertium quartum pomeridianum sub anno diebus mense quibus supra Presentibus ibidem Donaldo Gorme M'James M'Kconil in Sleatt James Mckgillivrae in Inner Ranaldo M'Kconilroy in Tallongergabe Duncano M'Kunuchie dow in boerebek in Sleatt Johnne M'Kgillivray in Kymore Donaldo Mackmurriche in Kielaide et me Jasper Cuming notario publico scriba vicecomitatus de Innernes testibus ad premissa rogatus prariterque requisitus

DONALD GORME'S OFFERS TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. 1598.

I Donald Gorme makdonall Lord of ye Illis of Scotland and chieff off the haill clandonall Irishemen quhairsoeuer, Quhom the haill cheiffs and Captanes of ye clannis vndermentionat ar faithfullie bond obleist and suorne to follow, serue, obey, and assist with all thair pouars and forces, In quhatsumeuir his attempts and enterprysis Thay ar to say, The Captane of ye haill clanderandell, The laird of glengarrie, The laird Makrandell In Lochquhaber, The Captane of ye clancameron, The laird Makean of Ardnamurchin, The laird mak Kynnion of Straithordill, Neill Makcloyde Tutor of ye leuiss and Brother germane to vmq^u Torquille dov M'cloyde of ye Leviss laitie betrayed and murdered be ye craft and meyane of M'Keanze of Kyntaill with ye vchic donald gorme also Ar faithfullie bandit and confiderat, The laird M'cloyde of dunvegan and harreis brother in lav to ye said donald, And Sir James makdonall; eldar sone lavchfull to Angus makdonall of Dunnovaig and Glennis, Mor, throv his onnaturall behaiiour towards his said sone, Detenit captiue be his said sone.

Pleiss I Being throughlie acquainted vith diuerss effearis and proceedings And priue cours Among ye estaitis of yis realme of Scotland, Vpon certane reasonable motiues and consideratiounis Am moved to mak offer of my humble seruice to ye Queennis Ma^{ie} your Prin^{cs}. And am Readye to be employed to doe hir Ma^{ie}, all guid offices, all humble seruices, and duetefull pleasours possible, Vpon vorthie occosionis and guid deserts vhairinsoeur It sall pleis hir Ma^{ie} to employ me: speciallie about ye effears eftir-mentionat, To vit, Am aibill and readye to moue and persuaide the saidis Donald Gorme Makcloyde of ye harreis and Sir James Makdonall vith thair haill associattis follouars and adherentis ather to mak defectioun from his Ma^{ies} obedience and Lavis Stire up rebelloun and Trubile vithin all ye boundis of ye mayne land and In countreyis nearrest thair haill boundis whairsoeur, and thairby Inquiet ye peceable estate of ye hoill In countrey And fasche his Ma^{ie} long yneuch thairanent, and vearie the vhole estaitis of yis land by raising nev stentis and Taxatiounis for furnesing soicours to be sent thair for taking ordour anent thir rebellounis, whiche vill not be gottin sattilled nor suppressed be sick forces as his Ma^{ie} is aibill to mak meitt for that boundis but muche adoe, spending of meikill tyme and consuming greatt stoire of money, quhairof his Ma^{ie} is veray skarsse. If hir Ma^{ie} think expedient to have yis matter accomplieissed, vpon certane guid motiues and reasonable considerationis to be schovin and vsed towards thame, It salbe accomplieissed.

Or vthirvayis thay salbe moved to direct and send sick nubers of thair Irischemen Vnder ye lording of certane speciall gentilmien of thair avin kin as comandars to yame Vpon reassonable conditionis to be employed in ye Queenis Seruice against hir rebellis in Irland. Thir men ar ye rather and ye moir easelie to be Inducet heirunto, Be reason of ye great rigor and seueritie used towards thame be his Ma^{ie} (throv ye counsall of certan particular corrupt men and brybing courteours) Anent ye compositiounis for the richt of thair landis and levingis: So iff thay can find ony suir succours, support, defence or refuge in their adversities or extreames as occasioun and necessitie happened to offer thay mein and Intend novayis to acknoulege his Ma^{ies} autoritie nor obedience willinglie during thair lyftimis The said donald Gorme for the greatt favor, and freindschipe schavin be ye Quenis Ma^{ties} progenitours, to his predecessours lords of ye Illis of Scotland resetting and supporting of tham diuers tymes, and for mony courtesies, schavin to yame in their greatest necessiteis be diuers

Kings of England, as thair bandis made thairanent, yet extant will testifie:—

Item—I am priuie of ye Erll of Tyron his laite secreitt cours and practizes heir with his Ma^{ie} of Scotland in vhois fauours the Erll of Huntly delt veray earnestlie and secreitlie with his Ma^{ie} to haue had Tyron his sute granted, I can discover at large ye circumstances yairof, his Ma^{eis} anss^r huntlyis anss^r and advyss to Tyron

Item, I am aibill to leirn, and to discover the hoill secreitt and priuie practizes deillings and Intentionis of the thrie laitte restorit Erlls, huntly Angusse and Erroll: vho he hes gottin tham selfis (be his Ma^{ies} speciall caire and politique Industrie) resaued agane in ye bosome of ye Church in Scotland mening nothing les in thair harts then that vliche thay have outwardlie in ye ees of ye vorlde, accomplieiss: vhois politique and hopocriticall deilling and practizes begins alreadie to kytie in ye ees of ye veill affectit vyiss and circuspect beholders (not obstant all ye fyne colors vhairwith thay craftelie practze to die ye samyne) and will nov moir veinely kytie incontinet eftir ye certan Intelligence had be thame of hir Ma^{eis} anss^{rs} to Mr Eduard Bruce our put. Embas^{ad} sad^{er} thair.

Item. I am also aibill and meitt to leirn sum of ye Spanische speciall and priuie practizes and Intentiounis against hir Ma^{ie} realmes and subiectis and that throv ye veray speciall credeitt Inteirfreindschipe and familiaritie I have with Mr James Gordoune Jesuit, Mr Valter Lyndesay Vith diuers other Scottis papistis Jesuits and seminarie preistes whois diabolical pestiferous and antichristiane cours practizes and Intentiounis I haitte nov with my hoille hartt and soulle I protest now, before God and his angellis

Item. I have leirnit sum of Sir James lyndesay brother to the erll of Craufurd his priuie practizes and deillings had vith the King of Spayne at his being thair, and vhat he hes undirtakin to accomplieiss, vho is nov of Intentioun to pass away agane incontinet tovars flanders first and from thence tovars ye tounis in france keiped by ye Spaniard, for accomplieissing such things promessed by him. I am ready and contented to be employed be hir Ma^{ie}. In ye prosecuting and accomplieiment of quhatsoever the cours aboue mentionat and to discharge my faithfull secreitt duetie thiranent, as sall happin, upon guid deservings and honest courtesies to be done and offered be hir Ma^{ie} to me to be moved to mak promeis, and sall deill faithfullie in all things according to

hir Ma^{eis} Inimuctionnis and instructiounis to be sett down at meitting, till then will proceid no farder thairin bot salbe readye upon suddan aduerteisment to repair towards hir Ma^{ie}.

LETTER OF DONALD GORME TO LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND. 1598.

My Lord after my humble commendations to y^r service Please yo^r L. I thought good to write these my lres unto yo^r L. letting your L. to know that there was an ould bond betwixt the crowne of England and my predecessors and that my father the Lord of the Isles has been verie well entertained by Queen Marie in tyme of his being banished out of Scotland. The great fav^r and gracious dealing with my father by hir Mat^{tie} has caused me do with all my intent to follow out and uphold that course as my forbears did towards the crowne of England and lette your hono^r to know that I am now presently willing to enter in her Mat^{tie} service by all others the King of Scotland being excepted. Your L. sending me your hand writt to satisfie me of my pay sufficiently. Moreover I would wish yo^r L. to send me your hand writt protection or salfe conduct that I might come to your L. myself to Dublin or els where yr. L. pleaseth And seeing I had no vittles in this realm and would not hurt ane of her Mat^{tie} I thought good to go to Scotland and remayne there upon your lordships good answer which I pray yo^r L. to hast to mee wth my own servaunts whose coming unto me with y^r L. lres I will obedientlie fulfil your Lordships request in ane hurry I may render her Mat^{tie} service y^r L. assuring me of all the heades forsaid And not doubting but y^r L. will so doe as my trust is in y^r L. and so bid y^r L. hastily farewell from the Glinnes the third of August 1598.

Your L. assured friend with favour

DONALD GORME.

LETTER SIR JAMES MACDONALD TO THE DUKE OF LENNOX.

Pleis your grace

I am in verie greit misery as this beirar can tell. Your grace knawis I have depended upon your faivor befor I was put to this miserie; and now I will beseik your grace to gett

his Matis power to take ordour with me, at your grace's cuning heir. I am willing to exceptt quhatt his Mate will bestow on me ather in my awin kyndly rounge, or in oney other pairtt of his kingdomes; and sall find causioun for my obedience; quilk I will beseik your grace to report to his Mate and that your grace will get me that fawor as to be banished, rather or I be in this miserie. As for my bastard brother, quha hes brokin your grace's ward, iff your grace taik ane doing for me in your awin hand, I sall find the way he salbe put in your grace's reverence, as he was befoir. Beseiking your grace to remember my miserie, and gett me libertie or banishmentt rest on your graceis faworable doing, quhatt I wrett anent Archibald, your grace will hald it quajet till your grace cum hame.

Your gracis serwand duiring lyfe

From Edr Castell

27 Junij 1607

Sr J. MACDONALL

To my very gud Lord, my Lord Duik of Lennox

PETITION OF DONALD GORM MACDONALD OF SLEAT, MACLEAN
OF DUART, AND DONALD MACDONALD OF CLANRANALD
TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL. 1608.

Please yo^r sacred M^{tie}, albeit we y^r hienes poor subjectes of yo^r M^{ties} West & North islandis of Scotland in respect of the far distance of o^r residence fra yo^r hienes gracious presence in certaine adges bypast leevit w^tout onie gude ord^r subject to truble and dissensions amidst o^r selfs q^uby we ar extremly impoverishid, yit being informit be o^r Bissop of yo^r M^{ties} fauorable resolution rather to reforme ws in cuntrie nor utterlie according to o^r mereittis to exterminat ws. And to that effect hering yo^r M^{ts} lieutenant was coming in o^r cuntrie w^t all gudlie hest we addresst o^r selfis to his l. w^t all humilitie offering o^r selfis reddie not onlie to obey quhatsoever directionis, he in yo^r hienes name sould give onto ws, bot also to serve his l. ewerie ane of ws according to o^r habilitie in repressing the insolencie of onie y^t nicht sein contrare myndit. And as we have promest befoir to o^r said Bissope to cum p^present o^r selfis at court, to heir quhat was yo^r M^{ties} p^plesor, and that out of yo^r hienes awn sacred mouth, quch was and Is the thing earthlie that we remain maist

desyrus of, so we offerit frielie the same to his l. And according to his l. desyre ar cum in vooluntarlie to yo^r hienes counsell of Scotland to the same effect quhair we a'id in yo^r M^{tie}'s ward, quhill we heir quhat farder it will please yo^r hienes to direct maist humble besechand yo^r M^{tie} for the cawse of god to have compassion on ws, and let us return to o^r natural soil to possess thes lytle possessionis quiche we and o^r forbeiris hes ewir past the memorie of man bruikit wudir yo^r hienis and yo^r M^{ties} royall progenitors, that yais people amongst q^m we remaine, and owir quhom we haif had sum commandement according to yair naturall inclination in o^r long absence, declyne not altogidder to

And sall promise under ye paine of death, and forfaltric of quhatsumewir benefeit we haive or sall receive of yo^r Matie to keip quhatsumewir ord^r yo^r M^{tie} and counsell sall preseryve for obedience on to yo^r hienes latter of this yo^r M^{ties} realm of Scotland and for payment of the mailles of yo^r M^{ties} propurtie, for ye quich we sall find sic securitie as we ar able, or delyver sic pledges, as sall satisfie yo^r hienes counsell, as at mair lynthe we haive giffen order to the bearer to informe yo^r M^{tie}, w^t quhom we expect yo^r M^{ties} grations answer subservyit w^t o^r handis at Dunbartane Blackness, and . . . the tent day of October.

