





TRANSACTIONS
OF
THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS

VOLUME XVIII.

1891-92.



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Clann nan Gaidheal an Gnaillcan a Cheile.

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1894.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

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Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie.

BARD.

Neil Macleod, Edinburgh.

COMUNN GAELIG INBHIR-NIS.

CO-SHUIDHEACHADH.

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

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

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

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

5. 'S a' cheud-mhios, gach bliadhna, roghnaichear, le crainn, Co-chomhairle a riaghlas guothuichean a' Chomuinn, 's e sin—aon

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

CONSTITUTION.

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

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

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

4. The Annual Subscription shall be, for—

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

5. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council, chosen annually, by ballot, in the month of

Cheam, tri Iar-chinn, Cleireach Urramach, Rùnaire, Ionmhasair, agus coig buill eile—feumaidh iad uile Gailig a thuigsinn 's a ohruidhinn; agus ni coigear dhiubh coinneamh.

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

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

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

9. Taghaidh an Comunn Bard, Piobaire, agus Fear-leabhar-lann.

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

January, to consist of a Chief, three Chieftains, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other Members of the Society, all of whom shall understand and speak Gaelic ; five to form a quorum.

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION.

THIS, the 18th Volume of the Society's Transactions contains the work of one year and a half—from Midsummer 1891 till the mid-session of 1893 (1st March, 1893). The departure from the rule of publishing an annual volume is temporary: the Society's yearly volumes were getting so far in arrear of the sessions they represented that the Publishing Committee decided to compress the work of three years into two volumes; more especially as a favourable opportunity presented itself in the unusual number of papers of a general character with which they had to deal, and which could be either omitted or condensed. As a consequence, our Volume XIX. will represent the period from 1st March, 1893, to end of session 1893-1894; and it is expected that it will be in the hands of the members by the New-Year time. Our volumes will be then abreast of our sessions. It is right to add that we owe the two maps, which form the only extra feature of the volume, to the courtesy and skill of Mr James Fraser, C.E., Inverness.

Since the preface of our last volume was penned, the Society has lost through death two or three of its most prominent members and contributors. Sheriff Nicolson, most genial and kindest of men, died on the 13th January, 1893, at the age of 66. His "Gaelic Proverbs and Phrases" forms one of the most valuable contributions ever made to the "Proverbial" philosophy of the world; but, in spite of this and his patriotic Highland poetry, it is felt that he has left nothing commensurate either with his undoubted genius or with the personal impression he left on his contemporaries. Two months later saw the death of Mr Hector Maclean, folklorist and anthropologist. Mr Maclean was J. F. Campbell's right hand man in the collection and publication of the "Popular Tales of the West Highlands," a work of

European fame. He was a constant contributor to our own Transactions—there is a paper of his in this volume—as well as to other learned societies, notably the “Journal of the Anthropological Institute.” No better monument could be raised to his memory by the Islay or any other Association than a collected edition of his various and important papers, scattered through periodicals, newspapers, and transactions of learned societies. Rev. A. D. Mackenzie, late of Kilmorack, died this year; he was a Gaelic scholar of the first order, even venturing into the dangerous quagmires of Gaelic philology.

Great activity has been shown in Highland and Gaelic literary work during the last eighteen months, and four or five important publications have appeared. Of Gaelic books published, we have first to mention Rev. Mr Macrury’s *Eachdraidh Beatha Chrìosd*, a racyly written account of the life of Christ. New and much fuller editions of earlier works have been given us in our Bard’s (Neil M’Leod’s) *Clarsach an Doire* and in *Dain Iain Ghobha* (“Morrison’s Poems”); the former has several additional poems, and some well told tales are appended. The latter work, of which this is the first volume, has a laudatory biography by the editor, Mr George Henderson, M.A. The *Comunn Gaidhealach* have issued a first book of “Scottish Gaelic as a Specific Subject,” intended for the Scotch Code. All the fore-mentioned works came from Mr Archibald Sinclair’s “Celtic Press” in Glasgow, and reflect the highest credit on his patriotism and printing. The second and last volume of Dr Cameron’s *Reliquiæ Celticæ* has just been published, and is a much more valuable and varied work than the first. It contains the famous Fernaig MS. (see our Vol. XI., pp. 311-339), the Red Book of Clanranald, and the Edinburgh Turner MS. XIV., a collection of Gaelic poetry—all for the first time printed. The Book of Clanranald is important both as history and as Gaelic, for it represents the learned dialect of the Scottish Gael in the 17th century. The rest of the work contains lectures, translations, and philology: altogether an indispensable work for the Gaelic scholar. Mr Macpherson’s “Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the North”—mainly

confined to the history and traditions of Badenoch—has received deservedly high praise from the press of the United Kingdom. Mr Mackay's "Urquhart and Glenmoriston" has been justly styled a model parish history; the vast mass of facts, general and local, bearing on the Parish have been well digested into a very readable volume. It remains to add that Mr Mackenzie has published a second edition of his "History of the Mackenzies," re-written, revised, and much enlarged by genealogical and historical facts. The gentlemen who are editors or authors of the last four important volumes referred to are active and valued members of our Society. We regret to record the demise of the *Highland Monthly*, which attempted to do for the Highlands and for Gaelic what the other monthlies do for the general country. The *Celtic Monthly* is flourishing greatly, and has increased its size and literary weight.

The most important event in general Celtic literature is the appearance of Dr Whitley Stokes's Celtic Etymology, unfortunately written in the German language, and styled *Urkeltischer Sprachschaltz*. It is an extremely able work, and its new etymologies are always striking, and often daring. Standish H. O'Grady's *Silva Gadelica* is a collection of mediæval Gaelic (Irish) stories, mostly about the Feinn; no Gaelic student must overlook it. Father Hogan's edition of the "Battle of Ros-na-Ree" contains text, translation, and vocabulary, with other important etymological facts, of an Early Irish tale about Conchobar Mac Nessa. Dr Hyde's "Connaught Songs," with translations, is a work that has been received with deserved favour, and the same may be said of Larminie's "West Irish Folk-Tales and Romances." Dr Joyce has published the first volume of an excellent "History of Ireland," coming down to the 17th century; and we are glad to see that a new edition, with additions, has appeared of his "Celtic Romances" (D. Nutt). In Germany and France much Celtic philological work and textual criticism have appeared, the leading writer being Professor Zimmer. He has also published a work to clear up the difficulties of early British history, entitled *Neunius Vindicatus*, where Neunius is more or less rehabilitated into the position of an

honest historian and a real personage. The *Revue Celtique* still flourishes, and we are glad to say the same of the *Gaelic Journal*, edited by Professor O'Growney, Maynooth.

In regard to general Highland matters, there is little fresh to record. The Clan Societies still flourish vigorously, Glasgow being the head centre. Some of them do good work ; they help clansmen newly arrived in town, and some of them offer bursaries for educational purposes. The Clan Macdonald Society has, we understand, even undertaken a Clan History, which has been entrusted to the literary care of Rev. Messrs Macdonald of Kiltarlity and Killearnan. We should like to see more literary work like this undertaken—editions of clan bards, collected works of a member of a clan (as those of Mrs Mackellar and Mr H. Maclean), &c. The Government Grants to the County Councils have been in most cases generously applied to Technical and Secondary Education, and the prospects of Higher Instruction in the Highlands are much brighter than ever.

INVERNESS, June, 1894.

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TRANSACTIONS.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

THE Nineteenth Annual Assembly of the Society was held in the Music Hall on 9th July, 1891. As in former years, the platform was decorated in a most artistic way, tartans, shields, claymores, dirks, deers' heads, and other emblems of Highland sport and chivalry being effectively employed. A background of greenery set off the display with excellent effect. On this occasion the platform was occupied by Mr W. S. Roddie's special choir, who sustained with much credit a prominent place in the evening's programme. Provost Ross, who wore the Highland costume, occupied the chair, taking the place of the absent Chief, Mr Fletcher of Rosehaugh. He was supported by Bailie Alex. Mackenzie; Mr Colin Chisholm, Namur Cottage, Inverness; Rev. Father Bisset, Stratherrick; Captain Chisholm, Glassburn; Mr Steele, Bank of Scotland; Mr James Barron, editor, *Inverness Courier*; Mr Wm. Mackay, solicitor, Inverness; Mr Alex. Mackenzie, Ballifeary; Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Inverness; ex-Bailie Stuart; Brigade-Surgeon Grant, Inverness; Mr G. J. Campbell, solicitor; Captain Grant, Northern Bengal Mounted Infantry; and Mr Dun. Mackintosh, secretary of the Society. A telegram was read from Mr Douglas Fletcher of Rosehaugh, Chieftain of the Society, in the following terms:—"Your Chief sends his hearty greetings to the members and friends of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and regrets extremely his unavoidable absence, and hopes that you will have a very pleasant gathering."

While the company was assembling, the Society's piper, Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, played a selection of Highland airs in the entrance lobby. Shortly after eight o'clock the proceedings commenced by the Secretary intimating apologies for absence from the following gentlemen among many others:—Mr Douglas Fletcher of Rosehaugh, Chief of the Society; The Mackintosh; Sir Kenneth

Mackenzie of Gairloch ; Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden ; Mr Baillie of Dochfour ; Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. ; Mr L. Macdonald of Skaebost ; Professor Mackinnon ; Professor Blackie ; Mr Mackenzie of Farr ; Colonel Murray, Inverness ; Major Jackson of Swordale ; Dr Norman Macleod ; Dr Stewart, Nether-Lochaber ; Mr Paul Cameron, Blair-Athole ; Mr Peter Burgess ; Mr A. Macpherson, solicitor, Kingussie ; &c., &c.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, said he regretted the absence of Mr Fletcher of Rosehaugh, Chief of the Society, who would, in due course, have filled the chair. Mr Fletcher, he said, had written expressing his warm interest in the Society, and proving his sincerity by enclosing a cheque for £25. Mr Fletcher, at the same time, suggested that something might be done by the Society in the way of putting upon permanent record the lives and works of the Gaelic writers of the present century. It appeared to him (the Provost) that there was ample scope for their enthusiastic literary friends to give an account of these, and their works would be a practical history of the Gaelic literature of their times. Unfortunately Gaelic publications and literature did not always pay publisher or author. For example, an excellent series of Gaelic folk-lore and folk-tales was being published in London, by Mr David Nutt, the authors being two well-known Gaelic scholars, Revs. Mr Macinnes and Mr Macdougall, and they were certainly equal in importance and interest to Campbell's West Highland Tales, yet the publishers had only sold 120 copies of the second volume, although it had been out for a year. That was not as it should be. Such donations as Mr Fletcher's would come in very conveniently, and might help to stimulate both author and buyer. The Provost then congratulated the Society on its twentieth anniversary, and said that next year it would attain its majority. He was sure they wished the kindred Society that was being got up in Oban all success, and they hoped that it may be able to show as good a record at the end of twenty years as the Gaelic Society of Inverness had done. The volumes issued by their Society were most valuable and interesting, and excited the surprise and admiration of their south-country neighbours ; in fact, so far as he knew, as the outcome of a provincial Society, they were second to none. If time permitted, he could mention many instances in which he had occasion to refer for information their leading men, both in Church and in State, to the volumes of the Gaelic Society and to the Field Club Transactions, and they had expressed their delight and surprise at the work done. Possibly they might have their musical and poetical department on a more

practical footing, and have regular competitions on the occasion of the annual gathering, but it was quite an open question, whether by multiplying their aims and objects—federating with other Societies, taking up home-made cloths and other native industries, and such like arrangements—they should not injure the standing which the Society had gained as a fountain of literary and scholastic matter. He was not one who would like to see their local Society merged into a larger or even into a national one. He believed their chief interest and claim to help was that they were local and were doing local work, in respect that they dealt exclusively with Highland lore. It would be well if that were so recognised in their museums and like institutions. They could best deal with local matter, and deal with it more exhaustively than strangers could. In that way there would be a double interest for visitors, who could see what was in their native Highlands.

A most interesting and thoroughly Highland musical programme was gone through, and great credit is due to Mr Roddie's select choir for their excellent rendering of the different songs. One of the musical gems of the evening, "Mackintosh's Lament," was sung by Miss Kate Fraser, with humming accompaniment by the choir. This was the first time *Cumha Mhic-an-Toisich* has been sung in Inverness to this artful arrangement of the music.

At the end of the first part of the programme, the Rev. Mr Macgregor, Farr (now of Kilmore, Argyleshire), delivered a Gaelic address as follows:—

A Phrobhaist Inbhirnis, agus uaislean gu leir,—Tha mi gle chinnteach nach ruig mi a leas maitheanas iarraidh air son seasamh a mach a labhairt ribhise ann an cainnt mo mhathar. Theagamh gum bheil dream 'nur measg aig am bheil a Bheurla ni's deise, no feudaidh e bhi gum bheil iad an so aig nach eil facal idir 'nan ceann ach cainnt nan Sasunnach. Gheibh sinn a Bheurla daonnan, ach an uair is aill leinn labhairt a mach o'n chridhe, is eiginn do m' leithid-se dol air ar n-ais gus na briathran a bha air an labhairt air feadh Albainn gu leir, anns na laithean 's an tug 'ur n-aithrichean dubhlan do gach namhaid, eo dhiubh thigeadh iad a Sasunn 'san airde Deas, no a Lochlunn 's an airde 'n Ear. Uime sin thugaibh eisdeachd dhomh car uine bhig, gus an innis mi mo sgeul. Anns a cheud dol a mach tha agam ri mor bhuidheachas a thoirt do'n Chomunn Gaidhealach, air son a chuireadh a thug iad dhomh, air son tighinn 'nur measg aig an am so. Cha b'e so a cheud uair a chuir iad fios orm, ged nach do cheadaich gnoth-uichean eile leam a bhi a lathair gus a nis. Ged is e so mo cheud

shealladh do'n Chomunn, tha dochas agam air barrachd eolais a chur orra. Bha e riamh 'na thoil inntinn dhomh sgriob a thoirt do phrìomh bhaile na h-airde Tnaith, far am bheil daoine co-fialaidh, 's co cairdeil, 's co cneasda 's nach iarainn cuideachd a b'fhèarr re mo laithean, ged a bu bheo mi gu aois na h-iolaire no aois a chrainn daraich. B'e sin a bha a m' bheachd, 's mi a togail orm a crìoch mu thuath Chataoibh, aig teis meadhoin an t-Samhraidh aluinn, le run a bhi 'nur measg air an fheasgar so. Air dhomh a bhi air mo tharruinn air cul an eich iaruin, le luathas na gaoithe, bha mi a' toirt oidhirp air briathran a chur an ordugh air son labhairt ribh an nochd, 's cha robh mi ach goirid gus am fhaic a mi nach b' urrainn dhomh cearb a dheanadh nuair a sheasainn air beulthaobh muinntir mo dhuthcha. 'Nuair a bhiodh ur n'athrichean o shean a' dol air cheilidh air feadh tighean nan coimhearsnach, cha bhiodh dith cainnte orra. Eadar naigheachdan na duthcha, agus orain nan Bard, agus toimhseachain 's ceisdean cruaidhe bhiodh gu leoir aca ri radh, 's tha mi gun teagamh nach teirgeadh aobhar cridhealais dhuinne ged a shuidheamaid an so gu da uair dheug do'n oidheche, no gu moch am maireach. Cha 'n eil fhios c'uin a sguireamaid do labhairt na'n rachamaid gu sgeul a dheanamh air boidheach na duthcha 'san d'fhuair sinn ar breth 's ar arach. Shiubhail mise neart do'n chuan, 's chan fhaca mi fathast aon tir a chuirinn an coimeas ri mo thir fein. Chi sinn anns a Ghaidhealtachd na h-uile ni a chuireas sgiamh air an talamh, agus na h-uile, ni air am bu mhiann leis na Baird a bhi a' deanamh rann. Seallaibh air na beanntan, air Nibheis 's air Cruachan, 's air Laoimein, 's air moran eile. Tha iad sin nan seasamh mar fhianuisean air gach gnìomh mor a thachair mu'n cuairt orra o na chaidh an saoghal a chruthachadh. Nach ciatach an sealladh a ta iad a' cur air an tir? Is mor 's is laidir 's is daingean iad, a seasamh mar a sheas na Gaidhil iad fein a shean, gu dian agus gu misneachail an aghaidh gach nàmhaid. Rachamaid a sios gu ruig an Srath, agus ciod a chithear leinn? Tha againn an sin na h-aimhnichean mora, 's na sruthanna beaga, nan dian ruith o mheasg an fhraoich, gu ruig an comhnard, agus o'n chomhnard gu ruig an cuan. Is boidheach na tuiltean uisge, 's iad nan ruith 's nan leum 's nan cabhaig, mar gum biodh iad a ruith reise a dh' ionnsuidh na tragma. Seadh agus is boidheach na coilltean gorm' a ta a fas air na bruaichean. Chi mi an giubhas agus an darach, 's an calltuinn, 's an seilcach ag eiridh a suas gu boidheach 's gu lurach. Cuiridh iad sin naise air ar beul gach uair a thogas sinn a suas ar suilean a chum nam beann. Cha bheag an dreach a chuireas am fraoch fein

air na sleibhteau an uair a thig e fo bhlatl mu Lanastal, 'sa bhios am monadh mur gum biodh e a lasadh le teine. Thugamaid suil a dh'ionnsuidh na h airde an Iar. Chi sinn an sin na h-eilemean. Chi sinn Muile nam Mor bheann, agus I Chaluim Chille, far an deachaidh an Soisgeul a theagasg air a cheud tarraim an an Albainn. Chi sinn Eilein a Cheo, no Eilein nan Sgiath, an t Eilein Sgiathanach, agus a ris an t-Eilein Fada, agus Eilein an fhraoich an Leothas, a sineadh fad air falbh a dh'ionnsuidh an airde Tuaitl. Tha'n cuan a' briseadh mun cuairt orra, mur chuan do ghloinn air a mheasgadh le teine, ni's dealraich na uile sheudan na talnhaime so air an caradh mu thimebioll crun na Ban-righinn Mur eil gu leoir agaibh fathast thugaibh suil air na criochan a ta ri fhaicinn fa chombair nan eilein. Sin far am bheil na lochanna a ruith a stigh aig bun nam beann, far am bheil na machraichean faoilidh anns am bi na treudan ag ionaltradh fa ur dhealt a cheitein mu'n eirich a ghrian. Agus am fear nach faic co finealta 's a ta na nithean sin gu leir, 'se their mi nach eil-suil 'na cheann no tuigse na chridhe. Sin agaibh ma ta, an duthaich anns an bheil againn ur tamh. Co as a thainig sinn fein, agus co d'am buin sinn? Tha eachdraidh nan Gaidheal a' dol gu ruig linntean fad' o shean, agus tha cumtata againn air ar sinnsirean mun deachaidh bunaitean na Roimh a leagail, agus mun robh duine beo a' gabhail tamh 's an fhearann Bhreatunnaach. 'S coltach gum b' ann o mheadhon na h-Asia chaidh an saoghal gu leir a lionadh le sluagh. Feudar a bhi cinnteach gum robh na Gaidheil am measg a cheud fheadhaim a chaidh a mach, 'nuair a bha an sluagh a fas lionmhor, agus an tir a fas ro chumham. Ghabh iad an turas a dh'ionnsuidh na h-airde 'n Iar sior dol air an aghaidh gus am faighead iad aite tamh a bhiodh freagrach, agus mu dheireadh thug iad a mach criochan na h-airde 'n Iar do'n Roimh Eorpa. As a sin, thainig iad 'nan curaichean thairis air a Chaolas Shasunnaich, agus dh'aitich iad Breatun gu leir. Air dhaibh an sin a bhi air an roinn nan tri earannan, chaidh cuid do Uels, agus cuid do Eirinn, thainig cuid eile do cheann Tuaitl Albainn, agus b'iad sin na fion shimsirean o'n tainig sinne. Seadh, agus is iomadh cogadh mor a bha aca riamh ri chur, air son greim a chumail air tir nam beann. Is e facal suaicheantais nan Leodach, "Cum an greim a gheibh thu," agus tha mi an duil gum bu mhath a fhreagairadh e do na Gaidheil uile. Thainig naimhdean nan aghaidh an toiseach as an Roimh. Bha iompaireachd na Roimh a' tagradh coir air an t saoghal gu leir, ach feuch an tug na Romanaich buaidh air luchd aiteachaidh nan gleann. Cha tug, s cha mho thug na Sasunnaich no na Lochlunnaich, ged a bu tric a thug iad an oidhirp. Tha iomadh carn ri fhaicinn air feadh na

Gaidhealtachd, a ta a' comharrachadh nan aitean far an do thuit colainnean nan namhaid cein sin, do bhrìgh 's nach leigeadh ur n-aithrichean leo sealbh a ghabhail. Cha deachaidh na Gaidhill riamh fathast a chur fo smachd coigrich, 's tha mi an dochas nach teid gu brath. Ach coma co dhiubh. Chan eil an sin ach seann naigheachdan a bhineas do na laithean a dh'fhalbh. Cha'n ionann cor na Gaidhealtachd an diugh 's mar a bha i 'nuair a bhiodh na fineachan a' dol a mach gu cath fo bhratach nan Ceanna-cinnidh. Tha na Gaidhil air sgoileadh gu uile chriochan na talmhainn, 's tha iad air tighinn gu ard inbhe anns gach aite far an deachaidh iad. Faicibh an Domhnallach a bha na phrìomh uachdaran air an fhearann Bhreatunnach ann an America. Sin far an robh oganach Catach, a chuir moran urraim air an aite as an d'thainig e. Cha'n 'eil ach goirid o na thainig a chrioch air, 's b' fhearr gum robh tuille ann coltach ris. 'S mor am beud gum bheil co beag suim air a ghabhail do nithean Gaidhealach 'n ar measg. Tha moran 'n ar measg a' deanamh di-chuimhne air gnathaichean air n-aithrichean, 's chan eil mi cinnteach idir gur ann ni's fearr a ta iad a' deanamh. A reir coltais tha daoine ann a ta co proiseil 's gum bheil iad a deanamh tair air a Ghaidhlig mar chainnt shuaraich neo-fhasanda. Seadh, tha gu leir ann air feadh na Gaidhealtachd aig am bheil gu leir do Ghaidhlig, agus a ta a'cumail a mach nach eil facal dhi nan ceam. Tha iad g'am brath fein gun taing. 'S iomadh uair a rinn mi gaire a' chluinntinn fear no te ag radh, 's Bheurla, "Chan eil Gaidhlig agam." Nam biodh iad ag innseadh na firinn 's e theireadh iad, "Cha'n aithne dhomh a Ghaidhlig," do bhrìgh 's gur e sin an car a bhios na Sasunnaich a' cur air a chainnt aca fein. A nis, am feadh 's a tha daoine cho aineolach ri so, tha e feumail gun rachadh ni eiginn a dheanamh a chum 's nach rachadh di chuimhne gu leir a dheanadh air cainnt na h-airde Tuath. 'S e so is crìoch araidh do'n Chomunn Ghaidhealach aig Inbhirnis. Is freagarrach gum biodh prìomh bhaile na Gaidhealtachd air thoiseach 'sa ghniomh. Rinn muinntir Inbhirnis aon rud a bha glic, 'nuair a thug iad gairm do'n Ollamh Macleoid gu tighinn an aite an Domhnallaich. Cha'n e na h-uile fear a lionas boineid an Domhnallaich, ach mu tha fear idir ann, 's e sin Tormoid, Gaidheal mor, laidir, foghainteach; saoghal 's slainte gum robh aige re morain laithean. Gu ma fada beo e, 's ceo as a thigh. 'S am dhomh sgar. Moran taing dhuibh air sòn co foighidneach 's a dh'isd sibh rium. Gabhaibh air 'ur n-aghaidh a mhuinntir a Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich. Cumaibh cuimhne air na Baird, 's air a phìob mhoir, 's air na ceilidhean, 's air a chamanachd, agus seasaibh guallainn ri guallainn a dh-aindeoin co theireadh e.

Altrumaibh le beus gun truailleadh,
 Gach ni 'tha maiseach agus uasal,
 Le spiorad rioghail mar 'bu dual dhuibh,
 Bho bhur simsir ;
 'S cainnt bhur mathar cunaibh suas i,
 Gun a diobradh.

Cuimhnichibh an stoc bho 'n d' fhas sibh,
 'S air an eachdraidh bhuan a dh' fhag iad,
 Air an gnìomharan neo-bhasmhor,
 'S air an euchdan ;
 A cheannaich saorsa tìr nan ardbheann
 Le 'n cuid chreuchdan.

18th NOVEMBER, 1891.

A largely attended meeting was held on this date, being the first meeting for Session 1891-92. After the nomination of a number of gentlemen for membership, and the arranging of some business in connection with the annual dinner, Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., read a paper contributed by Mr Matheson, teacher, Easdale, entitled—"The apparitions and ghosts of the Isle of Skye." Mr Matheson's paper was as follows:—

THE GHOSTS AND APPARITIONS OF THE ISLE OF SKYE.

Considering the number of able writers and accomplished critics among the members of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, it is with feelings very nearly akin to timidity that I approach my subject, that of the Ghosts of Skye—feelings arising not from any fear of the ghosts themselves, though it is a subject well calculated to excite fear, but from an inward consciousness of many shortcomings hindering the paper from being more worthy of the occasion, and making it worthy of a place among the records of the Society, and ensuring for it that patient hearing and unsparing criticism so beneficial to both writers and readers. I will, however, do my best for the sake of old Skye, and

Air son na tim a bh'ann bho shean
 Air son na tim bho chian O'.

But even then I fear it will fall far short of a real Skye Old Ceilidh, where many a time and oft patriarchal crofters of the old school considered it their chief delight

Around their fire an evening group to draw,
And tell of all they heard and all they saw.

I shall not attempt anything in the shape of a learned or scholarly treatment of the subject, but will confine myself to giving specimens of such ghost stories as I remember in the homely style in which they are related in Skye by people often without a particle of education, but whose memories are regular treasure-houses of old world stories and legends, and which they can, as a rule, deliver with good effect, and with the utmost confidence in the correctness of their version. I feel sure that the members of your Society remember many similar stories, and I would suggest that they supplement this paper by relating, Ceilidh-wise, each man a story after the reading of this paper.

I at first thought of making it embrace all phases of superstition in Skye, but I find the subject so inexhaustible that I must confine myself to one phase of it, namely, the ghosts and apparitions, and even that phase I find capable of sub-division into various branches, for, on examining the subject, I find there are gentle, ethereal, inoffensive ghosts, goody-goody ghosts, always bent on some mission of love, charity, or justice. There are ghosts under some inexorable spell of distress that visit the scenes of their former state of mortality in search of some Christian mortal with a courage that can stand the test of interviewing and being interviewed by a ghost.

