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WRITING THE HISTORY OF GAELIC SCOTLAND: A PROVISIONAL CHECKLIST OF ‘GAELIC’ GENEALOGICAL HISTORIES

In a recent article I argued that a genre of history writing which I termed ‘Gaelic’ genealogical history flourished in the Scottish Gàidhealtachd between the mid-seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, particularly before *c.*1720 (MacGregor 2002). The provisional checklist of exemplars of the genre referred to in that article is published below. Elsewhere, I have proposed a tentative fourfold categorisation of the main phases into which the writing of the history of Gaelic Scotland fell, between the late medieval and modern eras: the classical tradition, ‘Gaelic’ genealogical histories, nineteenth-century clan histories, and modern historical scholarship. Although each phase was characterised by the predominance of one particular historiographical mode, this was not to the exclusion of other forms of historical activity, and there was considerable overlap between phases. The origins of the last phase can be assigned to the mid-1830s and the publication of seminal works by Donald Gregory and William Forbes Skene (Gregory 2008: v–viii). There follow some brief observations on the interface between the first two phases.

In its historical aspect the classical tradition survived into the earlier eighteenth century in the persons of Iain Beaton (the ‘last of the Shenachies’ and ‘the only scholar of his race’), Gille-Crìost Beaton and Niall MacMhuirich, and in the form of the Red and Black Books of Clanranald (Bannerman 1986: 16–17, 20, 130). If we assume the applicability of a template based upon the types of historical texts produced under classical auspices in Ireland – genealogical and annalistic compilations; late-medieval tracts, notably prose eulogies of particular kindreds; and statements of the ‘rights’ of kings – then very little has survived in written form in its own right on the Scottish side (MacGregor 2002: 227, n. 2). Possible explanations are destruction of manuscripts, as exemplified in the cases of the MacMhuirichs and MacEwens (Bannerman 1977: 17);

and a predisposition towards the spoken rather than the written word (MacGregor 2002: 197, 213, 230, n. 42; MacGregor 2007: 215). The case for the existence of a vigorous classical historical tradition in Scotland has to be eked out by indirect or second-hand survival, fossilised in other sources such as classical poetry or the genealogical histories themselves (MacGregor 2002: 211–3, 225; *cf.* Gillies: [forthcoming]).

The classical tradition did not have a monopoly on the study of history in the late-medieval Gàidhealtachd down to the dawn of the genealogical history genre. Other traditions co-existing with it, even if surviving evidence is slim, were an elite vernacular tradition practised by non-classical aristocrats, and a popular vernacular tradition or ‘collective memory’ (MacGregor 2002: 214–6, 224–6). The former certainly achieved written form, and dominates what are categorised in the Checklist below (Ia. 1–4, 6) as ‘closely related precursors’ to the genealogical histories. The clerical and lay authorship of these texts invites parallels with the authorship of the hybrid poetic genre, blending classical and vernacular elements, referred to as ‘semi-bardic verse’ (Thomson 1989: 106–7). The earliest known specimen is a history of his own kindred said to have been written by Fearchar, chief of the Macintoshes, in 1502, during his period of incarceration in the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar. However, none of these texts is known to survive, and hence it is impossible to say how closely they anticipate the genealogical histories either in their commixture of native historical traditions, or indeed in the further combination of these with source material emanating from outwith the Gàidhealtachd. Other texts being produced by the earlier seventeenth century are less easily classifiable in terms of this ‘three tradition’ model, and seem to have less in common with the genealogical history genre, even though some genealogical histories make use of them. These are categorised below (Checklist Ic) as ‘remotely related’ precursors.

The key to the birth of the genealogical history genre seems to have been the demise of the classical tradition, in turn a consequence of the changing identity of the Gaelic elite, and its need for new forms of validation (MacGregor 2002: 219–20). Perhaps predictably, the process of transition was at its most intense, and reveals itself to

us most fully, within the Campbell milieu. A parallel can be made with medicine, where from as early as 1606 the classically trained lineages which ministered to the Campbell elite were coming under pressure to adapt, as their patrons began to embrace the mode of medicine practised in Lowland Scotland, and its exponents (Bannerman 1986: 120, 124).¹ In terms of history writing, a sign of things to come, if atypical in some respects, was the *Black Book of Taymouth* (Checklist I. b1), begun and dedicated by William Bowie to his patron, Donnchadh Dubh, chief of the Glen Orchy Campbells, in 1598. That work was composed against a backdrop of social revolution occurring within the lordship of these Campbells after 1550, one element of which was the elevation of Lowland servitors like Bowie over indigenous personnel within the retinue of the Glen Orchy chief (MacGregor 1989: ch. 4, and p. 255). Interestingly, the *Black Book of Taymouth* also incorporated portraits of the individual heads of the Glen Orchy lineage, and in the 1630s these Campbells went on to commission a series of paintings of their ancestors, and of the kings and queens of Scotland, as well as a great genealogy board (Innes 1855: 253–4; xxviii, 75, 77–8).

