

The
Highlands of Scotland
in 1750

FROM MANUSCRIPT 104
IN THE KING'S LIBRARY, BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY
ANDREW LANG

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD & SONS
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PREFACE

My attention was drawn to the MS. here printed by a notice of the Duke of Argyll's, in his work on Scotland. The opportunity of consulting the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle, I owe to the gracious permission of Her Majesty. They were looked through by me for the purposes of another work on which I was engaged, and it seems probable that they contain valuable historical materials. My own attention, however, was merely given to papers on Highland affairs, in 1749-1754. I am happy to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of Mr Holmes, Her Majesty's Librarian. Miss Violet A. Simpson lent me valuable assistance. It is unfortunate that, except for occasional notices, as in *The Lyon in Mourning*, and in Political Trials, we have no account of the Highlands after Culloden, from the Jacobite side. I observe, however, that the numbers of men who could be raised, as given by Lochgarry to Prince Charles, about 1752, correspond pretty closely with those assigned to the same clans by our anonymous author. The Macdonnells and MacLeans are probably numbered by Lochgarry in too sanguine a spirit. (*Pickle the Spy*, p. 217.) In place of 900 Camerons, as in 1745, Lochgarry only promises for 500. A levy *en masse* would, of course, have reached much higher figures, though our anonymous writer's calculation probably exaggerates.

A. L.

CULLODEN

(To Elspeth Angela Campbell)

DARK, dark was the day when we looked on Culloden,
And chill was the mist drop that clung to the tree,
The oats of the harvest hung heavy and sodden,
No light on the land, and no wind on the sea.

There was wind, there was rain, there was fire on their faces,
When the clans broke the bayonets and died on the guns,
And 'tis Honour that watches the desolate places
Where they sleep through the change of the snows and the suns.

Unfed and unmarshalled, outworn and outnumbered,
All hopeless and fearless, as fiercely they fought,
As when Falkirk with heaps of the fallen was cumbered,
As when Gledsmuir was red with the havock they wrought.

*Ah, woe worth you, Sleat, and the faith that you vowed,
Ah, woe worth you, Lovat, Traquair, and Mackay;
And woe on the false fairy flag of Macleod,
And the fat squire who drank, but who dared not to die!*

Where the graves of Clan Chattan are clustered together,
Where Macgillavray died by the Well of the Dead,
We stooped to the moorland and plucked the pale heather
That blooms where the hope of the Stuart was sped.

And a whisper awoke on the wilderness, sighing,
Like the voice of the heroes who battled in vain,
“Not for Tearlach alone the red claymore was plying,
But to bring back the old life that comes not again.”

INTRODUCTION

The author of the following description of the Highlands in 1750 is unknown. The manuscript, a folio (No. 104 in the King's Library, British Museum), is apparently in the hand of a clerk or copyist. It may be conjectured that the writer is a Mr Bruce, an official under Government, who, in 1749, was employed to Survey the forfeited and other estates in the Highlands.* This Bruce also appears as a "Court Trusty," or Secret Service man, who accompanies the spy, Pickle, to Scotland, in 1754, and sends in reports of his movements. In a private letter, Young Glengarry refers to Bruce's Survey of his estate. In his report, as a "Court Trusty," Bruce signs himself "Cromwell," conceivably in allusion to these very pronounced anti-Stuart sentiments, which are expressed in his description of the Highlands.

That sketch is the work of a person violently Whiggish and Protestant, and must, therefore, like most contemporary accounts of the Highlanders by Englishmen or Lowlanders, be read with every allowance for prejudice. Bruce must have had ample opportunities to examine the social condition of the North during his Surveying tour, which, in point of date, corresponded with the jaunt of the author of "The Highlands of Scotland." Bruce was also professionally a Whig: in one of his letters,† while accompanying Pickle, he says that the hero can be useful, but that there is "a particular way of doing it" (of securing his services), "which you know is the way of the generality benorth Tay." This insinuation marks the same temper in Bruce, as in the author of "The Highlands." These are circumstances which may suggest that

* Cumberland MSS., Windsor Castle. Appendix A.

† *Pickle, the Spy*, p. 284.

Bruce and the author are one and the same person, but actual proof is wanting. The author's business, at all events, is to report upon the condition of the Clans in 1749-1750, and to suggest plans of reform in the Hanoverian and Protestant interest.

It will be remarked by every one who has studied the social state of the Highlands between 1715 and the great emigrations to America, that all English and Lowland observers agree on certain points. These are, the Clan system, as hostile to peace, and to settled habits of industry; the arbitrary power of chiefs, and tacksmen, and "wadsetters"; the "enslaved" and poverty-stricken estate of the commons: the extreme dirt and destitution in many places, the organisation of cattle-theft, and the institution of blackmail, or money paid for protection. On these points, or some of them, Burt's *Letters from the Highlands* (1730) are at one with the Gartmore manuscript (1747), whence Scott "lifted" Bailie Nicol Jarvie's economic lecture on the Highland Question.*

Now the Bailie, in *Rob Roy*, reckons the men folk in the Highlands, capable of military service, at not "short of 57,500 men." This is the very figure of the Gartmore MS., and, in brief, the Bailie's whole speech (*Rob Roy*, vol. ii. ch. ix.) is only the Gartmore MS. humorously stated. This would have been proof that Walter Scott, Esq. (who had the MS.) wrote *Rob Roy*, if any one had compared the passages.

The paper of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, on land-holding in Tiree and Mull, published by the Duke of Argyll, confirms the other authorities as far as it touches on the same points, of rent, leases, and cultivation. In fact, to observers entirely out of

* This MS. is published by Dr Jamieson, in Burt's *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, 1822, Vol ii. pp. 338-370. The MS. was "communicated by Walter Scott, Esq."

sympathy with clan loyalty and Celtic romance, the poorer classes in the Highlands seemed to be in a desperate posture of slavery, poverty, and ignorance. The population far exceeded the means of subsistence, and the opportunities of industry: hence “thigging” and theft occupied the stalwart unemployed. The exactions of chiefs and tacksmen are described as tyrannically severe; not that money was extracted, for money there was none to extract. On the whole, and in general terms, these spectators (Whigs, of course) saw none of that golden age, none of these good old times which tradition beholds in the distance behind Culloden. These English and Lowland spies on the land bring back from several districts a tale of actual starvation, of hungry clansmen and hard-fisted chiefs. What is said about these gentlemen makes it no matter of surprise that, when cattle became of more account than claymores, the clansmen were treated, in many cases, with callous want of consideration.

Unlike the author of the Gartmore Manuscript of 1747, the writer of the Description of the Highlands works in detail, examining clan by clan, and giving brief historical notices, with hints on the Rising of 1745.

The clans of Caithness, in matters Jacobite, lived, as it were, behind the North wind of politics, and had little share either in the glory or the sufferings of the Rightful Cause. It appears, however, that some of the Sinclairs were raising a force, just before Culloden, which was to have joined hands with Sir James Stewart from the Orkneys, and so taken the Hanoverian Mackays of Sutherland between two fires. The Sutherland clans, except the Gunns, perhaps, were Whiggish, and accidentally contributed not a little to the victory of the Duke of Cumberland. Lord Cromarty and Barisdale had left the main force of the Prince’s army to scatter the levies of Lord Loudon and the militia in Sutherland. Loudon

they drove to Skye: neither they nor the militia wished to come to blows, kinsmen being engaged on both sides, and the expedition might have been considered successful. But Lord Cromarty, as we shall see, contrived to get captured at Dunrobin, with his officers, and Barisdale, by accident or design, did not reach Inverness till the routed Highlanders from Culloden were passing through it.

Judging from the description, the Caithness men were of little value in war, “pitiful, half-starved creatures of a low, dwarfish stature.” Yet of their women our author tells a tale clearly modelled on that of the Paeonian woman in Herodotus, who could spin, carry a pitcher of water on her head, and lead a horse (pp. 6, 7). Whether the story is borrowed, or whether facts coincided, is, of course, the problem.

South of Caithness, in Lord Reay’s country, the Mackays, in ancient times, had a name to be “the most barbarous and wicked of all the clans.” They opposed Donald, Lord of the Isles, however, when he marched through Ross to the battle of Harlaw (1411), and, so far, were on the side of constituted authority, though Donald proved too hard for them. They were a most valuable Whig militia, in the Forty-Five, when few clans were deemed trustworthy by the Hanoverian Government. They it was, who, under Ensign John Mackay, cut off Lord Cromarty at Dunrobin, and prevented him from joining the Prince at Culloden. Cromarty had been detained at Dunrobin, scandal said, by the charms of “his favourite Amazon,” the Countess of Sutherland.* There is a version of this affair in *The Sutherland Book*, by Sir William Fraser. The Earl of Sutherland made his escape when Barisdale and Cromarty advanced on Dunrobin. “Tis pity the present Earl should be so weak a man, but his lady behaved very honourably,”

* *Life of Barisdale*, 1754.

says our author. As a matter of fact, the Countess of Sutherland, either in a humour of coquetry, or out of diplomacy, avowed her attachment to the cause of Prince Charles, and was on most agreeable terms with Cromarty and Barisdale.* Cromarty could not tear himself away from her *château*, where Ensign Mackay beleaguered him. Cromarty recalled his forces (which had begun their march to Inverness) by tolling a bell from the roof of the castle. His men came up, but the Mackays and the Sutherland forces drove them in panic by an ingenious *ruse*, slew a number of them, and took a hundred and seventy-eight prisoners. Cromarty was captured, in a manner not very sportsmanlike, by Ensign Mackay, and thus the half-forgotten Battle of Golspie was of some effect in deciding that of Culloden.†

Our author naturally devotes a few words to the Sutherlands as a branch of the old Catti (Chatti) from the German coast. The Duchess, as every one knows, is “The Great Lady of the Cat.” Sir Robert Gordon (1639) tells of the landing of the Catti, and the attack on their leader by “a company of monstrous big wild catts,” whence he derives the Cat of the Sutherland arms. In fact, Sir Robert gives two explanations (*Catti*, and the local wild cat) in the same anecdote,‡ Mr Nicholson prefers to hold that an ancient Cat, a chief, gave his name to the country, Cat being one of the eponymous heroes, “the seven sons of Cruithne.” From him his clan would be called Cats. If we had sufficient evidence that Gaels, or Picts, were ever in the totemistic stage, a Cat clan would be as natural as any other totem kin named after a beast. The Clan

* Cumberland Papers MS.

† *Life of George, Earl of Cromarty*, 1746. Cited in Browne’s *History of the Highland Clans*, iii. 258-259.

‡ *Golspie*, by E. W. Nicholson, [p. 42](#), 1897.

Chattan also bears a Cat for crest; it is the crest of Cluny, but that is derived punningly from Chattan (St Chattan), and totemism has nothing to do with the matter. Our evidence, in short, does not permit us to dogmatise about the cat of Sutherland.

A third of the Sutherland men (apart from the Mackays) are described as “but mean, despicable creatures.” These must have been the population of the coasts, who, according to the *Life of Barisdale*, existed mainly on shell fish for part of the year. “The common people who dwell along the East Coast are next to the Caithness people for poverty, slavery, and dwarfish stature,” says our author. They could be no better if the biographer of Barisdale tells truth. Our historian’s statement that the Lord of the Isles kept the Earldom of Ross after Harlaw fight (1411) is not precisely correct. The curious may consult the first volume of *Clan Donald*, where there is a full account of the business, and an attempt to allege that the Lord of the Isles was victorious at the Red Harlaw. Had Donald been the victor, he would scarcely have abandoned his boasted design of sacking Aberdeen.

That Lord Cromarty was reluctantly and sparsely followed when he joined the Prince is perfectly true: the Jacobites enlisted but few recruits from fertile lands like those of eastern Rosshire, and these were unwilling warriors. The Monroes were also a Whig clan, and after Culloden they revenged themselves on the robbers of the Macdonalds by burning Barisdale’s fine new house, slated, and containing eighteen rooms with fires: they also destroyed his ingenious instruments of torture (*Life of Barisdale*).

Our author alludes to the alleged Fitzgerald ancestry of the Mackenzies. This pretended lineage, with others like it, was one of the results of an Act, which, in 1597, decreed “that the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands shaw their haldings,” that is, their

charters and titles. The chiefs, who had never possessed charters, or had lost them, were driven to produce some evidence of their claims, and MS. histories, with spurious confirmatory charters, were developed. The rule was to make the male eponymous hero of the clan a Northman, or a Norman, husband of a Celtic heiress, and successor at once to a fashionable Norman pedigree and to the lands in question. We shall see how this worked in the case of other clans: for the Mackenzies we have the account of Sir George Mackenzie, first Earl of Cromarty (1669). He introduces John FitzThomas, chief of the Irish Geraldines, whose son Colin, under Alexander III., marries a MacMahon or Matheson heiress, and has a son, Kenneth, after whom the Mackenzies are named.* This Lord Cromarty's dabblings in false genealogies are referred to by our author in the case of the Macleods (p. 35). Mr Skene also disproves the Earl's inventions, which first traced the Macleods from the Norse kings of Man.† The Macleods were really, it appears, Celtic in the main line, Norwegian in the female, through Ealga of the Fair Locks, daughter of Harold, King of Lochlan, or Norway.

The Macdonalds, our author says, reckoned the Mackenzies mere "upstarts," an opinion amusingly retained by the reverend authors of *Clan Donald*. There were feuds between the two clans, and the Macdonalds claim a victory at Lagabraad, where Angus Og triumphed. The Mackenzie MS. historians overlook this, but they glory in a defeat of the Macdonalds at Park, in 1491. Previously vassals of the Macdonalds, the Mackenzies now cocked up their beavers when the Lord of the Isles lost the Earldom of Ross in 1475. A Mackenzie of Kintail had wedded a daughter of

* Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 351.

† Skene, iii. 355.

the Lord of the Isles, far above *his* station, but the lady had only one eye. Mackenzie, coming to visit his brother-in-law, Angus Og, was offered the kiln for a chamber. Deeming this unworthy of his blood, he began a ruction, knocked down a Maclean, and, presently, sent back his one-eyed bride, on a one-eyed horse, led by a one-eyed man, followed by a one-eyed dog. This, as the historians of Clan Donald remark, with natural annoyance, could not be construed except as “a wanton and deliberate insult.” Angus Og therefore invaded Ross, and won Lagabraad fight (1483?). His successor, however, was badly beaten at Park, though the Macdonald historians think that the Mackenzies make too much of the affair, in which they were aided by “a supernatural being of diminutive stature.”* Down to 1745, the Macdonalds were still making reprisals by stealing the cattle of the Mackenzies.

The Jacobite Seaforth, of Glenshiel fight (1719), quarrelled with the Chevalier, and made his peace at home: the details are to be found in the first and only volume of Stuart Papers, edited by Dr Glover. Seaforth’s descendant was not involved in the Rising of 1745, though some of the wild MacRaes were out. Why this clan should be styled “little better than heathens in their principles, and almost as unclean as Hottentots in their way of living” above all men who dwelt in the Highlands, can only be conjectured. The Mathiesons, and Kintail men, who are here credited with displaying, at Sheriffmuir, a valour not conspicuous among the rest of Seaforth’s following, were in the centre of the second line of Mar’s army. In such an embroglio as that odd encounter, it is not easy to learn how any one clan behaved, except the Macdonalds, who drove Argyle’s left wing off the ground. The Mackenzies, as Lord Rosebery’s “List of Persons concerned in the Rebellion of

* *Clan Donald*, i. 277.

1745 “proves, were very well represented. In 1745, despite the absence of their chief, Seaforth, his wife raised some of the clan for the Prince, as Lady Sutherland also promised to do. It was usual to “hedge” in this way; the wife or a son being on one side, the chief on the other.*

Though Jacobites, the Mackenzies “are frugal and industrious in their way.” Their way was “to screw up their rents to an extravagant height, which they vitiously term ‘improving their estates.’” Thus rack-renting is not a wholly modern invention. The commons live “in great poverty and slavery.”

Coming to the Clanranalds, we hear that they were “always Popish, and remarkable for rapine and wickedness.” Young Clanranald, not the father, “a very weak man,” was the hero of the Forty-Five. He visited the Prince on shipboard before his landing: he proclaimed King James at Dundee, and captured two English ships. He escaped to France, and obtained leave to return home in 1754, and when he was seized and examined, no intelligence was got out of young Clanranald.†

The position of the Macleods in 1745 was not precisely glorious. The chief had been expected to come out, but was prudent. His levies joined Lord Loudon, and, at Inverness, aided in the attempted surprise of the Prince at Moy. Every one has heard how, before leaving Skye, Macleod’s piper composed the famous Lament, “Macleod shall return, but Macrimmon shall never.”

On the night of the surprise a second-sighted man (says Theophilus Insulanus) saw Macrimmon’s body shrunken to childlike dimensions. The piper was the only man slain when the

* Blaikie’s *Itinerary of Prince Charles*, p. 35.

† Hardwicke Papers.

bold blacksmith scattered Loudon's detachment at the Rout of Moy. Though many Macleods fought for the White Rose, and aided Charles's escape, the Macleod militia under Talisker is accused, by Malcolm Macleod of Rasay, of great cruelties, including the torture of a girl. That Macleod "not only deserted but betrayed the Cause," I know no evidence to prove. He was influenced by Forbes of Culloden, who, more than any one man, preserved the throne for the House of Hanover, chiefly at his own expense, and for no reward but that which Colonel Esmond found customary among princes.

Our author has, of course, a great antipathy to the Macdonalds. Their family dispute as to nearness of descent from the Lords of the Isles, and from Somerled (died 1164), should probably be regarded as settled in Glengarry's favour by the tract published in the interests of Scott's friend Glengarry, and attributed to the most learned of genealogical lawyers, John Riddel.*

Sir Walter held that "Glengarry's ancestor recognised them (the Clanranalds) as chiefs *de facto* if not *de jure*." But the evidence collected in *Pickle the Spy*, leaves, I think, no doubt that Glengarry was *de facto* chief of Clan Donald in 1745, or had, at least, much the larger following and the greater influence.

The "ridiculous story" about the Macdonalds' descent from Scota, Princess of Egypt (p. 49) is merely the learned medieval legend of the origin of the Scots. John Elder laughs at it, in his letter to Henry VIII., and it is naturally not indigenous, but of clerkly origin.†

"The genealogies, as far back as Somerled, are undoubtedly

* Scott's *Journal*, i. 121.

† Skene, iii. 336.

authentic," says Mr Skene, and, historically, ancestors of the Macdonalds may be traced to 1031. Thereafter only seven names are given for seven hundred years, which is absurd. The historians of Clan Donald regard their kin as of Dalriadic (Irish) stock, in Argyll, which, *prima facie*, seems probable.

The great importance of the Lords of the Isles, who treated direct as sovereign princes with England, is certainly no "Foolish Idle Tale," as our Whig author maintains, though it might hardly justify the overweening pride which he reproveth. The unruliness of the Macdonalds, under the Scottish kings, is, of course, matter of history from Malcolm's days. They could usually "find a Pretender," a Mac William, or MacEth, to support against the Anglicised sovereigns.

The case of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat is not too creditable. He was expected to join the prince, and (according to Malcolm Macleod of Rasay) would have done so after Prestonpans fight, but was won over by a letter from Forbes of Culloden. According to Barisdale, it was Sir Alexander who persuaded him to turn spy, and attempt to hand over Prince Charles to the English.* This would be unpardonable, but Barisdale's word, though acceptable against himself, is hardly evidence against others.

The Jacobites carried Barisdale to France, where he was imprisoned for treason. Returning to Scotland, he was incarcerated in Edinburgh Castle, where he died. Sir Alexander himself died in the year of Culloden, when on his way to meet Cumberland in England. His wife, Lady Margaret, connived at Flora Macdonald's rescue of the Prince.

* Cumberland Papers. Barisdale to the Lord Justice Clerk, 1749.