“Speak till and hear what it confest,
And send a wandering soul to rest.”

There are malevolent ghosts, retributive and violent, with a will and power to inflict the most convincing cudgelling if the occasion demands it; and there are various and innumerable apparitions of the devil in bodily form, cloven-footed, saucer-eyed, and nostrils breathing fire; a pugnacious pair of horns, and what a length of tail behind, and then its hue! Whoever saw so fine a blue, or green, or black, white, for not more varying are the ever changing hues of the chameleon, than are the different versions of the appearance of Old Niek in old Skye. Now he appears driving a carriage and six black horses through the air; now as a black parson preaching mock sermons to an assembly of witches, or he assumes the *role* of dominie and gives his witch pupils uncanny lessons on some dread-

ful mystifications of the Black Art, or he appears as a well-dressed gentleman in black, a decrepit old man, a labourer, or fisherman, but an accident always betrays his cloven hoof, which always distinguishes him in whatever guise he appears, and then he vanishes in flames of fire. Sometimes, when he wants to frighten the lieges, he is accompanied by infernal and hideous howling and with the noise of clanking of irons, as if all the ship cables in existence were dangling at his heels. As a finely dressed gentleman he is said to have joined a party playing at cards in Uig Inn late one Saturday night. The party continued playing well on into Sunday morning, when one of the cards happening to drop on to the floor, the party who lifted it was horrified to find he was playing with the cloven-footed gentleman; and on raising the alarm his satanic majesty disappeared through the roof amidst flames of fire. How is it the devil always *ascends* out of sight, seeing his satanic majesty is supposed to live "down, down, below?" A Skye clergyman of these long ago olden times, the famous Rev. Mr Espol of Snizort and Scorribreck, the latter place then under crofters—this rev. gentleman, who was as famous for his feats of strength as he was for his preaching, once had a servant girl who entered into compact with the devil for certain girlish considerations, by which all her desires were to be realised. The bargain was that the gentleman in black, for as such he always appeared to her, was to claim her as his own at the end of a year and a day. True to his word on the appointed day he presented himself at the minister's manse to claim the girl. The girl, in her perplexity, sought counsel of the minister, and told him the whole story, while the gentleman in black was kept waiting in another room in which was a lighted candle, but he urged that his time was precious and that the girl must accompany him without further delay. At the minister's request, she begged to be allowed to stay till the candle had burnt out. This being agreed to, the minister immediately blew out the candle, informing the gentleman that he would take care that that particular candle would never burn out. The devil, thereupon, made his usual exit. As is only natural to suppose, his sable majesty now viewed his reverence with greater hatred and animosity than ever, and longed for some favoured opportunity of punishing him for cheating him of his victim. He had not long to wait. His reverence had to preach both at Snizort and Scorribreck; and, on one occasion, the night being fine, with moonlight, he started to cross the wild range of hills separating the two places, about the middle of the night. When he had reached one of the wildest and

gloomiest parts of these mountain passes, he was startled by all the noises most hideous to conceive, accompanied by shouting and clanking of chains sufficient to rend the very rocks, and as if all the demons together were let loose in a crowd, and were jostling each other in their eagerness to catch him. Being strong and swift of foot he betook himself to flight, with his best foot forward.

He stayed not for brake,
He stopped not for stone.

Never before, since the famous chase of Daorghlass after the fairy Smith of Dundiarg, also in the same locality, was seen such champion running. Knowing that a running stream they "daurna" pass, and this being on before him, he felt confident of victory.

He ran a race and won it, too,
For he got first to town.

That is to say to his house, which was far too sacred a spot for any imp of darkness to intrude into it; besides, he had placed the waters of Rigg between himself and the enemy, and knew he was safe. This and the surrounding districts are known by the common name of "Brae-an-tu-Shaer" (upper Eastside), Skye, and it certainly seems to be a favourite haunt of Old Nick, for we have yet another story of his daring there. In these grand old times the people used to catch great numbers of salmon on the lochs and rivers, no man forbidding them. They repaired to the scene of operations as early as possible, and as the first arrivals had the best chances, each one tried to be the first on the ground. On one occasion, before the Sabbath had quite expired, one of the fishers had already arrived at the loch and was surprised to see some one there before him. In the darkness he took him for one of his neighbours, especially on hearing himself addressed by name, thus, "Alasdair Mhor a Mhic Eain Laidir, ec 's fhearr leat a bhi gaddagh na taoghladh." On nearer approach he smelt something uncanny about the stranger, but, without betraying any apprehension, he at once answered, "'S fhearr leam a bhi gaddagh." The stranger then began landing heaps upon heaps of fish all of the most magnificent proportion and continued without interruption to do so until startled by the crowing of a neighbouring cock. He took his departure amidst much noise and confusion, and addressing his brother in trade at parting, said, "Alasdair Mhor a Mhic Eain Laidir, mar a biodh mar a tharladh b'fhada do chuimhne's air an taoghladh."

A story is told about one of the good old Lairds of Tota Roam who, during his life, had been over-indulgent towards his son and

heir, to the effect that after his death his ghost used to pay stern visits of correction to the said son and pay him a hundred fold the stripes neglected to be imparted in this world. Instances of unfriendly or malicious actions by Skye ghosts could be multiplied without number. Every Skyeman is acquainted with the belief in phantom funeral processions. These ghost funerals precede the actual funeral, and follow the same route afterwards taken by a real funeral. I have myself heard people express their belief in these ghost processions—saying it was not advisable to walk in the centre of the road at night in case a “funeral” might happen to be passing, as in that case they might be thrown down and trampled upon.

Of ghosts condemned to walk the shades seeking rest, but finding none because their bodies had not received Christian burial, to inform upon their murderers and reveal where they had hid away their bodies, no end of stories could be told. We give the following because it can be most easily verified by legions of living witnesses between Staffin and Portree, and the locality, in the immediate neighbourhood of Quirang, is known to almost everybody, and especially because the story is *believed* in as a *true* ghost story and on account of the truthful and sensible people who have seen and heard things there at uncanny hours of the night. The exact scene of these ghost appearances is a wild solitary mountain torrent at the back of Quirang, where it forms an ugly black-looking sort of waterfall, at a spot where the Uig and Quirang coach road passes and where the burn is crossed by a small wooden bridge. It is believed that a foul murder was here committed at one time, and the body was hid in the midst of the dark and uninviting moor so largely prevailing here. A respectable pedlar, who had been selling goods in various parts of Skye from a large pack which he carried on his back, is said to have been followed while crossing from Staffin to Uig; and was murdered on this spot, for the sake of his money and his pack; and that the place was ever after haunted by his ghost. That something has been seen and heard at this spot by a number of people does not admit of any doubt, and, though most of them entertained a dread of at all referring to the subject, an honest Staffin crofter gave a detailed account of his adventures. He described the ghost as a well built man, wanting one arm, wearing a “pilot cloth” jacket, and with a face like “a basin full of blood” (an expression used to describe a *very* red-coloured face). He started up beside him, and whether he walked, or ran, or stood still, there the ghost was—always directly opposite him, and wearing a painfully

anxious look, as of a man dying to impart some important communication, but which, by the inexorable decrees of fate, he as a ghost was unable to do, until first spoken to by a mortal man. Unfortunately, at the moment our friend lacked the necessary courage, and, indeed, the fact is little to be wondered at. He was alone in the midst of the wilderness, and quite at the mercy of an unearthly ghost. Between him and his home lay the long range of the Quirang hills and at least a distance of a matter of six miles of a lone and solitary road. To return to Uig was out of the question, for in that case he would have to cross the abode of the ghost a second time, and that was not to be for a moment thought of. How he got home he never exactly knew, but that he did get home more dead than alive is matter of history. The universality of the belief in the ghost of "Airigh an Essain" (the name of the burn) often led to laughable mistakes. For example, an intelligent and worthy Staffin merchant (still living), having been to meet the steamer at Uig, returned rather late, with a cart load of goods. On approaching Airigh an Essain, wow, but he saw an unco sight, a sight more than sufficient to make the strongest-nerved hair stand on end, for there in front of him, marching with military precision backward and forward on the bridge of Airigh an Essain, was a man of colossal stature in the very spot where the ghost was wont to appear. He was unwilling to turn back to Uig with his tired horse and loaded cart, but to proceed and face the powers of darkness seemed even more undesirable. In his perplexity he ventured a timid shout of "Who's there?" (co th'an sin). "Tha mise," came the hollow, really ghost-like reply of poor "Tearlach Mhaligir," a poor wandering half-witted neighbour of his own. Tearlach was often afterwards questioned as to what Mr So-and-So said to him in reply, and his answer always was "nam bu thig an latha bhithreas thu rithist am." The poor ghost of Airigh an Essain seems to have met a charitable Christian of courage at last, for he is said to have described his murderer as wearing a red coloured vest and as living in a house whose door was towards the north, an arrangement so uncommon in this part of Skye, owing to the extreme coldness of the north wind, that it might easily in our day furnish damaging circumstantial evidence if it did not happen to be uncanny information supplied by a ghost of uncertain temperament, and who might utterly collapse, if not altogether disappear under the fire of cross-examination.

Lochan nan Ceann, near the road leading to Cuidrach Hou-e, not far from Uig, is another favourite ghost-haunted spot, accounted for by the fact that here also some foul tragedy was once enacted,

Duntulm Castle, the then residence of the Lords of the Isles, was the scene of many festivities and gatherings of the clans. A clansman famous for his fabulous feats of strength and gigantic appearance, of the name of Taog Mor MacQuinn, on leaving Duntulm for his home in the neighbourhood of the Cuchullin Hills, was accompanied by a piper from Duntulm. While passing Tobar-nan-Ceann, Taog knelt down to drink out of the well, and while doing so the other, moved either by jealousy or revenge, quickly drawing his sword, struck off Taog Mor's head at one blow, and as the head after being severed from the body rolled down the brae, it continued audibly repeating the words "Ab, ab, ab." It is satisfactory to be told that Lord Macdonald had the murderer instantly apprehended and hanged, but the ghost of one or other of them has continued to haunt the spot ever after.

Of ghosts proper there is no end to the number or variety to be found in some odd old-fashioned spots in the Isle of Skye. The most dreaded, because most given to merciless assaults upon inoffensive and defenceless victims, is the ghost that pommels his victim.

The following as a good instance of this malicious or punishment-inflicting ghost may be mentioned :—

There lived in a lonely cottage at Kilmaluag, near Duntulm, Skye, an aged woman and her daughter, at a time when the credulous superstitious obtained readier credence than now. The infirmities of old age at last confined the old dame to her bed ; and it was apparent to all that her end was not far off. Her daughter was in great distress, and being much attached to her mother, thought it would even give her pleasure to receive communications from her mother from the other world, and, on mentioning this, her mother promised, that if in the power of the departed, she would comply with her request. Shortly after the woman died, and the daughter continued to live alone in the house. One evening, according to her wont, as she sat in the twilight musing on the changes and vicissitudes of human life, she was startled to perceive the apparition of her departed mother in the apartment, and presently to find herself seized hold of and beaten all over her body within an inch of her last gasp. This was repeated every night ; and the elders and pious men of the place had to come and watch with her, occupying the time in reading and praying. And when the apparition appeared at the usual time, one of the "men," addressing it in the name of God, found out that the cause of this unearthly visitation was the daughter's unnatural request to her before she died, and being thus spoken to by mortal

man she was unable to trouble the world further by ghostly visits. Sometimes the maliciously inclined ghost remains invisible while visiting these expressions of his displeasure upon unoffending mortals. This often happens in the case of haunted houses. The inmates are pelted and plagued by every manner of missile, without knowing how or by whom, and instances are on record in which clever rogues attempted, sometimes successfully, to play the ghost after this fashion, an instance being cleverly detected in Glendale, in Skye, a few years ago. It happened that in a certain township one of these worthy crofter tenants had the misfortune to lose his wife, but he soon consoled himself by marrying again. Two grown up daughters, to whom this new arrangement was distasteful, thought it would be a good idea to play the *role* of the ghost of their mother. Accordingly, each night after the family had retired to bed, the newly-married pair found themselves pelted and molested, while strange noises were heard all over the house. In utter despair, and almost dying with fright, the elders were sent for, but the ghosts did not show any inclination of yielding to the holy influence of praise and prayer. On the contrary, while engaged in these good offices, the "men" were vigorously pelted with clods, &c., and so material did the blows feel that they arrived at the conclusion that the ghosts in the present instance were not the genuine article, and, accordingly, they discontinued their visits. A party of Glendale lads volunteered to exorcise the ghosts in this instance, and on entering upon their vigil they resolved to watch as well as pray, with the result that the girls were caught red-handed in the very act. The individuals were Ann Bruce, Nighean Iain Mhic Challum Chuinn, Somherle Macavurich Bhain, Catrionna Bheag na Ceapannaich, all natives, and some at least, I hope, still living, as the ghost incident could not be much further back than about 1840. Surely after that no one will ever have the audacity to deny the existence of ghosts. The ghosts belong to a very ancient family, and were seen and believed in from time immemorial. The ghost of Samuel appeared at the bidding of the Witch of Endor. Modern ghosts are more given to command than obey. The great Addison believed in them, for he makes some say in answer to an enquiry as to how ghosts can get into houses with closed doors:—"Why, look ye, Peter, your spirit will creep you into an augur hole; he'll whisk ye through a key-hole without so much as jostling against one of the wards." Shakespere gives us ghost pictures in words, and makes each in their

time play many parts. The celebrated Gay believed in them, for he tells us that—

The rooms ihaunted been by many a sprite,
Some say they hear the ginging of the chains,
And some hath heard the psautries strains,
At midnight some the heedless (headless) horse ineet,
And oather things Fayr Elfin and Elfe.

2nd DECEMBER, 1891.

The following gentlemen were elected members at this meeting, viz. :—Honorary members—Mr Alister Macdonell, 59 Nevern Square, London, S.W.; and Mr George Macpherson, 8 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, U.S.A. Ordinary members—The Rev. Father Chisholm, Nairn; the Rev. Father Macqueen, Inverness; Mr William Lawrence, Swordale, Evanton; and Mr Hugh Macdonald, Audit Office, Highland Railway Company, Inverness. Thereafter the meeting formed itself into a “ceilidh,” when a very pleasant evening with song and music was passed.

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., moved “that the Society record their deep regret at the death of Mr J. G. Campbell, minister of Tyree, a Gaelic scholar of eminence, an unrivalled collector of Gaelic tales and ballads, and a valuable contributor of papers to the Society’s meetings and Transactions.”

Thereafter the “Flowers of the Forest” was played by the Society’s piper as an appropriate requiem.

17th DECEMBER, 1891.

At the meeting held on this date, Mr Geo. Sinclair, Caledonian Hotel, Inverness, was elected an honorary member of the Society. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper contributed by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond on the “Fraser’s of Foyers, styled Sliochd Huistean Fhrangaich.” The following is Mr Fraser-Mackintosh’s paper :—

MINOR HIGHLAND FAMILIES, No. 5.

THE FRASERS OF FOYERS, STYLED "SLIOCHD
HUISTEAN FHRANGAICH."

The three baronies of Abertarff, Stratherrick, and Durris comprehended nearly all those portions of the great Glen of Albyn which touched the eastern shores of Loch Oich, Loch Ness, and the River Ness, and in all the race of Fraser predominated. Of the once numerous Stratherrick families, that of Foyers long held a conspicuous position.

It is stated, on the authority of the Wardlaw MS., that Hugh, counted third Lord Lovat, who died prior to 1502, had a natural son,

I. HUISTEAN, who, from long residence in France, was called "Huistean Fhrangaich," and his posterity styled "Sliochd Huistean Frangach." It is not known to whom Huistean was married, nor the period of his death, but it is understood that he was portioned by his father in the lands of Easter and Wester Aberehalder, belonging to Glengarry, lying within the barony of Abertarff. Huistean was succeeded by his son,

II. WILLIAM FRASER, who was proprietor of the two Aberchalder, as well as Little Ballichernock and Tirechurachan, in the barony of Durris, his title being "Over Callader," or Aberchalder. In 1537, occurs the first connection of the family with Foyers, for in that year an apostolical warrant is granted by Pope Paul III. for giving in feu to William Fraser, described as "Laici Moravien," the Church lands of Boleskine and Foyers, dated at St Peter's, 4th day of the Ides of March, and 10th year of his Pontificate.

At Elgin, 12th December, 1541, Patrick, Bishop of Moray, with consent of the Chapter, gives a charter to William Fraser, designed as of "Over Callader," and the heirs male of his body, whom failing his brother german, Hugh Fraser, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat and the heirs male of his body, whom all failing, to the nearest heirs male whomsoever of the said William Fraser, of the lands of Boleskine and Foyers, described as lying within the barony of Kinmylies, Lordship of Spynie and shire of Inverness, at a feu of £8 14s 8d Scots. This document is in fine preservation, has two splendid seals entire with about twelve signatures of Church dignitaries of Moray. Other early deeds of the Foyers Estate, in

possession of Mr Walker of Ness Castle, are in remarkable preservation, clean and fresh as though of yesterday.

The half davoch lands of Boleskine, under the spelling of "Buleske," are found referred to as early as 1226, in connection with some legal questions betwixt Andrew Bishop of Moray, and Gilbert, Hostiarius; the lands of Foyers, on the other hand, not being observed until more than 200 years later, when they, in conjunction with Boleskine, occur in James II.'s Charter of the erection of Spynie, dated Stirling, 9th November, 1451.

Mr Anderson, in his history of the Frasers, says that William Fraser of Foyers was the only gentleman who survived the battle of Blair-na-leine, fought on 15th July, 1544; and, having owed his recovery to the humanity of his foster brother, that person and his descendants got a free grant of the croft they laboured. This would rather infer that Foyers had permanently recovered; but this pleasing anecdote, no doubt founded on tradition, has no foundation, for the retour of his son Hugh service to his father, exped at Inverness on 5th October, 1563, expressly bears that William of Foyers died in the month of July, 1544, so, if he really survived, it could have been but 15 days at the utmost.

William Fraser was also proprietor of Mussady and Mellagie, lands worth three pounds and upwards of old extent; also of Dunterchat and Garrogie, equal to a forty shilling land of old extent, all held of Lovat. William was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. HUGH, who, upon 25th April, 1545, obtains a precept of clare constat from the Bishop of Moray for infefting him as heir to his father William, in Foyers and Boleskine, upon which he was infeft by Gilbert Hay, notar of Moray, on 10th June, 1548. Upon 10th March, 1555, Lord Lovat grants a precept for infefting Hugh Fraser as heir of his father William in Mussady and Mellagie. In 1563, Hugh is served heir to his father William in Aberchaldar, and being an early service occurring at Inverness, it is in part given, on account of the names of the inquest and other particulars:—

"The heid Scheref Curt of Invernes haldin within the Tolbuyth of the samyn be Jasper Waus of Lochslyne and John Ros prowest of Invernes Scheref Deputtis of the said Scherefdom to ane nobill and potent lord James erle of Murray Scheref principal of Invernes coniunctlie and seueralie specialie constitute, the fyft day of october the zeir of God jm vc and saxtie thre zeiris the Snittis callit the Curt lauchfullie fensit and effermit as wse is, etc. That day Maister Alexander Dowglas Procuratour for Hucheon

Frayeser of Aberchallodour, exhibeit and producit ane Breiff of our souerane Ladies Chappell, impetrat be Hucheon Frayeser as ayr to his omqubil fadyr, William Frayeser of Aberchallodour and quhar na persoun nor pairte comperit to obiect nor oppone contrar the pointtis of the said Breive, the said Maister Alexander requyrit Act of Curt, etc.

“ Nomina Inquisitionis.

“ Robert Munro of Fowlis, John Stewart of Kyncarnie, John Narne of Cromdell, John Innes of Innerbraky, George Munro of Dauchatrye (Docharty), Hucheon Frayeser of Gwshauch (Guisachan), Walt Innes of Terbett, Dowell McFersoun in Essye (Essich), Donald McFarquhar in Dawoet garreocht (Maclean of Dochgarroch), Beane Clerk in Dowlcraig (Dalcrag), Schim McJames Ire (our, or saor) in Ballecharnocht, Thomas Frayeser portioner of Moneak, Alister McVuyll (vic Dugall) in Bontate, Duncan McFersoun in Moy.

“ The Inqueist foirsaid hes seruit Hucheon Frayeser conform to his petitioun and the same pronuncit be the mouth of Robert Munro of Fowlis, Chancellor of the Assise, and quhar na persoun nor pairtie opponit contrar the personis of Inqueist, nor petitioun ; Upon the quhilkis the said Maistir Alexander Dowglas requysit Act of Curt, etc.”

The Inquest found that William Fraser died last vest and scised in all and singular the lands of Little Balecharnoch and Tirchurachan, with the pertinents lying within the Barony of Durris. That Hugh Fraser was his son and nearest and lawful heir, and of full age, that the lands were worth yearly £8 Scots old extent, and in time of peace worth 20s yearly. That the lands were held of Robert Dunbar of Durris for the payment of a white rose yearly on the feast day of St John the Bap^t st, and that the lands had lain unentered for the space of nineteen years since the death of William Fraser in the month of July, 1544.

Hugh Fraser married Margaret Uiquhart, and died leaving issue, one daughter Jane, who, in 1573, was served to the property not limited to heirs male, as heiress of line. Jane—sometimes called Joanna—received a precept of clare constat in Mussady and Mejlage, as only daughter and heir of her father Hugh Fraser, fro m the Countess of Moray and Argyll, with the consent of the Earl of Argyll, dated 1st June, 1575. These lands afterwards reverted to, or were reacquired by the male head of the family. In the lands destined to heirs male Hugh was succeeded by his brother,

IV. WILLIAM, who in 1570 is retoured as heir of his brother in Aberchalder, and on 1st August 1584 is infest in Foyers and Boleskine on precept of George, Bishop of Moray, dated 14th July 1584, having all his charters confirmed by the Crown, 16th December, 1592. William was succeeded by his son,

V. HUGH, who was infest in Foyers and Boleskine, 31st May, 1607, on precept by Alex., Bishop of Moray, dated 28th April, 1606. James Fraser, brother-german to Hugh, is one of the witnesses to the infestment. This was the Laird of Foyers who by tradition rescued Allan of Lundie from being drowned in Loch Ness when swimming across, fleeing from hot pursuit connected with the invasion of Kilchrist. Hugh was succeeded by his son,

VI. WILLIAM, who made up titles to Aberchalder, but not to Foyers. He was in turn succeeded by his son,

VII. HUGH, who at Inverness on 20th April, 1648, is served heir to his father William before Thomas Schives of Muirtown, sheriff depute of Inverness, and the following men of Inquest:—Thomas Fraser of Struy, William Fraser of Culbokie, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, John Cuthbert of Castlehill, James Cuthbert of Drakies, William Baillie of Torbreck, John Cuthbert of Wester Drakies, David Baillie of Dochfour, John Polson of Bught, Thomas Schives, younger of Muirtown, Alex. Fraser of Abersky, Robert Baillie, burgess of Inverness, David and William Cuthberts, burgesses of Inverness, and John Robertson, also Burgess of Inverness, in the two davochs of Easter and Wester Aberchalder of old extent, with the salmon fishing pertaining thereto in Loch Oich. He received a charter of Foyers and Boleskine dated Edinburgh, 15th August, 1648, and the charter and infestment was confirmed by the Bishop of Moray, 1663. In 1661 it was arranged that Hugh should have a charter of Mussady and Mellagie as heir of his grandfather from Lord Lovat, but the deed was not executed. Hugh's first wife was Jean Gray, who left issue, and he married secondly Katharine Chisholm, daughter of Alexander Chisholm of Comer, contract dated Erchless, last May, 1658. In security of her provision, Katharine was infest in the half davoch of Boleskine, excluding Glenlia, as also in the western third of Mellagy. In 1651 Hugh is pursued for a debt by James Macpherson of Ballachroan, and he incurred considerable debts to others.

Hugh left at least three children—the eldest and successor being

VIII. WILLIAM, with whom Margaret Mackintosh, daughter of Alexander Mackintosh of Connage, is referred to in 1674 as "his.

future spouse." His sister Elizabeth, with his consent and that of her other brother Hugh, was married to John Fraser of Little Garth, contract dated at Mussadie, 7th April, 1688. William naturally was mixed up with Simon Lord Lovat and his affairs from the time of the death of Hugh Lord Lovat, 1696. By Lord Lovat's memoirs, it will be seen that he, then Master of Lovat, when in Stratherrick in 1698 repelling the attack of the Athole family, says, in reference to the bloodless victory of Altnagour, that four days previous he had assumed the title of Lord Lovat, having heard the melancholy news that his father was dead in Skye. The Baronage gives his death as May, 1699, which is certainly erroneous. I am able to give one of the earliest documents granted by him in his new position :—

"I, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, do bind myself for service done and to be done me and for mine by William Fraser of Foyers, to give to the said William Fraser of Foyers and his, the tenth part of the country of Stratherrick, after I have fully conquered it, and am in full possession of it, without debate ; and this providing he continue true and faithful to me as my kinsman and vassal all his life ; and for the more security I consent these presents be registrate in the books of Council and Session or any other books competent, and to that effect I constitute — - my procurators that all sort of diligence pass hereon as accords. In witness whereof I have written and subscribed these presents at Poran, ye ninth day of August, 1698 years.

(Signed) "LOVATT."