Between 1627 and 1656, the classical poets and historians to the Campbells, the MacEwens, were squeezed into oblivion, and the reshaping of their legacy began in earnest. Alexander Colville, Justice Depute in Edinburgh from 1607 until 1664, may have completed the first draft of his ‘Genealogy of the Campbells’ (Checklist I. b3) c.1638; and may also be the author of the *Information anent the Pedigree of the Noble and Antient House of Lochow* of 1634 (Checklist I. b2).² Like the *Black Book of Taymouth*, and unlike the genealogical histories, these works are of Lowland authorship, and there may be a parallel to be drawn here with developments in the legal sphere. It has been demonstrated that during the seventeenth century, the Lowland expertise initially relied upon by the Gaelic elite to meet its burgeoning legal needs was in time replaced by native personnel, sometimes based in the south (Watt 1998). Nevertheless, access to the classical Gaelic tradition in its decline, and a willingness to put it in the same frame as documentary and chronicle evidence, provide crucial points of contact which may justify describing these texts as ‘proto-

genealogical histories'. The author of the *Information* makes use of George Buchanan, Hector Boece and Henricus Stephanus; various documents, one of them at least from the charter chest of the earls of Argyll (Campbell 1885: 7), and perhaps oral evidence. He also clearly had access to genealogies maintained by the MacEwens, but lacked the linguistic expertise to exploit them:

But because the names before [the Middle Ages] are so Irish like, and hard to be both written and pronounced, and are more fit to be read in conference than committed to write, I shall content myself to inform your Lo[rds]hip of the last and surest actions of that house, which may be proven by either evidents or chronicles (Campbell 1885: 4).

If the author were indeed Alexander Colville, then he subsequently found a means of circumventing this difficulty, for Colville is said to have 'revised these Genealogies as the McEunes [MacEwens] left them betwixt the years 1650 and 1660 and his Second Edition of them is it that goes by the name of Colvin's Genealogy of the Campbells' (Campbell 1926: 191). It is not known to have survived independently, but was very influential, acting as a ground for several of the Campbell genealogical histories proper.

One such was *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells* (Checklist, II. 6). According to slightly later testimony (1717×22), *Ane Accompt* was written between 1670 and 1676 by Raibeart Duncanson, minister of Campbeltown, 'assisted by several other good shenachies', and the ninth earl of Argyll (Campbell 1926: 191; Sellar 1973: 113). The use of the term *seanchaidh* here requires discussion, and provides further insights into the process of cultural transition. Should we understand it in its original, technical sense of 'classical professional historian-cum-genealogist'? If so, Duncanson's collaborators cannot have been members of the by now defunct MacEwen lineage; likely candidates would include members of the MacLachlan learned kindred serving alongside him in the ministry in Argyll (Bannerman 1977: 13; MacTavish 1943/4: 1. vii–viii). However, Duncanson's competence in Gaelic led to his participation in the Synod of Argyll's projects to publish religious material in the

language. Fellow ministers involved included not only these MacLachlans (MacTavish 1943/4: 2. 177, 198, 224), but others whose surnames, like that of Duncanson, seem to indicate that they belonged to territorial, not professional, kindreds (MacTavish 1943/4: 1. 127, 185; 2. 99, 224). Hence it is possible that some or all of the ‘other good shenachies’ who assisted Duncanson were of non-professional origin; and, since the wording implies that the status of *seanchaidh* also applies to him, the same could be true of Duncanson himself.

An earlier example (1660×85) of this meaning for *seanchaidh* may occur in the *Sleat History* (Checklist II. 1; MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 20), where ‘our Highland shenakies’ are said to believe that the origins of Lowland bearers of the surname Beaton, although more immediately French, were ultimately Irish. This looks like an attempt to leave open the possibility of a connection between these Beatons and the Gaelic, medical Beatons, and since what we might call the ‘official’ (although not exclusive) line taken by the latter on their origins frowned upon this connection, it would follow that ‘shenakies’ cannot mean ‘classical professional historians’ here (Bannerman 1986: 3–5, 18–19). It is also striking that when genealogical histories of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries use the word in its original sense, they do so in the past tense, and firmly retrospective contexts, and we have already noted the description of Iain Beaton, who died in 1714, as the ‘last of the Shenachies’ (MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 73; Clark 1906/8: 1. 118; Campbell 1926: 190).