Reaching Glengarry's country, Knoidart, our author finds himself in "a perfect den of Thieves and Robbers." His charges of robbery against Barisdale are matter of notoriety, and are supported by the Gartmore MS., by the *Life of Barisdale*, and by tradition. That Lochgarry was "an Arch Thief," I know no evidence; his loyalty to the Rightful Cause was certainly stainless. The reputation of Scotus is beyond attack even by our not unprejudiced author, and is pleasingly confirmed by the Chevalier Johnstone. The history of a cadet of Scotus, who came from France just too late for Culloden, is excellently told by Mr Maclellan in *Spanish John*, a romance based on memoirs.* The anecdote of the Macdonald mutiny, on the march from Derby, is apparently novel (p. 65). The discontent of the common people with the chiefs who led them out (p. 68) is confirmed by a report of Ensign Small, in the Cumberland Papers.

The Macleans (p. 75) receive a good character as the Spartans of the North, with their maxim "either to conquer or fall upon the spot." Out of 240 men, they are said here to have lost most of their officers, and about 160 of their men, at Culloden. Lochgarry, in his Report to Young Glengarry, reckons "the brave Macleans" at about 200, says that Maclean of Drumnine with his son were slain, and believes that not fifty of the 200 escaped.† This confirms the statement of our author, though probably he overstates the numbers of Macleans engaged. They were brigaded with the M'Lachlans. The Stuarts of Appin, though the most zealous of Jacobites, escape our author's moral censures: "they are industrious in their business, and honest in all their dealings." That the neighbours of Glenco looked on the Massacre as "a judgment from

* Appendix B.

† *Itinerary of Prince Charles*, p. 121.

Heaven on so wicked a crew,” is not quite a plausible statement. They are still “a sort of Protestants” in Glenco, being mainly of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, as they have been since the days of James VI.*

The analysis of the character of the Camerons (pp. 82, 83) is marked by no less prejudice. Mr Macleod, in his appendix to Lord Rosebery’s *List*, sneers at the paucity of Camerons named—only thirty-three. “What has become of the 800 of the name who cheered the uplifted standard at Glenfinnan?” Well, 400 were under the heather, and it was not precisely probable that the other 500, mentioned by our author, would betray each other to the Hanoverian makers of information for Government, such as Mr James Macphun; collector of Argyll. In his paper the places where the Camerons named may be found are “not known,” luckily for Mr Macphun. The charge that Lochiel protected his clan “in their roguery” is contrary to all evidence. He shot one clansman for plundering, during the Rising, and his character was unanimously applauded by men of both parties.

The Danish ancestry attributed by our author to the Camerons is one of the spurious genealogies already spoken of in the case of the Mackenzies. Cambro, a Dane, is fabled to have wedded a Macmartin heiress of what is now Lochiel’s country, in the reign of Alexander II. Mr Skene points out that the Camerons were originally part of Clan Chattan, and in the time of Alexander II., their real ancestor was Gillroid, son of Gillamartan, a warm supporter of the Macwilliam Pretender of the period. These early Pretenders, of course, represented Celtic ideas and ambitions as opposed to the Anglicised reigning House of Scotland.

The Mackintoshes, again, are not descended from a Macduff,

* Appendix C.

Thane (Toiseach) of Fife. The story is backed by a “spurious pedigree charter” of 1338. The name “Macintosh,” however, does mean “Thane’s son,” Thanes, probably, of Rothiemurchus. (Skene, iii. 358). Our author is not in error about the many clan-fights between the Camerons and Mackintoshes: conceivably the famous affair of the combat on the Inch of Perth may have been connected with these quarrels. The duel may have been an ordeal between Clan Chattan and the Camerons,—assuredly Clan Chattan was represented, but the authorities are vague and discrepant.*

Tradition preserves a legend of the Mackintosh *versus* Cameron struggle, of which Dr Cameron Lees gives only half in his “Inverness.”† The black Tailor of the Axe (according to my informant, a fisherman on the Lochy) was *not* a Cameron, but he had put himself in Lochiel’s hands, sewed his trews, and fought his battles. There was a great fight between the Mackintoshes and Lochiels, from which the tailor returning, walked into Lochiel’s hall with his bloody axe.

“Why do you come here with your axe?” asked Lady Lochiel, herself a daughter of the Mackintosh.

“Where I go, my axe goes,” said the Tailor.

“Who won the day?”

“*To-day cat skins are cheap!*” quoth the Tailor, insulting Clan Chattan.

The blood of the lady boiled at this taunting announcement of the defeat of her kin, and she cast her child, the infant heir of Lochiel, on to the peat fire.

“Woman, take him out!” cried the Tailor, raising the axe, red

* See Skene, iii. 310.

† County Histories of Scotland, p. 44.

with the blood of Clan Chattan, and the lady was forced to obey. But “she never liked the Tailor afterwards,” and one day he climbed the hill, axe on shoulder, and was seen no more. “Some would be saying he was a fairy,” but this is not so. He flourished in the South, and a descendant of his is a professor in Edinburgh University,—which Professor deponent knoweth not.

All this part of the legend (which accounts for the Tailor’s disappearance from Lochaber, a thing uncertain to Dr Cameron Lees) has perhaps not been revealed to that historian. The fury of Lady Lochiel, siding with her blood against her lord, is highly characteristic of the ancient sentiment.*

The example of the Camerons’ barbarity to a minister who had superseded an evicted Cameron tenant (p. 91) reminds us of what is not unfamiliar in a neighbouring island. It was an agrarian outrage of the stereotyped kind, like the attack on Glenbucket by the evicted Macphersons, or the shooting of Macfarlane in the legs by Robin Oig, Rob Roy’s son. The minister told his woful tale to Burt, who mentions it in *Letters from the Highlands*. These outrages were referred to by Grant of Prestongrange, at the trial of James of the Glens for the Glenure murder. Our author explains them by the Highland habit of holding lands without any lease, till the farms came to be regarded as an inheritance. Thus leases were actually refused by tenants, and were very far from being regarded as boons.

The account of agriculture and manner of life which follows, the former sluggish, slatternly, and wasteful; the latter destitute, is very characteristic. The straw was burned, the ears of corn crushed in querns, and Lochiel in vain tried to introduce water mills. The

* My informant has seen a real fairy, which is, or was, often visible near Makomar pool on the Lochy.

absence of salt is illustrated by a tale of Prince Charles's distresses; his peasant host had none to give him: "Salt is dear."

The ancient Keppoch scandals are dished up by our author, but to the personal character of the hero who fell at Culloden he pays a tribute. That Keppoch was "deserted by the children of his tribe"; that the Macdonalds, deprived of their place of honour, declined to charge, is a late story without sufficient evidence. Lochgarry says that he remonstrated with Charles, who attributed the blunder to Lord George Murray, but certainly nothing would have kept Lochgarry out of fire, when he had a chance of going into it. The truth probably is that the Highland left was delayed by distance and marshy ground, though these did not prevent the Macleans, posted next the Macdonalds, from playing their gallant part.

Glengarry, as might be expected, falls under the lash of the Whig historian. His posture was that of Lovat. He stayed at home, while the clan went out under his second son, Angus, the eldest son being in France. Though only nineteen, Angus was married to a niece of Robertson of Struan, and left a son and daughter.* After Culloden, old Glengarry appeared as a *douce*, quiet man, prevailing on his followers to give up their arms. He had won his safety when he was denounced by Barisdale and others of his kindred for having received the Prince's money to raise the clan, kept the gold, and sent out the clan at their own expense. Old Glengarry was therefore consigned to Edinburgh Castle, where, as we learn from a letter in Sir William Fraser's *Book of Grant*, he was totally destitute, tenants paying no rent. Released in 1749, he died at Edinburgh in September 1754. Wodrow, in his *Analecta* (year 1727), tells an odious but contemporary tale about this Glengarry. He had married a Miss Mackenzie, daughter of an

* Appendix D.

Edinburgh goldsmith, who was despised by the clan. After much cruel usage Glengarry interned his wife on a desolate isle, where she refused food, and died. The story is not derived from that of Lady Grange, an adventure of later occurrence, but is not alluded to by Burt, who is fond of such anecdotes. In 1728 Glengarry was married to his second wife, a daughter of Glenbucket, and a clever intriguing woman. Early in 1745, Glengarry disposed his estates to his son Alastair, but concealed the fact from his managing wife. Our author's account of the Grants in Urquhart, who joined the Prince against the commands of their Chief, is borne out by many letters in the *Book of Grant*. The clan made also, in opposition to their Chief's desire, a separate treaty of neutrality with the Highland army, to the extreme irritation of Lord Chesterfield.* The Urquhart men were raised, after Prestonpans, by young Angus Macdonnell of Glengarry, who used threats of fire and sword.

To what we know of old Lovat our author adds nothing. His account of Cluny's bankrupt condition seems absurd in the light of Cluny's Memorial to the French Court, and the recent rebuilding of his castle just before 1745. He had also a Highland company, a source of much profit.

Macgilavray (p. 121) is the hero who fell by the Well of the Dead, after slaying many of the English with his claymore. The branches of the Clan Chattan confederacy are correctly given. The name Shaw, for an important sept, is as old as the fight on the Inch of Perth. There seems to be no known connection between them and the Shaws of Greenock, whose bearings do not display the Cat of Clan Chattan.

As he comes South, our author waxes lazy, or has little of interest to tell. Of the Campbells, naturally, he speaks good words.

* Letter in the Cumberland MSS.

His calculation that the Highlands could raise 220,000 men is much above that of the Gartmore MS. Of course he easily shows that the rising in arms was anything but national. Popery, idleness, and theft were the marks of the more enthusiastic clans. To reform these would be to uproot Jacobitism, and the authority of Chiefs should be undermined by making them grant long written leases, which, however, were unwelcome. Personal "services" should be abolished, and this was done, whether to the relief of tenants or the reverse. In fact our author's views are those of Forbes of Culloden, as published by the Duke of Argyll. The increase of Catholic disabilities is recommended by our Protestant enthusiast. Schools and churches are more legitimate means of influence. At this time (p. 155) the Presbyterian Clergy had neither leisure to read books nor money to buy them. Gratuitous education is suggested, rather prematurely. All these methods would assuredly break the power of the chiefs, and some of them would apparently contribute to the well-being of the people.

The course actually taken by events is well known. As the power of the chief died, that of the landlord increased, and a population which no longer contributed to the chief's military power made room for cattle, sheep, and deer. The romance of the Highland Celt ended, and, if small tenants were excessively destitute before Culloden, they have not, as a rule, been made very comfortable after that decisive day. One has seen, in what was Clanranald's country, huts as unfit for human habitation, and people as destitute and shiftless, as huts and men could have been in the best of the good old times. Nor, perhaps, would the men be much comforted if they could read our author's account of the "slavery" and misery of the commons, a hundred and fifty years ago. The Highland question is greatly the result of English negligence. Had Cromwell's policy been steadily carried through, had roads been

made into the remote districts, the clan system would not have lingered till it was destroyed so late at a single blow. The clans would have accommodated themselves gradually to new conditions, like the Clans of the Border, whereas they suffered a social revolution imposed from above. But the Restoration found the Clans serviceable for overawing the Westland Whigs. William of Orange had his attention directed abroad, and the opportunity given by the failure of 1715 was neglected. By 1745, the Highlands had a large unemployed population, ready to risk a rising, and the face of Highland life after Culloden was changed at a stroke. Happiest were they who carried their language, faith, and many virtues to a new Glengarry in America.

The Rising is harshly judged by our author. It sprung from the chivalry of Lochiel, who fell a sacrifice to honour, regardless of interest. Others joined from other motives of many kinds, no doubt, but Lochiel lighted the heather. When the Prince, in 1746, wished to secure for him a French Colonelcy, he attempted to decline this support. "If it is obtained I shall accept it out of respect to the Prince, but I hope your Majesty will approve of the resolution I have taken to share in the fate of the people I have undone, and, if they must be sacrificed, to fall along with them. It is the only way I can free myself from the reproach of their blood. . . ." So Lochiel wrote to the King, whose "most humble, most obedient, and most faithful subject and servant" he was (January 10, 1747). Lochiel died ere many weeks had passed. His was the tragedy of conflicting duties—duties to his King and to his Clan. He desired to reconcile them in a final fight, and to rescue the Clans by the sword, or die with the faithful followers whom he accuses himself of having undone. Stainless as fearless, true in peace and war to every claim upon him, and to every duty, Lochiel represents the ancient ideal of a gentleman. He did not live to see

the demoralisation of 1747-1755, when poverty, oppression, despair, jealousy, and old Clan hatreds, with the fatal gold of Loch Arkaig, destroyed the honour of certain Highland chiefs and lairds. He did not live to see his Prince's fall. More than Claverhouse he deserves the title of *Ultimus Scotorum*, though, on the other side, Forbes of Culloden rivalled his virtues, and was a partaker with him in misfortune. The names of Flora Macdonald, Pitsligo, Gask, Keppoch, Glenaladale. and many others live with Lochiel's to prove the disinterested purity of motive and conduct which throw as much lustre on the Rising as does the impetuous valour of the Clans.

THE
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND
IN 1750

THE
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND

“SIR,

“I am favour’d with your Letter dated—in which, you represent how much you, and all true Lovers of their Country are affected, to find that this part of Great Britain should, instead of contributing to the Common Interest of Religion and Liberty, so readily and openly Embrace every Occasion to Rebel, and join the Common Enemy, and endeavour to overturn our Happy Constitution and deprive us of Blessings dearer to us than our Lives. You regret that you have not yet been able to get a perfect and Satisfactory Description of the Highlands of Scotland, and the People who inhabit them, either from a Want of a proper Knowledge of the Country in those who have attempted it, or their attachment to the Rebel Clans; that others have describ’d some Parts of the Country from particular views, without having Regard to the Good of the Whole. You therefore entreat me to send you an impartial and particular Account of my Travels through Scotland, especially the Disaffected Highlands.

I will with pleasure do all in my Power to satisfy you in this matter, but as you know how little Time I can spare from my other proper affairs, and that I do not pretend to treat this Subject in an entertaining Manner, or in the Correct Stile of an Author, you must expect nothing from me but plain Truth, as I expect Large Allowances from you for my manner of telling it. That I may lay out what I intend to send you in a manner to be understood I will,—

First; Give you a particular account of my Travels between Pentland Firth, and the Point of Ardnamurchan, and my journey back to Inverness.

Secondly; A more General Account of my journey from Inverness round the East Coast, to Stirling Firth; and from thence to Argyleshire.

Thirdly; Some General Observations Concerning the Late Rebellion, and the Dispositions of the People of Scotland.

Fourthly; I shall propose what appears to me the most likely means to Civilize the Barbarous Highlanders, and improve their Country.

In order to fullfill my first promise I begin with Caithness, where I Landed April the 3rd. It is inhabited by Sinclairs and Dunbars: these last have not been there above two or three preceeding Generations, therefore they have not what the Highlanders call a following, that is a Clannish Right to oblige the Common People to rise in Arms, whenever they please to call them.

Sir George Dumbar of Northfield, was Member for the County
Dumbars from 1727 till 1734, and is a man of great
of Influence among the Gentry, and well affected
Caithness to our Constitution in Church and State. Sir
 William Dumbar of Hemprigs is Nephew to
 Lord Duffus, who was in the Rebellion 1715; but this Gentleman
 lived peaceably at his own House, in time of the Late Rebellion,
 though his hearty wishes to that Cause was little Doubted.

The Sinclairs have been very Antient Possessors of the Islands of
Sinclairs Orkney, and they have been in Caithness for
of about 300 Years, where there are above twenty
Caithness Lairds Great and Small, of that name. The
 Earl of Caithness a Reserv'd whimsical man, is
 Chief of the Clan, but his Estate being small,
 and his Disposition unhospitable and unsociable, he is but little

regarded. The Principal Branches of his family, are, the Lairds of Ulpstar, Dunbeath and May: the two first are well affected, and have good Estates, but the last, on whom the Commons have such Dependance, that many consider him as Chief, was Suspected.

How could four or five of the Lower Gentry raise such Disturbance in the country, and have 4 or 500 men in Readiness to join Sir James Stuart of Burrous, from the Orkneys, if several of the other Heritors, and some of greater Sway, had not been in the Plot? They were in Arms about the Middle of April but the News of the Battle of Culloden spoiled their Parade, and made them sneak home again.

Besides, it was discover'd, that some of the Sinclairs had corresponded with disaffected Persons at Edinburgh, two years before the Rebellion broke out, and had not the Lords Sutherland and Reae been in their way, they had, in all likelihood, been out among the first of the Rebels. Caithness tho' mostly of a Cold and Mossy Soil, produces great quantities of Corn; they export a great deal of Barley, Oatmeal, and Aqua Vitae. There is great plenty of Cod and lesser Fish upon the Coast; and tho' there are none who make Fishing their Business, but what the Country People do in By jobbs; yet besides what serves the Inhabitants, they export a good deal of Dry Fish, and Oil, and have a good deal of Salmon in their season. But the Common People are Slaves, in proportion to the Distance of their Country from the Center of Justice. I have seen a Number of Poor Wretches oblig'd to carry out large Dunghills in Kreels or Baskets on their Backs, from their Landlord's House to his Cornfields; and Women Drive two Horses a piece loaded with Dung, carry a kreel of the same stuff on their Backs, and spin at the Distaff as they travel along.

In Caithness there are above 1500 men; but by Reason of the

prodigious Slavery and Poverty of the Commons, more than half of them are but pitifull half-starved Creatures, of a Low Dwarfish Stature, whom a Stranger would hardly believe to be Inhabitants of Great Britain; so that an Army of them by themselves, does not Deserve to be much valued or fear'd. The Gentry are Strong and Well bodied Men, much given to Hospitality and Drinking. They are so much given to Quarrelling and Law Suits, that till within 20 years that they have Learn'd at their own Cost to be Wiser, the County of Caithness alone, was said to yield more Money to the Lawyers and Petty foggers here, than any other Six Counties of Scotland. The Sinclairs are not thieves.

The Miles here are so unequally laid out, that the best Maps will better Direct you in Computing them than I can, as I was not in a Condition to Measure as I travel'd along. In their Way, they Compute from the Ord of Caithness, to the Pharo head, the Northmost point, to be 34 Miles, and from thence, in a strait Line along the West Coast, to the Point of Ardnamurchan, to be 100 Miles; and from thence, to the Mull of Kintyre, the Southmost Point in Argyleshire, to be 100 more, but the Point of Ardnamurchan is more than half way and the Road by Land by Reason of the vast Ascents and Descents is one Fourth longer than by Sea.

Caithness contains Ten Parishes, Five whereof speak English, after the Scottish Dialect; and the other Five a Corrupt Kind of Irish, tho' the English is daily gaining ground. At Thurso, the most populous town of the County, (tho' Weik is the Head Borough of the Shire) there was a Jacobite Meeting house till after the Battle of Culloden.

From Caithness I came to Strathnaver, the Country of the M^cKays, of which Lord Reae is the Chief. This Country lyes on

the West Coast, is exceeding Rough and Mountainous, and the Passes into the Country *Strathnaver* very Marshy and Boggy; but it breeds great numbers of all sorts of Cattle, produces some Corn, and lyes very convenient for fishing. The Affection of the Late Lord Reae, and all the Gentlemen of his Clan, to our Happy Constitution, is sufficiently known; and the Common People of the M^cKays are the most Religious of all the Tribes that dwell among the Mountains, South or North, and are short of none in their Zeal and Affection to His Majesty. Of old, they were reckon'd the most Barbarous and Wicked of all the Clans; but they were effectually Civiliz'd in time of the Late Lord Reae, to which Lieutenant General M^cKay a man of Eminent Virtue and Merit contributed not a Little. He had a great Ascendant over Lord Reae, as being his Cousin, his Father-in-Law, and a Man of great Knowledge and Experience of the World. Lord Rae had the Civilizing his Clan so much at Heart, that he made application to the General Assembly, for a Collection through all Scotland; by which, and a Liberal Contribution of his own, tho' his Estate was then very Small, he Erected two new Parishes in his Country, planted them with Ministers and Schools, and encouraged Religion, Loyalty, and Industry among his People, both by his Authority and Example. The McKays are said to be a better Militia than any of the Neighbouring Clans, for which this is assigned as a Reason that Several Officers of this Clan in the Dutch Service obtain'd the Lord Reae's Countenance to Recruit in his Country, upon this express Condition that they should Return the Men after being a Certain number of Years in the Service, and take Raw Men in their Room: that Lord well Knowing how to make good use of those who were thus skill'd in the use of Arms, by training and animating the Rest, when there was Occasion for it. Nor are the

Common People here such Slaves or Dwarfs as are their Neighbours of Caithness, but are a Tall, Strong, Wellbodied People. The late Lord Reae not only Civiliz'd his Clan but he improv'd his own Estate to above the Double of what he found it, tho' it is not yet near £1000 p. Annum, and tho' the present Lord Reae is but a very weak man, yet he Inherits his Father's Loyalty and Honesty. This Family have had the Property of that Country for near 300 years. The Lord Reae can raise 700 Men betwixt his Own and the Neighbouring Counties. The McKays abhor Thieving.