MAKLAAN off Doward.

DONALD GORME.

DONALD McCALLANE of Yllanetyrum.

CHARTER BY DONALD GORME MACDONALD OF SLEAT TO
DONALD MACDONALD OF CASTLE TIRRM. 1610.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Donaldus Gorme de Sklett hereditarius feudifirmarius terrarum subscriptarum SALUTEM Domino sempiternam Quia Regni Scotie principes diversi in parliamentis suis cum tribus regni statibus super Republica eiusdem disceptantes Terrarum Regis aliorumque Dominorum temporalium barronum ceterorumque huiusmodi terras hereditarie possidentium empliteosui seu feudifirmarii ac cum tenentibus earundem convenire poterint per diversa parliamentorum statute et acta que nobis pro legibus observanda sunt assedandas fore decreverunt opinantes perinde non modica et politie honesta edificia terrarum novas culturas

sterilium meliorationes arborum plantationes magnis recentibus et per stagna columbariorum hortorum et cuniculariorum constructiones ac tenentium possessioni huiusmodi sic in emphiteosi seu feudifirmarii locatorum in rebus mobilibus stationes et armorum et rerum bellicarum pro regis et regni defensione ex firma spe remanendi cum tenentibus suis et per se et heredes suos perpetuo hereditarii et possidendi regi regno et reipublicae apprimo proficile nos igitur opiniones legis et statuta prescriptorum principum et regum opinantes et firmiter ferentes toti regno et eiusdem incolis esse maxime perutilos noveritis Igitur nos dedisse concessisse disposuisse locavisse et ad feudifirmam seu emphiteosim perpetuam hereditarie dimittere dilecto nostro Donaldo Makallane vickean de Ilyntyram heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitimo procreatis seu procreandis quibus deficientibus heredibus masculis dicti Donaldi M'Allane quibuscunque quibus deficientibus prefato Donaldo Gorme nostris heredibus et assignatis revertentibus Totas et integras triginta mercatas terrarum re Skeirhug duodecim mercatas terrarum de Beanbecula denariatum terrarum de Gergreminis cum partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis suis respective quibuscunque jacentibus in insula de Vst infra vicecomitatum de Innernes tenendas et habendas totas et integras Triginta mercatas terrarum de Skerhug duodecim mercatas terrarum de Bembecula Denariatum terrarum de Gergrymenis cum partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis suis respective quibuscunque prenominato Donaldo M'Kallan vickean et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis, quibus deficientibus heredibus masculis dicti Donaldi M'Kallan quibuscunque quibus deficientibus prefato Donaldo Gorme heredibus nostris et assignatis revertentibus de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris in feudifirmam et hereditatem perpetuam per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et divisas prout jacentes in longitudine et latitudine in domibus edificiis boscis planis moris meresiis viis servitiis aquis stagnis rivis pratis pascuis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupationibus venationibus piscationibus pettariis turbariis carbonibus carbonariis cuniculis, cuniculariis columbis columbariis fabrilibus brasinis bruariis et genistis silvis et nemoribus lacubus fluminibus montibus monticulis collibus planis vallibus pratis lignis tignis lapicidiis lapide et calce cum curiis et earum exitibus herezeldis bludweitis cum tota pastura libero introitu et exitu et cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus profituis et asiamentis ac iustis suis pertinentiis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam supra terram

procul et prope ad predictas terras cum suis pertinentiis respective spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace absque revocatione contradictione impedimento aut obstaculo

Reddendo inde annuatim prefatus Donaldus M'Kallan suique heredes antedicti nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris summam quadraginta sex librarum usualis monete Regni Scotie ad duos anni terminos festa viz Pentecostes et S. Martini in hieme per equales medias portiones nomine feudifirme unacum ipsorum corporealibus servitiis prout per nos et nostros antedictos quibusdam ad id requisiti fuerint contra omnes lias personas quascunque (auctoritate Superioris Domini nostri Regis solummodo excepta) unacum duplicatione ejusdem feudifirme in primo anno introitus cuiuslibet heredis ad terras antedictas prout usus est feudifirme solummodo NECNON dictus Donaldus M'Kallane et heredes sui prescripti edificantes habentes et sustentantes superdictas terras sufficientes domos et bonos bargos hortos bene fossatos et septos cum esculis salicibus alnis tremulis fraxinorum plantatione platanorum et ulnorum accordante ad ratam et proportionem dicti feudi viz pro una quatuorque marca argenti tres arbores pro completo circuito suorum hortorum cum seminatione mercarum sustentatione nemorum et lucorum ubi aliqua nunc extant et commode haberi poterint per fossationes

et ad formandum canabem et lineum extra hortum suorum caulium et non infa Atque dum licebit prefato Donaldus M'Kallane nec heredibus suis antedictis vendere alienare nec impignorare antedictas terras in toto vel in parte aliene persone vel personis absque licentia et consensu nostro nostrorumque successorum explicationem ut premittitur faciat ipse properea suam feudifirmam et hereditatem dictarum terrarum omittere et perdere debeant Et quod habeant prata in omnibus locis ubi haberi poterint Et quod habeant stagna et gurgites pro piscibus ubi eadem haberi poterint faciant omnem aliam politiam necessariam solo correspondentem Et quod honeste et sufficienter

accordant actis parlamenti huius regni ad gradiendum nobiscum tam per mare quam per terram prout requisiti fuerunt omnibus temporibus contra omnes personas (auctoritate regia ut premittitur solummodo excepta) INSUPER si contigerit prefatum Donaldum M'Kallane et heredes suos antedictos de murthero communi furto aut voluntaria receptione communis furti convictos ipsi propterea suam feudifirmam et hereditatem dictarum terrarum forisfacerent et amittere debent pro toto tempore vite sue Et licebit nobis et nostris antedictis ad nostram placentiam desuper disponere. Et quamvis ipse Donaldus

M'Kallane heredes sui ut premittitur convicti pro eorum vita compositionem faciant non tamen introibunt ad predictas terras nec easdem possidebunt nisi benevolentiam nostri et successorum nostrorum desuper obtineant Et si solutio unius termini in alium recurrat minime persolutum minime persolutus post exitum secundi termini duplicatitur Si vero prefatum Donaldum M'Kallane aut suos heredes antedictos sic quod duo termini recurrant in tertiam minime soluti tunc in eo casu hec presens infeodatio de cetero nulla erit nulliusque valoris Ac ipse Donaldus et sui prescripti amittent et perdent omnes jus et titulum quem vel quod ad memoratas terras cum pertinentiis clamare seu pretendere poterat vel poterit necnon solvendi multuras dictarum terrarum in molendinis regiis solitas et non suetas ET NOS VERO prefatus Donaldus Gorme nostri heredes et assignati totas et integras prenominatas Triginta mercatarum terrarum de Skerhug duodecim mercatas terrarum de Beambecula denariatum terrarum de Gergryminis, cum partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis suis respective quibuscunque prefato Donaldo M'Kallane et heredibus suis masculis antedictis sub conditionibus et restrictionibus desuper specificatis contra omnes mortales varantizabimus acquietabimus et in perpetuum defendemus. INSUPER dilectis nostris

et eorum cuilibet coniunctim et divisim ballivis nostris in hac parte specialiter constitutis SALUTEM vobis precipimus et firmiter mandamus quatenus visis presentibus in dilato statum sasinam pariter et possessionem hereditariam actualem realem et corporealem totarum et integrarum triginta mercatarum terrarum de Skerhug doudecim mecatarum terrarum de Beambecula et denariate terrarum de Gergryminis cum partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis suis respective quibuscunque ut supra jacentibus prenominato Donaldo M'Kallane Vickean vel suo certo actornato seu procuratori presentium latori per terre et lapidis earundem respective donationem ut moris est in similibus tradetis et deliberetis seu aliquis vestrum tradat et deliberet et haberi faciat AD QUOD faciendum vobis et vestrum cuilibet conjunctim et divisim ballivis nostris in hac parte nostram plenariam omnimodam et irrevocabilem tenore presentium committimus potestatem IN CUIUS REI TESTIMONIUM hanc presentem cartam manu nostra subscriptam per magistrum Gulielmum Ogstoumē seruitorem magistri Joannis Paip scribe signete regis scriptoris sigillum nostrum est appensum Apud Eige die quarto—mensis Junii—Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo coram his testibus Johanne M'Dowgall appariente de Lorne Angusio

M'Connel Gorme servitore dicti Donaldi M'Kallane Kennetho
 M'Queine servitore dicti Donaldi Gorme Jacobo Logie incola
 Edinburghe de dicto Magistro Gulielmo Ogstoune

LETTER SIR JAMES MACDONALD OF DUNNYVEG TO THE EARL
 OF CRAWFORD. 1615.