It is clear that Lord Lovat was of the mind to divide Stratherrick into ten portions, and bestow one on each of his important clansmen in return for their services in helping him to recover his estates. The name "Poran" was a puzzle, but as the corresponding obligation by Foyers, *vis.* :—a bond of manrent—was granted at Dochcairn (the residence of Dochfour), it was inferred that it must be somewhere not far from either bank of Lochness. Upon enquiring of Mr Alexander Fraser, an old and respected resident at Loinchlerich of Errogie, he was good enough to write on 23rd January, 1890, that there was a place in Gaelic "Phoran," otherwise Forbeg, two or three miles to the west of Foyers Mains, now a part of Knockie Estate, but of old belonging to Lovat, and one time a populous place. The famous yew of Stratherrick is situated on Forbeg. Prior to 1715, William Fraser had given up the management of affairs to his eldest son Hugh, who is placed as head, although he predeceased his father,

IX. HUGH FRASER, whose exertions for Government are narrated in the following petition, declaration, and memorial, to the First Lord of the Treasury in 1716. Hugh Fraser, described as younger of Foyers, who had a charter of Mussady from Roderick Mackenzie of Prestonhall in 1711, died prior to 1720 without having received any compensation from Government. The matter was moved in again 43 years later by his nephew Hugh, also without effect, and two interesting papers bearing on the matter are given at this point although of date 1759. Affidavits much of a similar nature were made, all in 1759, by the Rev. Thomas Fraser of Boleskine, Mr Alexander Fraser, catechist at Durris, and Major James Fraser of Castleleathers. The affidavit of the last is selected as being more full, and is probably one of his latest acts :—

(1. 1716). “To the Honble. Mr David Polson of Kinmylies, Geo. Cuthbert of Castlehill, and Mr Alex. Clark, Provost of Inverness : the petition of Hugh Fraser, younger of Foyers, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the Northern Counties—Humbly sheweth,—From the beginning of September to the 1st of March, both last past [Sept., 1715 ; March 1716—C. F. M.], I being moved by my affection to the Government, and in obedience to Brigadier Alex. Grant, and other friends of the Government, their letters to me, as well as my own early engagement to the Lieutenancy and friends of ye Government, I did devote myself and my men to the public service by going to the hills and mountains of the country until such time as the said Lieutenancy did gather some of their friends together, among which I and my men were among the first, by which they were pleased to honour me with a commission of being one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the north, whereby I and my men were pointed forth to the resentment of the Rebels, and I and my tenants suffered considerable losses and damages by depredations and robberies, besides the damages of loss of time and the management of our affairs at home, with what I paid for my own and my men, our charges to the month of November, when my chief came to the north, all occasioned by our attendance on the Government service. And I humbly conceive that the said Brigadier and the other Lieutenants are in justice obliged, as well as by their promises, to make up our losses, by representing the same to the Managers of the Government, so I believe that they would not make any difficulty therein, if our damages and losses were ascertained by our oathes.

“ May it therefore please your Worships to allow us to appear before you, and to make affidavit upon the extent of the loss and damages sustained, to the effect we may ascertain our claims as accords.

(Signed) “ HUGH FRASER.”

“ Inverness, the twenty-sixth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and sixteen years,—We grant the desire of the petition, and allow the petitioner and his tenants to appear before us and make oath upon the extent of their damages which they have sustained.

(Signed) “ ALEX. CLARK, J.P.,”

(„) “ GEORGE CUTHBERT, J.P.”

Eodem Die.

“ Compeared Hugh Fraser, younger of Foyers, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the north, who being solemnly sworn and interrogate in the terms of the within petition, maketh oath : That from the beginning of September last to the close of November thereafter also last bypast, being the time at which his chief came to the north : That he and about one hundred and sixty men were obliged to stay in the hills and braes of the country and elsewhere as the lieutenancy did direct us upon our own proper charges, and he had not any of the friends of the Government within twenty miles distant from him to any airt ; by which, and his own personall charges, he did truly expend of his own proper moneys and effects to the extent of the sum of three thousand and forty pounds Scots money, and the rebels did violently carry and rob away from his townes and lands the number of seventy-seven cows and oxen which he values at one thousand five hundred and forty pounds money foresaid ; nine horses at two hundred and seventy pounds foresaid ; fifteen wedders and sheep at thirty pounds foresaid ; and plaids to the value of twenty four pounds money foresaid. In all, extending to the sum of four thousand nine hundred and four pounds Scots money : And that he and his men, by their attendance on his Majesty’s service from the said first of September to the first of March last, when the regular forces came to Inverness, have sustained considerable losses and damages in their affairs and labouring. But they cannot declare the true extent thereof upon oath, and they submit the same to discretion, which is truth as he shall answer to God.

(Signed) “ HUGH FRASER.”

“ *Jurat Coram.*

(Signed) “ ALEX. CLARK, J.P.,”

(„) “ GEO. CUTHBERT, J.P.”

“To the Right Honble. Robert Walpool, Esquire, First Lord of his Majesty’s Treasury, The Memorial of Hugh Fraser of Foyers, one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of the county of Inverness— Humbly Sheweth, That the time of the late Ministry, when the pensions were given to the Highland Clans, Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who pretended to represent the name of Fraser, was one of these Pensioners, and offered the Memorialist a share of that Pension to go in to his measures, which he absolutely refused, because he understood the design was to support the Pretender’s interest, whereupon the Memorialist convened several gentlemen of the name of Fraser, and acquainted them with the same, and he and they signed a letter to his Grace the Duke of Argyle, giving full assurance of their resolution to join with his Grace in defense of the Protestant succession as by law established, and likewise sent two of their number to Sir Peter Fraser of Doors, to acquaint him of their resolution, who advised them to send for my Lord Lovat to France, to strengthen them in that design. And accordingly one of their number was sent to France, to bring him home. All which happened in the last two years of Her late Majestie’s reign. That when Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, and Colin Campbell of Glendaruel were going about in the Highlands to procure subscriptions to an address to the Pretender, and had imposed upon some of the name of Fraser to sign the same, the Memorialist convened the well affected gentlemen of that name, and signed an address to His Majesty King George, with an offer of their lives and fortunes. to support His Majesty’s just title to the Crown, which address was presented by His Grace the Duke of Argyle. Agreeable to which address, when the rebellion began in Scotland, the beginning of September last, the Memorialist convened 160 men, though he was sixteen miles distant from any of the King’s friends, and the Highland clans convening all round him, and kept them in a body, though he was once attacked by seven hundred men of the Earl of Seaforths, whom he repulsed, and continued these men upon his own proper charges till the middle of November, that my Lord Lovat came to the country, who then convened all the rest of his name for His Majesty’s service; in which the memorialist continued till they were relieved by the regular forces in March last. The memorialist was obliged to maintain these men on his own proper charges, which, with the damage sustained by him and his lands by the Rebels, amount to six hundred pounds sterling, besides the loss of his time conform to ane affidavit made before the justices of Peace of Inverness county. Besides all what’s above, the memorialist was sent, when

none other would undertake it, by my Lord Lovat to Stirling, by way of Fort-William, to get intelligence from the Duke of Argyle, which was a very expensive and dangerous journey, several of the clans being in wait for seizing the memorialist, which is known by Sir Robert Pollock, governor of Fort-William."

(2. 1759). "At Inshoch, the nineteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine years, in presence of Alexander Inglis, Esquire, Sheriff-Substitute of the Shyre of Nairn, compeared Major James Fraser of Castleleathers, aged eighty-eight, and going on eighty-nine, who being solemnly sworn, maketh oath, and says That he was well acquainted with the deceased Hugh Fraser of Foyers, and that he knows when, in the end of the late Queen Anne's reign, pensions were distributed among the Highland clans, and that Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who then possessed the estate of Lovat, and was married to the eldest daughter of Hugh Lord Lovat, had one of those pensions, and made an offer of part of it to the said Hugh Fraser for coming in to his measures. The said Hugh Fraser refused to accept the same, as he understood it was to support the Pretender's interest; and that some time after, the said Hugh Fraser, and the deceased Hugh Fraser of Struy, and Alexander Fraser of Culduthel, and he, the said James Fraser, met together and wrote a letter to the late Duke of Argyle acquainting him of what had passed, and that they were ready to raise the greatest part of the Clan Fraser, and join with his Grace in support of the Protestant succession. That the said Hugh Fraser went afterwards to Edinburgh by advice of the well-affected gentlemen of the name of Fraser, and was by the deceased Mr James Cuthbert, who was minister of Culross, and a relation of the Family of Lovat, introduced to such as were in concert at Edinburgh to support the Protestant succession. That he likewise knows when the late Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry and Colin Campbell of Glendaruel were, after the death of the late Queen Ann, soliciting an address among the Highland Clans to the Pretender. The said Hugh Fraser of Foyers refused to sign the same, and that he and the other gentlemen of the name of Fraser who were above mentioned drew up an address to his late Majesty, which they sent to the late Duke of Argyle; That he likewise knows when, after the accession of his late Majesty, the Rebellion broke out in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers (who had then been appointed by his Majesty one of the Deputy Lieutenants in the north) did, at his own expense, raise a body of men for the King's Service when the other Highland Clans were gathering around to

go to Perth, and that the body of men which he raised joined the Earl of Sutherland and the late Lord Lovat when they got to the country, and raised their men for the King's Service, and that, at the request of the late Lord President Forbes and his brother, the late John Forbes of Culloden, the said Hugh Fraser put a garrison of his men in the house of Culloden, and defended it against the Rebels who were then in possession of the town of Inverness, within two miles of the said House, and when the Earl of Sutherland and the late Lord Lovat, after they came to the country and had raised so many men for the service of his late Majesty, and wanted to send some intelligence to the late Duke of Argyll, then at Stirling with his Majesty's Troops, the said Hugh Fraser was the person singled out to go with their Dispatches, and that he remembers he went and returned in the winter tyme from Stirling to Perth, where the greatest part of the Clan Fraser were with Fraserdale then in Rebellion, and by the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers' connection with and influence on that part of the Clan made about three hundred of them desert in one night, who, upon their home-coming, joined the late Lord Lovat and the Earl of Sutherland, who were then in arms for his Majesty King George : That he knows the said Hugh Fraser was, during the said Rebellion, at a considerable expense in the service of the Government beyond what his small estate could afford, and that he run in debt on that account. That he lykeways knows he and his tenants did suffer damage in that tyme of the Rebels, tho' he does not at this distance of tyme remember the particulars. That he lykeways knows the said Hugh Fraser after the Rebellion (was suppressed) made out a state of his case and an affidavit of his losses, in order to be laid before Sir Robert Walpole ; and Furder, that the said Hugh Fraser told him, the deponent, then at London, that he was desired by the late General Cadogan, with whom he was acquainted when that General was in the North of Scotland, to come up to London, and that he should have his interest with the Ministry to have his losses made up and a place or pension given him for his loyalty and attachment. But upon his telling Lord Lovat that he was to apply to General Cadogan for that end, he, Lord Lovat, absolutely discharged him, as it then happened Lord Lovat and General Cadogan were of different parties ; and Lord Lovat, in the Deponent's hearing, at sundry times when they were at London, desired Hugh Fraser of Foyers to goe home, and that he would take care of his interest both at London and home, and that he would advance him money to pay all the losses he had sustained and debt he had contracted

in support of the Government ; and moreover depones that Lord Lovat brought the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers to wait of the late Duke of Argyle, who gave him his hand and assured him as soon as it was in his power he should be provided for : and Furder depones that it consists with the deponent's knowledge that the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers by his dexterity and management in many particulars was at that period very instrumental in quelling the then rebellion in the north ; and siklyke Depones that the present James Fraser of Foyers was the first man of four who had entered into a resolution to stand by the Government when the Rebellion of jm viic and forty-five broke out, who signed a letter to the present Duke of Argyle for that purpose, which Deed being made known to the late Lord Lovat, nothing but destruction was denounced against him by Lord Lovat for entering into such without his knowledge, which the deponent believes and had reason to know as well as many others. was the sole cause of the said James Fraser of Foyers his being induced by Lord Lovat to go into the last Rebellion, as Lovat kept a sum of money that was due him by Foyers as a fferule over his head, and being a weak man, though honest, was by him intimidate from putting his former resolution in execution, which is truth as he shall answer to God, and Depones he cannot write by reason of a tremor in his hand.

(Signed). "ALEX. INGLIS.

(") "GEO. DONALDSONE."

(3. 1759). "George Drummond, Esquire, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, maketh oath and says, That he was acquainted with the deceased Hugh Fraser of Foyers, and that it consists with his knowledge The said Hugh Fraser did come to Edinburgh in the end of the late Queen Anne's reign, and was introduced to him and some other gentlemen who were then in concert to support the Protestant Succession in his late Majesty's Family in the event of the Queen's death, as a gentleman of Family who had a considerable interest among the Clan Fraser, and that the said Hugh Fraser did treat and settle with him and the other Gentlemen in the concert, that he would undertake for the greatest part of the Clan Fraser, to join with them in support of the Protestant Succession in his said late Majesty's person and Family, and that if they took the field, He would raise a body of men and endeavour to join them. That the Gentlemen in this concert were, Colonel John Erskine of Carnock, Colonel William Maxwell of Cardoness, Colonel John Blackatter, Captain John Campbell of Wellwood, Major James Aikman, Henry Cunninghame of Balquban, John Campbell, late Provost of Edinburgh, Archibald Macauley also

late Provost of Edinburgh, and Mr James Cuthbert, minister at Culross, who are all of them now dead, except the said Archibald Macauley, and the Declarant. That there were some others whose names he does not now particularly remember, and that a part of their plan was to make what interest they could among the Highland Clans, by means of such Gentlemen as they understood to be well affected, and have influence among them. He further says that after the Accession of his late Majesty, when in the winter of the year *jm viic* and fifteen, he was at Stirling with the late Duke of Argyle, who then commanded his Majesty's Troops in Scotland, he remembers to have seen the said Hugh Fraser of Foyers come there to the said Duke, and that he brought him some important intelligence from the King's Friends, then assembled in the north, and that he particularly remembers the paper he brought was concealed in the heart of a stick he walked with in his hand; and that there was at the time a great fall of snow upon the ground, and that he returned with an answer from the Duke to the King's friends in the north.

(Signed) "GEO. DRUMMOND.

Sworn before me at Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of February, 1759.

(Signed) "AND. SIMPSON, J.P."

Hugh was succeeded by his brother

X. JAMES, described in 1719 as only brother to the deceased Hugh Fraser, younger of Foyers. He received much kindness in arranging the embarrassed affairs of the family from Lord Lovat, who on 30th September, 1725, granted him letters of Bailiary over the lands of Stratherrick. Mr Anderson, in his history before alluded to, gives currency to the story of Lord Lovat's having been accessory to the serious outrage in the slaughter of one hundred milch cows belonging to Castlehill, and the destruction of his enclosures. A perusal of the following letter must acquit his lordship of this odious charge:—

"Bath, the 23rd of September, 1724.

"Dear Foyers,—How soon you receive this letter I desire you to come immediately into Inverness, and find out the authors of the base calumny (wrote of you, to me and Col. Munro), that by your direction the murdering villain Donald Dubh, 'Clessick,' killed and destroyed Castlehill's cows. I know and believe in my soul you are very innocent, but you deserve this misfortune for keeping that rogue in your hands after my threatening letter to you that I would never speak to you if you did not seize him and deliver him bound to Culloder. This story, though false, will

ruin for ever your reputation if you do not find out the authors, and get due and honourable satisfaction. It may likewise do me hurt, so I desire for your own sake and mine, to trace out the story and behave like a gentleman; and if that villain can be had, seize him and deliver him to Culloden as I desired you before. If you do not this I shall renounce you as my friend, relation, or acquaintance, and I shall never see your face when I can shun it.

“If you can find no author, bring two or three honest gentlemen with you to the Cross, and to Cuthbert’s Coffee House, and tell aloud that any who were the authors or promoters of that calumny are rogues and rascals. Call on my friend and doer at Inverness, Commissary Munro, and he will advise you. I long to know how you will behave, and of all friends, dear Foyers, your own,
(Signed) “LOVAT.”

Foyers, who was counted by his contemporaries as rather a weak man, married Katherine Fraser, and left two sons—Hugh, who succeeded, and Simon, also one daughter, Anne. He went out in 1745, and, perhaps, the most important document he received in connection with the rising, was the following, which has most fortunately been preserved, and having the seal in good order. It would seem that Prince Charles’ advisers thought no duty could be more agreeable to Lord Lovat than to apprehend the President. He hesitated, however, to commit himself so openly, and the business was entrusted to, but not executed by, Foyers, whose elder brother, Hugh, had taken great credit for defending of Culloden in 1715.

(L.S.)—“Charles, Prince of Wales, and Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, To James Fraser of Foyers—Whereas we gave a warrant some time ago to the Lord Lovat to apprehend and secure the person of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, which warrant, for sufficient reason, he could not put into execution: We now judge it necessary hereby to empower you to seize upon the person of the above-named Duncan Forbes, and when you have so seized and apprehended him, to carry him prisoner to us at Edinburgh, or where we shall happen to be for the time, for the doing of which this shall be your warrant. Given at His Majesty’s Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Twenty-third day of September, 1745.

“By his Highness’ Command.

(Signed) “JO. MURRAY.”

XI. HUGH, the eldest son of James, no doubt, in connection with the latter having taken up arms, had the estates made over

to him by disposition, dated at Foyers, 5th November, 1745. He married Christian Cameron, youngest daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, contract dated Strontian, 29th June, 1742. There was a large gathering at the function, and amongst the bride's friends were John Cameron, then of Dungallon, her brother, John Cameron of Fassiferu, Alexander Cameron of Glen-evis, Doctor Archibald Cameron, brother to Lochiel, and Allan Cameron, brother to Glendessary; and besides old Foyers, who accompanied his son, the latter was supported by Thomas Fraser of Garthmore, and his sons John and William.

Of this marriage there were issue, John, Simon, Isabel, married in 1770 to George Cameron of Letterfinlay, Jean and Katherine, described in her post-nuptial contract of marriage with the Rev. Alexander Fraser of Kilmallie, dated 1st and 6th February, 1787, as third lawful daughter of Hugh Fraser of Foyers.

The affairs of the family were so embarrassed that Hugh had to make up titles by a friendly adjudication, and was indebted to the substantial assistance of General Simon Fraser of Lovat. The letter, after given to James of Foyers, dated the very day the first Fraser Fencibles were ordered to be raised, must be interesting to all of the name in especial:—

“Dear Sir,—I am sure it will give you pleasure to know that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his intention of appointing me to the command of a regiment of Highlanders to be forthwith raised for American service. And as the quickness that is expected in raising them is a great inducement for the measure, I flatter myself my friends will leave no stone unturned to have this done with credit to me, whose honour and interest through life depend on my success in this, and I am satisfied I may on every occasion as well as on this depend on you in what so nearly concerns me. As I have not time to-night to write to every one whose assistance I expect, I must beg you will communicate this to such gentlemen as you think proper. I shall endeavour to procure commissions for some young gentlemen of the name, but these particulars must be subject of another letter. I thought it necessary to give you and the other friends this early notice, that you may take measures in the meantime for exerting yourselves with vigour in my behalf. I offer my compliments to your lady, and all friends, and always am very sincerely, my dear Foyers, yours,
(Signed) S. FRASER.

“London, 4th January, 1757.”

James Fraser of Foyers and his wife Katharine are both alive in 1759. Hugh Fraser's eldest son John, who had on 12th March, 1774, received a commission in Lord Adam Gordon's Co., 1st Battalion 1st Royals, died without issue, and the succession opened up on Hugh's death in 1790, to his second son,

XII. SIMON FRASER, last Laird of Foyers of Sliochd Huistean Frangach. Simon Fraser, born in 1760, married Elizabeth Grant, daughter of Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, post-nuptial contract is dated 26th and 30th March, 1789. In 1778 Simon Fraser received commission as lieutenant of the Northern Fencibles, and was made a Burgess of Kircudbright. In the following year he is admitted Burgess of St Andrew's, and in 1794 he is Captain in the Strathspey Fencibles.

In the severe struggle for the representation of Inverness-shire, at the beginning of the century, twixt the Lovats and Grants, Foyers, no doubt through his connection with Glenmoriston, supported Mr Charles Grant. This gave mortal affront to the Hon. Archibald Fraser, who, an adept at nicknames, dubbed him for ever after to be no longer known as Simon Fraser, but "Simon Grant." Lovat carried his resentment still further by obtaining possession of excambion of the Glebe of Boleskine, in the heart of Foyers Estate, whereon he built Boleskine House, and resided there pretty constantly, troubling him with marches and fencing, and proving a thorny reminder to "Simon Grant" of the latter's misdoings.

Foyers' only child Jean, a young lady, judging by her letters, of an unusually amiable and pious disposition, married Captain Thomas Fraser of Balnain in 1817, dying, much lamented, same year, in the flower of her age. Foyers himself was most hospitable. No one ever passed his door who had the remotest claims upon him, and his house was a veritable hotel. Unfortunately he was of an easy temper, readily cajoled. His own debts at the beginning of the century did not exceed £2000, but he became involved with Rothiemurchus, Letterfinlay, Anderson of Gortuleg, and numerous others, so that in 1825 it had run up to £10,000, and by 1836 to £14,000. After his death, on 27th April, 1842, the estates fell under sequestration, but all creditors were ultimately paid, as the estate fetched a handsome price.

In no part has there been greater changes than in Stratherrick. Many years ago I wrote an article, "The Stratherrick Frasers: where are they?" The question may be repeated now. In the male line there are three—Landowners—Lovat, Ardochie, and Balnain, and in the female line one—Aldourie, four in all. But

where are the important families of Farraline, Gortuleg, Abersky, and Ardochy, Bochruber and Bunchegavie, Dalcrag, Dunchea, Dell and Drummond, Errogie and Erchite, Garthmore, Garthbeg and Glendo, Knockie, Kinbrylie, Knockcoilum and Kinmonavie, Lead-clune, Migavie, and others? The ancients who, each in their day, well fulfilled their parts,

“After life’s fitful fever, sleep well”

in that picturesque sacred ground overlooking the queen of Highland lakes, undisturbed, even although Loch Ness may be lashed into fury by the winter storm; the Fechlin may roar in angry flood; or the “Feadanun Straharrigag,” tuning up and encouraging each other “Seid Suas”—“Seid Suas”—may whistle sufficiently shrilly and piercingly to satisfy even Boreas in his breeziest mood. But few of their descendants are to be found in Stratherrick, and the great bulk lie low elsewhere, or must be searched for in the Lowlands, in England, in India, in Australasia, in the United States, and chiefly in the great Dominion of Canada.

Cha till iad gu brath

Gu la mor a chruinne.

I have thus narrated the history of the main line of Huistean Frangach, which, now landless, save the little burial ground on the Black Rock of Foyers, held its own under many vicissitudes for over 300 years with credit and respect.

13th JANUARY, 1892.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL DINNER.

The Twentieth Annual Dinner of the Society was held in the Victoria Hotel this evening. The chair was to have been taken by Mr J. Douglas Fletcher of Rosehaugh, Chief of the Society, but the roads in the Black Isle being blocked with snow, a telegram was received stating that he found it impossible to be present. A number of other prominent gentlemen were similarly detained. Provost Ross presided, and Bailie Mackenzie and Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., acted as croupiers.

After dinner, the Chairman proposed the loyal toasts, followed by that of the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces.

The Secretary thereafter read letters of apology for absence from a large number of members of the Society, and submitted the annual report of the Executive, which was as follows:—

“The Council are in a position to state that the prosperity and usefulness which marked the history of the Society in past years still continue. Valuable papers were read at the Society’s meetings during session 1890-91, and these will appear in the seventeenth volume of the Society’s Transactions, which is at present in the press, and will soon be delivered to the members. The syllabus for session 1891-92 is in the hands of the members present, and contains papers on subjects of great interest to Highlanders. For The Mackintosh’s prize of ten guineas for the best essay on “The Social Condition of the Highlands since 1800,” three competitors appeared, and the prize was awarded to Mr A. Polson, Dunbeath, Caithness. During the year, 27 new members joined the Society, viz., 1 life member, 3 honorary members, and 23 ordinary members. Donations of several volumes were made to the library. The accounts of the Society for the past year show the following results, viz.:—Total income during year (including £23 brought forward from previous year, and a donation of £25 from Mr Fletcher of Rosehaugh, Chief of the Society), £163 18s 5d; expenditure, £129 4s 5d; leaving a balance at the credit of the Society’s bank account, with the Bank of Scotland, of £34 13s. The large outlay from year to year incurred by the Society in connection with the publication of the Transactions is a heavy drain upon the revenue, and the Council hope that other gentlemen interested in the Highlands will follow the excellent example of Mr Fletcher this year, and of The Mackintosh, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, and Mr Macdonald of Skaebost, in previous years. The Council find that the ordinary subscriptions paid by the members are not sufficient without some such special gifts to meet the Society’s expenditure, and they are unwilling to diminish the Society’s usefulness by curtailing the annual volume.

The Chairman then proposed the toast of the evening, “Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness.” He explained that although the Chief was detained at home, he had sent his speech, which he would read to the meeting. It was as follows:—

Before submitting to you the toast of the evening, “Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness,” allow me to tender you my heart-felt thanks for the great honour you have conferred upon me by electing me Chief of this important and influential Society.