From Strathnaver I travell'd Eastward to Sutherland properly so called tho' Strathnaver is also a part of the County of Sutherland.

Sutherlands This Country is almost wholly the Property of
of the Earl of Sutherland. The good Disposition
Sutherland and Eminent Services of this Family both in the
 Year 1715 and in time of the Late Rebellion is
 sufficiently Known. The Common People who dwell along the
 East Coast are next to the Caithness People for Poverty Slavery
 and Dwarfish Stature; but the People farther up the Country
 towards Strathnaver live better, are taller and of a stronger make.

The Gentlemen and Commons of Lord Sutherland's Clan and some few Gordons who dwell among them are generally well-affected to the Present Government.

In Lord Sutherland's Lands live a small but fierce Clan of the name of Gun. They are about 150 in number, they *Guns* have a Chieftain of their own, who lives upon a small Mortgage not above £20 p^r annum, but his Clan give him a generous assistance to keep up the Grandeur of a Chieftain. They have been Inhabitants of Sutherland for above 500 years, and were so much considered of old that MacDonald of the Isles married a

Daughter of the Chief of the Guns. The Earls of Sutherland tho' Proprietors of every foot of Land the Guns possess have been in former times oblig'd to Court their Favour and Friendship; but they have been entirely at the Devotion of the Sutherland Family since the Revolution. Their Chieftain Captain Gun, was one of the Militia Captains in time of the Late Rebellion, and it was no secret that his dependance on Lord Sutherland was rather the Motive of his Acting as he did, than his own inclination.

The Sutherland Family have been in possession of this Country for at least 800 years. They were of old very Powerfull, did Eminent Services to the Crown of Scotland against *Gordons* the Danes, who made many Descents upon this Northern Coast, and obtained Honours of a very Ancient Date; About 200 years ago a Son of the Huntley or Gordon family married the Heiress of Sutherland, and for two or three Succeeding Generations the Earls of Sutherland were called Gordon, which is the Reason that Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown in Murray and other Cadets of this Family retain that name, but some Ages ago the Stock of the family resum'd the name of Sutherland, which they have kept ever since.

Tis Pity the present Earl shou'd be so weak a man, but his Lady behaved very honourably, tho' her Brother, the Lord Elcho was engaged in the Late Rebellion.

It is little doubted that the Sutherlands are a Branch of the Old Catti from the German Coast. They landed in Caithness which Word in Old Scotch signifies the Landing place of the Cattis. When they became more populous they spread Southward to this Country called Sutherland by the Caithness people, but in Irish it is called Caladh, that is the Country of the Catti to this day. In Lord Sutherland's Country excluding Strathnaver and Assin (tho' a

part of the Shire of Sutherland) are Eight Parishes. The Earl can Raise of his own Name the Gordons of Sutherland and the Guns, 1200 Men, but a third of them are but mean despicable Creatures. The Earls of Sutherland have always been as absolute in their own Country as any Chief in Scotland. The People here detest thieving; but the Camerons and MacDonalDs frequently travel through the Countries of the Mackenzies and the Rosses to steal from them. This Country produces Corn enough for the Inhabitants and some for the market. They have plenty of Fish from the Sea; but the Coast is mostly Bold and open. Some Coal has been dug there and there is little doubt but great Plenty of it might be found if skilfully sought for. Great Numbers of Cattle of all Kinds are Bred here, but they are of a very Small Size. There is no Borough in the Shire of Sutherland but a little town called Dornoch where there is no Trade and not above forty families.

Having taken my farewell of Sutherland I cross'd the Firth of Tain and landed in that part of Ross which lyes upon the East Coast commonly called East Ross. This Country all along the East Coast produces great Plenty of Grain; but Fern Nig and Tarbot three Contiguous Parishes look like one Continued Field of Corn. The Ancient Inhabitants assumed the name of the Country for their Sirname and were a very Considerable Clan. Their Chief was an Earl 500 Years ago. King Robert the Second of Scotland married a Daughter of this Family and Sir Alexander *Rosses* Leslie by marrying the Heiress became Earl of Ross.

Sir Alexander had a Son who Succeeded him in the Earldom, and a Daughter who married to M^cDonald Laird of the Isles. The young Earl was succeeded by a Daughter who being Deformed Retir'd to a Nunnery, and Resigned the Earldom in favour of John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, her Uncle by the Mother's Side and Grandson of Robert the Second, but M^cDonald of the Isles

reckoning his Wife the true heir, did not trouble himself with the tedious way of Sueing for his Right at Law, but instead of that March'd of a Sudden into Aberdeenshire with an Army Consisting of 10,000 Highlanders to Destroy the Earl of Buchan for assuming the Title of Earl of Ross. There he met the Army which Robert Earl of Fife, then Regent of Scotland, and Father to the Earl of Buchan, had sent to Oppose him, and a most Furious and Bloody Battle was fought at a Village called Harlaw till Night parted them. Both Sides claim'd the Victory; but the M^cDonalds returned home, took possession of the Earldom of Ross and kept it from the year 1411 till 1476 when this Earldom was annexed to the Crown by M^cDonald's having join'd the Earl of Douglass and other powerfull Chiefs in the great Rebellion they raised against James the Second.

But the Rosses being the Old Inhabitants several Branches of that Family kept possession in time of the Leslies and M^cDonalds, and Remain there to this day. The most Considerable of them was Ross of Balnagown, a Loyal and Religious Family for some preceeding Generations. This Estate which is near £1000 yearly Rent devolved upon Lord Rosses Family about 18 years ago. How zealously the Master of Ross and his Tenants joined the Loyal Party in the Defence of their King and Country in time of the Late Rebellion is well known. The Loyalty of Several other Gentlemen of that name was Suspected, tho' only Malcolm Ross younger of Pitcalny was in Arms. The Commons of this Clan are a Well affected Honest Industrious and Religious People. This is the Reason why Pitcalny and all who privately abetted him were not able to raise above 30 of the Refuse of the Commons, as they abhorred the Design. The Rosses are about 600 in Number, they hate Thieving, but have often Suffer'd in this way from the Camerons and M^cDonalds.

Near the Firth of Tain lives M^cLeod of Cadboll a Gentleman possess d or about 4 or £500 a year. About 6 or 8 years before the Late Rebellion he brought a Nonjuring Preacher to that Country, and persuaded some of his Neighbours to subscribe for a Stipend for him, tho' the Commons and even his own Tenants enter'd very unwillingly into it. This Gentleman preferr'd possessing his Estate to Indulging his Inclinations, and therefore did not rise in Arms. He has not what the Highlanders call a following.

McLeod
of
Cadboll

About Six Miles from the Firth of Tain lyes New Tarbot, the principal Dwelling of the Earl of Cromartie, it is a fine seat Beautifully situated on the Cromartie Firth. This Earl is a Branch of the Seaforth Family of about 150 years standing. Most part of his Estate which was never more than £1200 a Year lyes in East Ross. The few Cadets of his Family who Rose with him in the Late Rebellion lived in Assint and Loch Broom on the West Coast, and the Country of Cogach there was his own Property. From the West Coast he gathered about 200 Men and of his Tenants in East Ross he rais'd about 100 who were Drag'd much against their own Inclination to the Rebellion. M^cCulloch of Glastulich liv'd in the Earl's Neighbourhood, and being Remarkably disaffected became an Officer in his Regiment.

Earl
of
Cromartie

Near the Earl's Seat lives M^cLeod of Ginnies, the Lineal Heir of M^cLeod of Assint, tho' that Estate is now in other Hands, he is Chief of that Branch of the M^cLeods commonly called M^cNeils. He gave good proof of his Affection to the Government by raising a Company of Militia in time of the Late Rebellion of which he himself was Captain; he has a Small

McLeod
of
Ginnies

Estate in East Ross. This Country being a Rich Soil for Corn affords but very little Pasturage, as they have not yet got into the way of sowing some of their Lands with Grass Seed. They are plentifully supplied with Fish from the Sea and the Country abounds with Tame Fowl. Here one may buy 20 Large Whitings or 18 Eggs for a Penny and often a Pound of good Mutton for an halfpenny.

To the West of the Earl of Cromartie's Seat upon an Arm of the Sea called Cromartie Firth is the Country of the Monroes. Tis well known the Part they Acted in 1715 and during the Late Rebellion. The Gentlemen of this Clan are all Firm and Steady to a man, and the Commons are well-affected Honest Industrious and Religious People. Those who call them Enthusiastical, Revengefull and Lazy do not know them, or are highly prejudiced against them. Tho' their Country is mostly a Sowr Wet Soil, and the Cromartie Firth not so good for Fishing as the other Seas in the Neighbourhood yet they have Bread in Plenty and Live Comfortably. *Monroes*

The M^cKenzies and other Rebellious Clans bear them an Inveterate Hatred and Illwill for their Loyalty. The Monroes can raise 600 Good men. Their Country of which they have been very Ancient Possessors is called Ferrindonnal, that is the Country of Donnald from a famous Man of that name. The Estate of Sir John Gordon of Invergordon Secretary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales lyes in the Bosom of the Monroes Country. The Disposition of this Gentleman, with the Zeal of Gordon of Ardoch his Uncle and Ardoch the younger who was in Arms for the Government, is sufficiently known. The Commons on their Lands have the same good Principles with the Commons of the Monroes.

To the West of this Country still on the East Side of Ross is Brahan Castle the Seat of the Seaforth Family Chief of the

M^cKenzies. They are originally Fitzgeralds of the Family of Kildare or Desmond in the Kingdom of Ireland, but they have had Lands in Ross-shire upwards of 400 years, tho' the M^cDonalds and other Clans call them Upstarts. They are a powerfull and Rich Clan. They fought many Battles with the M^cDonalds, especially the Glengarry Family, and have possess'd themselves of Several parts of the Country which of old belong'd to the M^cDonalds. The M^cKenzies stood out against the Reformation in the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, but Colin first Earl of Seaforth, a man of great Parts and Merit, Reformed his Country: He planted Ministers among them who by his Influence brought the People rather from Heathenish Darkness than Popery, and they were in a fair way of being quite Reform'd when the Civil War broke out in Charles the First's time. George then Earl of Seaforth sided with the Covenanters and was entrusted by them to manage their Affairs at Court. I have seen his Subscription with that of the Principall Gentlemen of his Clan, and all the Clergy of his Country to an Original Copy of the Covenant ingrossed upon a Large Parchment, still Extant, but this Earl betray'd his Trust and turned against the Covenanters in the year 1645 for which they excommunicated him as a Perjur'd Traitor, and soon after he was oblig'd to Retire to Holland, where he ended his Days.

Ever since that time the M^cKenzies have been great Enemies to the Presbyterians and by their interest at Court in time of Charles the Second, and James the Seventh they had a considerable Hand in all the Unparallel'd Oppressions and Persecutions they then Suffer'd. In James the Seventh's Reign Kenneth then Earl of Seaforth married a Popish Lady Daughter of the Family of Powis in England and declared himself a Papist. At the Revolution he follow'd King James to France and from thence to Ireland, where King James created him a Marquis. He return'd after King

William's Act of Indemnity and took great Care to Educate his Son the last Earl a zealous Papist. This Earl with George first Earl of Cromartie, M^cKenzie of Delvin, and other Branches of their Family were in high Favour at Court in the Reign of Queen Anne, and Contributed not a little to the Favour obtained for the Nonjuring Clergy, and the Hardships the Church of Scotland endured in that Reign.

In the year 1715 William then Earl of Seaforth join'd Heartily in that Rebellion with about 1,500 Men; and in the year 1719 he Returned from France, and Gathered as many of his Clan as could be got together and fought against the King's Forces at Glenshiel. Tho' his Estate was then and for some years after in the Hands of the Government, most of the Rents were Collected by his Tools, and remitted him to France. Great sums were also Raised among the Gentry and some even from the Wretched Commons by way of Benevolence in order to Purchase their Chief's Estate so soon as it should be exposed to Sale. When Seaforth obtained his Pardon and the Estate was put up to Sale, a Creature of the Earl's bought it for less than three Years Purchase, as Nobody would Venture his Money upon an Estate in so Remote and Wild a Country Inhabited by a Clan so Remarkably poisoned with Disaffection. This Estate was more than Double the Real Value of it in Debt, and by its Selling so Low a Number of Families who had Great Claims upon it were Ruin'd.

The Established Clergy could get no footing among the M^cKenzies from the Revolution till after the year 1715 and then by Degrees and with much Difficulty that Country was Planted with Ministers. The People there were sunk to such a Degree in Barbarity and Ignorance that they were much to be pitied, for tho' the Late Earl and the Gentry Caress'd such Nonjuring Preachers and Schoolmasters as lived among them, yet they were at no Pains

to instruct the Commons whom the Gentry industriously Kept in Darkness, that they might be the fitter Tools for their Wicked purposes, and bear the Yoke of their Tyranny with the less Grudge.

Tho' the present Seaforth is Hearty and Zealous for the Government, he has not yet been able to Cure the Gentlemen of his Clan of a Disease they have been so long Contracting, but they are Recovering Slowly and by Degrees, and it is to be hoped that in process of Time, they may come to be Compleatly Cured. Seaforth and some other Chiefs in the North of Scotland whose Predecessors have been at much Pains to poison their Clans may observe, as Cromwell did when the Enthusiastick Spirit he had Raised in his Army, to serve a turn had like to have retorted with much Violence upon himself, that it was much Easier to Raise the Devil than to lay him again.

The M^cKenzie Clan including Cromartie's Estate possess 12 Parishes on the East Coast of Ross. The Principal Gentlemen are Stuart M^cKenzie Brother to the Earl of Bute who was Luckier than to have a McKenzie Education; M^cKenzie of Seatwal a Gentleman of a good Estate, and perhaps the only true Whig of them in that Country; the M^cKenzies of Coul, Kilcowie, Allangrang, Red Castle, Belmaduthy, Sidy, Highfield, Lenton, Davockmaluag and Inchcouter with many others of Lesser Estates all live upon the East Side of Ross including the Peninsula called Ardmeanach or Cromartieshire which was of Old but a Little Penisle of Ross Shire.

But the Bulk of Seaforth's Estate lying upon the West Coast, I went thither and travel'd Westward through the Country of Straglass. Straglass lyes upon each side of the River Beawly and belongs mostly to the Laird of Chisolm Chief of that name.

The Laird and his Children are Protestants; but his Clan are Popish except a very few. He and his Clan were in the Rebellion

Chisolms 1715: but he was not personally in the last
of Rebellion, tho' one of his Sons and 150 of his
Straglass Clan went along with the Frasers. For many
 years before the Battle of Culloden two Popish

Priests Resided here and said Mass publickly; the Country People built them a good Meeting house, tho' the Protestant missionary station'd there on the King's Bounty could get no place to shelter him from the Weather. After the Battle of Culloden the Laird apprehended one or both of these Priests and sent them Prisoners to Inverness. This Clan consists of about 300 Well bodied Men. A part of Straglass belonged to the Family of Lovat.

Having left Straglass I travelled towards Kintail and went by Glenshiel where the Spaniards and a number of *Kintail* Rebels were defeated in the year 1719. Kintail was the first possession of the Seaforth Family in Scotland. The Commons here are M^cRaes, and are by far the most Fierce, Warlike, and Strongest Men under Seaforth; but 'till within these 20 years they were little better than Heathens in their Principles, and almost as unclean as Hottentots in their way of Living; but whilst Seaforth's Estate was in the Hands of the Government about the year 1726 a Large Parish here, where there had been no Minister for many years (nor would they suffer any of the Established Clergy) was divided into two, and Ministers and Schools were planted in them, which has made a Surprizing Alteration in the People even in point of Common Civility Decency and Cleanliness.

In order to be thoroughly acquainted with Seaforth's Country, I travel'd Northwards upon this Western Coast and came to

Lochailsh Lochailsh. This Country makes one Entire and Compact Parish, is the Property of Seaforth and

inhabited by Mathesons who are next to the Kintail People in Stature and Valour. They and the Kintail People were the only part of Seaforth's Men that behaved well at Sheriff Muir, for when the rest ran away shamefully they kept their Ground, 'till a good Number of them were left Dead upon the Spot.

To the North of Lochailsh is Loch Carran the property of Seaforth and a part of it the Property of M^cKenzie or Aplecross. This Large Country *Loch Carran* was but one Parish 'till there was a new Parish erected in it at the time in which the new Erection in Kintail took place. The People here are M^cKenzies.

The next Country is Gairloch the property of McKenzie of Gairloch who is worth about £500 a year this place. *Gairloch* Great shoals of Herrings come in to the Loch Occasionally and prodigious Numbers of Cod are Caught here yearly in the Month of March which brings some Strangers amongst them every Year.

To the North of Gairloch is the Country of Loch Broom the *Loch Broom* property of Several small Heritors of the McKenzie Clan. The Arm of the Sea called Loch Broom comes in about 14 Miles within the Land. At this place 100 Sail of Ships have been often Loaded with Herrings in a Season, but when the Herrings do not Come within the Mouth of the Loch, the Country People have neither Ability or Skill to fit out proper Vessels to Catch them, and the Gentlemen do not Concern themselves with it. Herrings come often into all the Lochs on this Coast; but Loch Broom is the most Remarkable place, besides that 200 Sail of Ships may Anchor safely, whatever Way the Wind blows, either at Loggy Bay, or Island Martin.

None of the Landed Gentlemen of this Country were in Arms

in the Late Rebellion but the Younger Brothers of two or three of these small Lairds gather'd as Many Men as they could Force and joined the Earl of Cromartie, expecting by this means to make their Fortunes, and one may easily guess whether the Elder Brothers assisted them secretly in that project, Especially Considering that Seaforth their Chief was Zealous and Hearty for the Government.

To the North of Loch Broom is the Country of Coigach, the Property of the Late Earl of Cromartie. About 70 *Coigach* years ago, it was the property of M^cCleod of Coigach, and falling to an Heiress, who was married to George the first Earl of Cromartie, who being an Antiquary, pretended to prove that this was the first Family of the M^cLeods, and in order to set himself up as Chief of that Clan he obtained from the Crown the Title of Lord M^cLeod for the Secondary Title of his Family. The Major part of the Common People are still M^cLeods and are an Honest, Well disposed People if not Oppressed or Mis-led. This Country lying upon the North Side of Loch Broom is very Conveniently situated for Fishing. There are Fir Woods at a place Called Achichall which the Earl of Cromartie sold about 25 Years ago to a Timber Merchant for £1600: here is also a Large Forest for Deer. This Country and Loch Broom make one Parish, but there are five different places of Worship in it, and it is above 60 Miles in Circumference.

To the North of Coigach is the Country of Assint, about 80 years ago the Property of a Family of the M^cLeods, now *Assint* the Property of a Near Cousin of Seaforth's and of his Name; but it is at present Sequestered for Debt, and the proprietor is scarce one Degree above an Idiot. The Common People in Assint are mostly M^cLeods. Here lived M^cKenzie of Ardloch, who 'till the Late Rebellion broke out was Esteemed as an Honest

Worthy Man; His father was a Papist but Educated him and a Numerous Family of other Children Protestants. It was imagined he was partly Deluded and partly Compelled to Rise with the Earl of Cromartie, a Branch of whose Family he was. Assint is a Parish by itself and is the Northmost Boundary of the M^cKenzies Country on the West Coast and Borders on Lord Reae's Country. The Extent of this Whole Country from the Arm of the Sea called Edrachulis on the North to Glenelg on the South in a strait Line is about 60 Miles; but if it was to be Coasted it would Measure above three times that Length by Reason of the many Lochs and Creeks that run up into the Country. It is prodigiously Rough and Mountainous and Breeds numerous Herds of Cattle of all Sorts, but does not yield Corn Enough for the Support of the Inhabitants. Till of late it abounded with Woods of Oak, Fir, and Birch, bat these hare been so ill-managed by the Inhabitants that they are much upon the Decay, and they scarce know what it is to Plant a Tree.