My verie honorable good Ld

It may be yr lo think it strange t I obscured my intenn
 of breakg wd fra yr lo. in regair of our luif & familiaritie, yett I hop
 your lo. will excuis me. For the reveilling thairof to your lo.
 micht do you hairme, being whair ye ar, and no furtherance to my
 intencione. Allwayis as God sall judge my saule my braiking ward
 was nott throw aney mistrust I had in His Maties clemencie, nor
 in the consall's faivor nor yet for feir of oney thing cud try aganis
 me, anent that treason of Dunoveg, bott the only thing which
 moved me was only that I was credably informed be honest men
 that Calder said it to thame that howsoever the erand to Dunoveg
 yed he had ane warrand past be his mate that com never in the
 consall's sicht, commanding to put me to execution, immediately
 efter the presenting thairof. Your lo self and M'intois micht heir
 James Movat say this; bott my authors are better nor James.
 Always as I said aft to your lo. self when I was in ward I will now
 say that as God sall judge my saule I was never airt nor pairt of
 the taking or keeping of Dunoveg aganis His Mate nor of no other
 plaitt sence the braik of ward that I maid with the Lord Maxwell
 till now and give after such misere of imprisonment lose of my
 hands and skin my braiking ward for the saifte of my lyfe be
 thocht be ye sensuir of my onfrendis such ane offence as will not
 be pardonid I most tak pacience; for I am better now prais to
 God nor as I was and I will as long as I liwe pray for His Matis
 long and prosperous regne yett seeing give I be crost now it cumis
 moir be my onfrendis nor be his Mate albeit I will never preis to
 live long in His Maties dominions by his hienes ovin will altho I
 might; I vow to God or I live the contre I and moir nor I sall
 either lose our lyfes or, than I sall, God willing, live ane remem-
 brance to my onfreinds I mein only sik of the Cambellis as welbe
 my onfriends, that it sall be hard of when both they and I is deid
 and gone I hope to thair small commodite

Bott I had rather gott liwe to live in pace and find guid suirte
 for my obedience and gud ordour. I wish to God with his Matie's

contentment your lo. ware ane fre man both for your awin weill and the weill of your friendis and seeing it lyes in your awin hand ; better be fre nor live thair with sic crosis as I know men will have in that place. I hear many of the keipers of that Castell are put in ward for my braik ; bot as God sall judge thair was nane of the keipers of that castell that ever I thought to mak privy to my design. I protest to God I love the gud constable and all that is thair. I haite none of thame but i could nott bott love myself before. There is nane within that Castell to whom I am adebted, that I salbe oney wayis intrest be me if God grant me His Maties pace. I desire Petie Gilcrist keep my stare. Remember on our last discourse thatt same nycht that I braik ward anent Margaret. Sik newis as may not be thocht offencesive, I pray your lo. vrytt to me. My Lord Tullibardine and the men of Atholl on that Fryday after I brak waired persewid me so hardly thatt I was almost tane. We lost our hors and all our clais. His lo. maid me to gett mair speid on fuitt in one hour nor I thocht to have gottin in ane yeir give sik sudent medesen had nott been applyid to me. Liewing to truble your lo with longer discurse, wishing you ever all happines

your los awin euer to command

26 May 1615

Sr J. MACDONALL.

LETTER TO SECRETARY, LORD BINNING, FROM SIR JAMES
MACDONALD OF DUNNYVEG. 1615.

My Ld If His Maiestie be not willing that I sall be his heighnes tennent in Ila for Goddis cause let His Matie hauld it in his awin hand for that is certane I will die befor I sie a Campbell possess it. And His Matie hauling it in His awin hand His Matie may have ane thousand merkis mair be that nor Calder sud pay ; I making it quyt of me and my kin whiche I will do upoun such reasonabill conditiones as I will schow your lo. if ye may get His Matie bracht to this poynt, and in the meantyme no employment be gevin aganis me, till your lo see how this may be brocht to pas. As for this House of Dunyveg which I tuik in 4 and 20 houris from Calderis menne your lo getting me fauour of His Mate the house sall be to serve His Mate and neuer to be keipit against his hienes. And if His Mate awin gaird or the Bischopes had been in the House, befor God I wald neuer persew it bot finding these in it who crewellie opprest the pure cuntre wes

the onlie scutteris of my lyfe and landis, I wald I culd do thame
 mair disgrace! Referring all to your lo consideracione & ansueir
 I rest Your euer to be commandit

Julij 1 1615

Sr J. MACDONALD.

To my Lord Secretare.

CONTRACT BETWEEN DONALD MACDONALD OF GLENGARRY
 AND DONALD MACDONALD OF CLANRANALD. 1616.

Att Edinr the aughtene day of July the yeir of God jajvici and
 sexteine yeiris. It is appointit agreit and finalie contractit betwix
 ye honoll persones under wrettin They ar to say Donald M' Allan
 V' Ean of Islandterim capitane of Clanronald on ye ane pairt and
 Donald M' Angus of Glengarie on the uyer pairt In maner forme
 and effect as efter followis That is to say the said Donald M' Allane
 V' Eane of Ilandterim being willing that he nor his airis thair
 men kyn frindis tenentis & servantis do na maner of troubill to
 any of his hienes ledgis and guid subjectis meikill loss to his
 tender and loving kinsman the said Donald M' Angus of Glengarie
 his kin frinds tennentis and servandis Bot being allwayes of guid
 mynd and intensioun that his maties peas be observit within all
 thes bounds that ye said Donald M' Allane V' Ean may command
 Therefore the said Donald M' Allane V' Eane of Ilandterim be
 yir pntis faithfullie binds and obleiss him and his airis that he his
 men tennentis and servandis qom he may stope or latt uyer wayes
 nor be order of law & justice sall in na tyme cuming harme skaithe
 trubill molest nor oppres the said Donald M' Angus of Glengarie
 and his airis thair men tennentis & servandis kyn nor frinds in
 thair bodyes landis or guidis under ye paine of four thousand
 pundis *toties quoties* as they sall happin to contravene ye promise
 provyding allwayes that ye said skaithe damage and interes to
 be sustenit be ye said laird of Glengarie and his forsaidis extend
 the soume of thrie scoir pundis in yat cais the said Donald M' Allan
 V' Eane to be dylie subject in refounding of ye said skaithe
 damag & interes to be sustenit be said laird of Glengarie and his
 forsaidis to be payit be ye said Donald M' Allane V' Eane and his
 forsaidis within fourtie dayes nixt efter ye committing ye said
 wrang. (Glengarry binds himself in the same terms). And
 furder forsameikill as it is pretendit be ye said laird of Glengarie
 that in ye month of May last bypast Johne and Rorie M' Allane

V^c Eane committit ane heirschip in ye said laird of Glengarie's land of Knoydert be taking away of certane guidis furt of ye said cuntrie of Knoydert and ye said Donald Mc Allane V^c Eane being willing that ye said injurie be reparit in cais it salbe verefeit or provin that ye samen wes due be ye forsaidis persones or ony uyeris of his frindis or cuntrie men Therefore ye said Donald Makallane V^c Eane binds and obleiss him and his forsaidis to content pay and restor and delyver againe to ye said Donald Mc Angus all sic guidis and geir as wes spuilzeit and away taken be ye saids Johnne and Rorie Mc Allanes V^c Eanes and thair complices and that ye samen be first provin and verefeit be Alester Mc Eane V^c Allane in Innerzeistherim, Angus Mc Allane Roy in Lie, Alester his broyer in Crolin, & Neill Mc Rorie V^c Ean Roy in Scottos, and that betwix ye dait heiroy and twentie day of September nixt to cum. And furder ye said Donald Mc Allane V^c Eane of Ilandterim bindis and obleiss him and his forsaidis to refund content and pay to ye said Donald Mc Angus and his forsaidis all skaithe and damage that the said laird of Glengarie and his forsaidis has sustenit in ony tyme bygane preceeding the twentie sevin day of februar jaivici and fifteine yeiris quhilk is alledgit to have beine committit be ye saids Johnne & Rorie Mc Allan V^c Eanes and thair complices and that at ye sicht and determination of Sir Rorie Mc Cloyd of Dunvegane Knyt Sir Lauchlane Mc Kinnon of Strathquhardell Knicht and Johnne Stewart of Ardinsell or ony tua of them. Lykas upone ye uyer pairt the said Donald Mc Angus of Glengarie binds and obleiss him his airis & exrs and assignayes to refund to ye said Donald Mc Allane V^c Eane his kyn tennentis and frindis all coist damage and interes that the said Donald Mc Allane or his forsaidis hes sustenit at ony tyme preceeding the said twentie sevint day of Februar Jajvici and fyfteine yeiris forsaid be ye said Donald Mc Angus and his forsaidis and namelie be Alaster Mc Ean V^c Allane Roy in Lie, Alaster his broyer, Allane Moir in Barristel and Ronnald Roy Mc Ean V^c Allane in Ardnasteisneithe. And furder the said Donald Mc Allane V^c Eane binds and obleiss him and his forsaidis to concure fortifie and assist the said Donald Mc Angus and his airis againes all his maties rebellis of Knoydert that molestis and troubillis the cuntrie and sall concur wt ye said laird of Glengarie for apprehending of them to ye effect they be presentit to ye lawis and punishit thair demerittis under ye said paine of four thousand punds *toties qusties*. And finally Donald Mc Angus discharges all uyer actiones that he may haif againes

the said Donald Mc Allane Vc Eane and for the mair securitie &c to be registered in ye buiks &c.

Written by Alexr. Pacock day and place forsaid. Befor yir Witness Mr Jon McKenzie persone of Dignavell, Mr. Johne McKenzie archdeane of Ross, Johne Stewart of Ardinsell, James Logie agent in Edinr and Johne Robertsons servitor to ye said laird of Glengarie.

DONALD Mc ANGUS of Glengarie.

DONALD Mc ALLANE Vc EANE.

above written with my hand at ye
pen led by ye notar.

SASINE IN FAVOUR OF RANALD M'RALD, CASTLEBORF, IN
LIFERENT, AND RANALD, HIS SON, IN FEE OF BORROW
AND OTHERS, ON FEU CHARTER FROM CLANRANALD.
1625.

In Dei nomine Amen per hoc presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat evidenter et sit quod anno incarnationis dominice millesimo sexcentesimo vigesimo quinto mensis Aprilis die vigesimo octavo regnorumque invictissimi principis nostri Caroli Dei gratia magne Britannie Francis et Hibernie regis fideique protector anno primo. In mei notarii et testium subscriptorum presentis personaliter constitutus discretus vir Joannes Mackgorrie ~~scripsit~~ actornatus et de nobis procurator honorabilis viri Ronnaldi Mackronnald de Castleborff prout per suas literas procurationis mihi lucide constabat documento Qui habere, tenere, suisque in manibus extendens manus cartam feudifirmariam in vulgari scriptam factam sigillatam et subscriptam per honorabilem virum Johannem Mackronnald de Moydert Capitanem de Clanronnald prefatum Ronnaldo Mackronnald de Castelborff sui patris in vitale reddito in toto tempore et spatio vite sue et post eius decessum hereditarie Rannaldo Mackronnald suo filio legitimo primogenito inter ipsum et Margaretam McDonald filiam quondam Angusii McDonald de Downnyvack procreatum et heredibus de masculis corpore suo legitimo procreandis quibus deficientibus de Donnaldo Mackronnald filio secundo genito inter dictum Ronnaldum et Margaretam procreato quibus deficientibus propinquis legitiis heredibus masculis inter dictum Ronnaldum et Margaretam procreatis seu procreandis, quibus omnibus deficientibus prefato Joanni Mackronnald de Moydert heredibus suis