I do not indulge in the language of flattery when I say that I appreciate your kindness more than I can express, and I shall always look back with pride upon the period during which I have enjoyed this special mark of your favour. With regard to my own fitness for the office, and your wisdom in selecting me, I shall say nothing, except that you must accept all responsibilities for my shortcomings. I also consider it right that I should repeat now, what I have already expressed in writing, my deep regret for not being able to be present at the annual re-union of the members of the Society in the month of July. Up to the eleventh hour I had fully intended being present, but I was forced to keep another engagement, which would not by any possibility admit of being put off, and, consequently, had to fall back upon a substitute. I was particularly gratified to understand that the meeting was a great success. I am, I need hardly say, more than delighted to be here this evening, and to see present, notwithstanding the influenza, which is making such ravages all over the country, such a large number of well known gentlemen. And among these I am glad to recognise not a few who have taken an active part in the upbuilding of the Society, and extending its sphere of usefulness far and wide. Gentlemen, I need hardly tell you that I heartily sympathise with the aims and objects of this Society. It is now on the point of attaining its majority, and I therefore consider it a very fitting time to take a cursory retrospective view of its past work, and then I should like to indulge for a few minutes in a prospective view of what the Society is still likely to do. Well, then, gentlemen, what has the Society done during these twenty years of its existence? Much every way. But, gentlemen, much still remains to be done. For a record of the work accomplished during these years, I have only to refer you to the sixteen volumes of the Transactions of the Society, which contain a rich store of choice and valuable literature, bearing upon the language and customs of the Gael. As you are well aware, this Society has not been the first in the field, to represent the Highland race, but without intending any disparagement, when we compare the work accomplished by those kindred Societies with that done by our own, it has to be admitted that the Inverness Gaelic Society has accomplished far more than any other similar society in existence, and I do not wonder if the members of the Inverness Society feel a silent pride in being connected with it. But, gentlemen, we cannot afford to rest satisfied with our past achievements; on the contrary, much still remains to be overtaken, and unless this task is performed within a com-

paratively short period, it shall become an impossibility at any future time. How so? I fancy I hear some person ask. Well, unless collected without delay, much of the traditional lore and poetry will perish, because the Code Education of the youth of our straths, glens, and fertile valleys is completely revolutionising the current of thought among the rising generation. Then, too, the introduction and continuous extension of the railway system has done much to alter the old state of matters. What I may term a levelling process is going on, and I firmly believe that to those two agencies alone is due the great decrease which the last census shewed to have taken place in the rural population of the North of Scotland. Our young men and women, being educated, and possessing easy facilities of moving about, naturally migrate to those centres which place the greatest value upon their services. In the opinion of many, Gaelic is destined to be extinguished by the agencies at work within a measurable period of time. But it is my own opinion that it may long survive the battering of present destructive agencies, just as it survived deliberate attempts to kill it out in the past. At anyrate, it will live as long as Highlanders choose to keep it alive, and value as they should the gift of speaking more than one language. Be it remembered that the Crofters' Act has anchored a large number of the Highland people in the Highlands and Islands, by giving them security of tenure on payment of fair rents, with compensation for improvements on leaving their holdings. Surely Gaelic is in no danger of perishing soon in the crofting townships. Then it may be held almost as a certainty that large farms are destined soon to go out of fashion, and that the breaking up of such farms will lead largely to the formation of a class of desirable moderate holdings, of which we may hope industrious Highlanders and crofters, pushing their way up in the world, will become thriving tenants. But although Gaelic may live, and Highlanders may hold the Highlands more strongly than they do at present, there is no time to lose in gathering up the old lore, which is dying out with the older generation. We, therefore, ought to collect and preserve all that is good and noble in the legacy of the past. This leads me to say that those who have an aptitude for undertaking such work are year by year becoming fewer and fewer. While I speak, I am sure that several names will suggest themselves to you of those who have during the past year passed over to the great majority, but thanks to the existence of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, though they are dead their works live, and shall be greatly valued by Celtic students all over the

world. It would be nothing short of presumption on my part to refer in detail to the respective merits of individuals. I prefer leaving that to abler and more competent hands, but I would venture to say this much, that their loss should act as a stimulus to urge our members to do some work for the Society. As an example of industry I would refer, in passing, to the action of Mr Paul Cameron, Blair-Athole. That gentleman, when his day's work was over, made a raid upon some cottage or bothy where a good thing could be got, and there wrote down many excellent songs from the lips of those most qualified to give them; and so he rescued from oblivion a valuable collection of poetry, which otherwise would have been lost for ever. Many of these songs are to be reproduced in our next volume of the Transactions. I hope some of our other members will emulate Mr Cameron in this respect. I am glad to see near me such earnest workers as Mr Campbell, the editor of the *Northern Chronicle*, who has rendered good service to the cause of Celtic literature. I am told, on excellent authority, that we have with us to-night one of the best living Celtic scholars. I refer to Mr Alexander Macbain, M.A., the popular and genial rector of Rainings' Institution, Inverness. His published works and contributions to the press on the subjects of Celtic literature, are read and highly valued by philologists all over the world; and his able editorship of the *Highland Monthly*, in conjunction with Mr Campbell, is so well known that it requires no commendation from me. Then, there's my friend, Mr Mackenzie, better known to Celtic scholars as the editor of the *Celtic Magazine*, now, unfortunately, defunct; but I believe he shall be known in the years that are to come, as the author of many Highland clan histories. I think I saw it somewhere stated that Mr Mackenzie was the most voluminous writer of any man north of the Grampians, and from what I can hear, he has not nearly exhausted himself yet; and all that I can say, and I am sure I re-echo your wishes, when I say more power to him, and may his shadow never grow less. Gentlemen, I could go on multiplying examples. For instance, there are my friends Mr William Mackay, Sir Henry Macandrew, and others, but I shall not trespass any further upon your patience by naming more. Then, as to the future, I don't know that we can do anything different, or better than has been done in the past, but the moral that I wish to be drawn from what I have said to-night is this, that if we are to do any real sterling work, it must be done without delay, because at present the labourers are becoming fewer and the field of labour more contracted. I do trust, gentlemen, that as a result of this

meeting, we shall become more determined than ever to stand up and defend to the utmost everything that is distinctively national. I hope never to see the day when we shall forget to think of the martial spirit of our Highland ancestors, or to stand up in defence of the characteristic dress, the language, the music, and the customs of our ancestors, in short, to preserve our national spirit. England is slowly but surely encroaching upon some of our national rights, and I was exceedingly glad to see that the effort made in high military quarters to change the Inverness county regiment into a battalion of the Scots Guards, was successfully resisted. To deal in such a way with the Cameron Highlanders would be offering one of the greatest possible insults, not only to Highlanders, but to Scotchmen, for have not our Highland regiments distinguished themselves on behalf of Great Britain in all parts of the world? I am tempted to quote to you the high character bestowed upon Highland soldiers by that distinguished statesman, the Earl of Chatham. He said—"I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north? I called forth, and drew into your service an hardy and intrepid race of men! Men who, when left by your jealousy, become a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the State in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." This great compliment is as true to-day as it was in 1766. Gentlemen, I call upon you to drink with all the honours the toast of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Long may it flourish; long may it continue to do useful work; and long may it act as a means for bringing together such a happy, genial, and jolly company as we have here this evening.

The next toast was Celtic Literature and Highland Education, which stood opposite the name of Sir Henry Macandrew, but this gentleman being confined to the house, his place was taken by Dr F. M. Mackenzie, who referred in brief, but eloquent, terms to the literature and education of the Highlands.

Mr J. L. Robertson, H.M. Inspector of Schools, who responded, said, with regard to Celtic literature, great attention was being paid to it at the present time, as it was found that it contained a store of valuable material. He quite concurred with what Dr Mackenzie had said about the old schools in the Highlands. They turned out wonderfully good scholars, considering the disadvantages they had to contend with. Of late there had been a

great development of popular education, which was a matter of great importance to the community. At one time the few went to the University, while the great mass of the people remained practically illiterate. Lord Napier's Commission, in their report, stated that 40 per cent. of the adult population of the Long Island signed their marriage certificates by mark. Now, however, he was glad to say that a wonderful improvement had taken place among the inhabitants of the Western Isles, and there was now hardly any illiteracy worth speaking of. All the recruits for the Militia and Royal Naval Reserve were able to sign their names. For one thing, a larger number of newspapers were now circulating among the Western population than ever had been the case before. Then, with regard to higher education, he thought it would be available in the Highlands within a measurably short time. Of late they had the matter brought prominently before them, and he might say he had just returned from the West Coast, from a very remote part of it, and great interest was manifested in the subject there. He was interested in the development of technical education, as it affected the industrial interests of the community. The two subjects which they had specially set their hearts upon were those of agriculture and navigation, and he was glad that the local managers on the West Coast had taken a lively interest in the matter. Attention also was given to the subjects of hygiene, public health, practical cookery, and other allied subjects, and he was specially pleased that the County Council had promised substantial encouragement. On the question of the education code, an official such as he was would be expected to be reticent. He might say, however, that the difficulties of education in the West Highlands had received the closest sympathy of the Education Department. Of late, as they knew, it had been found that the financial burden of education was sometimes more than the locality was able to bear. There was a threatened collapse of the educational machinery of the West Coast, and the Department came to the rescue with no unsparing hand, and the result was gratifying and encouraging. He had also to say that, in a Society like this, where prominence was given to the Gaelic language, they would like to know how Gaelic fared in the new regulations. Well, he was glad to tell them that it had a distinct place, as it was found valuable as an agent in acquiring the English language. For himself he did all he could to keep it in a prominent place in the educational system. They had

all, however, to admit that however much they might feel it a matter of keen interest to themselves to preserve the Gaelic language, the acquisition of a facility in the use of English should not be underestimated at present in the social development of the Highland people. Now that the Crofters' Act had made crofters on the West Coast real proprietors, and that really no evictions on a large scale could take place, he thought they need not grudge to education the effect it would ultimately have of producing a natural migration, at least among those who became restless with their surroundings, and such a movement must in some parts of the Highlands inevitably take place. It was of the highest importance that education should receive cordial encouragement from any Government which may be in office, for the sake of the wellbeing of the people of the west, and he thought he could give the assurance that was done at present, so far as the regulations of the Education Department was concerned.

The Provost next proposed The Agricultural and Commercial Interests of the Highlands, a toast which was received with applause. When one looked back for the last two centuries, he could not but be struck with the extraordinary phases which the agriculture of the country had passed through. They found that 1693 to 1700 were years of great dearth, as were 1740-1788, and, yet, so conservative were the times, in 1695 two vessels bringing grain from Ireland were, by order of the Council, "stanned," and the ships given over to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchencroft, who had seized them. Later on, people knew better, and now they could always ward off actual starvation by the facility with which foreign grain could be poured in. This was, so far, satisfactory; and it was also satisfactory to know that if prices did not run so high as of old, starvation and starvation prices were things of the past. No doubt, they did not get all they would like, but he confessed he should like to give inducements to agriculturists to invest capital in land increased, and a greater desire amongst our agricultural labourers to remain in the country. The tendency of the population to town life was not, in his opinion, a healthy sign, either morally or physically. No doubt, the life of an agriculturist was one of long and hard labour, and, to a young energetic man, did not offer the chance of rising to opulence; yet there were many compensations as against town life—especially when the country man failed in the great struggle. If many of the rural population knew the risks of such a failure, and the consequences of sinking to the bottom of the ladder, he would hesitate ere he left his native glen and fields. He hoped legislation might so

increase the comforts and attractions of country life, that there would be an exodus from the towns, and that, with the improvement of agricultural prospects, commercial interests would improve. With regard to commercial matters, it must be acknowledged that such prospects were fairly bright.

Mr Jas. Gossip responded for the first part of the toast, taking the place of Major Jackson, who was storm-stayed, and ex-Bailie Macbean replied for the commercial aspect of the toast in a few sentences.

Mr Wm. Mackay, in proposing the next toast, "Kindred Societies," said it might not be out of place for him to look back on the period of almost twenty-one years which had passed since this society was established. Twenty-one years was, for a literary society, a very good old age, and of the kindred societies which were in existence in 1871, very few now survived. In Inverness there were then two healthy societies—the Noetic and the Literary Institute—not to speak of smaller associations. Of them all, not one now existed. The Field Club was the junior of this society by several years. It had given two excellent volumes to the public, and long might it flourish. Long also might the youthful Inverness Parliamentary and Literary Society live to enlighten the public on political questions which were beyond the scope of the Gaelic Society. If they looked beyond the bounds of their own good town, perhaps the only survivor of the societies which in 1871 took an interest in Highland lore and literature was the Gaelic Society of London, which was as vigorous now as it was in the early years of this century. One result of the impetus given to the study of Gaelic literature, and the gathering of Highland legends and folk-lore principally, he might say, by their own Society, was that similar societies sprang up in the large towns of the south, and in America and the Colonies. Some of these had but a short career, but others were still in life and doing good work. They had not been able, as the Gaelic Society had, to publish sixteen or seventeen volumes of transactions; but one of them—the Gaelic Society of Glasgow—last year published one very interesting book, and all had done well in spreading the knowledge of Celtic literature and Highland lore. As one of the most vigorous of these he might be allowed to mention the Highland Association of Illinois, which held its meetings in Chicago, and which was founded about eighteen years ago by a brother of his own, who was now no more.

Mr Geo. J. Campbell, solicitor, with whose name the toast was

coupled as a representative of the Field Club, referred to the published transactions of that Society, remarking that the first volume was now worth £2, while the second volume was valued at not less than 15s.

Ex-Bailie Mackenzie proposed, in appropriate terms, the toast of non-resident members, which was duly honoured.

Mr Alex. Mackenzie, *Scottish Highlander*, gave the toast of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Inverness. The toast was pledged with Highland honours.

Provost Ross responded, remarking on Mr Mackenzie's services as a good Town Councillor.

Mr Duncan Campbell, editor of the *Chronicle*, proposed the toast of the clergy of all denominations, and expressed regret that there was not a member of the cloth present to respond. Mr Alex. Macbain gave the press; and the Provost proposed the health of the Secretary, Mr D. Mackintosh, to whose labours, he said, the great success of the evening was entirely due. He hoped Mr Mackintosh would long continue to act in the capacity of Secretary to the Society. Mr Mackintosh returned thanks for the enthusiastic manner in which they received the toast of his health, and said that no doubt the working of the Society required a good deal of close attention, but that without the assistance of an active and willing Council he would not be able to overtake the work. Mr Steele, banker, proposed the health of the Chairman, and Mr H. V. Maccallum the Croupiers, each of whom responded. Mr Alex. Mackenzie proposed the health of Mr and Mrs Campbell, their host and hostess. During the evening songs were contributed by Mr Leslie Fraser; Mr D. Miller; Mr Hugh Fraser; Mr Whitehead; and others. After "Auld Lang Syne" had been sung by the company, a number of the more enthusiastic of the party indulged in a Highland Reel to the stirring strains of the Society's piper, Pipe Major Ronald Mackenzie.

18th JANUARY, 1892.

This evening was devoted to the nomination of office-bearers for 1892.

26th JANUARY, 1892.

At this meeting the office-bearers for the year were duly elected. The following gentleman were elected members of the Society, viz :—Honorary member—Mr J. M. Smith of Woodlands, Inverness. Ordinary members—Mr Hector Sutherland, town-clerk, Wick ; Mr Alex. Macpherson, of Macpherson Bros., Inglis Street, Inverness ; and Mr A. Macbean, of Messrs Ferguson & Macbean, jewellers, Union Street, Inverness.

The Secretary intimated the following donations towards the funds of the Society, viz :—J. D. Fletcher of Rosehaugh, £25 ; Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie, Bart. of Gairloch, £5 ; and was instructed to convey to these gentlemen the sincere thanks of the Society for their handsome contributions.

3rd FEBRUARY, 1892.

The following gentlemen were elected members at this meeting, viz :—Mr Robert Urquhart, jun., solicitor, Forres ; Mr John Sutherland, rector, Andersonian Institution, Forres ; Mr Hector Mackinnon, accountant, British Linen Co. Bank, Inverness ; and Mr David Clarke, reporter, Charles Street, Inverness.

Thereafter, Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., read a paper contributed by Mr A. Polson, Dunbeath, entitled "Some Highland Fishermen's Fancies." Mr Polson's paper was as follows :—

SOME HIGHLAND FISHERMEN'S FANCIES.

Fishermen of all ages and of all places are said to have been superstitious, and, when the nature of their calling is considered, it is no wonder that they should be so.

In most people there is a superstitious vein, and the means by which people seek to pry into the unknown and unknowable future, to ward off danger and misfortune, and to ensure safety and success, are very varied and intensely interesting to those who themselves neither use these methods nor entertain these beliefs. It is no wonder that Highland fishermen should have strong and peculiar notions as to how luck is ensured, when they sometimes find that boats within a stone's throw of them on either side have in the morning large hauls of fish, while they themselves are blank ; and that this happens day after day, when to all human appearances there is no difference in the circumstances.

Though the origin of most of these superstitions is lost, a few can still be traced. One of their most peculiar fancies is, that it is unlucky to meet a minister on their way to sea ; and if they see one, they take some trouble to get out of his way. They also have the strongest aversion to take ministers aboard or to give them a passage from one port to the other. On inquiry, it has been found that some Caithness sailors of long ago, took a number of ministers to Leith to attend a General Assembly, and that the passage was exceedingly stormy. But when Leith was reached, and as soon as the ministers were landed, the wind ceased. The sailors, from this circumstance, formed the belief that the prince of the power of the air thought that while they were on the waters he might, by exercising his power, get these men, who were the enemies of his kingdom, out of the way. Similarly, a fisherman who gets a minister's blessing on going to sea will have the prince of the power of the air as his enemy, and it is therefore questionable if ever he may come ashore again.

It must not, however, be concluded from this that northern fishermen are irreligious, for they certainly are not, and a great number of them "trust in God and do the right ;" and after having shot their nets at night, many crews have worship, and the plaintive Gaelic singing borne over the waves is peculiarly effective.

In common with nearly all seafaring men, Highland fishermen believe that whistling will be followed by wind. This, it is believed, must have arisen from the knowledge that like gives rise to like ; just as when one imitates the cry of a bird the mate will respond. There is, however, no accounting for the notion that striking a knife in the mast is quite as effective as whistling, and can be resorted to by the sailors without the knowledge of the skipper when they want to have a few extra days ashore. There is another strange way of raising the wind, believed in chiefly by the inhabitants of the Western Islands, and which Caithness fishermen do not like, as it affects their catch of herring. It seems that when the men leave the Lewis for the Caithness fishing in July, some of the women left at home put a number of knots on a woollen thread. Towards the end of the fishing or earlier, if they are not successful, they undo these knots one by one, with the result that the wind begins to rise, and the boats not being able to get to sea, the "hired hands" are sent home. They take great care not to undo the knots at too great a rate, lest the wind should arise too suddenly, for the loss of the loved ones might in this way be brought about if they happened to be

at sea when the last knot was being undone. A shorter way for these women to make the weather stormy is to draw the cat through the fire; and, though how it came to be supposed that pussy's sufferings have an influence on the weather would be interesting, it is not ascertainable. At home, the fishermen's wives must be careful not to blow any meal off oatcake they may be baking, if they wish to avoid a hurricane which would similarly blow their husbands' boats off the sea; and if they happen to let these cakes burn even with the meal on them their husbands can expect little luck. These two strange beliefs ought to make the wives attentive to their cooking and careful of waste; as ought also the belief that to throw any part of a fish—even a bone—into the fire, will cause fish to be scarce. To count the boats as they go to sea, is also, in some Sutherlandshire folks' estimation, a wicked thing, as the consequence is likely to be the loss of one of them.

It is, however, for the purpose of ensuring luck that the grosser superstitions are practised. Luck has always been regarded by most people as an exceedingly fickle thing; but in fishing, because of the inequality of results, and the apparently blind hand by which the harvest of the sea is given, most fishermen do rather strange things to ensure that abundance shall fall to their share. To this day they, more than any other class, believe in witchcraft. The ways by which a woman can get such a character is quite simple. She needs to be somewhat old, of a masculine type, with hair enough on her face to make the bigger schoolboys envious, and it is preferable that she live alone. Let a fisherman give such a woman a "fry" or a present of herring from his boat—say forty fish—and let her, in thanking him, wish that he may come ashore with a shot of as many crans in the morning; and then let it happen that he comes ashore with a shot of about that number, the woman's character as a witch is firmly established. Such a character is found to pay, and is, of course, kept up.

A few years ago, on the Caithness coast, a fisherman gave an old woman a piece of rope for a tether. She measured it, and said "You will have a cran for every fathom of this, this very night." The prophecy was fulfilled, and further tribute was sent to Jean. She regularly, thereafter, came to the quay, and every fisherman she exhorted to give to her "royally;" and this they did, believing that their future success depended on their liberality. As a consequence, "Jean Royal," as she came to be known, flourished as one who was believed to be able to give or

withhold a good fishing, ought to. She was pompous and authoritative, and kept up her character by dressing in as "man-nish" a style as possible, wearing generally a man's jacket and a plaid of shepherd's tartan. When herring were plentiful she received large quantities, which she passed on to the curer, and so turned into money. This, together with the money she received for "consultations," kept her in comparative comfort, until she was no longer able to walk to the quay, and nobody is now known who can openly take her place; and, let it be added that there are few fishermen of the present time who would accredit any who pretended to such powers. What superstition there still remains is not openly professed, and if there be any rites practised they are done in secret for fear of the youthful scoffers, who have been educated at some of our schools. It is because they are afraid of being held up to ridicule by the modern scoffers, and, perhaps, because the efficacy of their methods may be impaired by the telling of them, that it is almost useless to seek any information regarding them from fishermen themselves. The only person who would give the writer any information was an old fisherman who had abandoned his former occupation, and was, therefore, independent of their powers. He candidly stated his own belief in witchcraft, giving, as his reasons, certain dealings which he had with a reputed witch. He had been unsuccessful for a long time, and, therefore, went to consult a lady who practised the diabolical art. She frankly told him that she had sold his luck to an acquaintance, and that this was done beyond recall for that season. She, however, expressed her willingness to arrange with him for next season if he promised secrecy, as without that nothing could be done. This he promised, and she then gave him a sixpence which resembled all other sixpences except that it had the letters "G. L." printed on it. When asked if these letters stood for "Good Luck," she said it was not his business to ask any questions. He was told that he was, at the opening of next season, to get this coin spliced in the rope which ties the fleet of nets to the boat. This he did, and began to make a splendid fishing. Although he knew that the first Monday of the quarter was a critical time, he neglected to watch his boat, and when he looked he found that the sixpence was gone. He scarcely expected to fish much after that; "and," added he, "as sure as death a fortnight passed before another scale was seen in the boat."

Fishermen tell a story of a youth who called on a witch more for the fun of the thing than because he believed in her powers. After receiving some silver she asked him how much herring he

would like. He replied, "More than you can give me." She asked again, and he replied, "as much as you can give." This answer he repeated. Next night the young man went to sea. Before the following morning his nets were so filled with herring that they sank, and he was unable to recover a single loop of them.

But without resorting to witches, there are several other means by which fishermen and their relatives try to induce fickle luck to step their way. A small silver coin fixed somewhere among the nets, or a small piece of silver hidden in the boat on the first day of the year is very useful. It seems strange that fishermen should regard it as lucky that mice should nibble at their nets when they are stored away during the winter. Some, indeed, so strongly believe this that they put oats among them to induce the mice, although the result of their nibbling entails their working several weeks to repair the damage. It is also considered lucky to throw a broom or an old shoe after a fisherman on his way to sea; and in strange contradiction of a widely accepted superstition it is very lucky to have salt thrown after him.

As in other businesses, the first person met by him on his way to sea is a lucky or an unlucky person. If lucky, he deserves, and gets, something handsome out of the catch. If unlucky, the fishermen evidently entertains him a grudge thereafter. It is matter for regret that among a few it is believed to be particularly lucky to go to sea very drunk on a certain day during the fishing—the drunken crew believing that the bigger the spree the bigger the catch.

But just as there are a great number of things which fishermen do to secure them luck, there are nearly as many things which he must be careful not to do if he would retain that luck.

He must not start for the first time with a new boat on a Friday. When at sea he must be careful, if he belongs to the Banffshire coast, not to speak of salmon. If he does, he can retain his luck only by shouting "cold iron" at once. Caithness fishermen, who attribute no superstitious importance to this fish, delight to tease Banffshire men, by shouting to them some such expression, "There's a salmon in your pump."

It is commonly believed to be all that a boat's luck is worth to give anything away out of a boat at sea. Suppose a crew runs short of water they will get a drink from another crew quite readily, but not a drop to carry away, let water be ever so plentiful with the givers. If a fisherman suspects that his fishing goes to some one else, and when none of his devices bring him back his

luck, and when casting his nets from either side of his boat is of no avail, he is quite sure of this; he then takes a mouthful of water from a running stream under a bridge, "where the living and dead pass" (the latter on their way to burial) and sprinkles it over his nets. If this should happen to bring back his luck he must be particularly careful not to give it away by lending anything out of the boats or even by giving a "fry" out of his earlier catches. He must also be particular not to speak of any four-footed animal, particularly a hare, while at sea. If he does, he must touch some cold iron, which is by preference the horse shoe, which is sometimes nailed inside the stern of the boat, and which would nearly always be there if it were not for youthful scoffers, and but for the fact that a small piece of mountain ash nailed in the same place is equally efficacious in keeping off the adverse witches. And who can doubt this?

10th FEBRUARY, 1892.

The paper for this evening was contributed by Mr Hector M'Lean, Islay, entitled, "The Iberians." Mr Murdo Macleod, 37 Chambers Street, Edinburgh, and Mr Aeneas Mackay, bookseller, Stirling, were elected Members of the Society. Mr M'Lean's paper was as follows:—

THE IBERIANS.

It would appear that in the early neolithic age the Auvergnat race was pressed back in Southern Belgium by a more powerful northern people, who, we may conjecture, were the ancestors of the Belgic Gauls. But while the Auvergnat race were in retreat on their northern frontier, they were themselves encroaching on the territory of the feeble Iberian people of the south. The artificial sepulchral grottoes of the Marne, excavated in the soft chalk of this region, form the transition between the natural caves used for sepulture on the Lesse, and the later dolmens of central France. In these grottoes we find evidence that the brachycephalic people of Lesse lived in peaceable association with the dolichocephalic Iberian race. They contain skulls with cephalic indices from 71·65, which agrees with that of the Iberians, up to 85·71, which is that of the Furfooz people. Three hundred miles further south is the department of the Lozère, now

inhabited by the brachycephalic Auvergnat race. The Caverne de l'Homme Mort and other early sepulchral caves of this district, contain only dolichocephalic skulls of the Iberian type. But in the dolmens, which are of later date, M. Prunière has found numerous skulls of a pronounced brachycephalic type, mingled with a few decidedly dolichocephalic, and others of a mixed type. Hence, we conclude, that the cavemen were invaded by the dolmen builders. That the invaders met with resistance is proved by the fact that in some of the cave interments arrowheads of types, believed to have been used only by the dolmen builders, are found embedded in the bones. Hence, De Quatrefages concludes that early in the neolithic age the dolichocephalic autochthones of this region were attacked by an intrusive brachycephalic race in a higher state of civilisation; that the two races ultimately amalgamated, and that, finally, the dolichocephalic race was either absorbed, or retired to the south-west, where, in the district between the Lozère and the Aveyron, there are dolmens containing only dolichocephalic skulls. It is believed that the Spanish Basques represent the earlier race, the Auvergnats the invaders, and the French Basques the mixed race. The chief importance of these researches consists, as we shall hereafter see, in their bearing on the moot question of the linguistic affinities of the Basque speech. The Auvergnats are separated from the Savoyards, who belong to the same type, by the valley of the Rhone, which is inhabited by a later intrusive race of much higher stature. We are informed by Zosimus that there were Celts in Rhaetia. Here, consequently, if Broca's theory as to the Celts is correct, we ought to find traces of the Auvergnat type. In the pre-historic graves of Eastern Switzerland, the ancient Rhaetia, we find brachycephalic skulls, which constitute what is called the Disentis type by the authors of the *Crania Helvetica* (His and Rutimeyer). The mean cephalic index is 86·5, higher than that of any existing race. The nearest approach to it is 86, which Broca gives as the mean index of the modern Ligurians, and 85, which is that of the Lapps. A skull of the Disentis type was found in the neolithic stratum of the cone of the Tinière, to which an antiquity of from 6000 to 7000 years has been assigned by M. Morlot. The Helvetic and Rhaetian skulls, though brachycephalic, are very different. The first of these agree with those of the round barrow people of Britain, the second with those of the Ligurians, and to some extent with those of the Lapps. The mean index of 95 skulls from British round barrows is 81, that from the lake dwellings of seven skulls is 80·3. The index

of the Disentis type varies from 81·8 to 97·5, the mean being 86·5. The index of the modern Lapp is 84 or 85, and it seems formerly to have been even higher, skulls from an ancient Lapp cemetery giving an index of 90·28. The mean cranial capacity of the round barrow people was 98 cubic inches, of the Helvettii 97, of the Rhaetians 83. The Rhaetians are like the Lapps orthognathous, while the round barrow people were prognathous. But as stature, prognathism, and the colour of the hair and eyes are more variable characteristics than the shape of the skull and of the orbits of the eyes, it is possible that the two brachycephalic types, the Celts of ethnology and the Celts of philology, may be remote branches of the same race which, with Dr Thurnam, we may call "Turanian." The short dark Ligurian race appear in Europe at a much earlier period than the tall, fair, Celto-Slavic people. The Hellenes, when they invaded Greece, were undoubtedly more civilised than the non-Aryan aborigines, when they invaded Greece; and the Umbrians were more civilised than the savage Ligurians and the cannibal Iberians whom they found in Italy. The round barrow Aryans of Britain were superior in culture to the feebler longbarrow race which they subjugated and supplanted.