This Western Coast Contains Eight Parishes two whereof are newly erected but this Country would require at least Four more to have the People tolerably accommodated.

Long Island.

From Assint I crossed the Sea to that long Ridge of Islands which lye in a Line and go under the Common name of the Long Island the North Part of which is Called Lewis, now the Property of Seaforth, about 150 years ago the Property of a Family of the M^cLeods. This part of the Long Island is about 36 Miles long and 10 Broad; it was Divided into two Parishes but when Seaforth's Estate came into the Government's Hands after the Year 1715, two new Parishes were Erected in it. Here is the proper place of this Narrative to make a Conjecture of the Extent of Ground

possessed by Seaforth and his Clan: They have 12 Parishes on the East Side of Ross including the little Shire of Cromartie: 8 Parishes on the Western Coast and 4 in that part of the Long Island called Lewis, in all 24. The Common Inhabitants of Lewis are Morisons, M^cAulays, and M^cKivers but when they go from Home all who live under Seaforth call themselves M^cKenzies.

The M^cKenzies themselves are not Thieves, but such of them who Live on the Continent have been great Sufferers by the Thieves of the McDonald and Cameron Clans.

The Gentlemen of the name of M^cKenzie are frugal and industrious in their way, and Remarkably disposed to grow Rich. They have screwed their Rents to an extravagant Height (which they vitiously term improving their Estates) without putting the Tenant upon a proper way of improving the Ground to enable him to pay that Rent, which makes the Common People little better than Slaves and Beggars.

The M^cKenzie Clan, if united with their Chief, could Raise above 3000 Men, but by Reason of the great Poverty and Slavery of the Commons a third of them are but Dross and few of them are Remarkable for Valour except the People of Kintail and Lochailsh already mentioned and of these there are not above 300 Men fit to Carry Arms.

When the Late Seaforth got Possession of his Estate in the year 1729 or 30 the Pretended Purchaser or Trustee, whose name was Donald Murchison, applied to the Lords of Session for a Reduction of the four new Parishes erected on Seaforth's Estate while it was in the Hands of the Government; but they Refused his Demand and by their Sentence Confirmed the new Erections. The next Expedient they fell upon was to threaten any Minister who should accept of any of the vacant Benefices, and to Harass one or

two young men who were already settled in these new Parishes in such a manner that they shou'd be glad to quit them, but the Church encouraged and supported them, so that the other new Erections here and elsewhere upon forfeited Estates to the Number of 8 or 9 were planted with Ministers to the great advantage of the Inhabitants. But to return to the Long Island.

Harris the next District to the South of Lewis is the property of the Laird of M^cLeod. This is a Large Country, tho' but one Parish, being if I forget not 15 Miles long and 10 Broad, so that another Parish wou'd be still rather too little for that tract of Country.

Next to Harris southward is North Uist, the property of the *North Uist* Slate Family; it is about Nine Miles Diameter being much the same in Length and Breadth. Here is an excellent Harbour called Loch Maddy. The Inhabitants of Lewis, Harris, and North Uist are Protestants, and the Inhabitants of Benbicula, South Uist and Barra are all, except a very few, Papists.

Benbicula is a Small Island two Miles to the South of North Uist and two Miles to the South of the former is South Uist a *Clanronalds* Large Island about two Miles long, and three or four Miles Broad. It is the property of the Moidart Family commonly called Clanronald and here that Family has lived for some time past. This Island with their Estate on the Continent in Moidart and Arisaig is about £1100 well paid yearly Rent. This Family was always Popish and Remarkable for Rapine and Wickedness while they lived on the Continent. The present Clanronald is reckoned a very weak man.

About two Leagues to the South of South Uist lyes Barra, an Island about 5 Miles long and three Broad, it *M^cNeils* belongs to a Family of the M^cNeils. This being the Southmost of that long Row of Islands which lye in a very Open

and Boisterous Sea, Ships and other Vessels have been often thrown by Tempests upon it whose Crews the Inhabitants are said to have Murdered that they might secure the Goods and Wrecks to themselves; but notwithstanding these Barbarous and Shocking opportunities of enriching themselves M^cNeil (whose Family has been always Popish) and his People have been always the Scorn of their Neighbours both for their Poverty and Pride. There are several small Islands upon the Coast of these already mentioned, some of them Inhabited and others not.

The Long Island produces great Plenty of Barley Oats and Rye which Affords Bread to the Inhabitants; Ale to the better Sort; and great Plenty of Corn Spirits, these Islands might be improved to bear Double the Quantity of Grain they at present do. They have vast Herds of Cattle of all Sorts; but of a Smaller Size than those on the opposite Continent they have some Deer and Roes and Wild Fowl haunt these Islands in incredible Multitudes. Their fresh water Lakes and the Small Rivers that run from them afford plenty of Eels Trout and Salmon; here are many Creeks and small Lochs from the Sea that abound with Cod Ling and lesser Fish, and great Shoals of Herrings have been often taken in them especially at Loch Maddy where an English Company set up a Fishery in Charles the Firsts Time but the Civil War put an end to that Project.

I am informed that some Gentlemen in Argyleshire have fitted out three or four Small Vessels for these Islands this very Season and that they have already Cured Cod and Ling to the Value of £1500 Sterling.

Formerly the People of these Islands and the Isle of Skye with the little Islands in the Neighbourhood of Skye Landed their Commodities at Glenelg and on the Western Coast of Ross and

from those places Carried them on Horseback to Inverness, from whence they Carried back Merchant Goods of several Kinds sufficient to serve them for a Year; but about 40 years ago they began to trade by Sea to Glasgow, and for some time past have had no Commerce at all with Inverness which has given a Severe Blow to the Trade of that Town. Besides Black Cattle which they send off in Drovers in the Summer Time, they export Great Quantities of Hides and Skins of all Sorts, Woollen Yarn, Tallow Butter Cheese and Feathers for Beds.

The People in these Islands are more given to Labour and Industry both at Sea and Land than their Neighbours on the Continent: they are generally of a small Size, being much enslaved by Chamberlains or Factors and other Gentlemen who live among them. They are from their being separated by a pretty large sea from the rest of the World a more Tractable and Honest People than one would expect.

Having hired a Boat at Barra with a fair Gale I landed in a few Hours in the Isle of Skye where the Laird of *McLeod* has a Considerable Estate. Before the Civil Wars in Charles the First's time the McLeods were a Numerous and Powerfull Clan at that time they were on the King's side, and suffered so much at Worcester anno 1651 that by the general Consent of all the Northern Clans it was agreed they should have a Respit from War till their Numbers should be increased. After the Restoration those who Survived expected to have been much Considered by Charles the Second; but all they got was the Honour of Knighthood bestow'd on Two Eminent Men of the Name without any Estate to Support that Dignity; for which Reason the McLeods have ever since allowed other Clans to fight the quarrels of the Stuart Family by which means they are now so Numerous that although Several Considerable Families of them

are extinct, such as the Families of Lewis, Coigach, and Assint yet the Laird of M^cLeod alone betwixt his Possessions in the Isle of Skye, Harris, and Glenelg can Raise 900 able bodied Men. Tis well known that M^cLeod ventured his Life in the Service of the Government at the Head of a good number of these Men in time of the Late Rebellion. The Rebels had an implicable Illwill and Malice against Him, as they alledged and many of them believed, that he not only Deserted but betrayed their Cause: what Truth there is in this I will not take upon me to Determine.

The Slate Family of which the Late Sir Alexander was Head call themselves M^cDonald by way of Eminence as they *M^cDonalds* alledge that they are the true Successors of McDonald Laird of the Isles; but this Honour is Disputed with them by the other Families of the M^cDonalds, such as Clanronald, Glengarry, Keppoch, and Glenco, none of which will yield to the Slate Family or indeed to one Another in point of Precedence which is a great matter with them. The Lower Sort of Gentry and the Commons have the most Ridiculous Stories of the Antiquity and Grandeur of the M^cDonalds handed down to them from Age to Age of which the following one will serve for a Sufficient Specimen. They are made to believe that they are descended from a King of Athens whose Second Son married Scota the King of Egypt's Daughter about the time Moses was Born, which predecessor of theirs became General of Pharaoh's Army, Beat the Æthiopians in Several Battles, and drove them out of Egypt. All that this Hero demanded for his Reward was no more than some Ships and a Colony of People that he might Conquer for himself in any place where Fortune shou'd drive him. This was readily granted him and he soon after landed in Spain, where he and his People perform'd such famous Exploits that the King of Spain yielded his Crown to him; but in the Succeeding Age this man's

two Sons, whose names I have forgot, finding Spain too narrow for their Ambitious Views undertook an Expedition to Ireland, but while they were at Sea a Dispute arose which of the two should be King of Ireland, which was thus settled: that he whose Hand shou'd first touch Irish Ground should be Sovereign of the Country, and that the other should assist him in Conquering it, leave him in Peaceable Possession of it and Return to Spain. When they drew near to Shore the younger Brother, perceiving the Ship in which his Elder Brother was to have got the Start of him by some Yards, he with his Durk cut off his own left Hand and threw it on Shore, and then called all the Company to Witness that his Hand first touched Irish Ground. The Elder Brother declared that he was worthy of a Kingdom and therefore would not dispute it with him. In a very short time they subdued the Aborigines of Ireland and that Kingdom being too narrow for them, a Younger Brother of the King of Ireland brought a large Colony along with him and Settled in the Isles and Highlands of Scotland, which had no other Inhabitants at that time than Wild Beasts, and they being the first Possessors they Reckon the Ground to be the Property of the M^cDonalds, tho' in Succeeding Ages several other Clans by their permission made Settlements for themselves in Several parts of the Highlands.

They say that several other Clans, such as the Dunbars, M^cLauchlans, Lamonds, &c. are but Branches of their Family and that as by the Law and Custom of Scotland all Wrecks and Strays (i.e.) things whose owners are not known, belong to the King, so every man who had not a Chief of his own should be a follower of the M^cDonalds. They think that M^cDonald of the Isles was in possession of the half of Scotland, and that he was rather a Confederate than a Subject of the Kings of Scotland. These Foolish Idle Tales are often repeated to the young Children and

are believed, I am afraid, much better than Scripture, and have this bad Effect upon them that the poorest and most despicable Creatures of the name of M^cDonald looks upon himself as a Gentleman of far Superior Quality and Dignity than a man in England of £1000 a year. This is one Reason why so few of these people pursue Industry Trade or Handicrafts of any sort. The Slate Family have in a great Measure recovered the Common People on their Estates from their Folly and Idleness, and the few M^cDonalds who live in Kintire are brought to Industry by the Example of their Neighbours the Campbells; but great numbers of the Keppoch, Glengarry, and Clanronald Families, tho' not worth a Shilling, would be ashamed to be seen at any Kind of Labour tho' they think it no Shame to Steal or go through the Country asking assistance of their Neighbours (which they call thigging) or living upon free Quarters wherever they happen to be, and they Reckon it an Honour done to other people that they should be entertained by them. Tho' these Ridiculous Stories of their Genealogy have been fatal to the M^cDonalds themselves, and have made them become a Nuisance to their Neighbours, yet it is very Certain that this Tribe have been long settled in Scotland and that their Chief, McDonald of the Isles, had a great number of lesser Clans under his protection and so much at his Command that, in a few days, he could raise by means of the Fiery Cross 5000 Men on the Continent and as many from the Isles. The MacDonalds pretend that their Attachment to the Stuart Family proceeds from a Principle of Loyalty and Duty but it is observable of several Highland Clans, particularly the M^cDonalds, that they have been mostly Loyal to some King or other who was not in Possession, but seldom to any King upon the Throne, and when they could not find a Pretender they never were at a Loss for a pretence of some Kind or other for Rapine and Plunder. Their Rebellions against

the State and their Depredations on the Subject on these Occasions if enumerated would fill a Large Folio, and an Octavo would hardly Contain their Rebellions against the Stuart Family whilst on the Throne.

In the Account already given of McDonald of the Isles as Earl of Ross it was observed that his Estate was forfeited for Rebelling against James the 2nd of Scotland, but that some time after he was restored by that Prince to the Lordship of the Isles (but never to the Earldom of Ross) which his Family enjoy'd 'till the time of James the 5th, Anno 1535, when Donald Lord of the Isles dying without issue, the King resolving to civilize the Highlanders resumed that Lordship and refused to give Possession to Donald M^cDonald of Slate, who claimed it as next Heir Male upon which Donald of Slate raised his Men and besieged the King's Garrison in the Castle of Islanddonnan which stands upon a Rock in that Arm of the Sea that comes up through Kintail. Here M^cDonald lost his Life and his Son was Restored to the Estate of Slate by Queen Mary, who was the next Successor to the Crown. That Family never after made any Demand of the Lordship of the Isles or the Lands belonging to it.

The Slate Family was engaged in all the Rebellions at and since the Revolution, except the last, when Sir Alexander made a Gratefull and Honourable return to the Royal Clemency in restoring him to his Estate. This Family can raise 800 Able men.

Tho' Sir Alexander did the Rebels in his Neighbourhood all the Acts of Friendship in his Power after the Battle of Culloden, and was a Diligent and Successful intercessor for them while he Lived, yet they hated him as being an Apostate from the Politicks of his Family and as they imagined a Betrayer of their Cause. He was no sooner Dead than the following Epitaph was handed about among

the Jacobites with great applause

If Heaven be pleased when Sinners Cease to Sin
 If Hell be pleased when Sinners enter in
 If Earth be pleased to quit a truckling Knave
 Then all are pleased McDonald's in his Grave.

The M^cLeods and M^cDonalds of Skye are a well proportioned able bodied People and of a good Size, tho' generally not so Tall as the Camerons and some Families of the M^cDonalds on the Continent. The Commons are Honest and Well disposed, have a great Veneration for their Respective Chiefs, are all Protestants, and Love the Established Clergy, but many of the Gentry of both Clans were slower in taking the Happy Turn than their Chiefs, and it was believed if they would have Led them on, and that they saw any Prospect of Success, they would have joined heartily in the Rebellion and it is well known that some Gentlemen of the M^cLeods, notwithstanding their Chiefs utmost Efforts to discourage them, did join the Rebels.

The third Family in Skye is the Laird of M^cKinnan, an ancient Clan but never of any great Estate or Number of Men. He did not possess the Eighth part of the Isle of Skye and could raise of his own Clan about 240 Men. His Estate was much encumber'd with Debt; but he made a very bad Return to the King's Mercy in Restoring him his Estate after the Rebellion 1715. Near the Isle of Skye are 4 or 5 Small Islands the Inhabitants *M^cKinnane* whereof are all Papists, except of one of them which belongs to M^cLean of Coll, the Inhabitants of which by the Influence and Authority of that Gentleman renounced Popery about 24 years ago. All these Small Islands were Erected into one Parish while the forfeited Estates were in the Hands of the Government after the Rebellion 1715 and on that Occasion another new Parish was also Erected in Skye. This is the largest of

all the Western Isles except the Long Island, and Considering that it is from 20 to 30 Miles Broad, tho not above 40 Miles Long, it Contains very near as many Acres as the Former: it produces as much Corn as serves the Inhabitants when the Seasons are not unfavourable, and Breeds great numbers of Cattle of all sorts. Its Coasts afford great plenty of Fish and vast Sholes of Herring come frequently tho' not Annually into their Lochs.

Having taken Leave of the Isle of Skye I crossed the narrow Sea betwixt that and the Continent and Landed in Glenelg: this
Glenelg County Borders on Kintail which I have already described. It is the property of the Laird of M^cLeod, very Fertile both in Corn and Pasturage: the People are Protestants and are much Civiliz'd and Polished by the Barracks of Bernera which stand on the Coast.

In all the Countries I have yet travel'd through the People Live by their own Labour and Industry and are no more given to Theft than the Lowland Countries, but as I proceeded on
Knoidart the Coast Southward I came to Knoidart which is a perfect Den of Thieves and Robbers. Glengarry is Proprietor of this Country and it is inhabited by his Clan who are all Papists. The Inhabitants of this Country have been ever Wild Rapacious and a plague and Disturbance to their Neighbours, but they have within these few years exceeded their ordinary Bounds which was Occasioned thus: Coll M^cDonald of Barisdale, Cousin Germane to Glengarry, took up his Residence here as a place of undoubted Security from all Legal Prosecutions, he entered into a Confederacy with M^cDonald of Lochgarry and the Camerons of Loch Arkeg with some other as great Villains in Rannoch, a part of Perthshire. This famous Company had the Honour to Methodize Theft into a Regular Trade, they kept a number of Savages in Dependance upon them for this purpose whom they

Outhounded upon the Sutherlands, Rosses, Munroes, and M^cKenzies to the North, the Frasers, McIntoshes, Grants, Roses of Kilravock, Brodies, Gordons, Farquharsons, Forbeses, and Ogilvies to the East; and the Shires of Perth, Stirling, Dunbarton, and Argyle to the South. When the Thieves were Successful these Gentlemen had a Dividend of the Spoil of their own making; but if they returned Empty handed the fellows were at no Loss, as they forced their Provisions wherever they travelled, and every one who laid in their way thought himself very fortunate if they Required no more, for which reason they seldom failed to be plentifully Supplied with the best the Country afforded, and if at any time it happened that one of them met his Deserts at the Gallows by the Vigilance of the Neighbouring Clans, which very rarely happened, the whole Tribe to which the Thief belong'd never fail'd to Embrace the first Opportunity of having (as they term it) Blood for Blood.

I knew a Gentleman of the McIntoshes whom these Villains had Reduced almost to want: at last he determined to watch them with a Strong Party and accordingly apprehended some of them, and got two of them hang'd at Inverness; 15 years after a Son of this Gentleman's, who was a Merchant at Inverness, being called by Business to Fort William, set out not suspecting any thing; but he never arrived there or cou'd ever be heard of after.

The Countries all round this Center of Thieres were at last so wearied out with their Depredations and the Vast Expence they were at in endeavouring to Recover their Stolen Cattle or the Value of them from these Villains, and often without Success, that at last the Several Districts agreed to tax themselves pretty heavily in order to Raise a Fund for maintening several Companies of Men with proper Officers to Protect them from the Thieves. These Companies were Called Watches. Barisdale finding that

such a Scheme would Ruin his Trade offered 3 or 4 Years before the late Rebellion to be the Protector of so many Countries; by which means he Raised from Seaforth's Country, a part of Lord Lovat's, and the Chisholm's, with some other places in the Neighbourhood, above double their proportion of the Land Tax. Barisdale by his former Trade and this Latter expedient lived at a very high Rate, and Mortgag'd a Large Sum of Money in Glengarry's Estate. He was said to have 180 Targets of a new Kind ready for use in the year 1743, but we gave no Credit to these Reports at that Time as we were amused with such Idle Stories every year.

The other Arch Thief, M^cDonald of Lochgarry, took the same Trade in hand and became Protector of the Countries of Stratherrick Abertarfand and other places in their Neighbourhood. When any Gentleman of more Spirit than his Neighbours refused to Submit to such Imposition, these Villains set Thieves upon him till he was soon Convinced of the Necessity of his Compliance and Obedience; this was the Case of many particularly Rose of Kilravock and his Clan. As the Thieves were entirely under the Government and Management of these Persons, they had no need to keep any Company or Watch in Pay to Defend the Country; all they did was to give some small Reward to the most forward and leading men amongst them to keep the Rest at Home, and orders for them all to Join to hem in the Camerons who most pass through the Country under their Protection for prey. The Thieves knew full well how easy it was for these Gentlemen to deliver any of them up at pleasure to the Civil Magistrate, or even of themselves to Hang them up without that Formality, for which Reason almost the whole Insurance Money was neat Profit. At last Cluny M^cPherson undertook to protect all the Countries to the South of Loch Ness and to the North of

Dundee, for which purpose he had a good Company in Arms in the Years 1744 and 1745; but the Captures were so many that he Reaped but little Benefit by it, as the M^cDonald Captains reckoned that he in Effect took the bread out of their Mouths. But to return to Knoidart. Here lives also M^cDonald of Scotas, a near Relation if not Uncle to the present Glengarry. His eldest son who Carried 50 Men to the Battle of Culloden and was Reckoned the most Valiant man of all the M^cDonalds, together with his Lieutenant, Ensign, a Serjeant and Corporal and 18 Private men were all Killed upon the Spot. I could not find that this man or his Father tho' Bigotted Papists were in the Least Concerned in Thieving.