I suggest, therefore, that the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century was a transitional era in which the scope of the term *seanchaidh(ean)* was extended to include aristocratic laymen in the first instance, before commencing its penetration of lower social strata. These laymen were committed and knowledgeable amateur historians, whose origins lay outside the ranks of the recognised professional kindreds; in other words, the same class of individual from which the authors of the genealogical histories, and their key oral informants, were overwhelmingly drawn (MacGregor 2002: 203–4, 224). In the same period, a potential parallel is provided by *aos-dàna*, previously a collective term for the learned professional

classes, but now applied to individual vernacular poets belonging to territorial kindreds, and apparently of aristocratic status (Thomson 1983: 4–5).

The genealogical histories sometimes give credence and prominence to matters which the classical historical tradition treated with circumspection, a case in point being the origins of the Campbells. Where the genealogical histories are happy to assert that these were at once Gaelic and Norman and British, classical sources are virtually unanimous in favouring only the last of these. The argument advanced by Sellar (1973: 118–9) that the MacEwens did subscribe to the ‘Gaelic’ strand through their oral preservation of the name *Jeremiah* – said to be present in the Campbell pedigree in MS 1467 – in its Gaelic equivalent form of *Diarmaid*, seems very questionable (cf. Gillies 1976/8: 292, n. 38). The genealogies in MS 1467 are carelessly written, and it could be suggested alternatively that the name read by Skene as *Eirenaid* (cf. Gillies 1999: 84), and interpreted by Sellar as *Jeremiah*, is a garbled rendering of *Feradoig(h)*, the reading given at this point in the pedigree by two other classical manuscripts with which MS 1467 tends to agree (Sellar 1973: 117); and that *Feradoig(h)* would have been the MacEwens’ original version also. *Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells* renders *Feradoig(h)* as *Ferrither*; the two extra *Ferrithers* it adds to this section of its pedigree again probably represent very late or post-MacEwen embroidery.³

As further evidence of the ‘integrity’ of the classical tradition, I would argue that its acceptance of the identification of the Artúr who appears consistently in the classical genealogies of the Campbells – and who may be a genuine Campbell ancestor – with King Arthur, was gradual, qualified and not unanimous (Gillies 1976/8: 282; Gilles 1982: 67, 73). The Campbell pedigrees in MS 1467 and in MacFirBhisigh reveal, respectively, possible ambivalence and silence on the question (Gillies 1976/8: 282 and n. 44; cf. Gillies 1994: 149 and n. 18; Sellar 1973: 117–8), while the allusions made in some classical poems prior to the mid-seventeenth century are notably restrained (Watson 1937: 116–7; McLeod & Bateman 2007: 146–7, 152–3). King Arthur first takes centre-stage in the poem *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla-easbuig*, composed 1641–1661 (Gillies

1994: 147–8), or, if we assume MacEwen authorship, 1641–1652×1656. Thus, the particular British dynamic provided by the Civil Wars, coupled with the by now precarious status of the MacEwen lineage, are the likely factors which finally put paid to classical scruples.

There are also arguably significant divergences over Artúr's father: the name rendered as *Uibuir*, *Iobhar*, or *Iomhar* in some genealogies is bypassed entirely in others (Gillies 1994: 149 and n. 18, 153–4). Is it possible that he, like Artúr, was a real historical figure; that his name was similar enough to Uther to compound the Arthurian conceit, and that these divergences may reflect classical difficulties or reservations concerning his assimilation to the persona of Uther Pendragon (Gillies 1982: 50, 71–2)? The same argument could be applied to Artúr's son, whom the genealogists call *Meirbi*, *Smerbi* or *Smeirbe* (Sellar 1973: 123, n. 15; cf. Gillies 1999: 83), and whose portrayal in the genealogical histories may suggest assimilation to the Myrddin (Merlin) of Welsh tradition (Sellar 1981: 108–9; but cf. Gillies 1982: 69, and n. 112).