The Iberians, a short, dolichocephalic race, represented in the barrows of Britain and the sepulchral caves of France and Spain. The stature averaged 5 feet 4 inches, and the cephalic index 81 to 74. They were orthognathous and swarthy. They are now represented by some of the Welsh and Irish, by the Corsicans, and by the Spanish Basques. Their affinities are African. The Ligurians, a short Alpine brachycephalic race, represented in some Belgian caves, and in the dolmens of Central France. They were black-haired, mostly orthognathous, with an index of 84, and with a stature of 5 feet 3 inches. They are now represented by the Auvergnats, the Savoyards, and the Swiss. Their affinities are Lapp or Finnic.

Broca showed that the Spanish Basques, who are the true representatives of the Basque race, are dolichocephalic, and are not as Retzius had supposed, from an examination skulls of some French Basques, brachycephalic. De Quatrefages and Hamy then proved that the supposed Aryan invaders were in fact the earliest inhabitants of Europe, and actually possessed a lower culture than the "savage descendants of Tur." The order in which the skulls are superimposed at Grenelle proves that both the dolichocephalic races preceded the two brachycephalic races. The most ancient skulls are those of dolichocephalic savages of

the Canstadt and kitchen-midden type, who subsisted mainly on shell-fish, and may be regarded as the ancestors of the Scandinavian, North German, and Anglo-Saxon race. Next in order of time we find the Iberian race of savages, who subsisted on the chase, and practised cannibalism and human sacrifice, and whose descendants are found in Corsica, Spain, and Northern Africa. These Iberians were pressed back by the brachycephalic Ligurian race, who arrived in the reindeer period, and are possibly of Lapp affinities. The brachycephalic Ligurian race drove the dolichocephalic Iberians to the south and west, and the brachycephalic "Celtic" race drove the dolichocephalic Scandinavians to the north. The result is that Central Europe is brachycephalic, while the north and the south are dolichocephalic. The singular Basque or Euskarian language, spoken on both slopes of the Pyrenees, forms a sort of linguistic island in the great Aryan ocean. It must represent the speech of one of the neolithic races, either that of the dolichocephalic Iberians, or that of the brachycephalic people whom we call Auvergnats or Ligurians. Anthropology throws some light on this question; it is now known that the Basques are not all of one type, as was supposed by Retzius and the early anthropologists, who were only acquainted with the skulls of the French Basques. Broca has now shewn that the Spanish Basques are largely dolichocephalic. The mean index of the people of Zarous in Guipuzcoa is 77·62; of the French Basques a considerable proportion (37 per cent.) are brachycephalic, with indices from 80 to 83. The mean index obtained from the measurement of 57 skulls of French Basques from an old graveyard at St Jean de l'Luz is 80·25. The skull shape of the French is therefore intermediate between that of the Auvergnats on the north and that of the Spanish Basques on the south. It is plain that the Basques can no longer be considered as an unmixed race, and we conclude that the blood of the dolichocephalic or Spanish Basques is mainly that of the dolichocephalic Iberians or Spanish Basques, with some admixture of Ligurian blood, while the brachycephalic or French Basques are to a great extent the descendants of the brachycephalic Auvergnats.

We have seen that the south of France was in the early neolithic age occupied exclusively by the dolichocephalic race. It has been shown that the sepulchral caves and dolmens of the Lozère supply evidence that early in the neolithic period their territory was invaded by the brachycephalic race, which drove them towards the Pyrenees, where the two races intermingled.

One race must clearly have acquired the language of the other. The probability is that the invaders, who were the more powerful and more civilised people, imposed their language on the conquered race, in which case the Basque would represent the language of the Ligurians rather than that of the Iberians. All the available evidence is in favour of this solution. The highest authority, Van Eys, considers it is impossible to explain the ancient Iberian by means of Basque. Vinson comes to the same conclusion. He holds that the legends on the Iberian coins are inexplicable from the Basque language, and he considers that they point to the existence in Spain of a race which spoke a wholly different tongue. This tongue probably belonged to the Hamitic family. We possess some 200 ancient Numidian inscriptions which exhibit very old forms of the Berber tongue, now spoken by the Towarag and Tamaskek tribes and the Kabyles. These inscriptions suffice to prove that the Numidian belonged to the Hamitic family of speech, and that it is distantly allied to the Nubian and old Egyptian. With this Berber or Hamitic family of speech the Basque has no recognisable affinity. Many philologists of repute have come to the conclusion that Basque must ultimately be classed with the Finnic group of languages. Professor Sayce, for instance, considers that "Basque is probably to be added" to the Ural-Altai family. He says—"With this family I believe that Basque must also be grouped. Prince Lucien Bonaparte, Charney, and others have shown that this interesting language closely agrees with Ugric in grammar, structure, numerals, and pronouns. Indeed, the more I examine the question the nearer does the relationship appear to be, more especially when the newly-revealed Accadian language of ancient Babylonia, by far the oldest specimen of the Turanian family that we possess, is brought into use for the purposes of comparison. In spite of the wide interval in time, space, and social relations, we may still detect several words which are common to Accadian and Basque."

These philological conclusions are in accord with the anthropological evidence, the skulls of the pure Iberian race, such as are those which are found in the long barrows of Britain or the Caverne de l' Homme Mort are of the same type as those of the Berbers, and the Guanches, and bear a considerable resemblance to the skulls of the ancient Egyptians; and the Spanish Basques come next to them. The men of the Caverne de l' Homme Mort clearly belong to the same racial group. They are decidedly more orthognathous than the Guanches. All these races agree in cranial capacity. The mean for male skulls is for the Corsicans

1552 cubic centimetres; for the Gaunches, 1557; and for the Spanish Basques, 1574. In the Caverne de l'Homme Mort it rises to 1606.

To discuss in detail the skulls in the neighbouring sepulchral caves of this region would be rather tedious. The most distinguished of the French anthropologists—Broca, Mortillet, and De Quatrefages—think that the people of the Caverne de l'Homme Mort were the survivors of an earlier race which dwelt in the same district during the reindeer period. The remains of this people have been found in caves at La Madeleine, Laugerie Haute, Aurignac, Laugerie Basse, and Cro-Magnon. This earlier people were tall, strongly built, and prognathous. Notwithstanding these variations, the usual osteological characters are identical, the cephalic index is the same, the mean index at Cro-Magnon is 73·34, and in the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, 73·22. Broca, besides, maintains “that of all the skulls with which he is acquainted, the nearest approach to the unique and exceptional skull of the old man interred in the Cro-Magnon cavern is to be found in two Gaunche skulls in the Museum at Paris.” The forms of the bones of the leg and the arm display certain characteristic peculiarities in the Cro-Magnon skeletons, which are to be observed, in an attenuated form, in several of the skeletons in the Caverne de l'Homme Mort, as in some of the Welsh caves, particularly in the Cefn Cave, near St Asaph, and the Perthi-Chwareu Cave in Denbighshire, where interments occur which may be ascribed to remote ancestors of the people of the long barrows.

It would appear that the Iberian race had extended over the entire Spanish Peninsula as well as the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. Two skeletons were discovered in the Genista Cave at Gibraltar orthognathous and with dolichocephalic skulls, and, according to Busk, they bear resemblance to those found in the Perthi-Chwareu Cave in Denbighshire, and those of the Spanish Basques. One of the Genista skulls had a cephalic index of 74·8, an altitudinal index of 71·4, and one of the Denbighshire skulls had a cephalic index of 75, and an altitudinal index of 71. Such an agreement could scarcely be more exact. An interesting survival of the customs of those French and Spanish troglodytes is found in the Canaries. The Gaunches of Teneriffe may be considered as a remote branch of the Berber race, who have preserved in great purity the primitive type and mode of life. The Canaries were uninhabited in the time of Pliny. The natives were still in the stone age, and used caves both for habitation and sepulture

when occupied by the Spaniards at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Mummied bodies from the Teneriffe caves are in most of the museums of Europe. The mean cephalic index of these mummies is 75·5 ; in the Genista Cave at Gibraltar it is 75·5 ; it is 76·5 in the Denbighshire caves, and 73·22 in the Caverne de l'Homme Mort. 74·63 is the mean index of the Berbers ; 75·35 that of the Corsicans, 76 that of the Spanish Basques, and 75·58 that of the ancient Egyptians.

Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and Southern Italy were inhabited by the same race. Dolichocephalous skulls of the long barrow type have been found in pre-historic caves of Italy and Sicily. We are informed by Seneca that Corsica was peopled by Ligurians and Iberians. Pausanius tells us that the Sardinians were Libyans. We are informed by Thucydides that the oldest inhabitants of Sicily were Iberians. A passage of Ephorus, preserved by Strabo, tells us the same. Modern craniological measurements confirm these statements. It is ascertained that the dolichocephalous type prevails in Southern Italy, while Northern Italy is exceedingly brachycephalous. Dark complexion, dark hair, and dark eyes likely characterised the Iberian race. Their supposed descendants, the Welshmen of Denbighshire, the Irish of Donegal and Kerry ; the Corsicans, the Spanish Basques, and the Berbers are swarthy. Dr Beddoe tells us that the "index of nigrescence increases from the east of Ireland to the west." The Kabyles, on the other hand, are of lighter tint, and blue eyes are not rare among them, and some of the Guanche mummies would seem to have been fair-haired. The Tuarik of the Sahara are fair-haired and blue eyed. But, as an anthropological characteristic, the colour of the hair and eyes is of less value than the shape of the skull and of the orbits of the eyes.

The Cro-Magnon people were entirely hunters and fishers ; they were without any domestic animals or cereals. They had acquaintance with fire ; and were clothed in skins, which they stitched together with bone needles. Collars and bracelets of shells, strung together, were worn by them. They painted or tattooed themselves with metallic oxides. They were not without religious notions, for they believed in a future life ; the care bestowed by them on the interments, and the objects which they deposited with the deceased, prove that they thought the spirits of the dead had wants beyond the tomb, and that they were able to make use of ornaments and weapons. From parts of Europe distantly situated, where the remains of the Iberian race are

found, there is evidence that they were, at times, addicted to cannibalism. Human bones, which have been broken in order to extract the marrow, supply such evidence. From a cave in the Island of Palmaria, in the Gulf of Spezzia, from Keiss, in Caithness, and from the Cèsareda Caves, in the valley of the Tagus, the best authenticated cases come. The eminent French anthropologists, Broca and De Quatrefages, contend that the Cro-Magnon people exhibit a remote ancestral type of the Iberian race. Were this the case, the question of the ultimate origin of the Iberians would be greatly simplified. Broca supposes that their likeness to the Berbers shows that they have emigrated into Europe from Africa, at the same time, that the resemblance of the Guanche and Berber skulls to those of the ancient Egyptians allies them to the great Hamitic stock, and the Cro-Magnon skeletons constitute a link between the Berbers and the Negroes.

The Ligurians, a short brachycephalic Alpine people, represented in some Belgian caves and in the dolmens of Central France. They were black haired, mostly orthognathous, with a cephalic index of 84, and a stature of five feet three inches. They are now represented by the Auvergnats, the Savoyards, and the Swiss. Their affinities are Lapp or Finnic.

In the neolithic age, the Iberian race of savages subsisted on the chase, practised cannibalism and human sacrifice. Their descendants are found in Corsica, Spain, and Northern Africa. These Iberians were pressed back by the brachycephalous Ligurian race, who arrived in the period of the reindeer and are possibly of Lapp affinities. The brachycephalous Ligurian race drove the dolichocephalous Iberians to the south and west, and the brachycephalous "Celtic" race drove the dolichocephalous Scandinavians to the north. The consequence is that Central Europe is brachycephalous, while the north and the south are dolichocephalous. A sort of linguistic island is formed in the great Aryan ocean by the singular Basque or Euskarian language on both slopes of the Pyrenees. Necessarily, it represents the speech of one of the neolithic races, either that of the dolichocephalous Iberians or that of the brachycephalous people, whom we designate Auvergnats or Ligurians.

There is some light thrown on this question by anthropology. It is well known now that the Basques are not all of one type, as was supposed by the early anthropologists, whose acquaintance was confined to the skulls of French Basques. Broca has shown that the Spanish Basques are very dolichocephalous. The mean index of the people of Zarous, in Guipuzcoa, is 77.62. A consider-

able proportion of the French Basques (37 per cent.) are brachycephalous, with cephalic indices from 80 to 83. From the measurements of fifty-seven skulls of French Basques, from an old graveyard at St Jean de P'Leuz, the mean cephalic index is 80.25. Therefore the skull shape of the French Basques is intermediate between that of the Auvergnats on the north, and that of the Spanish Basques on the south.

It is sufficiently clear, then, that the Basques can no longer be looked upon as an unmixed race, and it may be inferred that the blood of the dolichocephalous or Spanish Basques is chiefly that of the dolichocephalous Iberians, with some admixture of Ligurian blood; at the same time, that French Basques are to a large extent the descendants of the brachycephalous Auvergnats.

It has been observed that the South of France was occupied exclusively in the early neolithic age by the Iberian or dolichocephalous race. The sepulchral caves and dolmens of the Lozère have supplied evidence that early in the neolithic period their territory was invaded by the brachycephalous race, which drove them towards the Pyrenees, where the two races intermixed. It is clear that one race must have acquired the language of the other. It is probable that the invaders, who were the more powerful and more civilised people, imposed their language on the conquered race. In this case, the Basque would represent the language of the Ligurians rather than that of the Iberians. This solution has all the available evidence in its favour. The highest authority on this subject, Van Eys, thinks it impossible to explain the ancient Iberian by means of Basque. Vinson comes to the same conclusion. He infers that the legends on the Iberian coins are inexplicable from the Basque language; and he is of opinion that they point to the existence in Spain of a people who spoke an entirely different tongue. It is likely that this language belonged to the Hamitic family. Many eminent philologists have concluded that Basque must be classed with the Finnic group of languages. Professor Sayce thinks that "Basque is probably to be added" to the Ural-Altai family. Professor Sayce again remarks—"In spite of the wide interval of time, space, and social relations, we may still detect several words which are common to Accadian and Basque."

The Lapps are the shortest race in Europe; their average stature is 5 feet 2 inches. The Auvergnats are not only the shortest race in France, but the shortest race who now speak any Aryan language. French conscripts who measure less than 5 feet 1½ inches are exempted from serving. In the Department of the

Puy de Dôme and the two adjacent Departments, the Haute Vienne and the Corrère, which are the home of the Auvergnat race, the exemptions are from 15 to 19 per cent. In the Auvergnat Departments, the number of conscripts above 5 feet 8 inches is only 3 per cent.

It has been essayed to connect the Ligurians with the Finns rather than with the Lapps. The difficulty arises from the fact that the Finns are not of homogeneous race. The cephalic indices, the stature, the colour of the hair and eyes differ. Some of them are like the Slavs, others approach the Swedes, and some of them partake of the characteristics of the Lapps, whose tongue is an archaic form of Finnic speech. The Lapps are, nevertheless, orthognathous, and the Finns principally slightly prognathous. Broca gives 80·39 as the mean cephalic index of the Esthonian Finns, and 83·69 as that of the Finns of Finland. The Finns of Finland have a mean stature of 5 feet 3 inches.

There is not so much difficulty in ascertaining the neolithic ancestors of the Lugurians. The dolmens and caves of Western Europe are to be searched for a combining short stature with a high cephalic index.

At Grenelle, near Paris, have been discovered the earliest remains of any people which correspond to this description. In the alluvium and the underlying gravels here, deposited in a bend of the ancient bed of the Seine, skulls of three successive races have been found. The lowest, and therefore the oldest, beds of gravel contain dolichocephalous and platycephous skulls of the Canstadt or Scandinavian type, bearing a likeness to the Staengenaes skull. At a depth of from 3 to 12 feet from the surface, in the alluvium which overlies the gravel, are dolichocephalous skulls of the Cro-Magnon or Iberian type. At a depth of from 4 to 7 feet above these are the remains of a short brachycephalous race, entirely different from the other two; these are of mean stature of 5 feet 3½ inches, and have a mean cephalic index of 83·6, measurements which agree very nearly with those of the Auvergnats.

Further to the north certain limestone caves near Furfooz, in the valley of the Lesse, a little stream which joins the Meux near Dinant in Belgium, have yielded remains of one or possibly of two short brachycephalous races. A cave named the Trou-Rosette was inhabited by a race with the high cephalic index of 86·1. In a cave in the vicinity, designated the Trou de Frontal, skulls were found with indices varying between 70·8 to 81·4. The mean index is 80·35. The mean index of five Esthonian skulls at Paris

was 80·35. Both the Furfooz races had short stature. 5 feet 4 inches was the height of the tallest skeleton, and 4 feet 11 inches of the shortest. 5 feet 2 inches was the mean stature of one race, that of the other was slightly over 5 feet. There is a likeness between the Trou-Rosette skulls and those of the Lapps; the Trou de Frontal type is more prognathous and nearer to the Finns, and may still be recognised among the inhabitants of the valley of the Lesse, and among the peasants who frequent the markets of Antwerp.

The Furfooz races have left many traces of their industries in the caves which they inhabited, and wherein they also buried their dead. They appear to have been a peaceful people, and possessed no bows or arrows or weapons for combat, but only javelins tipped with flint or reindeer horn, wherewith they killed wild horses, reindeer, wild oxen, boars, goats, chamois, and ibex, as well as squirrels, lemmings, and birds, particularly the ptarmigan. Some of these animals prove that the climate was sub-arctic. They were clad in skins sewn together with bone needles. They tattooed or painted themselves with red oxide of iron, and as ornaments wore shells, plaques of ivory and jet, and bits of fluor spar. But that which is most remarkable, is that the weapons were brought from distant regions far to the south and south-west, which are now inhabited by a short brachycephalous race like themselves, while they appear to have been unable to avail themselves of the natural resources of the neighbouring districts to the north and to the north-east, where the ethnic type is different. The flints for their implements were not got from the chalk formation of Hainault, a few miles to the north, but from Touraine, more than 250 miles distant in a direct line. The jet was brought from Lorraine, and the shells from Grignon. Clearly, these people of the valley of the Lesse, about fifteen miles from Namur, could range upwards of 300 miles to the south-west, but not more than twenty-five miles to the north, or they would have obtained their shells from Liège in place of from the Loire, and their flints from Hainault instead of from Champagne. An ancient ethnic frontier is recognised, therefore, here. The people of the Lesse could not pass the line of the Sambre and the Meuse, as a hostile and more powerful race held the hills of Hainault.

It is also shewn by the fact that, not far from Mons, forty miles north-west of the Lesse, flint instruments have been discovered deposited, differing in type, as in material, from those found in the valley of the Lesse. There is an agreement of the latter with those of the Dordogne, in Central France, while the implements

from Mons resemble those found in the valley of the Somme and other parts of Belgic Gaul. These distinctions disappear at a later time; the weapons are wrought from Hainault flint, and the types are the same as in the district of Hainault. This Iberian or Silurian race, the Basques in France and Spain, would appear to have come originally from Africa into Europe, and to have primarily peopled Spain, France, and the British Isles till they were conquered by other races, and in the British Isles by the Celts, who conquered and enslaved them, but intermixed with them in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. In anthropology the extent of the intermixture has not been so thoroughly investigated yet, but we may infer that swarthy dark-haired and black-eyed Irishmen and Highlanders of diminutive stature have in their composition a large element of the Iberian or Silurian race. Many of these are very bright-minded. In Joannes Scotus Erigena we have an instance of such a man. It is said that John was a great favourite of Charles the Bald, King of France. Being a little man, he was sitting at dinner between two big portly bishops. The king asked him to divide the fish between the bishops and himself, there being two big fishes and a small one. He cut the small fish into two halves, and gave one half to each bishop. He then put the two big fishes on his own plate. "Have you divided fairly?" said the king. "Yes," he said; "here are two big ones and a little one," pointing to the bishops, and then pointing to his own plate, he remarked, "here are two big ones and a little one." At p. 218 of Professor Stokes' "Ireland and the Celtic Church," he observes—"Every student of history knows that Joannes Scotus Erigena was summoned to France by Charles the Bald, where he alone was found capable of translating the Greek works of the Pseudo-Dionysius. John the Irishman was a truly erratic genius. He was brilliant, learned, heretical. He embodied in himself most of the virtues and vices of the Irish character, and to this alumnus of the monastery of Bangor can be directly traced the genesis of that atheistic philosophy which many moderns ascribe wholly to Spinoza. Through Joannes Scotus the Irish schools exercise, indeed, a direct influence over the philosophic thought of modern Europe." In a note at the bottom of the same page, Dr Stokes informs us—"He wrote several brilliant works, one touching the question of predestination, where he opposed what we should call in modern language high Calvinism, and verges towards Pelagianism, which always seems to have had an attraction for the Celtic genius; another on the Eucharist, where he taught views opposed to transubstantiation."

Here is a description of a man whom I consider to have been of the Gaelic-Iberian race. I have given a long description of the physical characteristics of a race extending from Northern Africa through Spain, France, and the British Isles to Caithness in the North of Scotland, and here end with a biographical sketch of one whom I consider to have been of the Celto-Iberian race.

17th FEBRUARY, 1892.

The paper for this evening was contributed by the Rev. John MacRury, Suizort. Mr MacRury's paper was as follows:—

STRAY NOTES ON GAELIC.

A WORD OF WARNING.

In writing this paper I have no desire whatever to lead any one astray. But it is quite possible, even probable, that many of those into whose hands these notes may come will think that I am very far astray myself. It is well known that a man may be very far astray without knowing it himself. I may be astray in many of the views which I take of the various points on which I touch in these notes, but I am not in the least conscious of being so. Some of these notes may be *wise*, and some may be *otherwise*, like many of the other subjects which are taken up to interest and amuse our countrymen at this time of the year.

Nor do I in the least desire to stir up the spirit of controversy and strife in any of our "irascible Celts" by what I write. Too much time and energy have been uselessly spent already by many a well-meaning and true-hearted Highlander in discussing many minor points, while the great and important duty of fostering the Gaelic has been sadly neglected. The ridiculous work of straining out gnats and swallowing camels has been going on among well-meaning and earnest students of Gaelic grammar for many a day. Let no one conclude from this remark that I look upon earnest and thorough grammatical study of the Gaelic as a matter of minor importance. Far from it. Such a profitable and interesting study should be prosecuted with greater diligence and perseverance than is usually the case. These notes are the result of a little study which I made on stray passages during spare half-hours. Crude as the notes may be, they may help to stir up

others—not to take part in any useless controversy, I hope, but—to look further into the depth of knowledge which is treasured up in our ancient, but hitherto much neglected, language. Such of the notes as may be *wise*, if they happen to contain anything new, will give some direct help to as many as are anxious to learn ; and such of the notes as may be *otherwise* will also help every wise and thoughtful student—indirectly, of course—by pointing out to him the numerous rocks and shallows on which he may easily wreck his reputation as a sound, sensible, and learned Celtic scholar. Now, to the “Notes.”

I.—ON EMPHASIS, AND THE USE OF HYPHEN.

In many ancient languages the emphatic words are known by the position which they take up in the sentence. In Gaelic the case is different. Emphasis is generally, though not always, produced either by lengthening the words, or by pronouncing them so articulately as to show them at their full length. This enables one easily to know which are the emphatic words and which are not, and is consequently a great advantage to those who are learning the Gaelic. The Personal, Possessive, Compound, and Prepositional Pronouns, and also some parts of the Verb, are invariably lengthened by the addition of an emphatic particle, which generally used to be joined to its word by a *hyphen*.

In the emphatic Personal Pronouns, the hyphen has not been much used for the last 80 years or more. It is to be met with, so far as I know, only in “e-san,” and the reason why it is used in this instance is to be found in the undue regard paid to the Irish rule, “Caol ri caol agus leathaun ri leathann.” Now, this rule, though in many respects excellent as a guide to the spelling of words in which the consonants are modified in sound by broad or small vowels, should not be universally applied. In most of the editions of the Gaelic Scriptures published since the beginning of this century, “esan” only is to be found. It has therefore become the established usage never to use the *hyphen* in connecting the emphatic particles to the Personal Pronouns.

The very opposite must be the case in connecting the emphatic particle to the Possessive Pronouns, because the emphatic particle can't come in immediately after the Pronoun. It can only come in at the end of the last word, *e.g.*, “Mho mhac-sa,” “mo chòta mór, ur-sa,” “mo chú mòr, luath, láidir, breagha, breacgeal-sa.” Evidently it is not possible, consistent with clearness, to omit the *hyphen* in the above or in similar instances.

In the Compound Pronouns there is no occasion to use the *hyphen*, as these Pronouns are made up of the Personal and the Demonstrative Pronouns. I would, however, use the *hyphen* in the following phrase, “dh’ fhoilaich i i-fhein rè chòig mìosan.” It might also be used in the phrases “mharbh e e-fhein,” “ghearr e e-fhein,” “nigh iad iad-fhein,” &c., in preference to “si i fein,” “se e féin,” &c.

In the case of the Prepositional Pronouns, and by Prepositional Pronouns I mean those words that are made up of the Proper Prepositions and the Personal Pronouns, I would not use the *hyphen* at all in connecting the emphatic particle. The too frequent use of the *hyphen* is rather puzzling to learners, and troublesome to writers and printers, and therefore it should never be used except when clearness requires its presence. But when the emphatic particles, *sa*, *se*, *san*, *ne*, are joined to the Prepositional Pronouns without a *hyphen*, it is necessary to omit some letters, either from the pronouns, or from the particles, *e.g.*, it would not do to write, “leissan,” “rissan,” as it is not admissible in Gaelic to double any letter except the letters “l,” “n,” “r.” This was the great difficulty which met the learned translators of the Scriptures when they wrote “leis-san” and “ris san.” They felt bound to use the *hyphen* in these cases in order to avoid such a great change in the language as doubling the letter “s.” But though it is the rule to double the “n” in Gaelic when occasion requires it, it is not admissible to treble the letter “n,” or any other letter. How did they get over this difficulty? Not by using the *hyphen* in connecting the emphatic particle “ne” to the Prepositional Pronoun, but by leaving out one of the three “n’s.” as “againne,” “annainne,” “oirme,” “uainne,” &c. These are much simpler and better forms of the words than what could be given by using the *hyphen*, as “againn-ne,” “annainn-ne,” &c. Why not then leave out one of two “s’s” in “leis-san,” “ris-san,” and simply write “leisan,” “risan?” In “roimhesan,” “dhaibhsan,” “aigesan,” “airsan,” “uigesan,” &c., the Irish rule is transgressed, and the words look somewhat strange at first sight; but it must be admitted that the omission of the *hyphen* is a great advantage to the learner, and to the writer and printer.