servus/

masculis et assignatis quibuscunque revertentibus et incumbentibus de et super totis et integris terris subscriptis viz tredecim denariata terrarum de borrow in Beambecula una denariata terrarum de Gergrymynes quatuor denariatis terrarum Balnakyllach quatuor denariatis terrarum de Bellfindlay quinque denariatis terrarum de Bellnamanach viginti denariatis terrarum de Wochtter Beambecula nuncupatis duabus Airdis et Knocksorlinn tribus denariatis terrarum de Machremeanach in Skeirhoug omnibus jacentibus infra insula de Wist et Vicecomitatu de Innernes Item tribus mercatis et decem solidatis terrarum de Ardneiss Lochyilt et Essan jacentibus in Arrysaik infra vicecomitatum predictum tanquam principalibus ac in speciale varantu et securitate earundem casu evictionis de totis et integris septem denariatis terrarum de Borrowneis heichterach septem denariatis cum dimidio denariate terrarum de Borrowneis houchtterach quinque denariatis terrarum de Keildonan decem denariatis terrarum de Gervelteos decem denariatis terrarum de Frobost et sex denariatis cum dimidio denariate terrarum de Keilphedder omnibus jacentibus in Kendes seu australi capite de Wist infra vicecomitatu predicto cum domibus edificiis toftis croftis adsheallingis gressuigiis piscariis partibus pendiculis et pertinentiis earundem tam principalem quam varantazinus Accessitque ad personalem presentiam discreti viri Eugenii Mackeachin in Drumnadarroch Ballivi in dicto precepto sasine specialiter nominati dictamque cartam et preceptum sasine in se continentem dicto ballivo reverentia qua decuit exhibuit presentavit et deliberavit eidem supplicando quatenus dictum preceptum juxta uni formam et mandatum eiusdem debito exequi dignaretur Qui vero Ballivus dictam cartam subinsertumque preceptum Sasine in se continentem suis in manibus accipiens mihi notario publico subscripto ad legendum et explicandum tradidit et deliberavit cuius precepti tenor sequitur in vulgari sub hac serie et forma. Attour to my lovittes Ewine McKeachin in Drumnadarroch and ilk ane of them conjunctlie and severallie my Baillies in that pairt lawfullie constitut thir presents sene ye pas to the said toune and lands of Ardneish principal messuage abue designit and appoyntit to the saidis hail lands allswell principal as warrantit and thair geive staitt seasing and pcessioun heretabill and corporeall of all and sundrie the thretteine pennie lands of Borrow &c (here follows another enumeration of the lands in question all lying as foresaid) be delyvering of eird and staine of the ground of the said principal messuage to the said Ronnald McRonnald and his forsaidis or to their lafull actorneys beararis hearof efter ye forme and tenor of ye aboue

written charter and feu infeftment in all poynttis and this onno-
 wayes ye leave undone the quhilk to do I commit to you full power
 in witness whereof thir my presents feu infeftment and charter
 containing precept of seasing therein (written be Alexr. McLey
 writtur in Innerness) subserivit with my hand my seall is appendit
 at Innerness the tuelfe day of Appryle the yeir of God 1625 years
 befoir thir witnesses Ando Fraser Commissar of Innerness Johne
 Cuthbert Johnesoun burges thair Alexr. Logane nottar thair
 Alexr. McLey writer heirof Hew Mackeachin servitor to the Laird
 of Moydortt and Wm. McPhersoun in Innernes sic subscribitur
 J. McRonnald A. Fraser &c. Post cuiusdem precepti sasine perlec-
 tionem explicationem et astantibus vulgarizationem supra fatus
 Ballivus ipsius suplicantis requisitus et supplicationem tam juris
 in anno forme regni praxi rationi qui consonantem percipiens
 Accessit mecum notario publico et testibus subscriptis ad prefatam
 villam et terras de Ardneiss tanquam principalem messuagium
 antedictum et ibidem super solo et fundo earundem statum sasinam
 et possessionem hereditariam actualem realem et corporealem
 omnium et singularum prefatarum tredecem denariatarum
 terrarum de Borrow &c jacentes ut prefertur per terre et lapidis
 fundi dicti terrarum de Ardneiss principale messuageium omnium
 et singularum prefatarum terrarum tam principalium quam var-
 antium traditionem ut moris est prefato Johanni Mackgorrie actor-
 nato predicto nomnibus Ronnaldi MackRonnald suorumque
 heredum masculorum superius nominatorum contulit tradidit et
 deliberavit nemine impediante seu contradicente super quibus
 omnibus et singulis prefatus Joannes McGorrie actornatus nomine
 quo supra a me notario publico subscripto sibi fieri petiit hoc
 presens publicum sasine instrumentum vel plura Acta erant hec
 super solo et fundo dictarum terrarum de Ardneisse principalem
 messuagium antedictum horam circiter duo decimam ante
 merediam sub anno die mense regnoque quibus supra Presentibus
 ibidem Joanne McWirrich servitore dicto Ronnaldo McRonnald
 Willielmo Fraser in Innernes Joanne McWilliam Mcfinlay eius
 servitore et Joanne Mack Hucheon doy meo servitore testibus ad
 premissa votatis et requisitis.

Et ego Alexr. Logane Clericus Rossensis Diocesis
 autoritate rogati nottarius publicus Ac per dominos con-
 silli secundum tenorem acti parlamenti examinatus et
 admissus Quia premissis omnibus et singulis dum sit et
 premittitur discerentur agerentur et fierent Unacum pre-
 nominatis testibus prentibus personaliter interfui Eaque
 omnia et singula premissa sic fieri vidi dici scivi audivi ac
 in notam copi Ideo hoc presens publicum instrumentum

manu mea fideliter scripsit Et in hanc publicam instrumenti formam exinde reddegi idemque meis signo et subscriptione manu aliorum solitis et consuetis signavi et subscripsi In fidem omnium et singulorum premissorum rogatus et requisitus

Producit be Alexr. Logane nor and regrat in the Register within the Sheriffdomes of Inverness and Cromartie conform to Act of Parliament be me William Lauder nor publick Clerk depute to that effect in the 128, 129 leifis of these Volumes

TACK BY JOHN McDONALD, CAPTAIN OF CLANRONALD, TO
THE PARSON OF ISLAND FINNAN AND OTHERS. 1625.

BE IT KEND till all men be thir present letters ME JOHNE McRONALD of Moydart Capitane of ye Claneronald Heritabill proprietor of ye landis and utheris underwritten To haue sett and for ye soume of money and gressum after specifiet and yeirlie dewtie underwritten in tack and assedatioun lattin and be ye termes heirot settis and for the gressum underwritten and yeirlie dewtie after specifiet in tack and assedatioun lattis to my belouet cousing Johne ronnaldsoun persoun of Ellanfinnan In lyferent for all ye dayes yeiris and termes of his lyfetye and efter his decease to Allane McRonald brother soun to ye said persoun In lyferent for all ye dayes yeares and space of ye said Allane McRonald his lyfetime and efter deceas of ye said Allane McRonald to his narrest and lafull air mail gottin or to be gottin of his body for all ye termes yeires and spaice of nynteen yeires all and haill ye tounes and landis underwritten viz the twenty shilling land of Derrilea the merk land of Arddalie the mark land of Auchnellan the half merkland of Camistrollane the half merk land of Drumnaleiwe extending in ye haill to four mark half mark land of all extent with thair hauses multuris toftis croftis woodis fischingis scheallingis gressingis pairtis pendicullis and pertinentis thairto pertaining lyand within the barronie of Moydart and Srefdome of Innernes Thair entres thair be vertew of this present assedatioun the day and dayt heirot And from thyne furth the foirnamed tounes landis and utheris particullarlie and generallie abouewritten to be peaceable occupiet labourit manureit set raisit useit and disponeit be ye saidis Johne ronnaldsoun persoun of Ellanfinan dureing his said lyfetye and efter his deceases be ye said Allane mc ronald his brother soume in lyuerent duering his said lyfetye and efter deceas of the said Allane be his air mail foresaid lafulli gottin or

to be gottin of his body for ye said haille space of nyntene yeiris

meithes thairof of auld devyseit as ye samen lyes in lenth
and breid in feildis moores marrassis mossis hillis daillis valeyis
woodis fishangis milnes milne-multoures

forieling with common pasturage free Ischew and entrie and with
all and sundrie uther friedomes lyberteis commoditeis privileges
and richteous pertinentis pertening and knawen to pertene thairto
frielie queatlie weill and in pace But Intervall breack of tackis
stop let impediment or contraditioun Quhatsumever With full
pouar to the saidis personis and ather of thame respective and
successive at thair awen instance yeirlie as thay sall think
expedient to use warrants & obtene decreittis of remoueing and
violent profitis aganies the tennentis possessoures and occupiaris
of the saidis landis and euerie part and portioun thairof and to
apply the haille benefeit of the samen to thair awen proper uses
The said Johne ronaldsoun persoun of Ellan finan and the said
Allane Mc ronald and his said air mail or any of thame payand
alwayes to me the said Johne Mc ronald of Moydart my aires
mail and assigneys the soume of twa hundreth fourscoir ane
mark thrie schillingis four pennies money usual of this realme at
the feast of Mertymes nixt to cum in this instant yeir of God
Iajvj and twenty five yeiris and the soume of uther twa hundreth
four scoir ane merk thrie schilling four penneis moe foirsaid at
the feast of Mertymes Iajvj and twenty sex yeiris as secund pay-
ment and the soume of uther twa hundreth four scoir ane mark
thrie schillings four penneis foirsaid at the feast of Mertymes
Iajvj & twenty seven yeiris as third yeiris payment and the soume
of twa hundreth four scoir ane mark thrie schillings four penneis
moe foirsaid at the feast of Mertymes Iajvj & twenty aucht yeiris
as fourt yeire's payment Extending in the haille to the soume of
alleuin hundreth twenty five markis moey and the full and com-
pleit payment of the grassum and entres feudi for this present
tack in help and support of the great soumes of money payit and
deburssit be me to Sr. Donald McKy of Strathnaver Knight in
obteneing and acqueiring heretabill right and feu infetment of
the landis of Moydart and Arrassack and if it sall happen the
said Johne ronaldsoun Allane Mc ronald and his said air mail
to fail in thankfull payment macking to me and my foirsaidis of
the said soume of Alleuin hundreth and twenty five markis
gressum and entres silver foirsaid proportionallie at the termes and
in maner abouwritten In that caice this present letter of tack and
assedatioun with all that hes folloueit or may follow thairupoun
from thynefourth to be null of nane awail force nor effect as giue