Tho' the most noted Thieves, and even the whole Commons of the Glengarry Tribe, are entirely at the Devotion of the Gentlemen in time of Peace, yet in time of a Rebellion when they get together in a Body under Arms and know their own Strength they are very Mutinous and Unruly. I learned many Instances of this from themselves but one I will mention. In their Retreat from Derby two men of this Clan went off the Road and took the Shoes from off the Feet of a Countryman they met walking in the Fields; upon their Return to the Road Lord George Murray who brought up the Rear gave one of them a Stroke with a Whip, upon which the Fellow presented his Piece and threatened to shoot Lord George through the head, the General cry'd for help, upon which the Transgressor was disarmed and Carried Prisoner till they Halted at night, and was then Committed to the Guard, next Morning a Court Martial was ordered, to try him, but about 500 of the M^cDonalds drew up in a Body and Demanded the Prisoner, threatening at the same time to Murder Lord George and every officer who shou'd join in giving Sentence against him. Their Prince found it necessary to Ask the Man as a favour and Lord

George found it Convenient to Court his favour afterwards.

To the South of Knoydart is a Strath or Glen belonging to Glengarry Called Morrir, and to the South of that, another Strath *Morrir* of the same name belonging to a Branch of the Clanronald Family, commonly called M^cDougal of Morrir, next to which is Moidart and Arisag the property of M^cDonald of Moidart, Chief of the Clanronald Family. Here Lived M^cDonald of Kinloch Moidart the Young Pretender's first Landlord in Scotland. I have good Reason to believe he Landed here July 15th or 16th.

All these Countries viz. Knoydart, the Two Morrirs, Moydart, and Arisag, are the most Rough Mountainous and impassable parts in all the Highlands of Scotland, and are commonly called by the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Countries the Highlands of the Highlands. The People here have very little Corn Land and what they have by Reason of its steepness and Cragginess they are obliged to Dig with the Spade; but the People in these Countries breed prodigious Numbers of Cattle of all kind especially a Sort of Wild Horses which sell very well at the Markets in the Low Country, so that the People even in these Horrid parts of the Highlands might grow Rich if they were under proper Management. They have also great plenty of Venison of all Kinds. The Inhabitants of this Large Tract of Ground are all Popish, Gentlemen and Commons, which is in a great measure owing to their lying at so great a Distance from any Parish Church there not being one all the way from Glenelg to Ardnamurchan which is above 36 miles.

The People of these Wild Countries could never believe that they were Accessible 'till the King's Forces Scoured them after the

Battle of Culloden which was a prodigious Surprize to the Inhabitants. The Common people, tho' Papists, Curse their Prince and Chiefs together, as they are sensible that all their Calamities are owing to them. This Wild Country has been always a Sanctuary and Nursery of Priests. When strict Laws were made and in a good measure Executed against them in the Reign of King William they reckoned themselves safe here, and the People in general of all Ranks in this barbarous place are much better acquainted with Rome Madrid and Paris than they are with London or Edinburgh.

The Clanronald Family between this Country and the Isles in their possession could Raise 800 Good Men. From Arisag I pursued my Journey to Ardnamurchan. This Country till of late belong'd to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell who sold or exchanged it with Murray of Stanhope a noted Jacobite. Here are the famous Lead Mines of Strontian. The Inhabitants of this Country are a Mixture of Campbells, M^cDonalds, Camerons, and M^cLeans, and are mostly Nonjuring Protestants.

*Ardna-
murchan*

'Till about the time of the Reformation this Country belonged to a Branch of the M^cDonald's called Clan Ean, that is John's Sons, they were Esteemed the most Barbarous Wicked and Obstinate of all the M^cDonald Tribes; but Sir Donald Campbell, a son of the Laird of Calder, a man of great Courage and Resolution, subdued them and possessed their Country. Ardnamurchan jets out far into the Sea and draws to a Point or Lands Head from whence I travelled Eastward on the Sound of Mull through the Country of Morvine lying to the North West of Mull.

Morvine is a good Country for Corn and famous for Grass, it

was formerly the property of the Chief of the McLeans but now of the Duke of Argyle. It is mostly inhabited by Camerons who *Morvine* profess themselves Protestants; but they, the People of Ardnamurchan and the Stuarts of Appin are the most deeply poisoned with Disaffection to our Happy Constitution in Church and State of any People I ever knew. They Idolize the Nonjuring Clergy and can scarcely keep their temper when speaking of Presbyterians. The Reason of this I take to be that one Mr John M^cLachlan a Nonjurant of the Highest Kind lived Chiefly among them. This man who was at least half a Papist and a most Active Zealous Cunning Fellow with a pretty good Share of Learning did more Harm among the Campbells, M^cDougals, Stuarts, M^cLeans, and Camerons, than any Six Priests that ever were in Scotland. He often travelled through these and the Adjacent parts of the Country Administering the Sacrament of the Supper, admitting People only on this express Condition that they would not hear any Minister who prayed for King George. He joined the Pretender's Son soon after he Landed and kept close by him 'till after the Battle of Culloden. He preached frequently in both Languages and exerted himself to the utmost by Encouraging both Officers and Soldiers to fight vigorously for their Cause. I suppose the Campbells among whom he still Lives upon a small Estate of his own will keep a watchfull Eye upon so Mischievous an Instrument. him by that Family. The Inhabitants of these Islands were formerly very ignorant and Barbarous, but since the Revolution they have been much Civilized. M^cLean of Lochbuy and three or four small Heritors of that name are yet proprietors of about a Fourth part of the Island of Mull.

From *Morvine* I Crossed the Sound and Landed in Mull an *Mull* Island pretty near 24 Miles Square the Soil whereof is good and fruitfull both for Corn and Pasture. At

Dewart Castle in this Island lived the Chief of the M^cLeans, he was Proprietor of the greatest part of the Island which he forfeited at the Revolution, and the Duke of Argyle got this Estate with the Country of Morvine and the fruitfull and Beautifull Island of Tirree for a Debt owing to him by that Family. The Inhabitants of these Islands were formerly very ignorant and Barbarous, but since the Revolution they have been much Civilized. M^cLean of Lochbuy and three or four small Heritors of that name are yet proprietors of about a Fourth part of the Island of Mull.

I Landed again upon the Continent in Morvine and proceeded to Kingairloch. This Country is very Rough and Mountainous but neither Large or Populous, it *Kingairloch* belongs to a Gentleman of the M^cLeans who staid himself at home during the Late Rebellion, but his three Brothers with M^cLean of Drumnin and his Son from Mull picked up about 240 Idle fellows of their own name and joined the Pretender. Kingairloch's Son is an Officer in Lord Loudoun's Regiment but the Loyalty of both Father and Son was Suspected.

Adjoining to Kingairloch on the North is Ardgower, which *Ardgower* belongs to M^cLean of Ardgower whose Estate has been sunk in Debt for many Years past. Neither he or his Son were in the Rebellion, nor seemed at all disposed to favour that Cause, tho' he could raise above 100 Good Men; but the Camerons who are his Neighbours and had Money Mortgaged on his Lands forced out more than one half of his Men. In this Country lived Lodowick Cameron Uncle to Young Lochiel and Major to his Regiment. He was known to be Concerned in many Dark and Wicked Plots contrived by Lord Lovat and others and to be a Ringleader and great Encourager of Thieves. The Highlanders adored him as a man of great Parts and Knowledge but better Judges soon found how little he Merited that Character

and that his whole Fort lay in a Low Wicked Cunning and that there was nothing extraordinary in him except that he Could Contrive and Execute Designs which no man of an Ordinary Degree of Wickedness could ever hear of without Abhorrence.

The M^cLeans were Remarkable among the Highlanders for a Lively Handsome Forward People tho' not so Tall as the Camerons or Stuarts but they were to a very great *M^cLeans* Degree Extravagant Proud and Inconsiderate. It was a Maxim with them never to turn their Backs upon an Enemy, tho' ever so unequal in Numbers; but either to Conquer or Fall upon the Spot. It was owing to this madness that they stood at Inverkeithing to be slaughtered by Lambert Anno 1651 and tho' none but the Refuse and Gleanings of them went to the Battle of Culloden, yet no Clan lost near their Proportion for of 240, which they called a Regiment, most of their officers and above 160 of their men were left Dead upon the Field. The M^cLeans are all protestants and are not so zealous for the Nonjuring Clergy as the Stuarts and Camerons in their Neighbourhood.

Before the Revolution the McLeans could bring into the Field about 1000 Able Resolute Fellows, but since M^cLean's Estate has fallen to the Duke of Argyle, the Campbells have mixed with the Inhabitants of the Islands and the Camerons with those on the Continent.

Ardgower lying on the North side the Frith that Comes in by Fort William, I took a Boat, and sail'd twelve Miles down it, that I might spend some days in the Country of Apine and from thence travel Northward to Inverness.

Apine lyes along the Seaside, is a Fruitfull and Beautifull Country, and the Soil good both for Corn and Pasture. Stuart of Apine, Chief of that Branch of the Stuarts was not personally in

the Late Rebellion, but the Gentlemen and Commons of his Clan rose almost to a man with a very uncommon zeal. The People of this Country are tall strong and well bodied, they are a kind of Protestants but as has been already observed Idolize the Nonjuring Clergy and are Enthusiastically Mad in their zeal for Restoring the Stuart Family. They are not thieves, but are Industrious in their Business and Honest in their Private Dealings. They can bring 300 Good Men to the Field.

Bordering upon *Apine* is Glenco. This is a narrow Strath surrounded by Hills that seem to hang over it, is about five Miles long and half a Mile broad, before the late Rebellion it belonged to McDonald of Glenco. Before the Revolution this small Country was famous for Murder Theft and Rapine. The Earl of Breadalbane had some Lands adjacent to theirs which they turned Waste. They came yearly with their Cattle and Eat up the Grass that grew upon his Lands without ever making the least acknowledgement for so doing. But in the beginning of King William's Reign the Earl managed matters so Artfully that after the last of Several Terms allowed Glenco and his Men to give up their Arms and take Oaths to the Government was elapsed, an order was procured from the then Commander in Chief to the Governor of Fort William to destroy that Nest of Rebels Thieves and Cutthroats. While this was in Agitation Glenco came into Fort William and took the Oaths a week after the term assign'd him, but none of his men appeared. The Commander in Chief and much less His Majesty could not know of Glenco's having Submitted. Colonel Hill at that time Governor of Fort William who did know it refused to Execute the Orders 'till a Return could be had to an Express which the Privy Council of Scotland had sent to Court with an Intimation of Glenco's having submitted, and desiring farther Orders, but Campbell of

Glenlyon a Cadet of Broadalbine's Family, and strongly in his Interest, having Received the same Orders marched with his Men without Loss of Time to Glenco before the Return to the Express came and under Cover of night despatched Glenco himself and about twenty of his People; the Rest made to the Hills and Escaped. The whole Neighbourhood looked upon this as a Judgment from Heaven on so wicked a Crew, but the Jacobites to this day never fail to represent it in the most Odious Light, in order to throw Dirt upon the Memory of King William. That Glorious Restorer of Our Liberty and Religion must never be forgiven because a few Rebels and Thieves who had shut themselves out from the Protection of the Law were destroyed in his Reign; but the Memory of Charles the first must be reckoned Sacred tho' upwards of 150,000 Valuable Protestant Subjects who Contributed to the Good of Society and the Support of the Government were barbarously Massacred in his Reign. These Innocent People went securely about their Lawfull Business, were under the Protection of the Law, had no Distrust of their Neighbours, so that the Destruction of those who were Massacred at the Beginning was Murder of the Blackest Dye. By Comparing the Irish Massacre and that of Glenco, the Clamour of the Jacobites on that Head verifies a Common saying that the Severest Scourgers of Others Complain Loudest if but one Stroke fall upon themselves. From that time to the late Rebellion the Glenco People gave less Disturbance to their Neighbours than they ever had done from the time of their Inhabiting the Country which is of a pretty Ancient Date. They profess themselves a sort of Protestants and can bring to the Field about 100 Resolute Men.

Leaving Glenco I crossed the Arm of the Sea called Lochleven and Landed in Mamore 7 Miles to the South of Fort William. This Country and 8 or 10 Miles to the North of Fort William is

entirely Inhabited by Camerons and is mostly the Property of the Duke of Gordon tho' Lochiel, Cameron of Calart, and Cameron of Glenivas had each of them some property in it.

Mamore

On the West Side of the River Lochy, Lye the Districts Commonly Called Lochiel, Strathlocky, Glenloie and Locharkeg, these formed the greatest part of Lochiel's Estate, all which he held of the Duke of Argyle, as he and his Clan held the Lands they Inhabited on the other Side of the Firth and the River, of the Duke of Gordon.

All these Countries might be made Fertile if rightly Cultivated, a good part of them are on one Side naturally enclosed either by the Sea, the River Lochy or Locharkeg (a Fresh water Lake 12 Miles Long). On the South Side of this Lake for some Miles grows a Large and Beautifull Wood of tall Strait Firs, and on the North side for some Miles there formerly grew Oaks of above three Feet diameter which were Cut Down for the Sake of the Bark, and the Timber, which was of the best kind and quite Sound, was allowed to Rot upon the Ground or to be used by the Country People for Firing.

The Camerons are a Lazy Silent Sly and Enterprising People; they were always deeply Disaffected to the Revolution Interest, and have had a large share in all the Plots and Rebellions that were formed at the Revolution and ever Since. Their Neighbours the M^cLeans, M^cDonalds and Stuarts used to upbraid them with being good Plunderers but bad Soldiers, 'till about 100 years ago that Sir Evan Cameron their Chief, a Bold Resolute man, brought them to perform Considerable Feats against Cromwell and afterwards against King William at Killicrankey, but in his Son's Time they behaved so shamefully at Sheriff Muir and were so often upbraided with their Cowardice and bad behaviour that the Scandal of this did not a little Contribute to make them Exert themselves in the

Late Rebellion, that they might (as they call'd it) Recover their Character. They are mostly Tall Large Well bodied Men. They brought to the Field from first to last during the Late Rebellion about 900 effective Men of which Number they Lost above 400. That part of Lochiel's Estate that runs along the Side of Locharkeg is a Den of Thieves, they are instructed in this Villainous Trade from their Cradles and Hand it down as an Inheritance to Posterity, and tho' the rest of the Camerons are not so Infamous as the Locharkeg People yet few of *Camerons* them are free from either Theft Receipt or Concealment. Donald of Lochiel about 20 years ago made some Attempts to bring his People from Theft and Idleness; but some of his Neighbouring Chiefs prevailed upon him to allow his People to Continue in their Old way, as it was absolutely necessary for his men to be kept in the use of Arms if he intended to Contribute to the Glorious Cause of restoring the Stuart Family. And tho' several persons who pretended to an intimate acquaintance with Lochiel extolled him as a man of great Honesty and Address, yet others who were better acquainted with his Schemes concluded that he protected his Clan in their Roguery; more especially at a time they stole a number of Horses from the Leadmine Company at Strontian, for which some of them were prosecuted at Inverness, during the Course of which Tryal some things occurred which made Lochiel very Odious to all those who knew the Secret.

The Camerons boast of their firm adherence to the Protestant Religion in all the Periods of Time since the Reformation, and indeed Popish priests and the Ministers of the Established Church have been alike surprized at their Resolution in this point; but they shewed so little Regard to any Religion in their practise that their adherence to Protestancy seems to have been a part of the Pretender's Political Scheme. It wou'd have appeared too glaring to

have had none but Popish Clans appear zealous for his Interest. The greatest part of the Gentry in Lochaber loves the Nonjuring Clergy, and their Children are Baptized by them, tho' they are not so madly fond of them; nor are they such Violent Jacobites as the Camerons in Morvine and Ardnamurchan. The Common People in Lochaber employ the Parish Ministers to Baptize their Children and are their Hearers as often as they can which is but Seldom as the Parishes there are of a very large Extent.

As the Camerons have ever been such a Wicked and Rebellious People I shall endeavour to give you a particular Account of the Several small Tribes which Compose this Clan. I forgot to tell you sooner that the Head of every Clan in the Highlands is called the Chief, and those of the small Families that Compose the Clan are called Chieftains resembling the Colonel and Captains of a Regiment, and when they Rise in Arms they Rank thus; the Lieutenant Colonel and Major are the Sons or Brothers of the Chief, the Captains are those of next Authority among them, and the Cadets of the lesser families Compose the Subalterns. And tho' these Chieftains have no property it does not lessen their Influence and Authority over what they term their Own Family.

Here is a small Tribe of the M^cLachlans who have resided for so many Generations in Lochaber that they are now incorporated with the Camerons. Their Chieftain M^cLachlan *McLachlan* of Corriwinnan raised a Company of his own Name with which he joined Lochiel; it is imagined he was killed at the Battle of Culloden, as he has never been heard of since.

With respect to the other Tribes who when abroad are Commonly called Cameron they have different Surnames and were originally of the Clanchattan family whose Residence was formerly in Lochaber as a great part of that Country was the property of

that Family; but about 400 years ago this Estate devolved on an Heiress who was married to the Son of M^cDuff Thane of Fife. From his Father's Title he and his Posterity assumed the name of M^cIntosh which is an Irish word signifying the Thane's Son; and his Successors having an Estate not far from Inverness they Chose to Reside there. The Camerons who then possessed no more than that small Strath that runs North from Fort William called Lochiel, being more powerfull than any of the Clanchattan Tribes which were five in Number under Different Chieftains, and by the Policy of the Camerons at Variance among themselves, and M^cIntosh not being at hand to protect them from their Tyranny, they by degrees put themselves all under the protection of Lochiel and owned him for their Chief, which produced many Bloody Battles and Skirmishes betwixt McIntosh and Lochiel; but McIntosh being at last wearied of this War, he about 70 years ago sold the Lands possessed by these Tribes to Lochiel for above £3,000, which Sum Argyle paid for him on Condition that Lochiel should hold these Lands of him and join him in his Wars, which Condition Lochiel performed when Argyle was obliged to dispossess M^cLean by force after all Legal steps had been taken in vain.

The Names of these old Tribes are as follows viz.:

1st. The McLonicks whose Chieftain is Stron now an officer in Drumlanrig's.

2ndly. The M^cOvies whose Chieftain lives at the West End of Locharkeg.

3dly. The M^cIlevoils whose Chieftain is called Murlagan tho' but a moveable Tenant of Lochiel's.

4thly. The M^cOvaisters whose Chieftain called Achadaleo is in the same Condition.

5thly. The M^cMartins whose Chieftain has a small Estate which he holds of the Duke of Gordon. The Lochiel Family have always Caressed these Chieftains and given them the most profitable Farms with the Title of the Place tho' they paid Rent for it.