In some instances the verb is made emphatic by being lengthened, *e.g.*, the 1st and 2nd sing. and 1st and 2nd plur. of the Imperative, as “Buailamsa,” “Buailsa,” “Buailmaidne,” “Builibhse,” “Rachaibhse,” “Abraibhse,” &c. The *hyphen* need not be used in these instances.

Emphasis is also added by repeating the same word, as “Fosgail an doras sin a sin” (open that door there). “Thoir

dhomh am maide sin a sin" (give me that stick there). "Dh' inns an duine sin a sin dhomh e" (that man there told it to me). "Am fear leis am bu leis thu" (the man to whom you belonged). "Am fear leis an leis an taigh so" (the man to whom this house belongs).

The preposition "an" (in) is often lengthened into "ann an," for the sake of emphasis. It is astonishing to me to find that not one of our grammarians, while trying to account for this form of the preposition, seemed to see that "ann an" is the emphatic form, and that "an," or, "am" before a labial, is the ordinary form. Dr Stewart, in his grammar, which is the best Gaelic grammar we have, speaks of "ann an" as a lengthening, or a reduplication of "an," and seems never to have noticed that "ann an" is the emphatic form, and can only, with propriety, be used as such. Even the late Dr Cameron of Brodick, who had no equal as a Gaelic Grammarian, seems to have overlooked this important point. In his admirable article in the *Scottish Celtic Review* on "Common Mistakes" (p.p. 273-296), he makes it quite clear that "an," in, "ann an comhairle nan aingidh" (in the counsel of the wicked) is not the article, as many Gaelic scholars maintained, but the regular modern form of the ancient preposition "*in*." He even goes the length of saying that "an" is the more accurate form, as it may always be substituted for "ann an," whereas "ann an" can only be occasionally substituted for "an." He is quite correct in all that he says; for he was not writing on the proper way of emphasising the language, but on the proper way of writing it. Still, it seems strange, that he should be inclined to favour the idea of doing away with "ann an" and using only "an," for this is what can be easily inferred from his concluding remarks on the preposition "an." In recent editions of the Gaelic Scriptures, the first word in Genesis, and the first word in the Gospel of St John, is "An," instead of "Anns an," as in former editions. This has not been considered an improvement by any one, except, perhaps, the translators of said editions, and a few of their friends. People who knew nothing of the laws of Orthography and Etymology condemned the change. They naturally missed the emphatic form of the preposition; because the want of due emphasis makes the sense of a word or a passage rather vague. "Ann an" is very often to be found in Scripture, but not so often as it might be, if due regard had been paid to the matter. Whenever the Greek preposition "*en*" is translated into English by "in," it should be translated into Gaelic by "ann an," in every case in which the

phrase in which it occurs is emphatic ; *e.g.*, “ann an nèamh,” in heaven ; “ann an ifrium,” in hell ; “ann an Èirinn,” in Ireland ; “ann an Alba,” in Scotland ; “ann an dorchadas,” in darkness ; &c., &c. Let “ann an” be changed into “an” in the above, and in the hundreds of similar instances which I might easily mention, and the result would be that, in the majority of them, “an” might be taken by many learners of the Gaelic to be the article. This would lead both to confusion as regards two very different parts of speech, and also to weakness and vagueness of expression—two things that should be very carefully avoided both by writers and speakers.

“Agus” and “is” are two forms of the copulative conjunction, and should never be used indiscriminately either in speaking or in writing. Of late years it has become rather common to leave out “is,” and to use “’us” instead. This is one of the common mistakes into which well-meaning writers have fallen through thinking that “’us” is the right word to use. They were under the impression that there is only one copulative conjunction, and that in some instances “’us”—a contraction of “agus”—should be used in preference to the uncontracted form. Now, there can be no doubt as to the existence of the two words “agus” and “is.” “Agus” is the emphatic word, and “is” is used only when a pair of words must be brought into a close connection to one another. Let me try to make this point plainer. “Agus” may often begin a sentence, but “is” can never be the first word of a sentence. We may say “mise is tusa,” but it would not be correct to say “mise agus tusa,” because though not violating any grammatical rule that I know of, we would be violating the rules of good style by putting three emphatic words side by side. A comma should not be put before “is,” but as a general rule it may be put before “agus,” *e.g.*, Fhreachair e, agus thuir e mar so, “Ma bheir thu dhomhsa iad gu léir, bheir mi leam iad eadar mhath is olc.” Very many instances could be brought forward in addition to the above to prove that “agus” and “is” should be used, “agus” to do the double duty of connecting and emphasising, and “is” to connect words only.

“Biodh,” “bhios,” are not contractions of “bitheadh,” and “bhitheas,” as many are apt to think. They are original forms of the verb “Bi.” When the emphasis falls on the verb, the long forms “Bitheadh” and “Bhitheas” are used, *e.g.*, “Am biodh e tric a’ leughadh ? Bhitheadh. In the above question the emphasis is on “leughadh,” and as the answer is emphatic the long form of the word can only be used. In the following sentences the long and the

short forms of the words are given to show how and when they are used by the best speakers :—*Ma bhitheas gus nach bi thus' ann, bidh mise ann, ma bhios mi beó air air chionn an latha.* BITHEADH *no na BITHEADH an latha math, biodh iad a' falbh cho luath 's a bhios iad deiseil.* *Am fear a bhios air dheireadh beiridh a bhiast air.* *Am bi thu fhein ann? Is mi a* BHITHEAS. *An* DUBHAIRT *e gu feumadh e falbh am maireach?* THUBHAIRT. *Cò a thuir riut gu'n* DUBHAIRT *e briathran cho mi-iomchuidh sin?* THUBHAIRT *Domhull.* It is not necessary to multiply instances of this kind.

II.—ON PLACE-NAMES.

To explain the names of places is one of the most difficult subjects one can take up. A great deal of nonsense has been written and printed in connection with this subject. It seems to be a subject of unusual attraction and of more than ordinary interest to many, because it is generally supposed to be an easy one. I have no intention to go deep into the subject, because I find I cannot do so without much more knowledge than I yet possess. I cannot forget that, "Philology based upon sound is not sound philology." If I mistake not, however, I have got hold of *one* point which helps one to arrive at a safe conclusion as to the meaning of place-names. The point is this, that however much the letters of a word may be changed in obedience to the laws of language, the accent generally remains unchanged. Let me illustrate this point. There is a place in Morayshire, near the Spey, called Knockando. Though the accent is on the second syllable, all those that tried to explain its meaning to me, with one solitary exception, said it means "Cnocan-dubh," "the black hillock." This is "philology based upon sound" with a vengeance, and consequently "is not sound philology." If it meant "Cnocan-dubh," the principal accent would necessarily be on the third and last syllable. As a rule, the people of the place, or of the neighbourhood, help one to arrive at the proper meaning of a place-name, either by the way in which they pronounce it, or by being able to tell what the old name of the place was. In the case before us we are helped both by the pronunciation and by what the people of the neighbourhood tell us as regards the old name of the place. It was never called "Cnocan-dubh;" but was from time immemorial called, "Cnoc-ceannachd," which means, "market-hill." In olden times the market for the district used to be held on this hillock, hence the name.

Now, let us look a little at the old name, and at the new name, in order to trace out the transition. "K" is the only letter

which takes the place of "c" in Gaelic when an English dress is to be put on a Gaelic word. The two words are naturally joined; and as neither two "c's" nor two "k's" are admissible side by side in either language, one of them must be dropped, and the word, after undergoing such other changes as the laws of language invariably produce, assumes its present form. The changes referred to are the following:—The last "n" in "ceannachd," the second part of the word, becomes "d," "ea" before "nn" becomes "a," and retains the accent, and "a" in "achd," which is a suffix showing "ceannaichd" to be a noun derived from "ceannaich," becomes "o," and is naturally placed after "d." It may be asked how is the disappearance of "ch" to be accounted for? One explanation of it is, that there is no sound in English equivalent to "ch" in Gaelic, and in consequence "ch" had to be left out.

After all the change "Cnoc-ceannachd" has undergone before it became Knockando, the diphthong "ea," which in "ceannachd" is long by position, as it is followed by a double consonant, remains long, and consequently the emphasis is on the second syllable of Knockando. This is only one of the many instances which might be brought forward to prove the point under discussion.

There is also a tendency on the part of many, when explaining the names of places, to think that the number of syllables in a modern, or English, name of a place is a safe guide to lead them to the old name. This is far from being the case. It often happens, of course, that the number of syllables in one word corresponds with the number in another, as, for example, "Knockando" and "Cnoc-ceannaichd;" but it is not safe to build an etymological law upon any such foundation. Let us, in illustration of this point, look at the word "Ardroil"—the name of a small farm in the parish of Uig, in Lewis. This word has only two syllables. But what is the meaning of it? The farm is never called "Ardroil" by the natives when they speak Gaelic, which they, as a rule, do. They call it "Eadar dha fhaoghail," or, in rapid conversation, "Eadar-a-fhaoghail." Now, while the name of the farm in English has only two syllables, the name in Gaelic has five. Still, the point to which I was drawing attention in the case of Knockando holds true here, namely, that the accented or emphatic syllable in the Gaelic name, "Eadar-a-fhaoghail," is retained in the English name, "Ardroil." In the Gaelic name, "ao" corresponds with "oi" in the English name. One can imagine how easily some people could see the adjective "ard," "high," or the noun "aird," "height,"

in the "Ardroil." Let us try to follow the probable steps by which the change took place. "Eadar-da-fhaoghail" means "between two fords"—a very good description of the farm, which is between two large rivers, over which there was no bridge in olden times. By leaving out the silent letters "fh" and "gh," we have "Eadar-da-ao-aill." As "aa" and "oa" are not admissible combinations of letters in the Gaelic, two of the three "a's" must be struck out. This leaves the word "Eadar-da-ail." By law "d" and "r" often change places, and these changes are often followed by the transposition of vowels and other consonants, so that we have "Ardroil," as the English equivalent of "Eadar da-fhaoghail."

But the rarest piece of etymological nonsense that ever I came across is to be found in a schoolbook published by a firm of well-known publishers in Glasgow. The name of the book is "Combined Reader for Standard III." It treats of history and geography, and its special feature is the prominent place given in its pages to fanciful explanations of the names of places. The name "Benbecula" is said, in this precious little book, to mean "The island of little women!!" One can imagine the writer, who, if one can believe anything of what is written in the book, got the greater part of his information when cruising about the Highlands and Islands in a yacht, asking gravely of some one "What is the meaning of 'Ben?'" "O, 'ben' is the Gaelic name for 'a woman.'" "And what is the meaning of 'bec?'" "Beg" is the word we have for "little," the party would probably have replied. Then our learned friend, whose philology seems to have been based wholly upon sound, and not upon sense, would have concluded that he knew enough to enable him at once to say that "Benbecula" means "The island of little women." He evidently felt no scruples about throwing away half the word, namely, "ula." Fanciful theories seem to enable many to surmount difficulties which to many others are quite insurmountable. On the authority of the same writer, "Benledi" means "Beinn le Dia, "A mountain of or belonging to God." Strange that "Ben" in the one word should mean "a woman," and in the other "a hill," or "a mountain." The explanation of "Benledi" is pure nonsense.

"Benbecula" is the English form of "Beinn na faoghlach," the name always given to the island by the people of the Long Island. There are only two hills in Benbecula, and to distinguish between them, one was called "Beinn-na-faoghlach" and the other "Beinn-fhuidheidh." "Beinn-na-faoghlach" is near the ford

(faoghail) between Benbecula and North Uist, hence the name. The name, when rapidly pronounced, is "Beinn-a-bhaoghla" or "Beinn-a-faoghla." "Ch" in both cases is left out, as is now too often the case. The genius of the Gaelic language requires that every vowel should be closed by a consonant. This is easily understood when one remembers that, as a general rule, every syllable should begin with a vowel or diphthong. The exceptions to this rule are mainly to be found at the beginning of such words as begin with a consonant, and in such words as "òglach," which is a compound word. In fact this last word, being in reality two words, is not an exception at all. But to return from this digression, I must make some further remarks on "Benbecula," especially as regards the point to which I made reference in my remarks on the place names already considered, namely, the position of the main accent of both the Gaelic and the English name. Three "n's" cannot be used side by side. The disappearance of "ch" from the end of a word has been already referred to, and the only other changes which took place are, that, according to rule, "f" becomes "b," and "g" became "c." By these changes "Beinn 'a faoghla" becomes "Ben(n)abaocla." "Bena-baocla" could not be easily pronounced in English, because "ao," as a diphthong, is not used in English at all. In order to suit the English ear the word had to be written in its present form. But "ao" is a diphthong which is invariably long, and in consequence of this, the main accent of the word remains in its original position, even though the diphthong "ao" had to give place to a single vowel. The people of Benbecula were called, "Baoghlaich," which is the same as "Faoghlaich," and were without doubt called so, because they had to cross the north and south fords when they had occasion to leave their native island on any business.

As regards "Benledi," to which I made some reference already, the position of the accent seems to me to be a strong proof that its meaning is not, "Beinn le Dia." The vowel "e," in the preposition "le," is never long, and consequently can't be accented. As the accent is on "e," the middle syllable of "Benledi," it can't mean "Beinn le Dia," whatever it may mean.

II.—ON WORDS WHICH SEEM TO THROW SOME LIGHT ON CERTAIN POINTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE PAST HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

Of late years we have been told, on the highest authority, that there is no Gaelic word corresponding to the English word "rent," and this has been made use of by many who were, and possibly

still are, against paying "rent." They maintained that the paying of "rent" is one of those evils which sprung into existence at a comparatively recent date, and that, consequently, it should be abolished at the earliest possible opportunity. They tell us that "màl," the word commonly used for "rent," is a loan-word from the English, and that it is the same as "blackmail." Well, this may be quite true. But "blackmail" is a word that suggests to any one, I should think, that there was some other "mail" besides "blackmail." When the word "black" is used to qualify anything, the natural inference is that there must have been white things as well as black things. Black suggests white, the same as cold suggests heat, and evil suggests good, &c., &c. I hope no one will think for a moment that I am writing either against those who have to pay rent or in favour of those who receive rent. I am only stating my opinion, and as long as other people claim the liberty of stating *their* opinion freely, surely they will not grudge me a similar liberty.

If "màl" is a loan word from the English, "pàigh" is also a loan word. "Pàigh" is simply the English word "pay." It is the word which is now invariably used, both in written and spoken Gaelic. I am not referring to Gaelic written or printed eighty or one hundred years ago, and which may have been repeatedly printed or transcribed since. I am only saying that, for many years, "pàigh," a loan-word from the English, has been invariably used all over the Highlands. But *there is* a Gaelic word for "rent," namely, "ioc." In Macleod and Dewar's Dictionary "ioc" is the word given for "rent" or "payment." As a verb, "ioc" means "pay," "render," &c. The only place in which I find "ioc" used is in the Scriptures. In one of the Gospels we have "Ioc dhomh na bheil agam ort" ("Pay me what thou owest"). In another Gospel we have "Nach 'eil bhur maighstir-sa ag iocadh na eise?" ("Doth not your master pay tribute?") "Ioc," the Imperative Mood, is the root word. From this root we have got several words which throw light upon the point under consideration. "Ioch-daran" and "Uachdaran" are co-relative terms. "Iochdaran" is the one who pays, and "Uachdaran" is the one who receives payment. "Uachdaran is iochdaran" are the words which, to this day, are used when speaking of people *in their relations to each other as landlords and tenants*. If, however, the landlord happened to have the title of Lord, or Earl, &c., he would have been called by courtesy, "Morofhear," and not "Uachdaran." The House of Lords was called "Taigh nam Morofhearan," and the Lords of the Court of Session were called "Na Morofhearan Dearga." "Morofhear" = "Morfhear," "the big man." The title given to a nobleman very

often was "Ur-ra-mhòr." "Iochdar" and "Uachdar," "upper" and "lower," were, and still are, used in a general way. But, as may be inferred from the proverb, "Clachan beaga 'dol an iochdar 's clachan mòra 'tighinu an uachdar," "Little stones going below, and big stones coming above, "iochdar" and "uachdar" show that the idea of paying and receiving payment is not left out of sight. It shows also that in obedience to a natural law one class of people rises in the world, while another class must of necessity go down. There must be upper and lower among men in spite of all efforts to the contrary.

There are other terms which mark the distinction as regards the social position of the people, namely, "uasal" and "ìosal," "high" and "low." "Duine nasal," "gentleman," does not necessarily mean a man of a gentle and amiable nature, but a man who is in a high position through having property. This seems quite plain when the correlative term "ìosal" is taken into consideration. It seems that the possession of property was considered a necessary qualification of a "duine nasal." The proverb, "Uaisle gum chuid, agus maragan gum gheir" "Gentility without property, and puddings without tallow" plainly point out this. The meaning of the proverb is, that, as puddings could not be made without tallow, a man could not be a gentleman without possessing property. The idea that a gentleman should be rich, and very liberal about his riches, is strongly entertained by many all over the Highlands to this very day.

It is remarkable that there are no names in the Gaelic for the various meals we take. "Braiceist," "dinneir," and "suipeir" are loan-words from the English. This proves that the Highlanders of old had no stated times for taking their meals. The Gaelic word commonly used is "biadh," food. "Thig dhachaidh gu d' bhiadh," "come home to your food;" "tha 'm biadh deiseil," "the food is ready;" "tha 'n t-am am biadh a dheasachadh," "it is time to prepare the food," &c., &c., were the usual expressions. "Dìota," a word common in many places, is a loan-word, namely, "diet." The words "Dia," "God," "diabhal," "devil," "ifrin," "hell," "nèamh," "heaven," are also loan-words, namely, "Deus," "diabolus," "infernum," "nebula." "Flaitheanas" is Gaelic. From this it is clear that the Highlanders of old, though they believed in a state of future blessedness, had no idea of God, or of the devil, or of a place of future torment.

Much more of this sort of thing might be written, but if these "Notes" are *wise* they are long enough, and if they are *otherwise* (which is more than likely), they are by far too long.

24th FEBRUARY, 1892.

At this meeting Mr William Mackay, solicitor, Inverness, read a paper on "General Monck's Campaign in the Highlands in 1654." Mr Mackay's paper was as follows:—

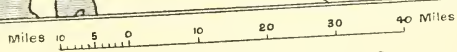
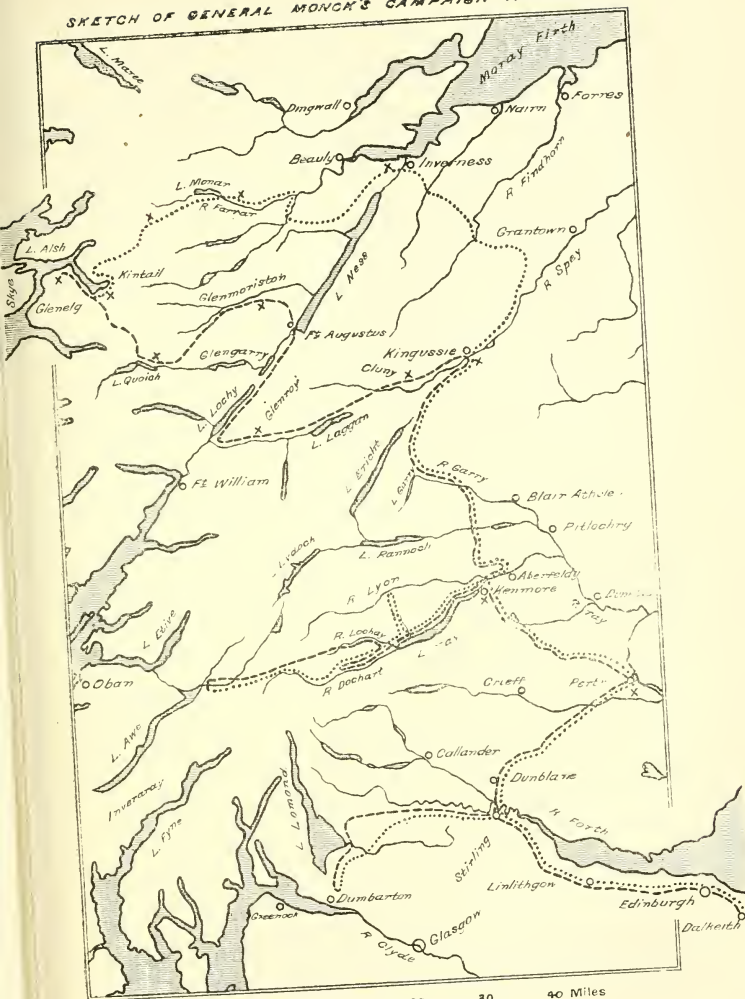
THREE UNPUBLISHED DESPACHES FROM GENERAL MONCK,

DESCRIBING HIS MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS IN 1654.

General Monck's campaign in the Highlands in 1654 has strangely escaped the notice of Scottish historians. Except by Hill Burton, who only refers to his operations in the Southern Highlands, and evidently did not know of his expedition into the counties of Inverness and Ross, it was not even alluded to until Mr Julian Corbett published his interesting life of Monck in 1889 ("English Men of Action Series"). The following despatches, which have never been published, throw a flood of light on the event, and show what a brilliant affair it was. The transcripts are taken from Monck's own copies, which are preserved in the Library of Worcester College, Oxford—and for them I am indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. the Warden of the College and the Librarian.

A few words by way of introduction to the despatches. Although the Scots surrendered Charles the First to the English Parliamentary Party, they disapproved of his execution, and brought his son, Charles the Second, home to reign in his stead. The new King's supporters were, however, defeated by the English at Dunbar, in June, 1650, and again at Worcester, in September, 1651. After Worcester, Cromwell's soldiers over-ran the greater part of Scotland, and ruled the country—establishing, among other garrisons, one at Inverness—at the Citadel, or Sconce—and another at Brahan. Certain Highland chiefs, however, including Lochiel and Glengarry, still held out for the Stewarts, and when the Earl of Glencairn raised the Royal Standard, in 1653, they hastened to join him. Glencairn wasted time in aimless marches, and before long he had to yield the chief command to the more energetic General Middleton. Lilburne, who commanded Cromwell's forces in Scotland, proved, notwithstanding the famous Colonel Morgan's assistance, unable to suppress the Royalist rising. Cromwell, therefore, resolved to put a stronger man in his

SKETCH OF GENERAL MONCK'S CAMPAIGN IN 1654



Advance marches ————
 Return marches
 Halting places mentioned ——— X

place, and in April, 1654, Monck arrived at Dalkeith, in the capacity of Governor of Scotland, and armed with the fullest powers.

He at once prepared to follow the Royalists into the Highlands. In May he moved to Stirling, from whence he advanced into the district of Aberfoyle, where, after repeated repulses, he dispersed the forces of Glencairn. He then marched northward to meet Middleton—having arranged that he should be joined by Morgan, who was stationed at Brahan, and by Colonel Brayne, who was despatched to bring 2000 men from Ireland to Inverlochy. His movements were extraordinarily rapid. He started from St Johnstone's (Perth), on Friday, 9th June, with a force of horse and foot, which included his own regiment, now the famous Coldstream Guards. I shall allow himself to tell the rest of the story; and the accompanying map, which has kindly been prepared by Mr James Fraser, C.E., will help us to follow his footsteps. The first despatch is addressed to General Lambert, from Glenmoriston, on 25th June; the second, to Cromwell, from Ruthven in Badenoch, on 7th July; and the third, to Cromwell, from Stirling, on 29th July.

I.—MONCK TO LAMBERT.

My Lord,—We are now come thus farre for the finding-out of the Enemy, and have received information that Middleton is with the greatest parte of his force, reported to bee betweene three and foure thousand, at Kintale, which is about 18 miles hence, where I intende to bee this day, and, if possible, either engage or scatter them. However, I shall with these Forces attend his motions to prevent his further leavies. Col. Brayne was with mee (with ye Marquesse of Argile) on Thursday last at the foot of Lough Loughce, 6 miles from Inner Loughce, where hee hath entrencht those forces hee brought from Ireland.

I remain yr. Lordshippe's most humble servt.,

GEORGE MONCK.

Campe at Glenmorriston, 25th June, 1654.

II.—MONCK TO CROMWELL.

May itt please your Highnesse,

Wee are now returned back thus farre after the Enemy under Middleton, who by a teadious march have harras't out their horse very much; both Highlanders and Lowlanders begin to quitt them. They are now about Dunkell, butt wee

heare they intend to march towards the Head of Lough-Lomond, wee shall doe our best to overtake them in the Reare, or putt them to a very tedious march, the which wee hope will utterlie breake them. I desire your Highnesse will be pleased to give order That care may bee taken that the Irish forces that are att Loughaber may continue there, for a yeare : I finde they are very unwilling, being they were promist (as they say) to returne within 3 or 4 Monthes, but being that providence hath ordered That that partie should come into those parts itt will bee a great deale of trouble to shippe them away, & to shippe other men to Releve them in that place ; and truly the place is of that Consequence for the keeping of a garrison there for the destroying of the stubbornest enemy wee have in the Hills, that of the Clan Cameron's and Glengaries, and the Earle of Seafort's people, that wee shall not bee able to doe our worke unlesse wee continue a Garrison there for one yeare ; For in case we should withdraw that Garrison towards the winter from thence these 3 clans doe soe over awe the rest of the clans of the Country that they would bee able to inforce them to rise, in case wee should withdraw our garrisons, and nott find them imployment att home the next Summer before there will bee any grasse for us to subsist in the Hills : In case we should putt in some of our owne forces there and return the others into Ireland wee shall not have shipping to doe both, besides the unsettling of one and setling the other will be a great inconvenience to us : This I thought fitt humbly to offer to your Highnesse, concerning which I shall humbly desire to have your Highnesse speedy Answer what you intend to doe with the Irish forces, and in case you doe intend the Irish forces shall stay there, I desire you will please to write to L. Col. Finch who commands the Irish Forces under Col. Brayne that they may stay there, for I finde they are something unwilling unless they putt your Highnesse to that trouble & therefore now the letter may be speeded to him as soone as may be if your Highnesse thinke fitt. Col. Morgan is att present about ye Bray of Marre, & Col. Twistleton neere Glasgowe with Col. Pride's Regiment.