To claim as coincidence the fact that classical versions of the Campbell pedigree contain three consecutive names with possible Arthurian associations, and to claim further that those concerned are potentially genuine Campbell ancestors, may appear extravagant. But a partial analogy can be drawn with versions of the MacGregor pedigree, produced under classical auspices, in which similarity of names prompted the identification of probably genuine MacGregor ancestors with the ninth-century kings, Kenneth and Alpin (MacGregor 1989: 31–33). There too the rough edges of the process remain visible, and perhaps we might even interpret this as a deliberate classical device to indicate doubt or scepticism.

The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland:

A Provisional Checklist

One reason for publishing the checklist in this provisional form is to elicit fresh information, and any corrections or additions would be gratefully received. I am indebted to Aonghas MacCoinnich, Nancy McGuire, Jean Munro, Colm Ó Baoill, David Sellar, Domhnall

Uilleam Stiùbhart and Andrew Wiseman for invaluable assistance and advice.

Texts are organised in approximate chronological order, but it must be noted that dates of composition given are often crude or tentative. No attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive listing of surviving manuscripts, or printed versions of these. For valuable efforts in this direction relating to MacLean and MacKenzie texts respectively, see Maclean-Bristol 1995: 158–60; Munro 1999: 12–17. Where titles of texts are italicised, these correspond to the titles used in MacGregor 2002, irrespective of whether they also correspond to the titles by which these texts are generally known. Where an italicised title is followed by another title within round brackets, this represents the title given by the original author or a subsequent redactor. Where it is followed by another title within square brackets, this represents a commonly used modern alternative.

I Precursors: texts predating the mid-seventeenth century⁴

a 'Closely related' precursors

- 1 History of the Macintoshes down to c.1496⁵
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: Fearchar Macintosh, supposedly chief of the kindred
 Date(s) of Composition: 1502
- 2 History of the Macintoshes down to c.1550
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: sir Anndra MacPhail, 'parson of Croy'
 Date(s) of Composition: (?)c.1550
- 3 History of the Macintoshes, c.1496–c.1550
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: Seòras Monro, Connage and Davochartie
 Date(s) of Composition: 1575

- 4 Genealogy of the MacKenzies⁶
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: Uilleam (William) MacQueen of Corrybrough, sub-
 dean of Ross ('Parson McQueen alias Maceanuy')
 Date(s) of Composition: (?)c.1600, or earlier
- 5 The precursor to the *Red Book of Clanranald*⁷
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: the MacMhuirich learned lineage
 Date(s) of Composition: (?)mid-seventeenth century; perhaps
 c.1636×1644
- 6 Genealogy of the MacKenzies⁸
 Location of manuscript: Lost
 Printed: ----
 Authorship: Iain MacKenzie of Fairburn (d. c.1645)
 Date(s) of Composition: before c.1645

b 'Closely related' precursors: Campbell texts

- 1 *The Black Book of Taymouth*
 Location of manuscript: NAS *Breadalbane Muniments*
 GD112/57/5/8
 Printed: Innes 1855: 1–106
 Authorship: Mr William Bowie
 Date(s) of Composition: commenced 1598
- 2 *Information anent the Pedigree of the Noble and Antient House of Lochow*
 Location of manuscript: (?)Inveraray; copy (1756) in British
 Museum⁹
 Printed: Campbell 1885: 3–12
 Authorship: unknown: Alexander Colville?
 Date(s) of Composition: 1634

3 'Colvin's Genealogy of the Campbells'¹⁰

Location of manuscript: Lost

Printed: ----

Authorship: Alexander Colville

Date(s) of Composition: 1650x1660

c *'Remotely related' precursors*1 *Ane Breve Cronicle of the Earlis of Ross*

Location of manuscript: (?)Balnagown Castle, Easter Ross¹¹

Printed: B[aillie] 1850; MacGill 1916/24: 317–29

Authorship: unknown; perhaps Master Thomas Ross¹²

Date(s) of Composition: before 1615, with some subsequent additions

2 *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland from its origin to the year 1630*

Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 34.3.3¹³

Printed: Gordon 1813

Authorship: Sir Robert Gordon

Date(s) of Composition: 1620s

3 *The Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes*

Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 22.7.11

Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 262–79

Authorship: unknown

Date(s) of Composition: after 1626

II Texts postdating the mid-seventeenth century1 *The Sleat History* ['History of the MacDonalds']

Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 73.1.12 (a copy, and incomplete)

Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 6–72

Authorship: (?)Captain Uisdean MacDonald of Paiblesgarry, North Uist¹⁴

Date(s) of Composition: (?)c.1660/1678x85¹⁵

- 2 *The Wardlaw Manuscript* ('Polichronicon seu Policratica Temporum; many Histories In One, or nearer, The True Genealogy of the Frasers')
- Location of manuscript: [See MacKay 1905: xx]
 Printed: MacKay 1905: 1–524
 Authorship: Rev. Seumas Fraser
 Date(s) of Composition: 1666× c.1699
- 3a *The Applecross MS* ('The genealogie of the Surname of McKenzie since ther coming into Scotland, collected by John MacKenzie of Applecross')¹⁶
- Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 34.6.27 (a copy)
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 5–68
 Authorship: Iain Molach MacKenzie of Applecross
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1667
- 3b *The Applecross MS* ('The Genealogy of The most considerable Families descended by Males of The House of MacKenzie preceeding The Year 1667 collected by John MacKenzie of Applecross')
- Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 69–102¹⁷
 Authorship: Iain Molach MacKenzie of Applecross
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1667
- 4 'Munro (Monro) of Fowlis'
- Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 36–40
 Authorship: unknown
 Date(s) of Composition: after 14 January 1668
- 5 'The Genealogy of the MacKenzies preceeding The Year 1661 written in The Year 1669 by a Person of Quality'¹⁸
- Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy, 'transcribed from a Manuscript in The Hands of Mr. John Mackenzie of Delvin writer to the Signet')
- Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 54–69

Authorship: (?)Iain Molach MacKenzie of Applecross or Sir
 Sèdras MacKenzie (first earl of Cromartie)
 Date(s) of Composition: c. 1669

- 6 Ane Accompt of the Genealogie of the Campbells
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 32.6.13, 34.5.22¹⁹
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 70–111
 Authorship: Raibeart Duncansone, minister of Campbeltown,
 ‘assisted by several other good shenachies’ and Gilleasbuig
 ninth earl of Argyll²⁰
 Date(s) of Composition: 1670×76
- 7 *The MacRae History* (‘Genealogy of the MacRas’)
 Location of manuscript: [See MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 196–7]
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 198–241
 Authorship: Rev. Iain MacRae
 Date(s) of Composition: 1674×1704
- 8 ‘A Short Chronology and Genealogy of the Bissets and Frasers of
 Lovat’
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 2. 85–96
 Authorship: Rev. Seumas Fraser
 Date(s) of Composition: 1674×1704
- 9 *The Macintosh History* (‘De Origine et Incremento
 Makintoshiorum’)²¹
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 144–406
 Authorship: Lachlann Macintosh of Kinrara
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1680
- 10 The Red Book of Clanranald
 Location of manuscript: NMS MCR 39
 Printed: Cameron 1892/4: 2. 138–309²²
 Authorship: Niall MacMhuirich
 Date(s) of Composition: (?)c.1686

- 11 *The Ardross MS* ('The origin of the haill tribes of the Clan Chattan ...')
- Location of manuscript: NAS *Macpherson of Cluny Collection*
GD 80/965
- Printed: Unpublished
- Authorship: Murchadh MacKenzie of Ardross
- Date(s) of Composition: c.1687
- 12 *The Ardintoul MS*
- Location of manuscript: Scottish Department, Central Library,
Edinburgh²³ (a copy made 'soon after 1740')²⁴
- Printed: Unpublished²⁵
- Authorship: Rev. Iain MacRae
- Date(s) of Composition: c.1700
- 13 *The Invereshie Book Genealogy* ('The Genealogies of the MacPhersons since the Three Bretherine from whom the family is called Sliochd an triùir Bhràithrean')
- Location of manuscript: Clan Macpherson Museum, Newtonmore
(a copy)²⁶
- Printed: Unpublished
- Authorship: Sir Aeneas Macpherson of Invereshie
- Date(s) of Composition: c.1704–5
- 14 'History of the Family of MacKenzie'²⁷
- Location of manuscript: NAS *Cromartie Muniments* GD
305/1/172 (a copy)
- Printed: Fraser 1876: 1. 462–513
- Authorship: (?)Sir Seòras MacKenzie (first earl of Cromartie)
- Date(s) of Composition: (?)before 1714
- 15 *The Craignish History* ('The Genealogical and Historical Account of the Family of Craignish')²⁸
- Location of manuscript: [See Campbell 1926: 179]
- Printed: *Ibid.*, 187–254
- Authorship: Alasdair Campbell
- Date(s) of Composition: 1717×22