the samen hed neuer bene maid nor grantit and thay and thair foirsaidis to be all utterlie remoueit and scludeit thair fra for euer And the saidis haill landis and pertinentis aboue specifiet to returne and pertene to me my aires maill and assynayes and at our gift and dispositioun als frielie in all respectis as we might haue done befor the making heirow but onie warning removeing or proces of law to be useit aganis thame thairanent And efter expeiring of ye saidis first four yeiris and compleit payment of the foirsaid soume of alleuin hundreth twentie fyue markis moe foirsaid PAYANE yeirlie and ilk yeir the said Johne ronaldsoun persoun of Ellanfinan duiring his said lyfytyme and efter his deceas the said Allane Meronald his brother soun duiring his said lyfytyme And efter deceas of the said Allane his foirsaid air maill Induiring the said haill space of nyntene yeiris for the foirnameit four mark half mark landis particullarlie aboumentonat With thair pertinentis lyand as said is the soume of fourtie markis money usuall of this Realme at the feast of Mertymes yeirlie Begining the first yeiris payment thairto at the feast of Mertymes In the yeir of God Iaj vj & twentie nyne yeiris and sua furth thairefter yeirlie in tyme cuming at the said feast of Mertymes Induiring the saidis tua seuerall lyue rentis and nyntene yeiris tackis respective particullarlie aboue designit Togidder with ane nichtis meit or cuddychie to me my houshould and servandis anes ilk yeir duiring the said space according to use and wont and payand and releuand me and my foirsaidis of ail kingis taxationis and Impositis that sall happin to be imposeit upoun the saidis landis & pertinentis dureing the haill spaices abouewrittin And the said John ronaldsoun & Allane Mc ronald his brother's soun and his aires maill with the tennentis and possessoris of the saidis landis giving thair personal service & presens with me my aires maill and assynayes In all our oasting huntting & conveicing as all the remanent possessoris of our landis sall do and performe and as they sall be requyreit thairto And the said Johne ranaldsoun Allane Meronald and his air maill foirsaidis ar thairby obleissid and astricted that thay nar nane of thame nor anie uther quhom thay may stop or lat sall oppres spoyle force nor tack at thair awen handis meit drink nor uther Interteinment from anie tennent and possessour of my landis or onie pairt thairto In tyme cumming Except thay be stormisted lying att schippis and lacking commodius occasioun of Boating and transporting In quhilke caice It is permittit to the said Johne ronaldsoun Allane Mc ronald and his foirsaidis air maill to tack at thair awen narrest tennentis for ye tyme thrie nichtis meat at the maist allenarlie AND thairefter buy and furneis meit and Interteinment to thameselfis Upoun

thair awen chairges and expensis And forrder In caice it sall happine the said Johne ronaldsoun or the said Allane m'ronald or his said air maill or ather of thame To commit any deid or cryme ciuill or criminall induiring the space abouewrittin contenet in this present assedatioun againis onie persone or personis quhomsumeuier quhairby I and my foirsaidis as thair superiors of the landis and utheris under writtin might be challangeit trubleit & maid anserabill In that caice thay and ather of thame salbe haultdyn obleist and astrictit be thir presentis To warrand redeme & skaithless keep me & my foirsaidis of the samen wrangis deidis and crymes and of all inconveinencis costis skaithes dammages & expenssis that may follow thairupon at the handis of all personis quhom it afferis In quhilk warrandice and releiff if it sall happin the saidis Johne ronaldsoun Allane m^c ronald and his said air maill or ather of thame to faillie In that caice this present letter of tack & assedatioun with all that hes follouet & may follow thairupoun from thyne furth to be null of nane awaill force nor effect as giue the samen haid neuer bene maid nor grantit And the saidis landis & pertinentis immediatlhie thairefter to return & pertene to me and my foirsaidis and at our gift and dispositioun as frielie as befor the making heiroy And thay & y^r foirsaidis all uterlie secludet & remouet thairfra for ever But onie warning remoueing or actioun of law to be mouet thairanent WITH quhilkes clauses condictionis restrictionis & provisionis This present letter of tack & assedatioun is set and giuen be me and admittit & acceptit be the said Johne ronaldsoun & Allane m^c ronald and no uther wayes allenarlie for all uther maner of dewtie burding actioun questioun and secuear service that of the saidis landis and pertinentis during the haille spaces respective aboue writtin may be askit or requireit AND so furth the said Johne m^c ronald of Moydart Be the terms heiroy bind and obleiss me my aires maill successors and assignayes To warrand and defend this present letter of tack & assedatioun of the particular landis abouewrittin duiring the spaices respectively In all & be all thingis as is aboue specifiet from all objectionis deid danger & inconvenient quhatsumever to the said Johne ronaldsoun duiring his said lyfytyme and efter his deceass to the same Allane m^c ronald duiring all the dayes yeires of his lyfytyme and thairefter be his said air maill duiring the said space of nyntene yeiris againes all mortall AND finallie the saidis Johne ronaldsoun Allan meronald & his saidis air maill sall be heirby obleist to Interteine myne and my foirsaidis horse hound hauklis and thair keiperis yeirlie pro rata as the remanent of my country peopill sall ATTOUR to my louttis Johne m^c finley in Kenlochmorar
my bailleis

in that part coniunctlie and seuerallie lawfullie constitut thir presentis sene ye pas and give stait seasing and possessioun actuall reall and corporeall of all and hail the saidis Twentie schilling land of Derrilea the mark land of Arddallie the mark land of Auchnellan the markland of Camisdrollane the half mark land of Drumnaleiwe extending in the hail to four mark half mark lands lyand as said is To the saidis Johne ronaldsoun in lyferent duiring his lyfetye and efter his deceass to the said Allane mc ronald duiring his lyfetye & efter his deceas to his said air mail duiring the said space of nyntene yeiris or to thair laull actorneys berar heiroy conforme to this present assedatioun in all poyntis The quhilk to do I grant you full por And becaus the said Johne ronaldsoun acceptis this present assedatioun In full satisfaction of all former richt tytill kyndnes & Interes that he or onie utheris his predecessors or successors haid hes or onie wayes maye haue in and to the landis and utheris aboue specifiet or onie pairt thairof quhilkes formar richt tytill & kyndnes of the saidis landis & pertinents be him & his foirsaidis he discharges & simpliciter renunes In special favor of me and my foirsaidis foreuer Thairfoir I the said Johne mc ronald for me & my foirsaidis be thir presents exoners queatclames and simpliciter discharges the said Jon ronaldsoun & his foirsaidis and yr aires excrs & successors of all fermes mailles customs dewteis and service that he nicht or may pretend acclame or persew aganis thame for the saidis landis & pertinentis or onie part or portioun thairof off all & quhatsum-euer dayes yeiris & termes bygane preceeding the day & dayt heiroy Reservand to thame this present assedatioun in maner & duiring the spaces aboue writtin following the day & dayt heiroy of the quhilk thing to this my present letter of Tack & assedatioun (written be Alexr. mc ley wrytter in Innernes) Subscryueit with my hand my proper seall is appended at Innernes the day of Apryle the yeir of God Iaj vj & tuentie fyue yeiris befoir Thir witnesses Sr Donald mc Ky of Strathnaver Knight Hector Monro of Balconie Iye mcKy Andro fraser com-georgetoun servitors to the said Sr Dod mcKy Andro fraser commissr of Invernes Alexr. Logane nor and Alexr. mc ley wrytter heiroy

S. Donald Ma^ckie of Strathnaver witnes.

Jo. Ma^cronnalld.

Hector Monro of Balconie witnes.

Iye Mackye witnes.

Androu Monro witnes.

A. Fraser witnes.

A. Logane witnes.

A. McLey witnes.

BOND OF MANRENT BETWEEN SIR DONALD MACDONALD OF SLEAT AND RANALD MACDONALD OF BENBECULA. 1627.

At Edinburgh the twentieth day of August sixteen hundred & twenty seven. It is appointed contracted and finally agreed betwixt the parties following viz Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat Pent Bart on the one part and Ranald Mac Allan vic Ean of Castlewirry on the other part in the manner forme and effect following that is to say baith the said parties considering the said Sir Donald Macdonald his protection maintenance and assistance of the said Ranald Mac Allan as becomes a loving and kind chief and superior to his near kinsman and vassal and that the said Ranald Mac Allan his attendance assistance and following of the said Sir Donald Macdonald as becomes a dutiful kinsman and vassal to his chief superior and our Lord may and will tend to their several wills and profits and likewise to the will of their friends followers and tenants and to the keeping of peace and quietness within their bounds lands and possessions and to the advancement and furtherance of civility and policy within the same therefore the said Sir D M D binds and obliges him to fortify maintain and defend the said Ranald Mac Allan Vic Ean in the peaceable possession of his haill Lands office of bailie rouns and possessions during the said Sir D Macdonald his right thereto and in all other his lawful and honest enterprises and affairs as becomes a loving and kind chief and superior to his vassal and kinsman And on the other part of Ranald Mac Allan promitting bindis obliges him his heirs and successors to acknowledge the said Sir D Macdonald and his heirs in all duties homage and service as their chief and superior and to follow and serve the said Sir D Macdonald and his foresaids in riding often and all their honourable affairs as they shall be required thereto and to follow nor partake with nae person or persons against the said Sir Donald nor his abovementioned directly nor indirectly at nae time hereafter and baith the said parties them their heirs and Exrs of and truly to observe and perform and keep these presents either of them to the other under the pain of purging and defamation and for the mair security baith the said parties are content and consent these presents to insert and registrate in the books of Council and Session to have the strength of ane decreit of the Lords yreof that letters and execution may pass hereupon by ane simple charge of 6 days only and for registrating hereof constitute Mr Francis Wauchope and Mr John Campbell their prors pro-

mittend de rato in witness whereof of baith the saids parties have subscribed these presents the body whereof is signed by Mr Samuel Feilzefer and the clause of registration and the line immediately preceding by Mr Robert Skinner servitor to Mr Francis Hay writer to His Majesty's Signet day, month, year and place foresaids before these witnesses Mr Francis Hay James Logie indweller in Edinburgh Rorie MacDonald Vic Allan son to said Ranauld and Mr John Moncrieff servitor to the said Mr Francis Hay.

I Ranauld Mc Allan Vic Ean the pen led by the notaries under-written at my command because I cannot write myself.

SE DONALD MACDONALD
of Sleatt.

LETTER OF KING CHARLES I. TO RANDAL MACDONALD,
EARL OF ANTRIM. 1630.

Charles R.

Right trustie and welbeloved Cousen—Whereas we are crediblie informed that yow have agried with the Erle of Abercorne for payment of a soume of money in consideration of the contract made betweene his father and yow for matching yor sone the Lord Dunluce and his daughter the Lady Sucie Hamilton who being as zit within aige cannot so well acqyr be a lawfull discharge as the said now Erle can doe who in honor is bund to be carefull of his said sister and match hir wher he best can with that sowme agreid upon by yow and becaus we wish weill unto the said ladyand that she may be speedelie provydit for and preferred to some good match our pleassur therfor is and we do heirby pray and requeist you to pay over the said money unto the said now Erle to the use of his said Sister upon his acquitance and securitie to frie yow for the same at the hands of the said lady and all uthers whatsoever and for performeing unto yow the substance of yor last agriement wherunto we wilbe ayding and assisting with all the lawfull favor we can so recommending this particular unto your speedie care and performance as our trust and confidence is in yow we bid yow farewell.

Hampton Court 24. Sep. 1630.

To our Right Trustie and welbeloved Cousen
The Erle of Antrim.

BOND OF CLANN DOMHNUILL RIABHAICH'S FOLLOWING. 1632.