I remain, &c.,

GEORGE MONCK.

Campe at Ruthven in Badgenoth,
7 July 1654.

III.—MONCK TO CROMWELL.

May itt please your Highnesse,

Being returned hither I thought itt my duty to resent your Highnesse with the enclosed acct. of these forces'

six weeks march in the Hills, which I humbly tender to your consideration, and remayne,

Your Highnesses most humble Servent,

GEORGE MONCK.

Sterling, 29th July, 1654.

Narrative of Proceedings in the Hills from June 9 to 29 July, 1654. [Endorsement.]

Uppon Friday the 9th of June I marched with Col. Okey's, and the Regiment of Horse late Major Generall Harrison's, and 50 of Capt. Green's troope of Dragoones, my owne, Col. Overton's, 4 companies of Sir Wm. Constable's, one of Col. Fairfax's, and one of Col. Alured's Regiment of Foote, from S. Johnston's for the Hills, and coming uppon the 12th to Lough Tay. Understanding that an Island therein was garrison'd by the Enemy I sent a summons to the Governour, Capt. Donald Robertson, who att first returned answer, That hee would keepe itt for his Majistie's service to the expence of his laste droppe of bloud, but uppon the preparation of floates for the storming of itt, he rendred the Garrison uppon articles the 14th of June, whereuppon considering that Balloch the Laird of Glenury's [Glenorchy] House, Weem's Castle, and the Isle were considerable to secure the Country, I placed a Company of Foote in Balloch, and another in Weems and the Isle. The Enemy having quitt Garth Castle, a small Castle and nott considerable, leaving 30 arms (most charged) behinde them order was given for the burning of itt. From thence I marched to Ruthven in Badgenoth, where I had notice of Middleton's being with his whole force about Glengaries Bounás, which hasten'd my March the 20th to Cluny, and from thence the next day to Glenroy, which being the first Bounds of the Clan Camerons I quarter'd att, and they being uppe in arms against us, wee began to fire all their houses. I had there notice Middleton was in Kintale.

The 23th the Marquesse of Argyll and Col. Brayne mett mee att the Head of Lough Loughe and had an account of the killing of threescore and odde of the Souldiers from Ireland that went from Innerloghee, most of them in cold bloud by the Clan Cameron's. The 24th the armi came to Glenmoriston, and in the way mett with Col. Morgan's Brigade neere Glengaries new House which was burn't by that Brigade the day before, and the remayning structure I order'd to bee defaced by the pyoneers. Col. Thomlinson's owne troope with Capt. Glynn's and Capt. Farmer's troope of Dragoones taken in to march with my partie. Col.

Morgan appointed to the Head of Loughness to attend the Enemies motion in case wee should drive them that way. The 25th the army came to Glenquough, and the next day to Glen-Sinnick¹ in Kintale (where the Enemy had bin the day before). The violent storms in the Hills drove about 500 cowes sheepe and goates for shelter into the Glen, which was brought in by the soulders. Wee had notice that Middleton's Horses were gone to Glenelg that night. The 27th the Army came to Lough-Els,² where the Enemy had also bin, and left 3 barrells of powder with some store of provisions behinde them for haste. In all our march from Glenroy wee burn't the houses and cottages of the Mac-Martin's and others in armes and in all parts of Seaforth's C'ountry.

The 29th I came to Glen-teugh³ in the Shields of Kintale; the night was very tempestuous and blew down most of the tents. In all this march wee saw only 2 women of the inhabitants, and one man. The 30th the army march't from Glenteugh to Browling,⁴ the way for neere 5 miles soe boggie that about 100 baggage horses were left behinde, and many other horses begg'd or tir'd. Never any Horse men (much lesse an armie) were observ'd to march that way. The soulders mett with 500 cattell, sheepe, and goates, which made some part of ameends for the hard march.

July 1. Col. Morgan came to mee to Browling where he had orders to march into Caithnesse, and to make itt unserviceable for the Enemies Quarters this Winter. The 3d instant att Dunneene⁵ neere Invernesse I received letters from the Governour of Blaire Castle in Atholl, that Middleton with his forces reputed about 4000 Horse and Foote came within the view of the Garrison indeavouring to make uppe their leavies, and were marching towards Dunkell. That Seafort, Glengary, Sir Arthur Forbes, Sir Mungoe Murray, Mac-Cloude, and others were left behinde to per-

¹ Glen-Sinnick or Glen-Finnick: not now known. The Rev. Mr Morison of Kintail thinks it must have been Glengynate, which was probably the old name of the Glen through which the Inate runs.

² Loch-Alsh—that is, the southern shore of the arm of the sea called Lochalsh.

³ Glenteugh: probably Lon Fhiodha, on the way from Kintail to Glenstrathfarar.

⁴ Brouline, in Glenstrathfarar.

⁵ The fact that Monck was at Dunain seems to show that from Glenstrathfarar he marched up Strathglass, and down through Glen-Urquhart, to Inverness.

fect their leavies in Sir James Mac-Donalds bounds in Skye Island, and Loughaber. The 6th Col. Morgan came to mee att Fallaw,¹ neere Inverness, and had orders to march back towards the Bray of Maur to attend the Enemies motion, myselfe intending to follow them through Atholl. The 7th, 8th, and 9th, the army continued marching, and came the 10th neere Weems Castle. Col. Okey was sent out with a party of 200 Horse and 250 Foote to discover the Enemy, who wee heard were marching from Garuntilly towards Fosse: Some of his partie alarum'd the Earle of Atholl's forces, kill'd 3 and brought away 4 prisoners. Having staid att Weems the 11th for the taking in provisions wee march't the 12th to Lawers: Middleton was the day before att Finlarick at the Head of Lough Tay, and burn't that House belonging to the Laird of Glenurqy. The 14th, marched from Glendowert to Glenloughee about 16 miles. In the evening the Enemy under Middleton were discovered by our Scouts, marching in Glenstrea and firing the Country as they went (having risen from before the House of Glenurqy in Loughoe² before which they had layne 2 dayes, and had made some preparations to storm itt, The Marquesse of Argyll and Glenurqy being in it). But uppon the view of some few of our forces they dispersed severall wayes, our men being to passe over an high hill towards them, and night approaching could not engage them, they left behinde them divers of their baggage horses with portmantuats and provisions, some of them march't that night to Rannogh above 16 miles, by which time they were reduc't from 4000, which they were once reported to bee, to lesse than 2000. The next day I marched to Strasfellow, where the Marquesse of Argyll mett mee and declar'd his resolution to use his indeavours to oppose the Enemy: They took 4 of his horses that morning. The 19th Major Keme of Major Generall Harrison's late Regiment with a partie of Horse being sent out to discover the Enemy, whose scouts alarum'd them, and hasten'd their march from Rannogh towards Badgenoth, soe that the next day July 20 uppon my march towards Glen-lion wee had newes by one who brought away Middleton's paddle-nagge, That Col. Morgan had the day before mett with Middleton's Horse and routed them neere Lough-Gary, which was confirmed by about 25 prisoners taken this night and brought in, and among the rest Lt. Col. Peter Hay (who lately escaped out of Edinburgh Castle), Capt. Graham, and

¹ Faillie, in Strathnairn.² Loch Awe.

others. Major Bridge was sent out with 130 Horse and Dragoons towards Lough Rannogh to fall upon the straglers, and returned the next day to the Campe neere Weemas having falne upon a partie of Horse and Foote under Atholl, tooke some prisoners, much baggage, and amongst the rest Atholl's portmantua, clothes, linnen, his Com'isn from Ch. Stuart [Charles the Second], divers letters from him and Middleton and other papers of Concernment, Atholl himself narrowlie escaping.

The 23d at the Campe neere S. Johnston's I had letters from Col. Morgan of the defeate of Middleton's partie above 300. Horse taken with his commission and instructions from Charles Stuart and other considerable papers. Alsoe Keumore's [Lord Kenmure] sumpter horse. The number of the enemy was 800 horse, uppon whose route 1200 foote which they had within 4 miles alsoe fled towards Loquaber. The number taken and kill'd is nott yett sent, but divers of those which escaped are much wounded; and amongst the rest some of the prisoners report that Middleton had the States Marke. Wee are now come hither where wee shall stay some few days for refreshment. Some small parties of the Enemy are abroad in the country, and on Munday and Tuesday nights last, burn't Castle Campbell, an House belonging to the Marquesse of Argyll, and Dunblain a Garrison kept by us last Winter, and say they have orders from Middleton to burne all the stronge Houses neere the Hills. On Tuesday I intend to march hence towards Lough Lomond neere which place Glencairne hath layne all this while with about 200 Horse, and I heare that Forrester Mac-naughton and others are joyned with him about Abrifoyle and make him uppe 500 Horse and Foote, whome I shall also indeavour to disperse.

I shall only add that Monck's expedition into the Loch Lomond district was attended with complete success, and that he was able to return to his headquarters at Dalkeith by the end of August. As Governor of Scotland he did much good; and he became so popular with the Highlanders that when, after the death of Cromwell, he marched into England to bring about the Restoration of Charles the Second, Lochiel, for whom he had an intense admiration, was able to attach himself to his staff, and ride with him to London.

9th MARCH, 1892.

At this meeting Mr Thomas Edward Hall Maxwell of Dargavel, Dunolly, Inverness, was elected a member of the Society. M Alexander Macbain, M.A., thereafter read a paper on "The Gaelic Dialect of Badenoch." Mr Macbain's paper was as follows :—

THE GAELIC DIALECT OF BADENOCH.

Badenoch, from its central position in the Scottish Highlands, perched as it is among the Grampian Hills, might be expected to have one of the purest dialects of Gaelic in Scotland. We might at least expect the purity of its tongue to equal that of Lochaber, the neighbouring district to the west ; but such is by no means the case. The valley of the Spey has for long been exposed to the pacific invasion of the Lowland Scotch or the "Gall;" the lowest reaches of the river have for centuries been Scotch in language, and Strathspey is now practically in a like condition. A considerable amount of Gaelic is still spoken in the Upper Strathspey district—that is, in the parishes of Abernethy and Duthil ; but Grantown, as against Kingussie, is a Lowland village. The number of Scotch and English words in the dialect of Badenoch is now very large ; the people, especially the young people, appropriate English words, and impress them into a Gaelic sentence, with the utmost indifference. Such a sentence as follows I have good reason to believe was actually spoken by one Englishified Gael from a far-away glen in the district :—"Tha mi 'g *admirig most* anabarrach am *beauty aig an scenery* tha'm so." "I am admiring most excessively the beauty of this scenery here." The use of English words and even English forms of grammar—as in the case of "*most anabarrach*" above—is very prevalent, and increases gradually as we descend the river Spey. As a consequence of this influx of new words and new syntactical ideas, the old case inflections of the language are being disregarded. Such an expression as "ceam na ceare" for "ceam na circe" will not strike a present day Badenoch man as anything but the most right and natural thing in the world. But it was not always thus. I still remember that my old paternal grandmother—she used to tell me that at the age of four or so the hearse of the famous James Macpherson, of Ossianic fame, nearly ran her over—I remember that she used regularly to say *na litinn*, "of the porridge," a genitive inflection so striking as to attract my youthful fancy, and make me extend, out of sheer curiosity and fun,

its application to other words. This genitive may be looked for in vain in any of our Gaelic dictionaries, but yet we know from early Irish sources that the genitive was in *n* in the case of this word. Poets like Calum Dubh nam Protaicean, Duncan Gow, and Bean Torra-dhamh, who flourished in the opening years of this century, composed in the best of Gaelic. Fear Strathmhaisidh, Macpherson's friend and contemporary, finds an honourable place among the minor Highland bards, and his Gaelic is as classic as any of his time. And what are we to say of "translator" Macpherson himself? If his Gaelic was not good, as some of his contemporaries asserted, then we must not think that it was the fault of his native dialect of Badenoch, but rather that it was owing to his classical and general university training. But is the charge true? It is allowed that the poems of Ossian, being ancient, must be good Gaelic. Macpherson's Ossianic poetry is said by critics to be good Gaelic; its faults are owing to its antiquity, as Dr Clark practically said, that is, its inversions, curtness, use of nouns for adjectives, and disregard of inflections. Now, the belief among Celtic scholars is that Macpherson himself wrote these poems, both Gaelic and English, and I claim that all that is good in the Gaelic belongs to Macpherson's native store of Badenoch Gaelic found in tale and ballad, while its faults are all due to the influence of English and classical literature, in which Macpherson was well versed, and in the atmosphere of which he wrote his Gaelic for the poems.

Badenoch Gaelic cannot claim a higher antiquity than these two Macphersons of last century. We may, however, at once say that there is no specimen of any literature in the modern dialect of Badenoch. When a Badenoch man within the last generation or two got on his high poetic Pegasus, he used what he understood to be the general literary dialect of the Highlands as he found it in books or heard it in songs. It is this divorce between the literary dialect and the local dialect that keeps the language from being more written than it is. And there is also the added difficulty of the orthography. In many parts, however, the local dialect is as good as, if not better than, the literary dialect, which largely imbibed Irish methods and idioms. Besides, the Northern dialect of Gaelic has had little or no say in the establishment of this literary standard, and as a consequence "Argyleshire" idioms, syntax, and inflections, with their Hibernianisms, form the model to which the North must conform. There is certainly a hardship in the case, but it is now impossible to remedy matters.

Badenoch belongs to the Northern dialect of Gaelic. This Northern, in contradistinction to the Southern dialect, which is

the dialect south of the Grampians and of the Lochaber district along by the Firth of Lorne, is distinguished chiefly by changing *eu* in certain cases to *ia*. The Southern dialect has, say, *beal*; the Northern dialect has *bial*. The distinction is confined to a few nouns, whose *e* vowel is made long by the compensation due to the loss of the following consonant, generally *n*, provided that the original stems of these nouns ended in *o* or *a*, that is, belonged to the *o* or *a* declension, corresponding to the Latin first and second declensions. Thus *brenn*, *briag* (a lie), stands for the original *brenca*. One or two verbs follow this rule by analogy, and also the adjective *geur*, *giur*. Other nouns or adjectives in *eu* retain that sound in both dialects unchanged and exactly the same in *timbre*. A further difference in the two dialects exists in the case of the diphthong *ao*, which has a freer sound in the Southern dialect; the Argyleshire *saor* is pronounced like the French *soeur*, whereas in the Northern dialect the sound becomes that of a "modified" long *u*. It in fact becomes more Brittonic and Pictish. Here again, however, the Southern sound of *ao* may appear also in the Northern dialect. The word *aobhar* has the *ao* sound exactly the same as in the Northern dialect. The reason for these anomalies lies in the history of the words. Where the *ao* stands for an original diphthong, the two dialects differ, whereas in *aobhar*, *ao-radh*, and others it stands for a vowel and a lost consonant (*aobhar* being for *adhbar*), and has the Southern sound in the Northern dialects, the *ao* corresponding to *eu* being excepted.

Neither the Northern nor the Southern dialect is homogeneous. Sub-dialects exist in every considerable district—we might almost say in every parish. The dialect of Northern Sutherland is very different from the Badenoch dialect, and, of course, the nearer dialects are more like each other than any of them is to dialects more remote. The Badenoch and Strathdearn Gaelics are very like one another. Again, curiously enough, there is a considerable divergence between the Badenoch and Strathspey Gaelic. The *timbre*, or tone, of the vowels is especially different in the two districts: to put it in common language, the "twang" is different. The Strathspey people have a simple vocalic sound before the liquids where in Badenoch a secondary sound may be heard. Thus, in Strathspey the *à* of *càrn* is simply the Gaelic *a* long, but in Badenoch the passage from the *à* to the *r* is bridged by a *u* sound; as a consequence, the sound might be represented by an English *caurn*, or a phonetic *ca^urn*. On the other hand, the famous Strathspey sound of *màthair* (mother), which is like

the French equivalent word, has one or two parallels in Badenoch, as we shall see, though this particular word is not one of them. The Strathspey *glinn* (pretty) is not quite unique in the Highlands, being sometimes heard in Strathmairn and Easter Ross. It is a confused descendant of early Irish *glinn* (bright) and *grinn* (pretty), both from different roots.

The Badenoch dialect itself presents, to one well acquainted in the district, striking variations. The Laggan Gaelic is better than that of Lower Badenoch, but it is the different tone or "twang" that marks the various parishes or districts that constitutes the most of the difference in the local dialect as spoken in certain places. Newtonmore differs from the Kingussie and Insh villages, and Alvie parish has its peculiarity of intonation as compared with Insh. When one passes into Rothiemurchus, just over the confines of Badenoch, he finds himself at once and abruptly in the midst of a new dialect of Gaelic: the Strathspey "twang" and the Strathspey peculiarities are almost in full swing.

In discussing the various peculiarities of Badenoch Gaelic, I will follow the order of the grammar, beginning with phonetics, passing on to declension and conjugation, and, with a glance at the syntax and idioms that are characteristic of the district, ending with some remarks on its vocabulary.

I. PHONETICS.

Modern philologists begin with the vowels, and we may, in so vocalic a language as Gaelic, properly imitate their example. There are the "broad" vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, and the "small" vowels *e* and *i*; and there are the long vowels corresponding to these (*à*, *ì*, *ù*, *è*, *ò*, with *é*, *ó*, which are different in quality). There are four unaccented diphthongs: *ao*, *eu*, *ia*, and *ua*; but the first two are really single long sounds. Other diphthongs exist, all modifications of the root vowel by the "broad" or "small" sound in the adjoining syllables. These "improper" diphthongs will be discussed along with the vowel from which they are developed.

(1) *a* short.

The vowel *a* in Gaelic stands either for an original *a* or for *o*; the latter is the case in feminine nouns, whose stems ended in *a*, and this *a* influenced the root vowel *o*. The word *cas* (foot), gen., *coise*, stands for an old Celtic *coxa*, the *a* of which has gone back into the previous syllable. The genitive having no *a* ending retains the original vowel. Now in certain cases in Badenoch, and indeed all over the country, the opposite has taken place: the

a has given way to *o*. Two elements seem needed to bring about this result: the word must contain *l* or *r*, and it should have *i* in the following syllable. Thus *coileach* (coek) is in Old Irish *caileach*, for an original *cal-iacos*. The *i* and the *l* or *r* influence the *a* of the preceding syllable. We find the principle somewhat extended in words like *gobhar* (goat) for *gabhar* and *gobhal* (fork) for *gabhal*, the *i* influence coming from the oblique cases, such as the genitive *gabhail*, that is, *gow'il*. Badenoch Gaelic extends this change considerably. The infinitive *gabhail* (taking) becomes *go'il*, and hence the verb stem altogether presents *gobh* or *go'* for *gabh*. Similar changes appear in *mollachd* for *mallachd*, *Coillinn* for *Calluinn*, and *sobhal* (sow-^l) for *sabhal*. The principle is carried beyond words with *l* or *r* in them in some cases: *foich'* for *faiche*, *toigh* for *taigh*, *coibe* for *caibe*, *stoid* for *staid*, and *soidh'* for *saidhe* (hay).

The Badenoch imperative *reach* (go) for *rach* is interesting, because the ancient root vowel was an *e* (the root being *recg*, to stretch, go). It would be too much to fancy that Badenoch all these centuries cherished the consciousness of this *e* root.

Simple *a* becomes *ai* from the influence of *i* in the next syllable. Scotch Gaelic sometimes presents before liquids (*l* especially) in such cases an *ei*. Thus *eile* (other) is for older *aile*, all from Celtic *alios*, which is cognate with Latin *alius*. Badenoch Gaelic extends this principle considerably: thus *ainm* (name) is pronounced *einim*; the negative prefix *ain-* is always *ein-*; and the *ai* is similarly changed in the following words:—*bainis*, *cainb* (*ceinib*), *gainmhreach* (*gein'each*), *rainech* (*freineach*), *sainis*, and *aithne* (*ei'ne*).

(2) *a* long.

Sàmhach is *sò'ach*, with a slight nasalisation of the *o*. The most characteristic change, however, is with one or two words showing liquids and an *i*: thus *bràigh* (upper part) becomes *brè'*, *gràin* is *grèin*, *thàinig* is *thèinig*, and *ràith* is *rè'*. To this add the Strathspey *mè'r* for *màthair*.

A remarkable shortening of the *a* takes place in the plural of certain nouns. *Làmh* is in the plural *lámhan* (*la'an*) and *cnàimh* (pronounced *cra'i*) is *cre'an*; but then *ràmh* shows *rámhan* (*ràwan*).

(3) *o* short.

As already noted, Scotch Gaelic shows *a* in feminine monosyllables from old *a* stems with a root vowel *o*. This analogy is extended to polysyllabic words that present broad or dull sounds

in the succeeding syllable. Gaelic *facal* is for *focal*, *cadal* for *codal*, and so with *acrach*, *balg*, *cal'man*, &c. *Badenoch* follows the rest of the country here, but makes up for it by reversing the process in a few cases presenting liquids and an *i*: thus *loinid* becomes *lainid* or *lanaid*, *roimh* is *re'*, *troimh* is *tré*, *roghainn* is *rao'inn* (with *ao* short), and, also, *soitheach* is *sao'ach* (*ao* short).

In a few cases *o* becomes *u*, which curiously enough was in some cases the original Celtic root vowel: thus—*mosach* becomes *musach*, *iomradh* is *lurmadh*, *lore* is *lure*, *tolg* is *tulg*, and *molach* is *mulach*.

We may pass over long *o* with the remark that *clòimh* becomes *clàì'*, and *mò* is *muth'*.

The vowels *a* and *o* in syllables that have liquids, and especially a double liquid, or liquid and another consonant, after them, develop a parasitic *u* or *w* sound in passing to the liquid. Thus *lom* becomes *lo^um*, *trom* is *tro^um*, *càrn* is *ca^um*, *àm* is *a^um*. Similarly, *càrn* is *ca^urn*; and so with *àrd*, *allt*, *poll*, *toll*, *call*, &c. This is, however, not a peculiarity confined to *Badenoch* by any means.

(4) *e* short, that is *ea*, *ei*.

Gaelic rarely has simple *e* in a syllable, as in *leth*. It is so much coloured by the *a* or *i* of the next syllable, existent or once existent, that *ea* or *ei* is felt to express it best.

First, there is a strong tendency over the North to pronounce *ea* as *ya*, a tendency strongly marked in the districts round *Inverness*. Thus, *each* becomes *yach*, *steach* is *styach*, &c. In *Badenoch* this decadence is confined to certain closed syllables like *dearg* (*dyarg*), *fearg* (*fyarg*), *cearc*, *seam*, *scarrach*, *sealbh*, *searg*, *team*; also in *ceann*, *geal*, *leanabh*, *seal*, &c. Certain combinations defy even the *Inverness* dialect: *seas*, *seasg*, &c., are unchanged. We must particularly note the *Badenoch* pronunciation of the following shewing an *r*: *rannag* is for *reannag*, *reanhar* is *ra^u-ar*, *greann* is *gram*, and, especially, *creag* is *craig*. Compare *reachd*, *breac*, and *creach*—which are normal.

The *ea* may become *eo*, as in *geall*, which *Badenoch* pronounces *geo^ull*; so *greallag*, *seall*, *steall*, to which add *seo'ag* for *seabhag*.

An *ea* or *e* often becomes *io* in Gaelic; but in *Badenoch* the following also unwarrantably shew the change: *gean* becomes *gion*, *meas* is *mios*, *measan* is *miosan*, *meadhon* is *mì'au*, *sgèap* is *sgìp*, and *beathach* is *bì'och*. The word *grois* for *greis* shews *ei* as *oi*.

Long *e*, or rather *éi*, shews an opener sound in the following cases: *réidh*, *réit* appear as *re' au* *re'it*. But *glé* becomes *gley*.

(5) *i*.

Badenoch sometimes broadens the *i* sound in words containing liquids: milis is meilis, rìghinn is rui'inn, rinn is roinn (I did), rinn is ruinn (point). Sometimes *io* of ordinary Gaelic is restored into (or kept in?) older root forms in *e* (*ea*). Thus, smior appears as smear, and mionach as meanach. We must specially note *toigh* for *tigh* or *taigh*, and also *nuis* for *nis* (now), Old Irish, *inossa* (=in-fois).

(6) *ao*.

As already noted, the Northern dialect narrows this sound when it stands for the original diphthongs *ae*, *ai*, or *oi*, but when it stands for *a* with a lost aspirated *d* or *g*, the Southern sound is heard. This sound we have in *aobhar* (*adbar*), *aoradh* (*adrad*), *faolum* (*foglum*), *faob* (*fodb*), *saoibhir* (*saidbir*), *saobhaidh* (*saob*), &c. To these add *tao'ail* for *tadhail*, *ba'o'ar* for *baothair*, which are short *ao* forms.

The following are to be remarked upon: *baobh* is *baou* (*ao* short). The word *caoinhneas* is unknown; it is *coibhneas*, pronounced *coi'neas*, which is derived from *hine*, clan, with the prefix *eo*. The word *aoibhneas* also retains its older sound. *Adharc* (horn) is pronounced *ao-rag* (*ao* short), while *laghaeh* and *lagha* show a similar short *ao* sound. The *ao* of *aon* (one) becomes a short *u*; before consonants the word is degraded into *ann*. The word *raoir* (last night, from *re-tr-i* originally), is pronounced somewhat as *roy'r*.

(7) *ua*.

In Badenoch the latter sound of this diphthong is *o*, not *a*. Thus we hear *tu'ogh*, not *tuagh*. So *bhuom*, not *bhuam*. The word *nuadh* appears in its shorter root form *nodha*, pronounced in Badenoch *no*.

(8) *eu* and *ia*.

In the interchange of these sounds, Badenoch follows the Northern dialect: *beul* is *bial*, *breug* is *briag*, *deur* is *diar*, and so on, to some three dozen cases. One or two local peculiarities must be noted. The word *beurla*, now meaning English, though originally meaning language, stands for the Old Irish *bélre*, a derivative of *bél* (mouth). In Badenoch its pronunciation is *birrl'*. For *leugh* or *liagh* (read), we have *leogh*, or rather, *lyò*: *siad* or *seud* (a hero, jewel) becomes *seòd*.

(9) Consonants.