The true Camerons are originally Danes, and have been a Lawless Banditti for many Generations. Evan M^cAllan from whom the present Lochiel is the eighth Descendant was the most famous Robber this Family ever produced. I have heard some Gentlemen descended from him boast that he was Aged 80 years when he was Hanged, and that he had in that time brought into his Country 80 Great Drovers of Cattle, besides a vast deal of Lesser Game. That his Wife's Dowry by the Marriage Contract was to be the Cattle that he and his Clan should steal during the three first Michaelmas Moons of their Marriage. This Contract was in writing and is still extant. They farther Relate of this their famous Ancestor, that in his 80th Year he assembled all his Clan, and went to Strathspey, where in the Night time he drove together all the Cattle in that Neighbourhood. As he was marching the next morning by the Laird of Grant's House with his Booty, he sent him a Challenge to come out and Recover his Cattle, which he declined, saying his Men were Scattered, and could not upon so sudden Notice be got together, but laid the whole Affair immediately before the King, after which Lochiel was enticed to Edinburgh, where he was apprehended, try'd and Condemned to be Hanged Drawn and Quartered, which was accordingly Executed and his Head set upon a Pole in the Road that Leads to the North. But to shew the present Disposition of that Clan, I will relate an Instance of their Barbarity which happened since the year 1725. The possessor of a Farm belonging to the Duke of Gordon (of the Tribe of the M^cMartins) about three Miles to the North of Fort William, demanded an abatement of the Usual Rent, which

the Duke refusing he left the Farm, boasting that no man would dare to succeed him in it: for some years it was untenanted, 'till at last the Duke prevaild on Mr Sheldoch, who was then Minister of the Parish, who could not find a place to reside in, to take this Farm. The former possessor lay still 'till the Minister had plentifully stocked the Farm with Cattle, and built a House on it, then with some other Rogues, (finding that the Cattle were Carefully watched) went to the place where the Calves were kept, and with their Durks cut off their Heads and cut the Skins so that they could not be of any use, then laid them in Two Separate Heaps. That same Night they Cut and Destroyed the Nets and Utensils of the Salmon Fishery on the River Lochy belonging to the Duke of Gordon. But finding that this did not force the Minister to leave the Place, they waited an Opportunity of his being from Home when a Company of them went well-armed, surrounded his House, pulled down a part of it, and Fired several Shots towards the Bed where his Wife lay, which at last obliged the Minister to Retire with his Family to Fort William.

It will be necessary in order to know the Reason of this Conduct to observe that throughout all Lochaber and the adjacent Wild Countries, the Farms have been always given to the Cadets of the Lesser Families that are the Heads of Tribes, which they possess for Ages without any Lease, and look upon them as their right of Inheritance, and when they are not able to pay their Rent and are turned out, they look upon the Person who takes these Farms after them, as usurping their Right. These People have often Refused to take a written Lease thinking that by so doing they give up their right of possession.

Each of these possessors has some very poor people under him, perhaps four or Six in a Farm, to whom he lets out the Skirts of his Possession, these people are generally the Soberest and Honestest

of the whole. Their Food all Summer is Milk and Whey mixed together without any Bread, the Little Butter or Cheese they are able to make is Reserved for Winter provision, they sleep away the Greatest part of the Summer and when the little Barley they sow becomes Ripe, the women pull it as they do Flax and dry it on a Large Wicker Machine over the Fire, then Burn the Straw and Grind the Corn upon Quearns or Handmills.

In the End of Harvest and during the Winter, they have some Flesh, Butter and Cheese, with great Scarcity of Bread. All their Business is to take Care of the few Cattle they have. In Spring which is their only Season in which they work, their whole Food is Bread and Gruel without so much as Salt to Season it. About 20 Years ago Lochiel erected two or three Water Mills, but by Reason of the great Distance of many of the People from them, and their Natural Laziness, with the Prejudice in favour of their Old Custom of Burning the Straw etc., they were made very little use of. This extravagant Custom of burning the Straw prevailed of Old over all the CEBudas Islands and was much practised on the Continent, but it has been given up some time except by the Camerons, the M^cDonalds, some M^cLeans and some of the People of the Isle of Skye. Before I leave the Camerons, I must tell you that the Firth that comes up by Fort William affords no Fish except a few Salmon, and now and then a few small Fish; but these are very Scarce. So that the Report which some People have been at great pains to establish as a truth, of Lochiel's wanting to establish a Fishery among his Clan, seems to be an absolute improbability as they Ly at a great Distance from any other Sea.

From the Country of the Camerons I visited the Braes of Lochaber which are inhabited by Keppoch and his Clan. They have possessed the Country for many Generations; but never had any Property in it except the Late Keppoch who had a Mortgage of

about £400 on the Duke of Gordon's Estate in his Neighbourhood, but the Laird of McIntosh is Proprietor of most of the Land inhabited by Keppoch and his Clan.

Braes

It might be made a fruitful Country by Industry.

of

The Rent they pay is rather an Acknowledgment than the Real Value, and even that they pay but

Lochaber

as they are in Humour. This Branch of the M^cDonalds was so famous for Barbarity and Wickedness, that a known instance can only make it Credited. In Cromwell's time the Head of this Family Chose a Wife from the South of Scotland, who being in a few Years left a Widow with two Sons, left Lochaber and returned to the South Country where her Sons were Educated. When they grew up, they returned to Lochaber, resolving (agreeable to the Notions they had imbib'd when Young) to Reform and Civilise their Clan; but they, especially the Gentlemen, were so Startled at the Intended Regulations that they quickly Determined to Murder the two Brothers. Among the Plotters were their two Uncles, by the Father's Side, the Youngest of which, being an Artfull, Cunning Fellow, after the Plot was laid and a Day fixed for the Execution, pretended an Absolute Necessity of being absent at the Time; but secretly Urged the rest on by telling them they had no time to Lose, which had the Desir'd Effect, and accordingly the other Uncle with about a Dozen of the Clan went to Keppoch's House, under Pretence of a Visit, where, while they were making merry after Dinner, upon a Signal given the whole Company Rose suddenly from the Table, and buried their Durks in the Elder Brother. The other having rose from Table to fetch some Fruit, seeing their Bloody Purpose, flew to his Uncle, begged of him to save his Life, offering him a Solemn Oath to Leave the Country and all his Father's Effects to him, but the words were hardly out of his Mouth when they Butchered him in the same manner they

had done his Brother, for it was previously agreed that they should all have a Hand in it. There was at this Time nobody in the Room but themselves and a Boy who served, who had Presence of Mind (the Doors being all Shut), to Creep under the Bed, where he laid unthought of, 'till they left the House, and then related the whole Story which reaching the Ears of Sir James M^cDonald of Slate, he procured an Order from the Privy Council of Scotland, to apprehend them Dead or Alive, which after many fruitless attempts, and large Promises to those who should inform against them, he in part effected by finding Nine of them in a House which he surrounded with a number of Men; but they Defended themselves to the last, killed many of his Men, and not one of them could be taken Alive. Their Heads were all sent to Inverness and set up on the most Publick places for a Terror to others. The Eldest Uncle died Outlawed and the Youngest, who was Grandfather to the late Keppoch, became Chief of the Clan. This man in his Old Age was tormented with Gangrene all over his Body of which Loathsome Distemper he at last Died. This the Country People look'd upon as a Judgment on him for the Murder of his Nephews.

His son the late Coll succeeded him who Refusing to pay McIntosh his Rents, he came down with an Army Anno 1687 to Demand them, but Keppoch instead of being frightened, Convened all his Men being about 300, and Called to his Assistance M^cDonald of Glenco with 100 Men and about 100 more were Sent him in Compliment from Glengarry and Moidart with this Army he engaged McIntosh, killed a great number of his Men, and took him Prisoner. This would have been the Occasion of much more Blood shed between the Clans, if King James having got Intelligence of the Prince of Orange's Designs had not expressly ordered them to lay aside their Private Quarrells and join

in the Common Cause.

A Year or two after Keppoch march'd down and Encamped with 500 Men above Inverness, from whence he Summoned the Town, which was then a place of Considerable Trade, to send him a Contribution. The Town sent out four of their most eminent Burghers to treat with him, whom he immediately made Prisoners, and returned a Message to the Town that unless they sent him £300 and a Rich Suit of Scarlet Cloaths, he would Hang up his Prisoners and then come and Plunder the Town, some of the Burghers thought this such an Affront that they proposed going out to fight him, but it was by the Majority thought most prudent to Comply with his Demand and get rid of him, which they accordingly did.

This man was an Outlaw most of his Time; there was not a Room or Closet in his House, which had not a Back door to it, every one of which he himself said, he had sometime or other made use of to Escape from his Pursuers. The late Keppoch was Educated in France, was a Man of Great Parts and some Learning, and if he had been free from the Poison of Jacobitism, a Good Member of Society. Many of his Clan were Thieves, but I could never learn that he encouraged them in it. He himself was a high Nonjuring Protestant; but he joined the Rebels with 300 Stout fellows, all Popish.

From Keppoch's Country I passed through Laterfinlay inhabited by the McMartens (a Branch of the Camerons) and Came to the Country of Glengarry. This with Knoidart and Morir already mentioned in my Travels along the West Coast belong to M^cDonald of Glengarry. There has scarce ever been a Rebellion that this Family was not engaged in. Before the Union the Government kept a very strict Hand upon these People, but when

Charles the First began to pursue Arbitrary Measures Glengarry and others of the same Stamp were much Caressed by him. These Hounds were then made use of to worry the Innocent People in the Civilized parts of Scotland who would not willingly give up their Religion and Liberties to the pleasure of a Weak and Bigotted Court. On such Occasions and on these only was this Family Loyal and Zealous. In the year of the Restoration of Charles the Second, Glengarry was Created Lord M^cDonald and a yearly Pension allow'd him to Support that Dignity, or rather to keep him and his Savages in Constant Pay for any Wicked or Barbarous Scheme to be Executed which none others could do so well, as the Event has Verified. But when the Popish Plot broke out and the Court found themselves under a Necessity of yielding to the Disarming all Papists, then this Lord gave proof of the Degree and Kind of Loyalty he possessed. He Refused to Deliver up his Arms 'till the Council was oblig'd to give a Commission to the Earl of Argyle to Disarm him and his Clan, at which Lord M^cDonald was so enraged, that he raised his Men and having obtained assistance from other Popish Chiefs Moved forward with his Army intending to Carry the War into the Heart of Argyle's Country (which had been wholly pillaged and destroyed by the M^cDonalds under Montrose about 33 years before). He Encamped on the Borders with his Men; but upon a false Alarm that the Campbells were Convened, and within Six Hours march of him, he and his men fled in the greatest Disorder and hardly looked behind them 'till they reached Glengarry. Lord M^cDonald leaving no Issue, the Title became Extinct. His whole Conduct was so Savage and Ridiculous that it Occasioned a Panegyrick in Doggrell Verse which was as Diverting to others as it was Irritating to the M^cDonalds, no one ever Claimed the Honour of the Performance, but they Suspecting that Duncan Forbes of Culloden

(Father to the late President) was the Author, upon the first opportunity of rising in Arms they took a severe Revenge upon some of his Tenants and Burnt a good part of his Estate.

Alexander M^cDonald Father to the present Glengarry succeeded him, tho' 'tis said that others stood nearer related to the Family, but he being a Bold resolute man, of great Natural Parts tho' no Education, got the Clan of his Side and became their Chief. He rose with Dundee at the Revolution and Continued in Arms after all the other Rebels had submitted, but at last he yielded and was pardoned by King William. In the Year 1715 he rose again and was attainted, but he was again Pardoned and Restored to his Estate.

The Present Glengarry was ever esteemed as a very weak man; but he had the same Propensity to Rebellion as his Predecessors, tho' he had not Parts to Conduct that or any other affair of Consequence.

The Scheme laid at the Beginning of the Late Rebellion, was, that his two Cousins, Barisdale and Lochgarry, with the other Cadets of that Family should Raise and Manage the Men, that Glengarry's Second Son should be their Colonel; but that he himself should stay at Home that in Case they miscarried the Estate might be safe; but it is notorious that he did his utmost to keep his Clan steady to the Pretender, and that when his Son was killed at Falkirk and the men began to grow tired and to Complain that they had been deceived and finding that some of them after their Retreat North in 1746 began to Settle at Home and till the Ground, he gave orders to take up all the Plough Irons in the Country and secure them in his Strong Castle at Invergarry that the People might have nothing but their Swords to Depend on for Subsistance.

Glengarry could raise about 500, Strong Fierce fellows, who are all M^cDonalds except a small Tribe of 30 or 40 Men called M^cWalrigs, who have taken the name of Kennedy. They have, it is imagined, taken Sanctuary here some 100 Years ago, after having Committed some Crime for which they were obliged to Fly their own Country: they inhabit that part of Glengarry called Lagganachadrom, and the Glengarry Family have always repos'd Greater Confidence in them than in any of the M^cDonalds, as none of this name could ever Equal them in Villainy and Wickedness of all Kinds. The Country of Glengarry produces plenty of Grass and might if duly Cultivated produce as Great Abundance of Corn, but the People here exceed even the Camerons in Sloth and Laziness. They depend so much upon Theft, that they neglect all Manner of Industry, which renders them extremely Poor and Miserable. They profess themselves Papists, but others say that they have no Religion at all. They frequently use Auricular Confession in order to obtain Absolution for Drunkenness, Quarrelling, Swearing and Adultery, which are very Common among them, but they cannot be persuaded that stealing Cattle is a Sin, as they say that the Cattle are God's Creatures, made for the use of man, for which the Earth yields Grass and Herbs in Plenty without the Labour of Man, and that therefore they ought to be in Common.

It is observed of Thieves in other parts of the Country, especially the Camerons, that they are very Hospitable and Civil to Strangers, but the People of Glengarry are of quite a Different Disposition, Churlish and Inhospitable to the last Degree, and never admit a Stranger within their Doors. In short they are the very Dregs and Refuse of Mankind and it is no small Reproach to Great Britain to have allowed such a Sett of Villains to trample upon the Laws for so many Ages. They have ever been the Plague

of their Neighbours, except for about Eight Years which proceeded from a Pannick they had Received from Oliver Cromwell, during which time they remained perfectly Honest. And since Parties of His Majesty's Forces have been stationed here and in other Corners remarkable for Theft, by the Care and Prudence of General Bland, the Country has enjoy'd more Quiet than it has done for 40 years before. And if proper Intimation was given by Proclamation at the Church Door of each Parish North of Tay and West of Stirling that whoever should Compromise with Thieves on obtaining Restitution or Damages, should suffer the Severest Penalty the Law could inflict, it would be the most Effectual method of putting an Entire Stop to Thieving.

The Country for two or three Miles round about Fort Augustus is Called Abertarf, one part of which is the Property *Abertarf* of Glengarry and the rest belonged to the Late Lord Lovat; but the Soil being much the same with Glengarry and the People too near them not to Share in all their Wicked Practises, I have little to say Concerning them but that those next Glengarry are Popish and those next Stratherrick a Mixture of Papists and Protestants.

From Abertarf I pursued my Journey to Glenmorison on the North side of Loch Ness. It belongs to a Branch of the Laird of Grant's Family, who has been always more under the *Glen* Influence of his Neighbours, the M^cDonalds, than of *Morison* his Chief with whom he joined in the Late and all Former Rebellions. This County runs up for about Ten Miles from Loch Ness and is famous for a Good Soil and Bad Inhabitants. The half of this Country was for many Ages possessed by a Small Tribe called M^cEanroys that is the Posterity of John Roy. They have always been under the Protection of Glengarry tho' they Live on Glenmorison's Estate and Obey him no farther than the

Former Directs. The People of Glenmorison are a Mixture of Protestants and Papists and can turn out about 150 Able Bodied men as great Thieves as those of Glengarry. Before they went to the Rebellion 1715 they practised a Charm to make them invulnerable, tho' it happen'd indeed that none of them were Killed at Sheriffmuir, as they took the most Effectual way to make their Charm succeed, for they did not stay to try the Experiment. Before they went out to the late Rebellion they used the same Charm and Boasted that their small Company could destroy all the King's Forces, and that it was not possible for any Weapon to Hurt them, their Disappointment was great as their prepossession, for a smaller proportion of this Clan return'd Home than of any other.

Midway betwixt the Head of this Country and Strathglass at the Foot of a great mountain is a Remarkable Cave, narrow at the Mouth and so Covered with Long Heath that a Stranger would not perceive it, but Sufficient Room within for 20 or 30 Persons. I have been informed by the People of this Country that the young Pretender Lodged there for 5 weeks in a very bad State of Health, after he had been Chas'd from the Isles. All his Attendants were three men from Glenmorison, who brought him Provisions and Necessaries which they could Easily procure as they were the most notorious Thieves in the Country. When the Pretender took Shipping he promised to provide for them if they would go with him, but they would not Leave their own Country.

I left this and travelled on to Urquhart still on the North Side of Lochness. This Country is the Property of the Laird of Grant and so Hedg'd in by Glenmorison on the one Hand and Lord Lovat's Country on the other, that the People *Urquhart* were greatly Distressed in Time of the Late Rebellion. There are many still alive who saw and even felt the Barbarities Committed by the Camerons and M'Donalds at the Time of the Revolution.

Fear of the same or Worse Treatment in time of the Late Rebellion distracted them not a Little. Grant sent them Positive Orders not to Regard the Threats of the Rebels; but at their Peril, and as they should be answerable to stay at Home and be quiet; but as these People are a Mixture of Frasers, M^cDonalds, and Glenmorison Grants, the Chiefs of these Clans in spite of all that Grant could do picked them up. This Country is about 10 Miles Long and 2 Broad and very Fertile. The People are all Protestants and can turn out about 200 Good men.

From Urquhart I went to the Aird where Lord Lovat had his Seat, the greatest part of this Country was his Property; but some Gentlemen of the name of *The Aird* Fraser have small Estates there who in their Hearts were averse to the Rebellion; but fear of their Chief's Indignation prevailed upon them to Assist in Raising men to forward it. The Heads of Families in this Country are Frasers of Kilbocky, Struie, Relick, Dunballoch, and Belladrum. Tho' none of these were personally in any Action, they did too much to be held guiltless. Fraser of Achnagairn has a better Estate than any of these Chieftains, but is not the Head of a Family. He went with the Lord President when he Retreated to the Isle of Skye. The Commons of the Aird are generally a Well disposed Honest and Industrious People, tho' they were obliged from their Dependance to Humour their Lord, most of them abhorred his Practises and endured great Hardships before they would take Arms. They are all Protestants, and hate the Nonjurant Clergy and Popish Priests. The greatest part of the Aird is a very rich Soil and produces great quantities of Corn. The Rest of Lord Lovat's Estate lyes on the South Side of Lochness in Stratherrick. This Country is very Mountainous and Wild, but the Vallies yield great plenty of Corn. The two Chieftains who pretended to have a Right to raise the Men of this Country were

Fraser of Foyers and Fraser of Faralin. The first of these had Property to the Amount of £100 p^r Annum and 'till of late Claimed a Vote at the Election of a Member for the County; but he was so deep in Debt to Lord Lovat, that he was obliged to Submit to him in everything. He was nearly Related to the late Lord President and held him in great Esteem; but being a very weak man Lord Lovat made him believe that the only way to save the President was to make him Prisoner which occasion'd the Fruitless Attempt upon his House Beginning of October 1745. as it luckily happen'd that the President had Notice of it the day before it was put in Execution and by that means Escaped. This Little Family have produced many Cadets who were tenants to the Lord Lovat They are all miserably poor which made them so Earnest in pressing Foyers their Chieftain to raise his Men, and occasioned their being so Active in that Service, hoping to make it turn out to their Advantage and during the Time the Disturbance lasted, they were as great Thiefs as even the Camerons or M^cDonalds. Faralin the other Chieftain in Stratherrick had no Property of his own but lived upon a profitable Farm held of the Lovat Family. As a Considerable Tribe owned this Man for their Chieftain he was always much Caressed by Lovat. He is a Discreet Honest Industrious Man, and was very much Averse to the Rebellion, and wou'd not have joined in it; but that he must otherwise have been certainly Ruined. Several Gentlemen of Estates have sprung from this Family, who still live in Stratherrick, as the Frasers of Culduthal, Balnain, Bellon, and Bochrubin. Of all these not one was in Arms in time of the Late Rebellion but the present Culduthal, who then had no Estate, his Elder Brother being Alive and a Captain in Lord John Murray's Regiment. The other Gentlemen all pretended to Observe a Strict neutrality, in which many believed them to be Sincere, but when

the Common People some time after the Battle of Culloden believed that they should all Suffer and that the Mildest Sentence would be Banishment, they Exclaimed loudly against them and told them, before they would Suffer for a Crime to which they had been drag'd by them, they would bring them from behind the Curtain and Expose them as they Deserved.

These Gentlemen Copied exactly after their Chief, tho' they were more Fortunate in the Event.

Lord Lovat could have Raised about 900 Men, a third part of which were extremely Bad, notwithstanding the many Boasts he made of the Number and Valour of his Men.