- 16 'The Genealogical History of the Geraldts and Mackenzies...'²⁹
 Location of manuscript: NAS *Seaforth Papers* GD 46/14/1
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Dr Seòras MacKenzie
 Date(s) of Composition: 1725³⁰
- 17 'The Genealogy of the Grants said to be written by Mr. James Chapman minister of Cromdall &c. in Anno 1729'
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 103–117
 Authorship: Rev. Seumas Chapman³¹
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1729
- 18 *The MacLean History* ('A Brief Genealogical Account of the Family of MacLean from it's First Settling in the Island of Mull and Parts adjacent in the Year 1716')³²
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 35.4.8 (a copy)
 Printed: Clark 1900: 1. 118–43
 Authorship: Dr Eachann MacLean of Gruline, Isle of Mull
 Date(s) of Composition: 1734
- 19 (a) *The Auchinbreck History* ('Genealogie of the Family of Achinbreck - from Duncan-an-adh the 26th in Mr. Duncanson's Genealogy of the Family of Argyll')
 (b) 'Genealogy of the Cadets of the Family of Auchenbreck'³³
 Location of manuscript: NLS *Advocates' MS.* 34.6.19
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 4. 63–90
 Authorship: (a) unknown (b) (?)Iain Campbell, Sheriff-Clerk of Argyll
 Date(s) of Composition: (a) before 2 April 1741 (b) 16 October 1741×24 July 1744
- 20 'An Account of the Name of McLea'
 Location of manuscript: The Court of the Lord Lyon, New Register House, Edinburgh (a copy of 1806)³⁴
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 4. 93–104
 Authorship: Rev. Donnchadh McLea
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1743

- 21 ‘A Succinct Account of the Family of Calder’
 Location of manuscript: [See MacPhail 1914/34: 1. v]
 Printed: MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 119–39
 Authorship: (?)Rev. Lachlann Shaw
 Date(s) of Composition: (?)1773×77
- 22 *The Morison MS* (‘The Conflicts of the Western Highlanders, or the Various and repeated struggles of the most illustrious Heroes in the Isles...’) [‘Traditions of the Western Isles’]
 Location of manuscript: Stornoway Public Library, Isle of Lewis³⁵
 Printed (in part): Macdonald 1975; MacLean 1942/50.
 Authorship: Domhnall Morison³⁶
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1821×24
- 23 The Iomaire MS³⁷
 Location of manuscript: NLS Dep. 347 (the original); NLS Acc. 9711/2/1 (a copy)
 Printed: *Highland News*, 7, 14 and 21 April, 1900
 Authorship: Ruairi Matheson, tacksman of Iomaire, by Lochcarron
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1824
- 24 The Blackcastle MS
 Location of manuscript: NAS *Papers of the MacKay Family, Lords Reay* GD 84/2/246; Signet Library, Edinburgh (a copy)³⁸
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Alasdair MacKay of Blackcastle
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1829×32³⁹
- 25 The Bannatyne MS
 Location of manuscript: MacLeod of Dunvegan Papers, Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye⁴⁰
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Dr Bannatyne William MacLeod
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1830

- 26 *The Farr MS* ('Notes on the Genealogy of the House of Mackintosh ...')
 Location of manuscript: NLS MS. 9854
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Simon Fraser Mackintosh WS
 Date(s) of Composition: 1833
- 27 History of the Murchisons
 Location of manuscript: NAS *Seaforth Papers* GD 46/14/20 (a typed transcript)
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Captain Alasdair Matheson, Dornie
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1866
- 28 History of the Mathesons
 Location of manuscript: NLS Acc. 9065
 Printed: Unpublished
 Authorship: Captain Alasdair Matheson, Dornie
 Date(s) of Composition: c.1868

III Miscellaneous

This classification has been applied to any manuscript which at present cannot be said to belong securely to the genealogical history genre: because it is lost, or of unknown location, or is yet to be examined; because its date and/or authorship are uncertain; or because of peculiarities in its content. Those manuscripts which can be dated approximately (nos. 1–17) are listed first.