Att Castlechammiss the threttiend day of August Iajvicj threttie twa zeirs. It is appointit and agreit betwix the Right Worshipfull Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleatt Knight on the ane pairt and Mulcallum Mc conill reiche, Donald Mc Mulcallum, Neil Mc Mulcallum, his sons, John Moir Mc Conill reiche, John roy Mc mulcallum, John oige mc conill reiche Brother to the said Mulcallum on the other pairt. That is to say Forsuameikle as The said Sir Donald obleiss him and his airs to helpe and maintene the said persons in all thair lawfull effeirs and business, having the Kings lawes with them for putting the same to executione, For the qlk the said Mulcallum, Donald mc mulcallum, Neil mc mulcallum & John roy mc mulcallum, sons to the said Mulcallum, John Moir mc Conill reiche, & John oige mc Conill reiche Broyrs to the said Mulcallum, obleiss them to acknowledge the sd Sir Donald as their superior & chieff and be the Tenor hereof acknowledges & accepts the sd Sir Donald as our superior & chieff, oblessing us our airs & successors To serve & obey the sd Sir Donald quhen ewir we are chargit thereto in any kind of service that is Lawfull and for the mair securitie we are content & consentes that thir pntts be insert & Registratt in the buiks of Counsall & Session or Shereff Court buiks of Inverness To haive the strength of either of the said Judges Decreit with exells. of horning upon ane simple charge of six days poynding & warding to pass hereupon in forme as effeirs & to that effect constituts

Our prors. *promitten de rato*. In witness whereof subt wt our hands as follows & wrin. be Rod. Bayne nor. publict day zeir & place forsd Before thir witness Kenneth mequeine nor. publict, Neil mc ean dowie vic ean Charriche & Robt Moir.

Sr DONALD MACDONALD
of Sleatt.

Kenneth mequein witnes

Neil meffingon messer witnes

SIR JAMES MACDONALD; HIS CAPITULATION IN 1648.

Edinburgh 12th August 1648

Forasmuch as Maior General Middleton did in pursuance of the powers given to him be the Parliament & Committee of Estates Give unto Sir James McDonald & his friendes & followers full

assurance of thair lyffes & fortunes to be unquestioned in either of thame for anie deid done be him or thame or any of thame in the course they were formerlie on, or in relation yrof And seeing the said Sir James McDonald hes acted himselfe not onclie for his awne behaviour bot also for the future behaviour of his freinds following viz Donald McDonald brother to said Sir James, Donald McDonald of Arnishmor Angus McDonald of Sartill Neil mclean of Burray Rannald McDonald of Barrick Sorrel McNickel of Dreemyl Alexr. McDonald of Skerinish & Kenneth Mcquene of Orisay Therefore the said Committee of Estates doe declare that the assurance aforementioned given be the Maior Gen^l sall be kept inviolablie to the persons above mentioned, that he and the persons aforementioned sall be free of all censure paine or punishment in thair lyffes or fortunes for any deid done be thame or anie of thame in the late rebellion or anie wayes relating yrof before the date heirof And discharges all proceedur civil or criminal against anie of thame for the same for ever.

S. Lockhart.

P. Cockburne.

CARDROSS.

HAMILTON.

NOTE ON RAISING AND ARMING OF LEVIES IN SKYE. 1651.

Ane not of what Colonell McLoud wants of his proportion of men armes and amonitione from Sr James McDonald and as the samen is condesendit betwixt them to be resavit

It Imprimis the said Sr James is to give as yit to compleit his men to Normand McLoud in his broyrs name the number of fourtie fyve men that betwixt the new and old levie at Strath or Sleat wt twentie three muskats fourtie fyve soursds at sevin-scoire and seventeine marks and lykwayes four hundreth and seventeine marks for armes ammunitione to compleit the former levie resavet be the said Colonell This is condesendit on the 3 Januar 1651

Sr J. MACDONALD of Sleatt.

R. McLEOID of Tallaskarr.

As also I Sr James on my word of lif or credit shall not reset ani of the fugitives heirefter or if I doe I obldg myself on the Colonell's desyr to restor them if ani in my cuntrie reset them I will nct tak it as a disoblisment from the Colonell to persew them or to put his commissioun in executione against resetting of them

Sr J. MACDONALD of Sleatt.

BOND OF RELIEFE, GLENGARRIE TO SIR JAMES MACDONALD
OF SLEAT. 1656.

Be it kend to all men be these pnt lres me Angus McDonald Laird of Glengarie forasmuch as Sir James McDonald of Sleatt Roderick McLeod of Dunveagane Donald McDonald of Mudart Allane McDonald of Moror Ronald McDonald of Benbeagla Jonne McDonald of Stronewacke Are be ane band & obligation the date of these presents Become cautioner & suertie for me conjunctlie & severallie to Maior Miles Man Deputie Governour of Innerness In name & behalfe of his highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England Scotland and Ireland That I the said Angus McDonald Laird of Glengarie my clann vassals tennents servants now dwelling or yt shall hereafter dwell upon my landis from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter deport our selves peaceablie & quyetlie under the present Government And shall give all due obedience to his Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector aforesaid or his successors and to all others duelie requyring anything for the seruice or Interest of the Commonwealth of England &c And nather directlie nor Indirectlie act any thing that may be or prove prejudiciall to the peace or interest yrof. And that I shall not build any hous of strength within my bounds without leave from his highnesse Oliver Lord Protector aforesaid And that I shall not suffer any of the enemies of the Commonwealth To reside or remayne within my bounds unles they come with greater strength than my clann is able to oppose And that I shall performe any other article included and mentioned within my capitulation And that under the penaltie of Two thousand pounds sterline to be payde In manner conteinit in the said band As the said bond of the date fairsaid beares Therefore to be bund & obleist Lykeas I the said Angus McDonald of Glengarrie Binds & obleiss me my Airis execrs assigneys Intromitters with my guidis & geir And successors to me in my lands & heritages qtsumever To warrand freith releive & skathles keepe the said Sir James McDonald his aires execrs assigneyes of his cautione for me in the premisses And of all cost skaith damage Interest & expenses that he or his forsaidis can sustane or Incurre as cautioner for me in the premisses And of all danger yranent And for the mair securitie I am content & consent that thir presents be Insert and registrat in the Court books of Justice & other books neidfull To have the strenth of ane decreet of the Judges yrof to be Interponit herto And yt Letters & execrialls of horning poynding & warding may heeron pas on ane charge of six dayes And constituts

My Pror^s *promitten de rato* In witnes whereof (written be John Cullen Notar Public) I have subt the same at Innernesse the Tuelfe day of March 1656 yeeres befor these witnesses Mr Lachlane Fraser of Fanellane and the said John Cullen.

A. McDONALD Glengerie.

J. Cullen witnes.

M. Lachlane Fraser witnes.

SASINE OF THE LANDS OF SLEAT, AND OTHERS, IN FAVOUR OF DONALD MACDONALD, YR. OF SLEAT, WHOM FAILING IN FAVOUR OF THE OTHER SEVEN SONS OF SIR JAMES MACDONALD, WHOM FAILING IN FAVOUR OF THE TWO BROTHERS OF SIR JAMES, WHOM FAILING TO THE NEAREST MALE HEIR OF THE FAMILY OF MACDONALD. 1657.

In the name of God so be it. Be it kend till all men be this present public instrument That upon the tent, ellevinth, twelff, threttin, sextteine, nyneteine, and twentie twa dayes respective of the moneth of Jany the yeare of God 1657 years. In presence of me nottar publick under subscriyvand and witness as effeirs compeired personallie Archibald Macleane servitor to Sir James Macdonald of Sleat Knight barronet actorney lawfullie constitut to the effect efter specifeit Be Donald Macdonald eldest lawfull sone to the said Sir James Macdonald for himself and in name of the remanent aires of taillie and provision mentionat (whaise letter of actorne for that effect wes sufficientlie knowne to me nottar publict under subscriyband) ffirst upon the ground of the nyne penny land and Isle of Hallesker, thereafter upon the ground of the lands of Kirkibost, Eastertoune in Iyllaray, lands of Caroniss and Iyllegilegeirie, Beanbecula, and Skirhoug, Gergremin-eyis, Ungnab, Tallowmairtine, Skalpac, and Greminyis, lands of Waynlis, in North Wist, lands of Orvingsaig, Killivaxter in Tronternes, the twentie pund land of Slate, and lands of Armidylles and remanent uther lands and uthers underwrytten respective and successive efter uther in maner after mentionat. And all compeirit with Cristopher (alias Gillichreist) McKay in North Uist Baillie in that pairt speciallie constitut be the precept of seasing heirafter insert having in his hand ane charter of the dait underwrytten made and granted be the said Sir James Macdonald to the said Donald Macdonald his eldest lawfull sone and

Donald Macdonald

and uthers above wryttine with the pertinents during all the dayes of his lyftyme. And als reservand to Dame Margaret Mackenzie his spouse hir lyfrent of swa many of the said lands as are provydit to hir during all the dayes of hir lyftyme and with and under the remanent conditiones and provisiones at lenth mentionat in the said charter as the samyne of the dait underwryttin at lenth bears, and imediatlie theraftir the said Archibald Macleane, actorney forsaid, offered and presentit the said charter containing therein the said precept of seasing eftir insert to the said Cristopher (alias Gilliechreist) Mac Kay baillie in that pairt forsaid thereby speciallie constitut desyring and requyring him that he wold proceid to the exerceing of the said office of balliarie therby comittit to him quhilk desyre the said Baillie ffinding to be just and reasonable acceptit and receavit the samyne charter containing therein the said precept of seasing ffra the said Archibald Macleane and theraftir deliverit the samyne to me nottar publict under subscriband to be red publischt and explaynit be me to those that wer then present upon the ground of the saids lands off the quhilk precept of seasing the tenor followes. Attoure to Cristopher (alias Gillechreist) M'Cay in North Wist and ilk ane of them conjointlie and severallie my baillies in that pairt to the effect efter specefeit with full power to them and ilk ane of them conjunctlie and severallie as said is to pas to the ground of the saids lands and uthers forsaid and ther to give heretable state and seasing actuall reall and peacible possessione off all and hail the forsaid lands and uthers respective above and eftir mentionat viz. the forsaid twentie pund land of auld extent of Slate, and others (already detailed) togidder with all right, title, entres, clame of right propertie and possessione quhilk my aires and successores have, hes, or any wayes may have clame or pretend therto or to any pairt therof in tyme cuming. To the said Donald Macdonald my sone ffor himselff and in name of the remanent aires of taillie and provisione mentioned in the forsaid substitutione respective and successive in maner forsaid or to his attorney in his name bearer of thir presents Be delyverance to them of eard and stane of the saids lands as use is Reservand alwayes to me and my said spouse our lyfrents above specefeit in maner above reservit and no utherwayes and this onnawayes yow leave undone The quhilk to doe I comitt to yow conjunctlie and severallie my baillies in that pairt forsaid my full power and commissione be this my precept of seasing direct theranent. In witnes groff this present charter wrytten be George Dallace servi-

tor to Mr. Jon Bayne Wryter to the signet and subscrivit with my hand and seall appendit Att Duntulme the twentie sixt day of May the yeare of God 1657 yeares. Before thir witness Neill Macleane of Boray and Archibald Macleane servitor to Sir James Macdonald and James Thomsone nottar. Eftir reading publishsing and explayning of the quhilk charter containing therein the said precept of seasing the said Cristopher M'Kay gave heretitable state and seasing of all and hail the forsaid lands &c &c. In presence of Donald MacAlester Roy, servitor to the said Sir James Macdonald and Siom M'Gillivray, and Hector M'Conell, Tennents in Wist, and Angus M'Conell my servitor.

Sr J. McDONALD of Sleatt.

N. M'Leane witnes.

Arch. Macleane witnes.

Jas. Thomsone witnes.