The Erasers were an Ancient and Powerfull Clan in the South of Scotland and have not been in possession of the Estate of Lovat above 400 Years, which came to *Fraser* them by an Heiress of the name of Bissett. The nearest Branch of Lord Lovat's Family is Fraser of Inerallachy whose Son fell at Culloden and next to him is Lord Strechen. The Late Lord Lovat was a Singular man in many Respects, but in two things he distinguished himself, 1st He not only Discouraged all the Schools that were Erected in his Country, and declared himself an Enemy to all those who Educated their Children at them, but also was at great Pains to Convince the Chiefs and principal Gentlemen in the Highlands far and near how much their Interest wou'd Suffer by them. 2^{ndly} He did more towards Reviving a Clannish Spirit (which had greatly declined since the Revolution) than any man in the whole Country, and used all Popular Arts to impress upon the Minds of the Present and Rising Generations, how Sacred a Character that of Chief or Chieftain was. His Practise was agreeable to his Doctrine in this matter for he married his Eldest Daughter to M^cPherson of Cluny, who had nothing to

Recommend him but his being a Considerable Chieftain, His Estate being so encumbered with Debt that he had not £100 a year free.

From Stratherrick I travelled through Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Badenoch all belonging to McIntosh and his *Clanchattan* Clan. Those who own McIntosh as Chief go under the Common Name of Clanchattan and are divided into Several Tribes who have Chieftains of their own.

The M^cPhersons of whom Cluny is Chieftain reckon themselves the principal Branch of the old Clanchattan but the rest will not allow them this Dignity. They are however the best and Strongest Tribe among them, being about 400 in Number, and have often set up for an Independency on McIntosh when they could Carry the Point in view without his assistance.

The next Tribe is the M^cBeans whose Chieftain M^cBean of Kinchile was Major in Lady McIntoshes Regiment *M^cBeans* and fell at Culloden. His Son who was with him in the Rebellion is now an Officer in Lord Drumlanrick's Regiment. The Estate is small and in the Hands of Creditors. This Branch Consists of about 100 Men.

The Third Branch is the M^cGilevres whose Chieftain, M^cGilevrey of Dumnaglass, was Colonel of Lady McIntoshes Regiment and fell at Culloden with *M^cGilevres* four more Gentlemen of his Clan. He was so much at this Lady's Devotion that tho' he was Bred a Jacobite from his Cradle and always profest great Zeal for that Cause yet in order to Procure the Place of Collector of the Land Tax for one John Shaw a Merchant in Inverness who was Lady McIntoshes Prime Counsellor, he abjured the Pretender in May 1745 and took up Arms for him in August following. This Branch Consists of about 80 Men able to

Bear Arms.

The Fourth Branch is the Shaws who have two Chieftains of equal Dignity (*viz*^r) Shaw of Fordarack in Strathnairn *Shaws* Men who with the M^cGilevreys, the M^cBeans, and Shaws of Forderack and Shaw of Dellin Badenoch, neither of whom was in Arms in the last Rebellion; but some of their Men were sent out under the Command of some Gentlemen who had nothing to Lose. This Tribe Consists of about 100. There are other Small Tribes as Smiths, Davidsons, M^cQueens, and Nobles, which are in all about 200. But the Largest Tribe of the Clanchattans is the Farquharsons whose Chieftain is Farquharson of Inercaul, Father to Lady M^cIntosh. This Tribe alone has more Property than M^cIntosh and all the others together. Their Dwelling is in Mar above Aberdeen far from the rest of the Clan. They can Raise above 400 Men able to Bear Arms who are a Mixture of Papists and Protestants.

The Cadets of M^cIntoshes own Family properly called M^cIntoshes are about 300 Men who with the M^cGilevreys, the M^cBeans, and Shaws of Forderack were so Disaffected to our Constitution in Church and State, that they Obliged their poor Tenants to Carry their Children 8 and 10 Miles to be baptized by the Nonjurant Minister at Inverness tho' he could not speak a Word of Irish nor they of English.

The M^cPhersons and Farquharsons are Tall well bodied Men, but the rest of the Chanchattan being subjected by their little Chieftains to much Slavery are for the most part but of a small Size.

Near to M^cIntoshes Country is the Town of Inverness, the Chief Inhabitants of which are either Frasers or Clanchattan. This town was for a Long time Governed by the Culloden Family.

Having now given you a pretty full Account of those Countries inhabited by the Clans which are not very well known I will be very short in the 2d Thing I promised in the beginning of this Letter Namely a more General Account of my Journey round the East Coast and from thence to Argyleshire.

From Inverness I travelled through the Estate of Rose of Kilravock, a Gentleman well affected to Our Constitution, whose Clan consists of about 300; *Strathspey* from whence I went to Strathspey, the Country of the Grants. This Clan consists of about 1,000 Good Men. The Laird of Grant was very Zealous at the Revolution; but He and his Men suffered so much by the Depredations of the Camerons and M'Donalds that they behaved with more Caution than Zeal in the Time of the Late Rebellion. They Certainly were in a bad Situation hem'd in between the Gordons and Clanchattan Tribes; but nevertheless a true Spirit and Zeal for Religion and Liberty might have induced them to behave better than to Enter into a Neutrality with Rebels.

In all the Countries through which I have yet Travel'd the Irish is the Common Language, except a part of Caithness; but now I enter into Countries where the Common People speak English, as in the Country of Murray to the East of Nairn, the Principal Families in which are the Laird of Brody, Sir Robert Gordon, Sir Henry Innes and several Gentlemen of the Dunbars and Cumines who are all well-affected to the Government except three or four of no Account. The Commons in Murray are an Industrious Honest Well affected People but having been for a long time disused from Arms they are not reckoned a good Militia tho' they are for the most part a strong well bodied People. Having Crossed the Spey I came to the Duke of Gordon's Country. His Grace was thought to be Sincere in his Affection to the Government but his Ancestors were so Disaffected to the Protestant Interest and at so much pains

to instill those Principles into their Clan that I am afraid it will take some time entirely to Eradicate an Evil which had taken so deep Root and which had grown to such a Height.

The Countries of the Enzie, Strathbogie, Strathdown, and Glenlivat are inhabited by Papists. Here was a kind of Popish College for training up young Men and Strengthening the Cause of Popery.

About 150 Years ago the Gordons were a Strong and Warlike Clan and could bring of their Vassals and Tenants above 3,000 Men into the Field, but they are now so greatly Degenerated that all the other Highland Clans despise them.

Having already swelled this Letter beyond my first Intention I shall hasten to a Conclusion and therefore shall only give you a few Remarks on the Country betwixt Banff and Dunkeld containing the Shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine, and Angus.

1st In that Country there are a great number of Considerable Families deeply Disaffected to Our Happy Constitution; but among them are interspersed several Families of much Influence who are well affected.

2^{ndly} The Common People Live by hard Labour, are poorly Fed and quite disused from Arms so that it is no Easy Affair to Oblige them to Rise in Rebellion. 3^{rdly} When the Lords Pitsligo, Ogilvy, and Lewis Gordon were not able to force many of them to take up Arms they beg'd of them to Accompany them for a few days, and they would ask no more of them: which, to Avoid a greater Evil, many of them did, but when they would have Returned to their own Houses, they were given to understand that what they had already done render'd them as Obnoxious and Guilty in the Eye of the Law as if they had been seven years in Rebellion, and that therefore they had no Mercy to Expect or safety at Home 'till they

had destroyed the present Government. When they found this would not do they obliged Every Tenant to furnish them with a Recruit or pay £6, and at last would not take the Money but insisted on a man.

4^{thly} In this Tract of Ground were more Nonjurant Meeting Houses than in six times the Extent in any other part of Scotland, yet notwithstanding the great pains taken to prevent them more of the Common People went to Church than to these Meeting Houses.

5^{thly} After one Night's stay at Dunkeld, a little place full of Disaffection, I proceeded . through the Country of Athol of which
Athol the Duke of that name is partly proprietor partly Superior. This Country is inhabited by Stuarts and Robisons, (there being none of the Duke's name living upon his Estate) who have given frequent Proofs of their Disaffection. Several of them have Fiefs and Mortgages of the Athol Family and Command the Common People of their Respective Clans who like other Highlanders believe that they are obliged to Rise in Arms when the Heads of their Family call upon them, and 'till of late the Athol Family Encouraged Everyone in their opposition to the Revolution Interest, nay they went farther, for in time of the Civil War and during the Reigns of the two Brothers this Family was employ'd by the Court to Distress the Party that stood up for British Liberty, and it is notoriously known how strenuously the Late Duke opposed the Union, encouraged the designed Invasion in 1708, and afterwards sent his Eldest Son, the Late unhappy Marquis of Tullibardine, at the Head of his Men to the Rebellion in 1715, tho' he found it most Conducive to his Interest to Change Sides at the Accession of His Late Majesty King George the first. The present Duke is Hearty and Zealous for the present Government but finds from sad Experience that his Ancestors

have been at too much pains to sow and Cherish Disaffection among his Neighbours for him to be able to Change them of a Sudden. From Athol I passed through the Earl or Duke of Perth (as commonly called) his Country.

Part of his Estate lyes in the Low Country and the rest among the Hills. The Inhabitants of the former were such Rigid and true Presbyterians that he well knew it was in vain for him to Attempt to raise them to Rebell in favour of a Popish Pretender, and that though he should force them out and Carry them along as Prisoners, yet all their Power could not Compell them to Fight or even to Carry Arms and therefore whatever Contributions were Demanded the Men were let alone.

But those on the Highland Estate were more pliable as they did not know the Value of Religion and Liberty. This is but one of many Instances of the Mischievous Effects that Ignorance has on those who Live among the Mountains. The Viscount Strathallan is a Branch of this Family.

My next Route was through the Earl of Broadalbin's Country towards the Shire of Argyle.

This Earl was one of those who absented from the Scotch Parliament when the Oath called the Assurance was Enacted soon after the Revolution, and his Affection to the *Broadalbin* Protestant Interest was frequently called in Question during the Reigns of King William and Queen Anne. Many Branches of his Family were disaffected, particularly Campbell of Glenderuile who travelled over the whole Highlands of Scotland immediately after the Death of Queen Anne to solicit Subscriptions for the Rebellion that broke out Anno 1715, in which he joined heartily to his own Ruin, but by the Influence of the present Lord Glenorchy the Cadets of this Family who are very

Considerable both for their Number and Riches joined as heartily in Support of the Government in the time of the Late Rebellion.

I had almost forgot to mention Rannoch a famous Den of Thieves and Robbers, not far from Broadalbin's Country. The Inhabitants are of the names of Robison, Menzies, Cameron, and M^cDonald. These Rogues keep a Regular Correspondence with the Thieves of Glengarry and Lochaber in order to give each other a mutual Assistance to Conceal their Villanies. Sir Robert Menzies is Proprietor of one part of it and Robison of Struan of the other. The Rebellious Disposition of the Latter is well known, but how Menzies of Shien, Factor to Sir Robert, should raise so many Men as he did on his Estate is not to be easily accounted for.

Having left Broadalbin I travelled through those parts of Argyleshire which I have not given any Account of in my former Journey along the West Coast. This is the Largest and Richest of all the Shires in the Highlands or North and Nine parts of Ten of the whole Shire belong to the Duke of Argyle and his Clan. The Remainder belongs to other Clans that are Scattered up and down among the Campbells (viz^t) M^cDonalds, M^cNeils, M^cDugals, M^cLachlans, and Laumonts. These were the Old Proprietors and Possessors of the Shire of Argyle except a small Estate that belonged to the Ancestors of the Duke of Argyle near Lochow; but the Heads of the Campbells have been always Men of great Wisdom and Policy as far back as we can trace them, and the other Clans so much given to Rebellion Tyranny and Extravagancy of all kinds, that the former were always encreasing and the latter declining through a great Variety of Misfortunes that I have not room to mention. The History of the Campbells since the Reformation and their Hearty Disposition to promote and Support the Cause of Religion and Liberty is so

well known that I need only Remark of this Country in General.

1st That it is more Fertile than the other Highland Countries through which I have travelled. The Islands of Jura and Isla; the Countries of Kintyre, Glassery and Cowal are famous for Corn and Grass. Lorn is famous for Barley and fine Pasture for Sheep.

Mull, Morvine, and Apine I have already mentioned.

2^{ndly} The Numerous Gentry of this Shire have since the Union made a very great improvement in their Lands, whence it comes that they are all in easy Circumstances.

3^{rdly} The Common People are generally Honest and Religious, Love the Established Clergy, and give no Encouragement to the Nonjurants, and are more Sensible of the Blessings of a British Subject than most of the other Clans in the Highlands are; but still the Old Clannish Dependance, and other Customs, prevail too much among them.

It is Commonly Computed that the Duke of Argyle and his Clan, including Broadalbin, can raise 3,000 Men, and leave enough at Home for Cultivating the Land and other necessary uses; and that if the Campbells were to Raise their Men, as the Camerons and McDonalds commonly do, they could bring together above 10,000 Able to bear Arms.

The Third Thing I promised was to make some General Observations concerning the Late Rebellion, and the Disposition of the People of Scotland.

While that Rebellion raged, the Jacobites had the Assurance to Call their own Wicked and Desperate Undertaking the Cause of Scotland, and often proclaimed that the Happiness of Scotland depended on its Success; and since that most monstrous Attempt was dashed to pieces, by the Conduct and Valour of His Royal

Highness the Duke and the Army, the Fireside Jacobites, and even some Gentlemen who Owe their Lives and Fortunes to His Majesty's Mercy, couch their treasonable wishes, which they dare not Express publicly, in other Language, by Drinking to the Prosperity and all true Friends of Scotland; but the Falsehood and Absurdity will appear to every man's Conviction who has any Regard to Truth, if we Consider that:

In Scotland there are about 1,000 Parishes each of which Parishes on an Average may Contain 1,500 Souls which will bring the number of Souls in Scotland to one Million and a half, which I am persuaded is but a Moderate Calculation; of these 220,000 may be reckoned Men able to bear Arms.

The greatest Number that was in Arms in Rebellion from first to last, as was acknowledged before the Battle of Culloden by officers in the Rebel Army was 11,000. This is but one in Twenty, and if we Substract from the Rebel Army the Papists, the Thieves, the Bankrupts, the Forced Men, and Giddy People without Thought or Principle, who were willing to Run headlong into any thing that Appeared new, we shall find but a very small number Remaining. The Nobility of Scotland are about 120 in Number, without reckoning those who forfeited for the Rebellion 1715, of which 120 the nine or ten who joined in the late Rebellion, were either Papists, or Bankrupts.

There was still a less proportion of the Baronets and Principal Gentlemen of Scotland, who are very Numerous, and still a less proportion of the Trading part of the Nation, the few of that Class who did Join the Rebels, were either Bankrupts or People who had nothing to Lose.

With Respect to the Boroughs of Scothud, Perth, Glasgow, Renfrew, Paislay, Greenock, Irvin, Air, Dumfries, Inverary and

Campbelton have but very few Disaffected Inhabitants. The People of the other Towns of any Note may be Divided into four Classes.

1st The Zealous Whigs who abhor the Jacobites as irreconcilable Enemies to their Religion and Liberty, and therefore, have a bad Opinion of all those who treat them with any Measure of Kindness or Moderation, or do not come up to their own Standard of Zeal for the Government.

2^{ndly} The Moderate Whigs who look upon Protestant Jacobites as an Infatuated and Deluded People whom they intend to Gain with Mild usage or at least to Live easy with them as their Neighbours.

3^{rdly} Malcontents who have been disappointed of some Preferment they Expected, or were not Rewarded according to the Estimate they made of their Merit.

4^{thly} The Jacobites from Principle or to speak more properly from Prejudice of Education.

With Respect to the State of Popery in Scotland Those of that Profession Live in the North and Highlands. They possess on the Continent in the West Highlands the Countries of Keppoch, Glengarry, Abertarf, Knoydart, Moydart, Morir, Arisaig, Strathglass, and a part of Glenmorison, with some few that are Scattered through Ardnamurchan and the Highest part of Badenoch; as also the Inhabitants of the following Isles are Papists (*viz*^t) South Uist, Benbicula, Barra, Muck, Egg, and Canna. All these places Contain about 12,000 Souls, of which 1,800 may be allowed to be Men able to carry Arms and of these about 1,300 were Actually in Arms in the Late Rebellion.

The Popish Countries to the East of the River Spey (*viz*^t) the

Enzies, Strathbogy, Garrioch, Strathdown, Glenlivat, and the Braes of Mar, contain near the same Number of Souls and Fighting Men; and betwixt Lord Lewis Gordon, Glenbucket, the Farquharsons, and those picked up by John Roy Stuart and others, there was about 1,000 of them in Arms.

I have been informed by a Gentleman who was four years at the Scotch Colledge at Paris that there were 60 Priests upon the Scotch Mission before the Rebellion, and that he knew Several Priests whose Names were not Contained in the List found in the Popish Chappel in the Island of Lochmorir. He farther told me that a Considerable Fund had been bequeathed for the Scotch Mission which would take place this year or the next, and that those Missionaries are as much obliged to obey the orders of their Superiors, let the Danger be what it will, as an Inferior Officer is to obey the Commands of a General when order'd to Attack a Battery or enter a Breach.

All who have any Notion of the History of Britain in Former Times are now Convinced (tho' many of them thought differently for some time) how great a Happiness the Union is to this Kingdom; as it has freed the Scots from all Apprehension of the Return of such Tyranny as was often Exercised in Scotland; as it has given their Ecclesiastical Constitution as firm a Sanction as Humane Laws can give; as it has open'd a Trade with England and all the Plantations thereto belonging; as it has quite Reconciled us to our Neighbours of England with whom we had the Misfortune to be in a State of War for many Ages; as we have the Great Benefit of a British Army and a British Fleet to Defend us against Invasions from abroad and Rebellions at Home; as we have the Inestimable Blessing of a Protestant King and a British Parliament.

But the Jacobites, and Malcontents who join them, Grasp at every Pretence to Depreciate the Union; they Magnify the Money our Scotch Peers and Members of Parliament must spend in England, with some other Particulars thus Invent to Raise an Odium against it which the Friends of the Government have often answer'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply; and I believe to the Conviction of such of the Jacobites who are not quite Enthusiasts; but when they are beat from all their other Arguments, their last Refuge is under the Cloak of Religion, by saying that we have lost more in our Morals than we have gained in every other Respect.

As to the Highlands in particular it may be observed that notwithstanding whatever may be said of the Advantageous Situation of the Western Isles for Trade, yet the Continent seems to be of much greater Consequence to the Government; and if Effectual Measures were to be laid down for Civilizing the Disaffected Highlands, the Continent should be the first Concern, as the Islanders are not quite so Barbarous as these are, nor have they such Easy Access to make Rebellious Concerts, and in the worst Event they may be Hem'd in by a few Sloops of War properly Stationed. Whereas those in the Continent can with greater Certainty and Security Correspond with one another and their Friends abroad, and it is by them the Rebellious part of the Islanders are animated and Directed.

If Theft was effectually suppressed and Industry propagated in the Highlands, the Farms there would be much more profitable than those in the Low Country by reason of the Vast Flocks of Cattle of all Kinds they could Breed at a very small Expence.

With Respect to Materials for Trade and Manufacture besides the Fishing and what Flax might be raised there, the Country affords Wool enough for the Stocking Trade, as also vast

Quantities of Sea Weed fit for making Kelp for Glassworks and Fern or Braken fit for making Soap or Potashes are to be met with in vast Quantities all over the Highlands.

Planting Potatoes would both supply their Scarcity of Bread and be an Excellent Method to Cultivate Wild and Barren Soil.

That the Disaffected and Savage Highlanders need to be Bridled and kept in awe by Garrisons and Standing Forces, 'till the present Generation wears out is Evident to all Men of common understanding, and that those unhappy and infatuated People will still Continue Savages if nothing else is done to recover them from their Ignorance and Barbarity seems as Evident; but as the rest of the People of Britain who are now Civilized were once as Wild and Barbarous as the Highlanders, I think it is not to be Doubted but that proper Measures would Civilize them also. If their Eyes were once Open'd and their Prejudices removed they would See and Act as others do; but alas they not only want the Means of Instruction; but have been always enslaved and misled which brings me to the fourth thing I promised in the beginning of this Letter namely to propose what appears to me the most likely Means to Civilize them. My opinion of this Important Affair I give you in the following particulars.