- 1 History of the MacKays of Strathnaver, used in the compilation of the *Blackcastle MS*.⁴¹ Lost; could predate or postdate the mid-seventeenth century.
- 2 The *Letterfearn MS* ('History and genealogy of the Clan MacKenzie'). Claimed to have been written 'between 1663 and 1670'.⁴² Only an incomplete copy known to survive.⁴³

- 3 (?)History of the MacKenzies, by Sir Seòras MacKenzie of Rosehaugh (d. 1691).⁴⁴ Lost.
- 4 History of the MacDonalds of Antrim, 'estimated to have been written about 1700'.⁴⁵ Fragmentary.
- 5 Genealogy of the Farquharsons, 'wrote about the year 1707'.⁴⁶ Possibly among the Farquharson papers at Invercauld, Braemar.
- 6 History of the MacKenzies by Eachann MacKenzie, Dingwall, 1710.⁴⁷ Copy in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.⁴⁸
- 7 History of the MacKenzies by Ruairi MacKenzie of Redcastle (d. 1725).⁴⁹ Lost.
- 8 The *Broughdearg MS* History of the Farquharsons, compiled by Alasdair Farquharson of Broughdearg, 1733.⁵⁰ NAS *John MacGregor Collection* GD50/54; GD50/55 (a typed transcript).
- 9 The *Gairloch MS* History of the MacKenzies by Seumas MacKenzie (d. 1733). Lost.⁵¹
- 10 History of the Camerons, written before c. 1737.⁵²
- 11 'A short Genealogical Tree of the Family of Mc Leod of Harris as collected among some Manuscripts of the ancient Highland Historians or Seannachies, or Ollives ... By John Mckinnon Esqr in Mull Island Anno Dom: 1755 ...'. NLS Acc. 2152 (*McNicol Collection*), MS 76.
- 12 'Deduction of the family of Seaforth...' by Ruairi MacKenzie, merchant in Inverness, c.1755.⁵³
- 13 'Memoirs, Genealogical and Historical, of the Family of MacIntosh...', by Rev. Lachlann Shaw, 1758.⁵⁴

- 14 Histories of the Stewarts of Appin: the *Appin MS*, *Achnacone MS* and *Invernahyle MS*, all apparently predating 1797. Of these, the last seems to have been still extant, the first two lost, by c.1880.⁵⁵
- 15 An MS, or MSS on the Mathesons, dating to the eighteenth century, possibly earlier. Lost.⁵⁶
- 16 The *Tiree-Manchester MS* History of the Mathesons by Donnchadh and Alasdair Matheson; c.1836×42.⁵⁷
- 17 History of the Mathesons by Captain Iain Matheson of Bennetsfield, 1838. Lost, but published in part in the *Scots Magazine*, October, November and December, 1899.⁵⁸
- 18 (?) History of the MacLarens of Balquhidder (Ardveich).⁵⁹
- 19 Parts of two MS Histories of the MacKenzies ‘among the papers belonging to the Society of Antiquaries’.⁶⁰
- 20 The Matheson of Attadale Papers, Northamptonshire Record Office, contain three potentially relevant manuscripts: a history of the MacKenzies of Davochmaluag (Box V, 390/26); a (Matheson?) family history (Box V, 391/3) and an ‘illegible old MS’ (Box V, 391/13).

NOTES

¹ Perhaps the outstanding single instance of cultural adaptation on the part of an exponent of the classical tradition is provided by Niall MacMhuirich, both in his poetry composed in the vernacular language, and in the many innovative aspects – viewed from a strictly classical perspective – of his approach to writing history in the *Red Book of Clanranald*; Thomson 1969/70; Gillies 2002.

² I owe these suggestions to David Sellar. Cf. Campbell 1926: 191, n. 1.

³ For one indication that some elaboration of the Campbell pedigree may have begun with the MacEwens, see MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 77. But this is not ‘Norman’ or ‘Gaelic’ in substance, and may be attributable to Niall, the last of the line.