THE OATH OF THE FRIENDS. 1678.

WHEREAS the inevitable ruine of the familie of the M'Donaldes is evident through the irrecilable dissensionnes betwixt Sir James M'Donald and Sir Donald M'Donald his sone with the vast debtes upon the estate We the suscriberes for eviteing these confusionnes as haveing the nearest interest nixt after the forsd persons Joes heirby faithfullie promise before god almightie with all singlenes of heart and without any mentall reservation or equivocation qtsomever for the preservation of the said familie to the behoofe of the said Sir James and Sir Donald M'Donaldes and ther lawfull successores to observe and keepe unviolat these heades following.

ffirst all of us subscriberes sall conveyne to consider of the way to free this familie of debt as often as Sir Donald M'Donald or the greatest part of the subscriberes pleases to call and concurr personallie for the weill of the familie and ourselves except such as are seecke onlie.

Secondlie since such of us subscribers to whom this familie is oweing soumes of monie are not sufficientlie secured each of us sall owne ane ane others quarrelles against all persones (his majestie and his lawes excepted) who wrongs us to that effect till all of us be sufficientlie to our apprehensionnes secured in law.

3ly When any of us sall have our recourse to Edinbrugh to secure these soumes or is cited ther or els wher upon any accompt

during this oath be the said Sir James or Sir Donald M'Donaldes all of us sall contribute of money to that persone what the major votes of the subscribers sall thinke fit and suit *toties quoties* that any of us sall be cited.

4lie When wee sall conveine or the major part of ous what sall be concluded be the greatest number ffor the good of the familie and our owne preservationes that to be unanimouslie gone about as weill be the dissenteres as assenteres.

5ly To keepe secret what sall be concluded be the major votes to be kepted so.

6ly This oath & these heades to continew untill be the consent of the subscriberes or major number of them they sall be voide and made null. These written and subscribe the first of february att Duntuilme the zeir one thousand sex hundreth & sevintie aught.

J. M'DONALD.

J. M'LEAN.

JOHN M'DONALD in Grimines
his marke following Q.

ANGUS M'DONALD in Kirkibost
his marke following Q.

DONALD M'DONALD.

H. M'DONALD.

DONALD MACKDONALD.

J. M'DONALD.

JAMES M'DONALD.

A. M. D.

JA. MACKDONALD.

SOR. MACKDONALD.

RA^D. MACKDONALD.

A. M'DONALD.

OBLIGATION BY COLL MACDONALD OF KEPPOCH TO ACCEPT
OF THE LIEUT.-COLONELCY OF A REGIMENT TO BE
RAISED BY SIR DONALD MACDONALD OF SLEAT. 1689.

Be it knowen to all men be thir presents that forsoemeikle as King James the Seventh of Great brittan &c hes granted ane Commissione to Sir Donald M'Donell of Sleatt for Riseing ane Regmt and Likwayes ordained me to be his Lievttenant Collonell Witt ye me therfor to be oblidged Likeas be the tenor heirof I bind & oblide myselfe and in name and behalfe of my brothren & oysr of my ffamilie notorlie to accept of the said Commissione and Exercis all dewties incumbent for ane persone of that charge but in Likemaner to bring to the Regiment all the shouldriers and officers I am or shall be able to command either of my own or oysr, and siclike to continew wt my friends and followers in the Regiment alwayes untill his Maties forder orders and commands.

In witnes qrof I have written & subt thir pnts at Armidell the eighteenth of May 1689 years.

COLL MACKDONALD.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN MACKINTOSH AND COLL
MACDONALD OF KEPPOCH. 1700.

Att ffortwilliam the twenty second day of May on thousand sevin hundreth years in presence of Brigadyer Maitland ffolowes the articles of agreement condiscended to & past betwixt the Laird of M'Intosh his freinds commissioned by him and Coll Mackdonald of Keppoch as prinll and Sr Donald M'Donald of Slait as caur and burden bearer for him on the on and other pairt.

Imprimis. The said Coll Mackdonald as prinll and the said Sir Donald as caur are to oblide themselves to grant to the Laird of Mackintosh in lieu and satisfaction of what he can ask or crave of him or his representatives criminally or civilly for qtsoever cause or occasion preceeding the date heiroy ane ample right and disposition of the three plughs of Davoch Laggan viz that of Tullochcrom, Aberarder and Strathchruinachen with ane sufft progres of the samen safe and free of lyferents ladies tierces conjunct fies and all other incumberances qtsoever that may burden or affect the said lands any manner of way and that agt the day of on thousand sevin hundreth years.

2do, The Laird of Mackintosh his said freinds are to pass ane Tack to be extended *simul et semel* with the @said disposition in favors of the said Coll M'Donald of the two davochs of land of Keppoch and others sometymes possesst be umqll Archibald M'Donald his father and yt for the space of nineteen years beginand his entrie yrto at this terme of Whitsunday last bypast. ffor the which tack the said Coll M'Donald as prinll and the said Sir Donald as caur for him are to pay in manner after following in name of tack duety viz the sum of ffour hundreth merks yeirly for the first two vears, sex hundred merks yeirly for the third and fourth and eight hundreth merks for the fyth and subsequent years of the said Tack for ilk year yrof.

3tio It is hereby specially provyded and declared yt if the said Coll M'Donald shall fail in the paytt of the saids dueties so as to suffer two years to runn in the third unpaid then and in that caise the tack @mentioned to be *ipso facto* voyd and null as if had been never made nor granted and the said Sir Donald to be free in all tyme yrafter of his said cautie he only paying what

remains unpaid of the tack due tie of the saids three years less or more. And fforther its hereby provyded that the Laird of Mackintosh shall have immediat peaceable access to and possession of the saids lands, after they become his by the said irritancie or oyrwayes and that the samen be left tennent stade as they were the last and penult years before the expiration of the said Tack and that in caice he or any of his tennents possessors of the samen shall be in any sort troubled mollested or disquieted be the said Coll M'Donald or any oyr in his name or at his command by out-hounding or otherwayes directly or indirectly not only after the expiration of the said Tack by the forsaid irritancie but also dureing all the dayes of the said Coll M'Donald his lifetym then the said Sir Donald M'Donald and his airs to pay Two hundred and fyftie pound starling to the said Laird of M'Intosh or his representatives in name of damadge and expenses to be waired out for recovery of diligencies agt the sd Coll M'Donald

4to, That Sr Donald lykwayes secure for the peaceable behaviour of the said Coll M'Donald and exhibit to justice the persones of the unpeaceable possessors and tennents on his sds lands in tyme comeing upon citation when & how often the said Coll M'Donald faills yrin himselfe. And the sd Coll M'Donald to releive the sd Laird of M'Intosh of Kirk & King in all tyme hereafter during the space of the said tack.

5to, That the said Coll M'Donald shall be obleidged by himself and subtennants to attend the sd Laird of M'Intoshe and his successors during the space forsaid of the said tack at his hosting and hunting agt all persones lawfull authoritie excepted and to answer and wait his concerns when called within his jurisdiction of Lochaber. And ffinally it is hereby declared that if the King and Councill shall be disatisfied with all or any of the articles @mentioned then and in that caice thir presents to be voyd and of no effect. In witnes wherof written be William M'Intosh writter at Edr we have subscribed thir presents befor thir witness Collonell Robert Keith of Brigadier Maitlands regiment, Captain Archibald Hay of the sd regiment and Charles MacKinnon late Leutenent in Collonell M'Gills regiment.

R. Keith witness.	COLL MACDONALD.	J. FARQ ^{RS} ONE.
Arch ^d Hay witness.	D. MACKDONALD.	ANG. M ^c INTOSH.
Chas. M ^c Kinnon witness.		WILL. MACKINTOSHE.
	AL. SHAW.	WM. M ^c INTOSHE.
	A. DAVIDSON.	W. M ^c BEANE.
	JO. M ^c GILLIVRAY.	LA. M ^c INTOSHE.
	L. M ^c KINTOSHE.	

TACK BY CLANRANALD TO MACVUIRICH. 1707.

Be it known to all men be thir prnt lres me Allan M'Donald Captain of Clanranald Heritable Proprietor of the lands & oys under written to have set in Tack & assedation like as I do by thir prnt set in Tack and assedation to Donald M'Muireach indoweller in Steligary the just & equall half of ye four penny lands of Steligary together wt all grassing shealings mosses parts & pendicles belonging therto be peacably brooked possessed and manured be ye sd Donald M'Muireach during all ye dayes and years of his life time, & his entry to ye sds lands to be immediatly after ye feast and term of Whitsontide On Thousand seven hundred & seven he paying me for ye same yearly during his Tack ye soun of ten pound Scots together also wt all public dues & impositions that shall be laid upon ye contrie *in quanti pro rato* and sicklike I oblidge me and my heirs & successors to in my land & estate not onlie to warrand ye my tack and assedation into ye said Donald M'Muireach himselfe during all ye dayes of his life time but also to warrand ye peacable possessione usage of the sd two pennie lands into his heirs procreat of his own oody who shall be capable of serving me and my heirs and successors in ye station & office he presently serves me in (bard & seanachie), and failing of heirs of his own body I bind and oblidge me and my forsd to warrand ye tack into any oyr of ye same Clan and Tribe of M'Muireach yt shall be capable to serve me & my forsd in ye said statione & office and sicklike I oblidge me & my forsd yt in case sd Donald M'Muireach shall die wtin two years often ye date hereof and that there be heirs procreat of his own body ye sd heirs shall have benefit of ye forsd tack for fourteen years after ye date herof ye sd heirs shall onlie have benefit of this tack for so many years as are not expired of fourteen years ye sd heirs being alwayes *oblidged* to pay into me and my forsd ye tack duty of ten pounds Scots yearlie, and to free us of all public impositions and for the mor securitie both parties consents to ye registratione hereof in ye books of Councel & Sessione or any judges books competent yt Lres of Horning & oyr exorials near may pass here upon in form as effeirs to that effect constitutes our prors. In witness wherof we have subscribed thir pnts at Ormigled on the ninth of June On Thousand seven hundred & seven years befor these witnesses John Doeg & Alexr. M'Donald both servitors to the Laird of

Clanranald, and Archibald M'Donald son to Mr Æneas M'Donald.
Minister of South Uist, and writer herof.

CLANRANALD.

DONALD M'MURICH.

John Doeg witness,
Alexr. M'Donald witness
Arch: M'Donald witness.

BOND OF UIST MEN AND OTHERS. 1723.