1st That a Law be Enacted to Oblige all Landlords among the Disaffected Clans to give long Written Leases to their Tenants, none to be for a shorter Term than 20 Years, and that every Man who lives by Husbandry or Grazing in those Countries have such a Lease from the Landlord or his Steward.

2^{ndly} That all Personal Services shall Cease; but that the Tenant be obliged by his Lease to Expend a Sum that shall be Judg'd equal to that, in Enclosing and improving his Farm as the Landlord shall Direct, and if it be found that such a Law is incompatible with the

Liberty of a British Subject, that at least the Forfeited Estates and other Lands in Scotland belonging to the Crown be let out in this manner. By this means the Tenants will Enjoy the Fruits of their own Industry, and know the Sweets of Peace and Liberty; which will put it out of the Power of their Tyrant Chiefs to Induce them to Rebel against a Government, to whom they will be indebted for every thing they Possess.

3^{rdly} That no man on a forfeited Estate be allowed to hold more Lands than he can Cultivate by his own Domestick Servants, and if Circumstances should Oblige him to Assign his Lease in whole or in part, that it be with the Consent of the King's Steward, and that the Sub Tenant shall Enjoy all the Priveledges of the Principal Tenant and farther that it be Deemed a Forfeiture of the Lease to Demand any Personal Services.

4^{thly} That all Wadsets or Mortgages justly Due on forfeited Estates be paid off, because the Gentlemen who had these were great Oppressors of the Poor, and most of them, tho' they themselves did not take Arms, were very Active in forcing the People in time of the Late Rebellion to do it.

5^{thly} That all poor Tenants who can stock Land to the Value of £3 yearly Rent be allowed to have Leases and hold them immediately from the Government, for by these small Leases the Forfeited Estates will be better improved than by great ones, and the numerous Gentry who have always joined the Chiefs in all their Rebellions and Oppressions will see the Common People taken out of their Hands, and the Blessings of Liberty and Property will be secured to the Poor, as well as to the Rich, which is the great thing to be done.

6^{thly} That the King's Factors or Stewards on Forfeited Estates and other Crown Lands be Persons well-affected to the

Government; but not of the Clan who Possess the Estate of which they are Stewards. That they be Obligated to Reside in the Country where they have their Charge, and see that the Poor People are Freed from the Oppression of the Gentry. Is it to be Expected that Stewards living at Edinburgh or London who substitute Gentlemen of the same Clan to Receive the Rents for them are fit to make the People Happy? Would not this be rather a Method to put them in a worse Condition than they were in before the Rebellion? Would not such Deputy Stewards raise Contributions from the Poor People to support Rebel Chiefs at Home and Abroad, and then plead the Poverty of the People and other Accidents as Excuses for being backward in paying the King's Rent? This was just the Case when Seaforth's Estate was in the Hands of the Government, after the Rebellion 1715.

7^{thly} That in every Parish a List be made by the King's Steward, with the Assistance of the Residing Heritors and the Kirk Session, of the Names of all Thieves, Persons suspected of Theft and Idle Vagabonds who have no Honest Employment or Visible Way of gaining a Livelihood. That all such People be warned of their Danger, if they do not immediately betake themselves to some such Employment and that those who will not Comply be accordingly delivered up to the Sheriff or Lords of the Circuit to be prosecuted according to Law. I find there was a Law in Scotland to this purpose about 160 years ago and I believe it has not yet been Repealed; vide Act 97th Parl: 11th Ja: 6th and Act 27th Parl: 14th Ja: 6th.

8th That a Law be Enacted forbidding all Compromises for Theft under a Severe Penalty; That all Parties from whom Goods or Cattle are Stolen be obliged to Prosecute the Thieves when found out or Suffer as Thieves themselves; and that to Answer the Expence of such prosecutions Rogue money be imposed upon the

Respective Shires as usual. This would be a great Terrour to Thieves, and that Villainous, but too Common Practise of taking back stolen Goods without so much as giving up the Name of the Thief to the Civil Magistrate would Cease.

9^{thly} That such Trade or Manufactures as can be Carried on in the Country, be set on foot in the most proper Parts to Employ the Poor, and that Thigging (which is a Genteel way of Begging with a Threat'ning in Case of Refusal) and Sorning (by which is meant Living on Free Quarters) be suppressed by inflicting a Severe Penalty both on those who Either Ask or Give Thigging or Free Quarters to such Vagabonds.

10^{thly} That 'till Manufactures are Established every Parish to the North of the River Tay be obliged to Canton it's real Poor in the several Villages thereof at the Discretion of the Kirk Session and Residing Heritors, and after this is done, that Intimation be given, that any Person who gives Charity to any Wand'ring or Strolling Beggar be liable to a Certain Fine for the use of the Poor of the said Parish. By this means the Poor will have Bread and Contribute something towards their own Subsistence; and many who now Beg will apply themselves to some Business or other.

11th That Popish Priests be order'd by proclamation, on pain of the Severest Penalties, to Depart the Kingdom by a Certain day, as Constant Fomentors of Sedition and Rebellion; and that any Person who shall Harbour or Conceal them after such a time be liable to the Severest pains of Law. That no Papist who will not allow himself or Family to be instructed by Protestant Ministers and Schoolmasters, be permitted to have a Lease of any Lands belonging to the King.

12th That such a Number of new Parishes be Erected in the Disaffected Highlands that all the People may have Access to be at

Church every Sunday, and for that purpose no Parish shou'd be of greater Extent than 8 Scotch Miles in Length or 6 if the Situation of the Place requires it and Breadth as the place will admit of.

That the Church be in the Centre of the Parish, and that a School be at the Church and another at each End of the Parish. That all the King's Tenants be obliged by their Leases to Educate their Children at such Schools 'till they Learn to Read English and to Write, and that Lists of such Parents who have Children and do not send them to these Schools be regularly transmitted once a year by the Kirk Session to the Respective Sheriffs of the Several Countries with the reason for such Neglect.

You may perhaps be Surprized that I should mention a thing which will appear so Obviously necessary, as that the Church should be in the Centre of the Parish; but I observed in travelling through that Country that in Several Parishes there was no Church at all, and in others that the Church was in the very Extremity of Several large Parishes, where the People who live far from the Church are all Papists. I saw three Instances of this in Lord Lovat's Country and many more in other places.

13th That the Stipend of every Minister in the Disaffected Countries be at Least £70 p. Annum besides Manse and Glebe, and in some more Expensive and Publick places to be raised to £80, or 100. That on all the Forfeited Estates, or other Crown Lands, a Farm to the Value of 5 or 6£ p. Annum of the lands nearest the Church be given to the Minister as part of his stipend, that he may Stock and Improve it so as to help his Living and show a good Example to his Parishioners in improving their Farms.

This would raise Ministers above Contempt, and enable them to gain the Love and Esteem of the People when they could entertain

them in their Houses, and enable them to bestow Little Charitys among them, whereas at present they are so miserably pinched in their Livings and their Task so far above what they are Able to perform, that they are quite incapacitated from doing the Good the Country Requires and what their own Inclinations would prompt them to. Besides this would encourage young Men of Parts and Learning who speak the Irish Language to Settle there; whereas formerly several Weak Men were planted in Disaffected Parishes because others could not be found. I conversed much with the Clergy while I stay'd in the Highlands and I think I may safely venture to say that they are all Sincere Honest Men; but some of them are not sufficiently qualified to deal with Popish Priests and other Enemies of our Happy Constitution, but this may be said in Excuse for them that they have neither Time to read Books or Money to Buy them.

Building of the Mansion House, Office Houses and Garden Walls for every Parish may upon an average Cost £100 and a Church about £120.

14th That every Schoolmaster planted at the Church have at least £12 yearly Salary, as also a House, Garden, Two Acres of Ground and Grass for one Cow, that those planted in other parts of the Parish have £10 and the former Accommodations.

That by the Constitution of those Schools the Poor be taught Gratis and the Sheriff to settle the Fees to be demanded of such who are able to pay. That the Salaries of the Ministers and Schoolmasters be paid by the Publick that there may be no Interfering between them and the People.

15th After the Revolution, Persons Charitably disposed at London and elsewhere, sent down a Collection of Books proper for the Highlands, and small Libraries were Erected at some

Presbytery Seats; but by the Several Rebellions and other Disorders that have happen'd in the Country, they are now Dispersed and Lost. And I do not doubt if such a Design was now set on foot under proper Regulations but it would be a Means of spreading usefull Knowledge thro' the Highlands.

16th I was much pleased with the Late Act obliging all Agents, Clerks and Writers attending the Colledge of Justice and other Courts of Law in Scotland, to take the Oaths to the Government, and I have often wished that all Tutors and Persons who have the Care of Minors and Stewards or Factors upon Noblemen or Gentlemen's Estates were comprehended in that Law. These last have great Power and Influence over the Common People in the Highlands, and many of them made a very bad use of it in the time of the Late Rebellion.

17th That an Effectual Method be taken to put the Laws strictly in Execution in the Highlands, for it was not so much for want of Good Laws that the Highlands continued in so Savage and Barbarous a Condition as not duly enforcing the Laws they had. I will give one Instance to shew the Absolute Necessity of this. There was a Law enacted since the Rebellion was quelled that no Personal Services should be demanded of any Tenant but what should be Contained in a written Contract, yet notwithstanding I doubt if such a Writing could be produced through all the Highlands. The poor people dare not demand them for fear of being turned out of their Possessions, and Extravagant Services are still required and Performed which the Landlords would be ashamed to commit to writing. The Tyranny of the Gentlemen over the Common People has been of such long standing that I cannot think of a more Certain Method to Establish the Laws than to Cite a Dozen of the Common People and half as many Gentlemen before the Sheriff once a year out of every Parish, and

oblige them to Declare on Oath whether the Laws are duly Executed where they Live. I know not if this Proposal be Legal; but I am sure that some proper Enquiry must be made otherwise the Laws will be always Eluded.

I know not but you may Object to the Scheme I have proposed with Respect to the Parishes and Schools, as thinking it may require a greater Sum of Money than the Government will Chuse to bestow in Civilizing Such a Country. I own it will require a Large Sum, perhaps £5,000 a year; but if the State of the Country had been fully and truly represented to the King and Parliament after the Rebellion Anno 1715 and such a Sum had been then properly Expended in Civilizing it, a much greater had been saved, and the Pretender would not have had the least reason to Boast of his faithfull Highlanders. What has made the Chiefs so Absolute, and the French depend on them as usefull Tools on every Occasion; but the Poverty, Idleness, Ignorance, Barbarity, Theft, and Popery that prevail among the Common People? If the Chiefs of the M^cKays or Munroes should rise in Rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender, I would Venture my Life that they would get as few of their Respective Clans to follow them as the Earl of Kilmarnock did of his in time of the Late Rebellion. Has not Britain laid out much Greater Sums on Colonies abroad of not half the Importance of Civilizing and Improving this part of Britain itself that has been so long a Nuisance and Reproach to the Nation? Besides when the Country is improved and Trade and Manufactures are thoroughly Established, it will repay with Large Interest any Expence laid out at present.

APPENDIX A
BRUCE, THE COURT TRUSTY—CUMBERLAND
PAPERS WINDSOR CASTLE

August 21st, 1749.

*Instructions given by the Secretary of State to
Mr Bruce, about the forfeited estates.*

“You are to make all enquiries. . . . You are to make the same enquiry as to M^cDonald of Glengary’s estate, and such other estates as would form a chain betwixt Inverness and the Western Seas. Whether under forfeiture or not.” . . .

Letter enclosed, signed Col. Napier to Andrew Stone.

“Mr Bruce having brought me the instructions proposed for his conduct in examining the forfeited estates, I laid them yesterday before H.R.H. the Duke, who approved of the same, but desired that he may be likewise directed to examine and make a particular report of Perth estate, Lovat’s and Clanronald, as well as those of Lochiel, Glengary, and M^cPherson” . . .

APPENDIX B. P. xxix.

The novel of *Spanish John* (Colonel John Macdonnell, of the Scotus branch, cousins of Glengarry) appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, in Autumn, 1897, and will be separately published. It is based on the Colonel's Memoirs, which were published fifty years ago in *The Canadian Magazine*. I owe a copy to the kindness of Mr McLennan. The Memoir reads like a tale of Mr Stevenson's, and is an admirable portrait of a brave and loyal young Highland gentleman.

APPENDIX C. P. xxxi.

The venerable Mr Macinnes, in Glenco, remembers, I believe, a local hero who was out in the Forty-Five. Glenco, though so near a large quarrying village at Ballachulish, abounds in legend and tradition, running back to Viking times, and second-sight is by no means extinct in the glen. In the haunted burial isle, there is a curious grave stone, with an effigy of a Highlander cutting down a Dragoon.

APPENDIX D. P. xxxviii.

The Niece of Robertson of Struan.

For some reason unknown, Glengarry, in 1758-60, was at odds with his brother's widow, whom he calls "an infamous woman." The word of Glengarry (Alastair Ruadh, *ob.* 1761) is not to be relied on. His feud with his sister-in-law occupies a good deal of his private correspondence, which, as extant in his Letter Book, I owe to the kindness of Lieut.-General Macdonald. It came into his hands among papers from Lochgarry House, recently in the possession of his family. It would be interesting if the contents of the Glengarry charter chest could be examined by historians. A few of the documents somehow appear in the Lochgarry papers, but

none of great antiquity.

APPENDIX E.

The following notes are extracted from remarks by Mr William Mackay, Craigmorie, author of an interesting work on Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Mr Mackay's paper unluckily arrived after the book was in print. In making use of it, I have omitted points already given by myself in the Introduction or Appendices, such as comments on the prejudices of the author of the MS.

Pp. 4, 11, 14. Sinclairs, Mackays, Sutherlands.

Mr Mackay writes: "The fact is that the Mackays and Sutherlands appear in the North in the twelfth century: the Sinclairs settled there in the fourteenth, on the marriage of Sinclair of Roslin with one of the daughters of the Earl of Orkney and Caithness.

P. 9. "Of old the Mackays were reckoned the most barbarous and wicked of all the Clans. . . . The Mackays abhor thieving."

In an old Gaelic song (*Cabar-Feidh*) the Chief of the Mackays is called *Macaoidh nan Creach*, "Mackay of the Forays."

P. 10. Military pre-eminence of the Mackays.

This dates from Donald, first Lord Reay, Chief from 1614 to 1650. In 1626 he raised his Mackay Regiment, which for many years fought in the Protestant cause on the Continent. At a later period Mackay entered the Dutch service. [The present Chief, Lord Reay, is *Scotus an Batavus anceps*.]

P. 15. "In Irish Caladh, that is the country of the Catti."

"The Gaelic name *Caladh*, or more properly *Gallaobh* (Caithness), means the country of the strangers, that is the Northmen. The Catti inhabited *Cataobh*, or Sutherland.

P. 21. "Macleod of Guinies."

He is representative of Assynt's line, so heartily cursed by Aytoun for surrendering Montrose. It is understood that Assynt merely acted in his duty as a Magistrate, like Sir John Menteith, who gave up Wallace (A. L.).

P. 40. "Donald Murchison."

Mr Mackay refers to his tract on Murchison, reprinted from the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, 1894. Murchison was Seaforth's Chamberlain, and in spite of the Earl's forfeiture, extracted the rents for him after 1715. In 1721, he stopped the Government factors with an armed force, in Glen Affric. Young Fearn, on the Whig side, was shot. Murchison, the leader in this little Rising, is said to have died early, broken-hearted by the ingratitude of Seaforth, concerning whom King James also had reason for complaint. Sir Roderick Murchison, the Geologist, erected a monument to his resolute great-grand-uncle, on the Lochalsh shore of Kyle Akin, in 1863.

P. 52. For *Kintore*, Mr Mackay reads *Kintire*.

P. 55. For "*Islandonnar*," Mr Mackay reads *Islanddonnan* (*Eilean-Donain*), "the ancient seat of the Mackenzies of Kintail."

P. 56. *Epitaph on Sleat*.

There are various readings, see *Lyon in Mourning*, I. 239. III. 182.

P. 63. *Abertarford. Abertarf*.

P. 70. MacEans of Ardnamurchan. The patronymic (Johnsons) of the Macdonalds, of that estate, and of Glenco. Dr Johnson was asked by Lochbuy which of these septs he came from! [Probably the Doctor was of the Border Clan, if of any.—A. L.]

P. 89. M ^c Lonicks	= MacGillonies.
MacOvies	= Macphees.
MacKevoils	= Mac ‘Illemhaoil, or Macmillans.
MacOvaisters	= Macmasters.

P. 92. Mr Sheldoch.

Minister from 1725 to 1733. The charge was vacant from the Reformation to 1720, when Mr Sheldoch’s predecessor was appointed.

P. 96. Keppoch.

Keppoch was the last family to hold by *duchas*, without sheep-skin charter. Alasdair Carrach, son of John, Lord of the Isles, by Margaret, daughter of Robert II., was the Founder.

P. 97. Keppoch. *Murt na Ceapaich*, or the Murder of Keppoch, was committed in September 1663. The “Wife from the South of Scotland” was a daughter of Forrester of Kilbaggie, in Clackmannan. The two murdered young men were educated abroad. It was through the noted Lochaber Iain Lom Macdonald, the Gaelic poet laureate of Charles II., that Sir James of Sleat was prevailed on to take an interest in the affair. The actual assassins (seven) were surprised and slain and their heads taken to Inverness. On the way they were submitted to Lord Macdonell at Invergarry, having first been washed in the well since known as *Tobar nan Ceann*—the Well of the Heads, over which a monument in commemoration of the event now stands. Iain Lom’s Lament, on the occasion of the murder, is still sung, and is printed in the *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry* and other collections. The succession is not correctly given by our author—the “Eldest Uncle “having died abroad long before the murder.

P. 100. “He engaged Mackintosh.”

This was the last Clan battle, at Mulroy in Brae Lochaber.

P. 106. M^cWalrig, = MacUaraig, the Gaelic name of the Kennedys, of Brae Lochaber.

P. 112. Prince Charles in Glenmoriston. The Prince was not for five weeks in the cave, but from July 29 to August 2, and in another local cave for five days. His hosts were not three, but seven; not thieves, but farmers, “against whom no case of theft is recorded.” [But our author thinks thieves a kind of generic term for this class of Highlander.—A. L.]

P. 155. Mansion house = Manse.

P. 156. *Libraries*. These were established by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. In an article by Mr Mackay in the *Celtic Magazine* (1888), on Education in the Highlands in the olden times, he writes—“We do not know to what extent the libraries were patronised by the people, but, judging from the incident we are about to relate, it was sometimes difficult to get at the books. We find from the records of the Presbytery of Mull that at a meeting of that Presbytery held at Aros in March 1730, Mr Morrison, minister of Coll, reported ‘that Mr M^cAula, his predecessor in office, carried off the library to the Harris, because he was not paid for his expenses in bringing them to Coll.’ The Rev. Aulay Macaulay, who is here referred to, was translated to Harris in 1712, so that, at the time of this report, the books had been in his possession there for eighteen years; and it is not likely they ever saw Coll again. Thus it was that Mr Macaulay contrived to have a library; and thus early do we find in the Macaulay family that love of books which reached its full development in the person of Lord Macaulay, the great-grandson of the thieving minister of Harris.”

Pp. 53 and 151. Thigging and Sorning. Our author heard these

words in the Lowlands and not in the Highlands, where they are not known. The Gaelic has not even a word for the milder *beg* except a loan-word from the English! [What is the Gaelic word for what the Lowlanders call Thigging and Sorning?—A. L.]

As to the numbers of fighting men in the Clans, Mr Mackay writes that our author follows in a few instances the estimate of what is known as Forbes of Culloden's Report, published in the New Spalding Club Historical Papers, [I. p. 166](#); but as a rule he greatly over-estimates. Compare also General Wade's First Report (1724), printed in the same vol., [p. 143](#), and the Account of the Highland Clans submitted to Louis XIV. by the Scottish Jacobites (Brown's Hist, of the Highlands, II. 427).

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