- ⁴ For discussion of these texts, and further references, see MacGregor 2002: 202, 209.
- ⁵ For the source of the information concerning the authorship and dating of this and the two following texts, see MacGregor 2002: 209.
- ⁶ For authorship and date, see Matheson 1942/50: 226, n. 51; Munro 1999: 16–17.
- ⁷ Gillies 1992: 459–60.
- ⁸ Matheson 1942/50: 226, n. 51; Munro 1999: 12–13, 15.
- ⁹ According to Campbell 1885: 3, n. 1.
- ¹⁰ See MacGregor 2002: 212.
- ¹¹ According to MacGill 1916/24: 313, 316–17. For other copies or versions, see *ibid.*, 317.
- ¹² Adam 1991: 22–3, 32–41.
- ¹³ For other copies or versions, see Allan 2002: 151–2, and n. 15.
- ¹⁴ See MacGregor 2002: 212.
- ¹⁵ MacPhail 1914/34: 1. 60, which implies a dating in or after the reign of Charles II (1660–85).
- ¹⁶ For the authorship and date of 3a and 3b, the relationship between them, and other surviving copies or versions, see MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 2–3; Munro 1999: 13–14.
- ¹⁷ Not from NLS *Advocates' MS*. 34.6.27 as stated in Munro 1999: 14.
- ¹⁸ For authorship and other surviving copies or versions, see Clark 1900: 1. vii–viii; Munro 1999: 17 (where for ‘34.6.27’ read ‘35.4.8’, and for ‘85–99’ read ‘54–69’). For the *Allangrange MS*, which is closely related to Checklist II. 3a, see *ibid.*, 13.
- ¹⁹ For other copies or versions, see MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 70–71.
- ²⁰ For discussion see MacGregor 2002: 212, 224.
- ²¹ Jean Munro has prepared an edition of the English, and apparently original, text of Macintosh of Kinrara’s history, as preserved in a copy of 1761. Until now this history has only been generally accessible through the Latin version cited here.
- ²² The text printed in Cameron 1892/4 is based upon the historical account to be found, not in the *Red Book*, but in the *Black Book of Clanranald* (NMS MCR 40). For discussion of the relationship between the two accounts, see Gillies [forthcoming].
- ²³ Shelf mark RBR q x DA 758.3 MK37.
- ²⁴ Matheson 1942/50: 225, n. 31. For other copies or versions, see Munro 1999: 14–15.
- ²⁵ A separate, fragmentary version of the *Ardintoul MS* was published by MacDonald 1931/3.
- ²⁶ Macpherson 1966: 4–6.
- ²⁷ For location, authorship and other copies or versions, see Fraser 1876: 1. xii (‘Preface’), xii (‘Introduction’); Munro 1999: 15.

- ²⁸ For authorship, other copies or versions, and date of composition, see Campbell 1893/4: 177–85.
- ²⁹ For authorship and other copies or versions, see Munro 1997: 25–7.
- ³⁰ Cf. MacGregor 2002: 232, n. 82.
- ³¹ See Clark 1900: 1. viii.
- ³² For authorship, other copies or versions, and date of composition, see Maclean-Bristol 1995: 158–60.
- ³³ For authorship and dates of composition, see MacPhail 1914/34: 4. 59.
- ³⁴ According to *ibid.*, 4. 93.
- ³⁵ Nine manuscript volumes, of which the second and fifth are missing.
- ³⁶ See MacGregor 2002: 231, n. 50.
- ³⁷ See Matheson 1953/9: 153.
- ³⁸ See also MacKay 1906: 3.
- ³⁹ Balfour-Paul 1904/14: 7. 157, n. 5; MacKay 1906: 3.
- ⁴⁰ Section 4, no. 57. For xerox copies of the original manuscript, and of a typed transcript, I am indebted to the archivist at Dunvegan, Maureen Byers.
- ⁴¹ MacKay 1906: 3.
- ⁴² Thomas 1879/80: 383.
- ⁴³ Munro 1999: 16.
- ⁴⁴ Munro 1997: 26.
- ⁴⁵ Published by MacDonald 1934-6: 262–84. See also MacGregor 2002: 197, 228, n. 5.
- ⁴⁶ Murdoch 1902: 218.
- ⁴⁷ Fraser 1876: 1. xii ('Preface'); Munro 1999: 16.
- ⁴⁸ Shelf mark 591702.
- ⁴⁹ Fraser 1876: 1. xii ('Preface'); Munro 1999: 17.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Murdoch 1902: 218. On accounts of the Farquharsons, see also Michie 1901: 1–2.
- ⁵¹ Munro 1999: 15.
- ⁵² Macknight 1842: xlvi–xlix.
- ⁵³ Munro 1999: 15.
- ⁵⁴ See Mackintosh 1903: xvii.
- ⁵⁵ Stewart and Stewart 1880: 72–3, 75, 155, 165–9.
- ⁵⁶ Matheson 1953/9: 154.
- ⁵⁷ Matheson 1953/9: 153–4, 181.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 153. According to Matheson 1942/50: 207, Bennetsfield also wrote a history of the MacKenzies.
- ⁵⁹ Stewart and Stewart 1880: 72, 75, may imply the existence of such a history.
- ⁶⁰ MacPhail 1914/34: 2. 2.

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