Be it kend to all men by these present letters us the creditors on the Estate of the late Sir Donald Macdonald hereto subscribers whose designations are subjoyned to our subscriptions fforasmuch as the Estate of the late Sir Donald is now to be exposed to sale by the commissioners and trustees of fforfeited estates and that the purchaser must find caution for the pryce of the s^d sale, And seeing His Majestie King George by his charter under the great seall hath made a grant of Ten Thusand pound sterling in favours of the heir of the family and his brother and sisters to be payed out of the pryce of the Estate of the said late Sir Donald after payment of all his just and lawfull creditors which sum contained in the same grant with debts due to us will very near exhaust the pryce of the said Estate and we being desirous for the preservation of the said family that the said Estate should be purchased for the behoof of the heir thereof. Therefor and for removing any difficulty that may arise to those who shall become cautioners for the purchaser of the said Estate for the behoofe of the said heir upon account of the debts due to us Wit ye us to be bound and obliged likeas we by these presents bind and oblidge ourselves, our heirs and successors, to exoner and discharge the said cautioners and their heirs of all action that may be competent to us against them for payment of our said debts and we do hereby declare that the purchaser for the behoof of the said heir and the Estate itself shall stand only affected and be burdened with the payment of our said debts. And to the end the purchaser for the behoofe fofsaid may be enabled to relieve the cautioner bound for the said pryce we bind and oblidge us to convey and make over our said debts in favours of the said purchaser upon his granting to us and each of us a valid formal and ample security upon the said Estate for ye sums due to us as said is and for the more security we consent to the

registration hereof in the books of Councill and Session or others competent that letters of horning and all other exells needfull may be direct hereon as effeirs and to that end we constitute our prors &c. In witness whereof these are written by Thomas Bruce servant to Edward Callander writter in Edinburgh upon stamp paper and subscribed by us as follows viz.—By us Mr John M'Lean Minister of North Uist, Alexander Macdonald son to the deceast Donald Macdonald in Scuddieborrow, Lauchlan M'Lean of Vallay, Hector M'Lean of Hosta, Ronald M'Donald of Balishar, Neil M'Lean of Killphedder, Archibald M'Lean of Kirkibost, John Macdonald of Heskar, Anna Macdonald of Balvickquean with consent of John Macdonald in Scolpig her husband for his interest, Margaret M'Donald relict of Donald Macqueen in Glenteltin with consent of John Macdonald in Tortamurich now her husband for his interest and Archibald M'Lean of Boraray. Att Ballimore in Wist the second day of August 1723 before these witnesses Donald M'Donald in Pablisgarry and Hector MacKinnin in Vaninb and by us Donald Macdonald of Aird, Christopher M'ra in Arigugan, John M'Kinnin as tutor to the deceast Donald M'Kinnin nottar his children, Farquhar Mathieson of ffernemoir, and Æneas Macdonald of Camiscross At Kenloch in Dall the 15th of the said moneth of Augt Before these witnesses John Macdonald of Barvoig and Angus M'innes in the Isle of Orinsay.

Master JOHN M'LEAN, Minister
of North Uist.

ALEX^R. M'DONALD son to the
deceast Don. M'Donald of
Scudoborrow.

L. M'LEANE of Valay.

HECTOR M'LEANE of Hosta.

RANALD M'DONALD of Bal-
leshahr.

NEIL M'LEAN of Killpheder.

ARCH. M'LEANE of Keerkipost.

JO. M'DONALD of Heillskire.

ANNA M'DONALD of Bailvicquian.

D. M'Donald witness.

Hector M'Kinnin witness.

JOHN MACKDONALD consents.

MARGARET X M'DONALD, her
mark.

JOHN M'DONALD consents.

ARCH. M'LEANE of Borreray.

DON. M'DONALD of Aird.

CHRISTOPHER M'RA, in Ari-
gugan.

F.M.

JOHN M'KINNON, titure to the
deceast Donald M'Kin-
non's children.

ÆNEAS M'DONALD of Cammis-
cross.

John M'Donald witness.

Angus Mackinnes witness. X

MEMORIAL FOR JOHN MACDONALD OF GLENGARRY RELATING
THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY HIM AND HIS FAMILY IN
THE TIME OF THE REBELLION. 1750.

That immediately after the Memorialist understood that the Young Pretender was Landed and Joined by Lochiel Keppoch and other Chiefs of Clans in his neighbourhood he used all the arguments in his power to dissuade his Tennants and Dependants from joining in the Rebellion ; But finding that these Arguments were ineffectual and that his people were Joining the Pretender and threatened to take himself Prisoner if he did not likewise Join them, he left his own country came to Dunkeld to the Duke of Athole and put himself under his Grace's direction.

That the next day after the Memorialist came to Dunkeld, the Duke of Athole and he went to wait upon Sir John Cope then commanding the King's Army who were at Crieff upon their march north, and upon this occasion the Memorialist gave to Sir John Cope all the Information he himself had with regard to the Highland Army.

That the Memorialist returned with the Duke of Athole to Dunkeld where he continued with his Grace till the Highland army came to Blair of Athole within sixteen miles of Dunkeld and the Duke then resolving to retire to Edinburgh and from thence to London the Memorialist proposed to go along with his Grace to avoid any suspicion of disaffection to the Government, as from the Circumstances affairs were then in it was not in his power to do them service.

That the Duke of Athole dissuaded the Memorialist from going Southward and advised him to go privately home to his own country by a road which would prevent his Interference with the Highland army, to endeavour to keep as many of his people out of the Rebellion as he could, to live as privately and peaceably as the situation of the Country would permit him and to have no Intercourse or Correspondence with the Rebels or any of their adherents, all which the Memorialist punctually observed and wrote to the late Lord President of the Session for his Lordship's directions how the Memorialist should behave in the critical and unlucky circumstances he was then in. The Lord President wrote the Memorialist an answer agreeing in substance with the advices given him by the Duke of Athole, and the Memorialist accordingly in consequence of these advices continued peaceable and loyall, had no Interview or Correspondence with any of the Rebels, on

the contrary he often visited the Officers in Fort Augustus offered them and actually did them all the good offices in his power, which he believes these Gentlemen as they are all men of Honour will certify and which the Memorialist can otherways distinctly prove.

That the Memorialist continued in this situation till the Highland Army returned from England and laid siege to Fort Augustus, and upon that occasion tho' severall officers of distinction belonging to them and the French visited in the Memorialist's family, he would not see any of them but avoided their company.

That the Memorialist having thus conducted himself before and in time of the Rebellion without any accession to it or just suspicion of such accession did in a few days after the battle of Culloden go to Inverness with an intention to wait on his Royall Highness the Duke, and Begg'd of the Lord President to present him to his Royal Highness. Lord President told the Memorialist that if he would return back to his own country & prevail upon his Tennants to surrender themselves to his Royal Highness the Duke he would be the more graciously received and accordingly on the 29th of Aprile 1746 gave the Memorialist a Pass from Sir Everard Fawkener for himself and his servants to return home.

That in consequence of this advice from the Lord President the Memorialist returned to Glengarry & prevail'd upon his Tennants in Glengarry to assemble with Intention to surrender themselves to the Earl of Loudon, but the People of Urquhart and Glenmoriston having surrendered some days before and Intelligence being brought that they were all committed to Prison the Memorialist's people dispersed and it was with the outmost difficulty that the Memorialist prevail'd upon them after to surrender, which however he accomplish'd and all his Tennants in Glengarry did surrender themselves to Lord Loudon who gave them certificates of their surrendry and allow'd them all to return home to their own houses.

That there was no more than fourteen of all the common People of Glengarry who did not surrender upon this occasion, and these were persons who had nothing to lose and lived such loose and dissolute lives that the Memorialist or any of his Friends had no Influence over them.

That notwithstanding of all this conduct of the Memorialist's every article of which he is able to prove in so far as it is capable of proof and no part of which can possibly be Disproved, in a few days after the King's Army came from Inverness to Fort Augustus, all the houses in the whole Country of Glengarry except the Memorialist's house, were burn'd down to the ground.

all their cattle and other effects carried off by parties of the military and no means of subsistence left those who were not concerned in the Rebellion as well as those who surrendered themselves to the King's mercy, and to compleat the Memorialist's and his numerous family of young children's Ruin on the 29th of May a party of the Army under the command of Captain Loftus of the Old Buffs came & first pillaged the Memorialist's house of Glengarry burned it and all his office houses down to the ground and by the indulgence of the Officers who commanded, there were only given to the Memorialist's Lady and nine children Two small Highland cows, one chest of Drawers and six pair of Blankets for their maintenance and support and not so much as a hutt left to cover them ; and upon this occasion the Memorialist's whole furniture, plate, Books, Charter Chest & other writes, cloaths, a great Stocking of Cattle of different kinds the Memorialist's riding horses and in short every thing he had was carried away by the army when from the circumstances above related he had all the reason in the world to believe he was Intitled to other usage.

That after all this scene was over which is as true as it is shocking the Memorialist was threatened with immediat Death if he would not prevail on his Tenants in Morar and Knoidart which is about thirty miles from Glengarry likewise to surrender and the Memorialist perceiving that no reason was listened to at that time and that there was no Bounds to the violence then committed he went likewise to these Countrys and assembling his Tennants he assured them that the only way to keep their wives and children from destruction was to surrender themselves to the Duke's mercy, and accordingly they agreed to surrender, But when they were half way towards Fort Augustus M'Donald of Barrisdale met the Memorialist's brother who went along with a Body of these Knoidart and Morar men, told the Memorialist's brother and the men, that he had the Duke's orders that such of them as lived upon his wadset which he held of Glengarry were ordered to go along with him and surrender at the Barracks of Bernera in Glenelg which the men accordingly did, and that was the Reason why so few surrendered at the head Quarters at Fort-Augustus.

That Collonell Watson Quarter master generall to the army came a few days after the surrender of these Knoidart and Morar men to the Memorialist who with his Lady and Family were then in a poor pitifull Hutt belonging to the Millart in the midst of an oak wood which had escaped the nottice of the Partys who burned all the rest of the Country, and told him that his Royal Highness

the Duke wanted to see him, and upon the Memorialist's coming to the head Quarters The Earl of Albermarle told him that it was his Royall Highness's positive orders that he should go to Collonell Conway and Lieutenant Collonell Cornwallais to the head of Locharkaik, from whence they proceeded and the Memorialist along with them to Knoidart, all the cattle of which country that party drove away after they surrendered and sometime after that burned and destroyed it in the same manner as Glengarry had been.

That before the Memorialist returned his Royal Highness was gone South and in a few days after Lord Albermarle sent Collonell Watson for the Memorialist, who came to the head Quarters and soon after his arrival there Collonell Watson told him that he was sorry to acquaint him by orders of Lord Albermarle that he was prisoner for high Treason and upon that he was taken to custody & soon after Committed prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh and he remained prisoner from July 1746 till October 1749 when he was Liberated by running his Letters in due course of Law and without any warrand of committment or getting a shilling all the time of his confinement to support himself his Lady and numerous family of children but £25 from Lord Milntown lately Lord Justice Clerk upon his bill or note, and under this hard necessity he was obliged to have recourse to the Charity of well disposed persons which was the only means left to prevent himself and his numerous family from starving.

That during the Memorialist's confinement his creditors proceeded and obtained reall Dilligences against his Estate, and tho' he has reason to believe that there were Discharges and other Documents of payment in his charter Chest of som of these Debts yet as all his papers were carried away and still kept up from him he can make no positive or effectuell defence against these Debts but must submit to them which in the end may carry off his estate and bring Totall Ruin on himself and family.



Donald McDonald of Ballachulish, 1605-6

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

Donald McDonald of Ballachulish, 1605-6

Max Immers, 1746

Large portrait of Donald McDonald, 1605

Mr. Craigmiles, 1734

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