The mutes and sibilants in the Badenoch dialect are treated exactly as in the rest of the country. It is in the case of the liquids, combining among themselves or with the other consonants, that peculiarities creep in. In most of the Gaelic dialects *r* and *l* before *b*, *g*, *bh*, and *m*, present an intermediate obscure vowel; thus, *dearg* is pronounced *dearag*, *dealbh* as *dealav* (in Badenoch it is *dealu'*). The combination *rn*, especially *rnn*, shows a slight trace of the same intermediate sound: *oirnn* is *o'rr'm*. The consonants *r* and *l* were supposed by the older generation of philologists to interchange indiscriminately, so that roots in *l* or *r* in similar positions were supposed to be the same. Though there is some truth in this, yet it has come to be seen that the interchange in modern times takes place only for the sake of dissimilation: thus, *popularis* is easier than *populatis*, the form which we should expect; *pilgrim* is the modern form of the Latin *peregrinus*. In Badenoch Gaelic we have *bruadal* for *bruadar* and *cui'lig* for *cuibhrig* (cover). As in the other dialects, *sr* initial becomes *str*; *sruth* becomes *struth*.

The letter *n* receives peculiar treatment. Of course *cn* and *gn*, as elsewhere, are now pronounced *cr* and *gr*. The combination *ng*, non-initial, is dealt with in three or four ways. In the words *tarring*, *ung*, *spung* (for *spong*), the *ng* has its proper sound. But in *fulang* and *tarrang*, the *n* entirely disappears, and we have *fuilig* and *taireag*; while again in *cumhang* (narrow) the *n* does not go, but the sound is *c*, *cumhanc*, or rather *cu'anc*. The vast majority of words containing *ng*, however, practically dispense with the combination, or substitute for it a *u* sound. Thus, *long* (ship) is pronounced *lo'u*, which is much the same sound as the *ou* in English found. Sometimes a nasalisation of the resultant vowel is all that takes place, as in *seang*, *sreang*, and, to a little extent, in *muing* (that is *mu'i'*). The word *daingen* is practically *dai'en*; while in *langan*, *meanglan*, and *teangaidh* the *ng* becomes distinctly a *y* sound with nasalisation of the previous vowel.

An interesting case of dissimilation of the *n* takes place in *eanchaill* (brain) for *eanchaimn*. As in the other dialects simple *n* terminal often gets duplicated; this is particularly the case with prefix words, especially before *t*, *d*, and *s*. We have *bann*—for *ban*—(female) regularly; but so also we have *seann*, as in *seann duine*, whereas the adjective really is *sean*, and is properly pronounced only when it comes after the noun. The word *aeon* (one) is in Badenoch pronounced *ann* when it precedes a word; but

when it is independent it is pronounced *un*. We must further note *leathainn* for *leathan* and *ciadainn* for *ceudna*.

The *n* or *nn* before *s* disappears, and the vowel of the syllable is nasalised. Thus we have *òiseach* for *òinseach*, *bà'is* for *bainne* (from *banais*), *puì'sean* for *puinnsean*, *Loch-ìs* for *Loch-innis* (*Loch Insh*), *uì'sinn* for *uinnsean*. A somewhat similar result takes place with *n* before *r*. Thus we have *cà'ran* for *càran*, *mà'ran* for *manran*, the *à* being nasalised. For *anart* (*linen*) we get *a'ard*.

(10) Aspiration.

As is well known, the mutes, with *m*, *f*, and *s*, are "aspirated" in Gaelic if they stand alone between vowels. Of the hard mutes *c* and *p* become *ch* and *ph* and remain; but *t* in becoming *th* becomes merely a breathing, sometimes, to use expressions applicable to the Greek, an open breathing, as in the middle of words, sometimes an aspirate, as at the beginning of words (*bràthair* being *brà'ir*, while *tha* is *ha*). All the dialects pronounce the *th* in *gu bràth* as *gu bràch*, a form which appears in 17th century Gaelic. In a word like *saothar* (*labour*), the *th* goes and the word contracts into *saor*, just as *gh* goes in *saoghal* and *bh* in *faobhar*, which are pronounced in Badenoch like simple *saol* and *faor*, with the close northern sound of *ao*. In fact the medial aspirates are apt to disappear: *Slighe* is *sli'* and *tigh* or *taigh* is *toi'*. But *bh* is more stubborn than *gh* or *dh*. Thus *abhainn* is *awainn* or rather *aw-inn*. Some dialects delight in pronouncing terminal *adh* as *ag*; *bualadh* as *bualag*. Badenoch does nothing of that; it simply drops the *dh* altogether. After *r* and *l*, *bh* becomes *u* and the previous vowel has a more deliberate sound; thus *garbh* becomes *ga'ru*, *balbh* is *ba'lu*, &c. The word *craobh* is very peculiar; its *aobh* is sounded as in *laogh*, which is one of the most difficult of Gaelic words to pronounce for outsiders.

The sound of *mh* is *v*, but in Badenoch it becomes, in the body or end of a word, either *w* or *u* or almost nothing. Thus *làmh* becomes *lài'*, and *làmhán* becomes *lawán*. *Samhradh*, *samhuinn* are *sauradh* and *sau'inn*; *reamhar* is *ra-w-ar* or *rau'ar*; *damh* is *dau*; *deanamh* becomes simply *deanu*; in *talmhainn* the *mh* goes away almost entirely, and in *sàmbach* the medial sounds are crushed into a nasalised *ò*, that is, *sò'ch*; *seimh* becomes a nasalised *séi*, but *naomh* retains its *mh* or *v* sound, because it is a literary word.

(11) Eclipsis.

Eclipsis is caused by the influence of terminal *n*, which, when the language, several hundred years ago, was a highly inflected one,

ended, as in Greek, many grammatical forms. Irish has an elaborate system of initial changes caused by this *n*, but Scottish Gaelic never got further than the Old Irish stage in respect to this matter, and eventually it lost the influence of *n* with the loss of inflections and the consequent levelling up of forms and sounds. In some parts we hear a' so, a' fear, for an so, an fear; and doubtless these dialectic forms are the oldest. Badenoch does not know this dropping of the *n* before *s*, *l*, *r*, and *f*; but it has its own peculiar way of dealing with *n* before *f*. In the first place *n* before *f* must become *m*, according to Gaelic phonetic laws; but in Badenoch this *m* causes the *f* to be protracted into a *p*. Hence an fear becomes an piar, an fraoch becomes an praoch, and so on. This is the greatest peculiarity of Badenoch Gaelic, which it shares with Strathdearn as well.

The article an, with its *n*, undoubtedly affects some initial consonants. The most definite case is that of *c*; an cu (the dog) is pronounced as an gu or an geu, a sound which is sharper than the ordinary *g*, but softer than *c*.

(12) Prothesis.

Prothetic letters, such as the *s* of sleac (flag) for leac, arise from the influence of the previous word ending. Doubtless *s* is a reminiscence of the old nominative terminations. Prothetic *f* however, would appear to be due to analogy; words without initial *f*, in certain circumstances, take the *f* to look and sound like real *f*-beginning words. The system of aspiration makes this easy and natural. It is similar with *t*.

In Badenoch we have both sleac and leac, but, again, we never hear snéip (a turnip), only néip being used. Prothetic *f* is common: raineach becomes freineach, eagal is feagal, àithne is fàithn', imiridh is firmidh, faltan-fionn (tendon) is a derivative of alt (joint); and fos is used regularly for os (above). The word àithne after particles ending in *m* has an unstable *f* which appears as *b*: thus—feithni'idh mi (I will recognise) shews after *am* the form Am b'eithnich. The *d* of deanntag and deigh is found elsewhere than in Badenoch; and the bat is known as dealtag-anmoch, for ialtag.

(13) Metathesis

This is the transposition of a letter, chiefly *l*, *r*, and *s*. Thus—imiridh becomes irimidh, inrich is irimich, lomradh is lurmadh, barail is balair, coinneal is coillinn; in Laggan they say ealabar for earball; imleag becomes ilimeag, imlich is ilimich, uaisle

becomes uaise, fartlaich is faltraich, farraid is fa'aird. The *n* of seangan (ant) is shifted, and the word becomes snioghan; the Manx, however, is snieggan or sniengan, and both dialects seem supported by the Greek *sknips*.

II. DECLENSION.

Badenoch, as already noted, shews a sad falling off in the matter of declension, the nominative case doing duty for the genitive, or the dative for the nominative.

(1) The Article.

A curious case of the loss of *n* of the article occurs in athair-nei', the Badenoch word for serpent. The first part is properly nathair; the latter, neimhe, poison. The *n* of nathair is lost because the article ends in *n*; the combination is An nathair. Curiously the same thing happens with the same word in English; *adder* is for *nadder*. Similarly ollaig stands for nollaig (Christmas). On the other hand nighean comes from An inghean (daughter).

(2) The Noun.

The tendency to use the nominative singular for the genitive is very strong. Young people at once say "Ceann na ceare," for circe. Again in feminine nouns the oblique genitive or dative is often used as the nominative; thus làmh is làimh (pronounced lài', nasally). The dative case, of course, is otherwise disregarded. In regard to irregular nouns a levelling up takes place. The word bean has its genitive as bean, not mnatha; but the plural is mnathan. The nouns of the *i* declension, like fuil, sùil, &c., have no genitive either. The plurals are regularly enough done; the vocative plural of *o* stems is rightly pronounced in *u*, though written *a*: fheara is pronounced fhearu. It is an old nominative in *ōs*. So beulaobh, the dative plural of beul, with the adverbial force of "before," is properly pronounced bialu, for in older times there were two cases used, the dative for rest and the accusative for motion—bélaib, bélu. It is the latter case evidently that prevails in pronunciation.

In the following instances the oblique cases are used for the nominative. Masculine nouns: aithd for aiteamh, claiginn for claiginn, so too gobhaim, salaim, siabuinn. This may go along with a change from masculine to feminine, as in—fearainn for fearann, deididh, aitribh, suird, spuing, tiadhlaic. Feminine nouns show this change largely: omhaich for amhach, so aodainn, beinis and bainuse, beinn, bois, broinn, bruaich cabhaig, cluais, craig,

cruaich, gàig, glaic, gualainn, làimh, loinn (a glade) from lann, searmaid, sliaisd (for sliasad), teangaidh, and uilinn. In adjectives, too, oblique forms are found in leathainn for leathan, in anfhainn, mairinn, ollaimh for ullamh, and leisg for leasg.

(3) Gender.

The loss of the neuter gender in modern Gaelic has caused neuter nouns to fall either under the head of masculine or feminine, and the different dialects deal with them variously, one making a noun masculine and another making it feminine. The word *muir* (sea) was originally neuter; the dictionaries mark it as both masculine and feminine. In most dialects, the word is feminine; it is so in Badenoch. In Lewis matters have gone so peculiarly that the nominative is feminine (*a' mhuir*), and the genitive is masculine (*ceann a' mhara*)! In Badenoch the following originally neuter nouns are feminine though the dictionaries make them masculine, or masculine and feminine at times—*aitreabh*, *beum*, *guidhe*, *leum*, *teum*, *fearann*, *fasach*, *fios*, *teas*, *sgèul*, *glun*, *magh*, *muir*, *tir*, the latter four being in the dictionaries marked as of either gender. The following nouns are feminine in Badenoch, though masculine in the dictionary: *beuc*, *bìd*, *bruchd*, *buachar*, *cobhar*, *deudach*, *dorchadas*, *earr*, *luchd*, *faileas*, *greann*, *ladhar*, *lag*, *loingeas*, *mios* (masculine and feminine), *naimhdeas*, *nasg*, *teud*. The following words are masculine in Badenoch, though feminine in the authorities: *bile*, *ciall*, *deò*, *fàinne*, *gobhal*, *leisg*, *neart*, *neur*. *Comhrag* and *ros*, over which the dictionaries differ, were originally neuter and are masculine in Badenoch. Naturally enough borrowed words in different dialects appear of opposite genders. In Badenoch the following are feminine, while the dictionaries make them masculine, *fang*, *làd*, *lagh*, *leabhar*, *siola*, *sparr*, *speur*, *spot*; while the following are masculine—*boineid*, *muidse*, *paisd*, *peann* (pronounced as in English), *pillean*, *ròcas* for *ròcais*, *spors*.

(4) Adjectives.

Outside the aspirations for gender, case and number, the adjective has now little inflection in Badenoch. In fact, an expression like "*Ceann na cearc bheag*" (*ceann na circe bige*) is now the natural expression in the district. We may say case inflection is gone, and certainly there is no plural inflection. Even the comparative suffers. The irregular comparatives, of course, hold their ground, but we may hear any day such an expression as: "*Tha so nas geal na sin*" (*Tha so na's gile na sin*). The Irish *nios* (thing that is) is replaced properly enough in Scottish Gaelic by *na's* (what is), and Badenoch recognises no other.

There is little to remark about the numerals, save, as already noted, that *aon* becomes, independently, *un* ; with a noun, it is *ann*, with *n* duplicated. In *h-aon-diag* (eleven) it has its proper form.

(5) Pronouns.

As in other places, the pronoun of the second person singular is restricted in its application to juniors or inferiors, while *sibh* applies to seniors and superiors. The Badenoch proverb has it : "Thusa, ach sibhse dar bhios sibh air na tigh fhein" (Thou, but you, when you have a house of your own). The third plural *iad* is pronounced *aid*. Whereas *thu fhéin* agrees with the grammar.

Curious addenda are made to the demonstratives *so*, *sin*, *sid* (for *sud*) in some parts of Badenoch, notably Drumguish. They take the form of *in*, *ich*, *eachd* ; as, An *so-in* (here), or more emphatic—An *so-in-ich*. With the first form (*so-in*) we may compare the Old Irish *són* (*illud*). We have also An *sid-naich* (yonder) and An *sin-eachdainn* (there). The *ich* also appears in certain common adverbs : *flathast-ich* (yet), *rithist-ich* (again).

The interrogative *ciod* (in Old Irish *cate*, literally, what is) is not heard, save in the bisected form of *Gu dé* (*ciod é*) or more often truncated to simply *dé*. The possessive pronouns, which in Gaelic are really genitives, are treated in the ordinary way except in the case of *our* and *your* (*ar n-*, *bhur n-*). The first—*ar n-*—has practically disappeared, and the second is represented by *na*. Thus, "Am beil na h-athair stigh" (Is your father in ?), where *na h-* should be at least '*ur n-*'. The first person possessive plural is done by a circumlocution ; thus, "Our work" becomes "An obair againn"—the work to us ! And this is extended to the other persons, both singular and plural ; so "My book" may be rendered "An leabhar agam," "The book with me."

The prepositional pronouns, which are crushed forms of the preposition and pronoun, get still more crushed in Badenoch. Thus, *ag* with the pronouns becomes simply *a'*, as *a'am* for *agam*, *a'inn* for *againn*, &c. The preposition *ann* changes to *um* ; hence *annam* (in me) is *umam*, *annad* is *umad*, with their plurals ; but *ann* (in him) and *innté* (in her) are right, and *annta* (in them) is only changed to *umnta*. Then *gu* (to) appears combined in the stereotyped *hugad* (to you, that is, get out of the way) ; for *thugam* the form is *gu mi*, *gum 'u* (thu), *gun e*. The preposition *mu* (about) does not combine ; *o* or *bho* never lacks the *bh*, as *bhuam*, &c. ; (note *bhoith'*, from him). The prepositions *romh* and

tromh show ro'am and tro'am for the first person and analogous forms for the second, but in the third singular masculine the forms are tre' and re'. In the forms rompa and trompa, the *m* is elided, leaving a slight effect on the vowel—rop, trop.

III. CONJUGATION.

In Badenoch the 2nd and 3rd singular and 3rd plural future take the relative form of the verb before the pronouns: thus, buailidh mi, buaileas tu, buaileas e (or i), buaileas iad (aid); but buailidh sinn, buailidh sibh, and buailidh bean (cat, duine, each, &c.) The *s* of sì (she), which has extended to the masculine and the plural at times—se, siad, has evidently been the originating cause of this dialectic peculiarity; just as, in fact, the origin of the relative form itself is undoubtedly from the pronominal root *so* affixed to the third singular of the verb. Similarly a new verb has been developed in the form *ars'* (said), the real verb being *ar* simply, by root the same as English *swear*. Curiously enough the 2nd plural imperative retains the old form, though in the literary language and in the other dialects it has given way to the force of analogy. Thus, in the grammars we have eisidibh (hear ye), the *bh* of which is taken from *sibh*; but Badenoch maintains the original eisididh or eisidith, just as the Dean of Lismore has it in 1512—eistith. Irish Old and New agrees with Badenoch here; so does philology, for the form is the same as the Latin *-ite*, Greek *ete*, and English *-eth* (the "harkneth" of Chaucer).

The passive voice is conspicuously absent in Badenoch; the idea of it is always expressed by a periphrasis: "He was killed" becomes "His killing went"—chaidh a mharbhadh. "He will be struck" becomes "He will be after his striking"—Bitheas e air a bhualadh, or Theid a bhualadh—"His striking will go." In regard to the infinitive, of course, in Badenoch the form in *-adh* shows no genitive in *i*, nor should it do so philologically, though that is according to present grammar. They say "Air son a bhualadh," though the form "Muilinn bualaidh" (threshing mill) exists. If the future shows a small vowel at the end of the stem, that vowel is apt to be kept in the infinitive; thus we find aisig for aiseag, coimhid for coimhead, innis for innseadh, &c., the future stem being used as an infinitive. We may note the irregular forms fuilig (fulang, suffering) beside fulachdainn, and geumadaich for geumnaich. Borrowed infinitives may show their English

verbal *-ing* as *-ig*; thus, *grudging* passes into *gruidsig*, and so with several others.

In regard to the irregular verbs, the verb *to be* has the interrogative form "Am beil" always. No forms of it in final *ar* appear. The verb *abair* is greatly replaced by *can* in the imperative and future tense. Indeed, the infinitive *cantainn* is commoner than *radh*. The infinitive of *beir* is always *beirsinn*; "he was caught" becomes "chaidh beirsinn air." The past of *dèan* is *rhoinn*; the imperative of *faic* is *coimhid*—in fact, this latter form supplants *faic* considerably in other moods and tenses, only, however, in the sense of physically looking on, gazing at, seeing. The post-particle form of *chaidh* is *deach*; *thoir* and *toirt* are the Badenoch forms for "give" and "giving." "Is toigh leam"—I like—becomes "Is dail leam."

IV. MINOR PARTS OF SPEECH.

Under this heading we may consider the Adverb, Preposition, and Conjunction. As in many places, the adverbs *suas* and *sìos* (up, down) mean "west" and "east." This is natural in Badenoch, because the River Spey flows "down" in an eastward direction. The proper words—*iar* and *ear*—are known only as literary Gaelic; "north" and "south" are correctly rendered by *tuath* and *deas* (literally, left hand, right hand, the bearings being taken facing the rising sun, *iar* meaning "behind" and *ear* "before"). The word for "up" is *urad*, or *uthard* (*air* and *àrd*, high); the word for "down" is *uireas* (*air-ìos*, "on down"). "Forward" becomes *air a'ad* for *air adhart*, the Middle Irish *airaid* (forward), which is another compound of *àrd* (high). The word *bràth* in *gu bràth* is, as elsewhere, pronounced *bràch*. The adverb for "now" is *n^uis* and not *nis*; it is really a compound of *fois* (rest), O.Ir. *innossa* ("the now," as in Scotch), just like *a bhos*, on this side.

In regard to the prepositions, some peculiarities occur. *Do* is always *da*; *far* (used with the relative only, meaning "upon," the old *for*, Latin, *s-uper*) is *for*; *bho* is never *o*; there is no *os*, only *fos*; *troimh* and *roimh* become *tre'* and *re'*, &c. The syntax of the prepositions used after verbs of motion has to be noted. Thus, *Chaidh e na bhaile* means, "He went to (into) the town: the *na* is for *do'n*. But "*Chaidh e du'n àit*" is used, where a vowel commences the noun. The expression, "He came to the town," is done by—*Thàinig e gu na bhaile*; "to the place" is

“gun an àit,” a construction which also holds before dentals and *l, r, n, s*. The preposition *gu* does not coalesce with the pronouns now; “to me” is “gu mi,” not “hugam.”

There is little to remark about the conjunctions. Of course *agus* is pronounced *aghus*, as it has been for the last two centuries, though written with the hard *g*. The word *ged* (although) becomes *gad*.

V. COMPOSITION AND DERIVATION.

Compound words get often “crushed” beyond recognition. Thus, *meanachair* stands for *meanbh-chrodh*, *cais'ard* for *cais-bheart* (foot-gear), *cais'inn* for *cais-fhionn*, &c. *Coimnspeach* becomes *ca'speach*, *comhnard* is *cò'rd*, with a nasal *ò*, and so forth. Sometimes an additional suffix, inflexional or otherwise, is found. In Drumgnish one may hear “*Na fuineaghadh*” for “*Na fuineadh*.” The combination “*B' àillidh?*” (literally, What is your pleasure) is used for “*Eh?*” “*What?*”

VI. SYNTAX.

The decadence of inflections in the case of nouns has been already remarked upon. As there is no dative case, the prepositions may be said to govern the nominative case. The genitive case is used for possession, and also as an object to the infinitives of verbs, as in the general dialect; but any apposition noun that would naturally be in the genitive is boldly regarded as a nominative.

VII. VOCABULARY.

Finally, let us consider words and forms more or less peculiar to Badenoch. The word *uisge*, as in all the south-eastern Highlands, means “rain,” while *burn* is the usual word for “water,” itself a word borrowed from the Lowland Scotch. The word for “boy” is *proitseach*. Curiously, dialects differ much in the word for “boy:” we meet with *ballach*, *brogach*, *ponach*, *giullan*, and *gille* in different places over the Highlands. The word *bard* means a meadow in Badenoch, though the real meaning of the word is an enclosure or dyke. It doubtless acquired its peculiar meaning in Badenoch because of the embankments which confine the Spey

as it flows through the broad valley of Mid-Badenoch. The word *geilbhean* means a fawner, and *sgobhachan* (pronounced *sgowachan*) signifies "pieces." A very peculiar word is *blè'ch*, signifying "pretty," doubtless a bye-form of *blàthach*, "blooming." The word for "alphabet" is *aibirsidh*, or rather *cabarsidh*; this arises from the old system of letter learning which began by saying *A per se* (*a* by itself is *a*, &c.)

Some proper names of persons present oddities restricted to the locality. *Doncladh* is *Dunnach*; *Domhnall* becomes *Dò'ul*, with nasalised ò; *Eòin* is *E'ainn*; *George* is *Seors'*; *James* is *Sènnus*; *Ranald* is *Raol*, the *ao* having its southern sound. The name *Mary* is pronounced like English *Miry*; *Margaret* becomes *Mearud* and *Meig*; and *Christina* is *Cirtean*.

Animal names shewing peculiarities are these:—*Mada-galluidh* (wolf) for *mada-allaidh*; the bat is *dealtag-anmoch*; the spider is *breabair-smògach*; the toad is *meal-mhàgain*, for *mial-mhàgain*; the mole is *ath-thal'ainn*; the serpent, as already noted, is *athair-nei'*; the pee-weep is the *doireagan*. The calls to animals are interesting. To call a cow to one, the expression is *pruidh-dhé*; the Scotch word is *prush*. To call a horse the word is *progaidh*, which is, undoubtedly, the French *approchez*, borrowed through the Scotch. For the cat there are two calls—*stididh* and *puisidh*. For a pig they say "boitidh;" for hens, "diugaidh;" for sheep, "cirdh."

The following is a list of words either peculiarly used or unknown to the dictionaries:—

- aitidh*, thaw, not *aiteamh*.
- baothailt*, a fool.
- broilean*, snout.
- boit*, to acquire a taste for.
- bodht*, soft place.
- bruais*, crush.
- ceafan*, a frivolous person.
- cadha*, a pass; possibly this is the Irish *caoi*, road.
- càir*, moss *in situ*.
- cuirteir*, plaiding.
- cluith*, play, never *cluich*.
- diosd*, jump.
- deighreach*, a dirling.
- dore*, a piece.
- dluigheil*, handy. Compare Irish *dluigh* (service).

fealan, rush on face or body.
 foichean, infant's clout.
 great, soap-sud.
 gasgag, a stride.
 giobull, a chap, fellow.
 onagaid, a row, disturbance.
 robh'd (roud), a lump, bit.
 sgarmaich, a flux of stones on a hill-side.
 sgriothail, a lot of small items, such as small potatoes.
 sgoch, to notch, hack.
 smarach, a lad. Compare Welsh *merch*, girl.
 speadach, kicking. M'Alpine gives the meaning "sheep-shanked."
 stiùrag, gruel.
 tosg, peat cutter. This is for *tòrsgian*.
 teibeid, a taunt, cut. Compare the Old Irish *tepe*, cutting.
 uirsgeal, scattering (dung): for *air-sgaoil*.
 ulbhach or ul'ach, ashes: allied to Latin *pulvis*, dust.
 uainneart, bustle.

The following borrowed words may be noted as presenting some peculiarities:—

feirm, farm; from the Scotch and English *farm*.
 gòileag, a hay-cock; Scotch *cole*.
 pen, a pen, not peann.
 pàpar, paper, never pàipeir, &c.
 piobar, pepper, not peabar.
 pronnasdail, brimstone, not pronnasg.
 protaig, trick; Scotch *prattick*.
 tallaid, partition; Scotch *halland*.
 tròg, business, busy-ness; Scotch *trock*.

Words like *sort* and *sport* are pronounced in Gaelic as *sòrt* and *spòrt*, never as *seòrsa*, *spòrsa*; the *-rt* has the ordinary Scottish Gaelic sound, that is, *rst*, not the sound heard in Arran and in Ireland, which is practically the English sound of *-rt*.

23rd MARCH, 1892.

At this meeting Mr John T. Grey, Rosehaugh House, Fortrose, was elected a member of the Society. Thereafter Mr William Mackenzie, Secretary, Crofters' Commission, read a paper on "Gaelic Incantations and Charms of the Hebrides." Mr Mackenzie's paper was as follows :—

GAELIC INCANTATIONS, CHARMS, AND BLESSINGS OF THE HEBRIDES.

At a meeting of this Society on 7th May, 1879, I read a paper entitled "Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio," concluding with a number of Gaelic Charms and Incantations I had gathered in various districts of the Highlands. The paper appears in Vol. VIII. of our Transactions. Various writers had previously published specimens of Gaelic Incantations, but so far as I am aware, our volume contains the first collection of them. Old writers on Highland superstitions make frequent reference to Charms; but while they give descriptions of Ceremonies, they unfortunately pass over the Incantations with contempt. There can be no doubt that many interesting relics of antiquity have thus been lost to the folk-lorist. The belief in these matters is rapidly becoming a thing of the past; and the Charms and Incantations are lost as each successive year death carries away the old people among whom alone they are to be found. While thus the field where Charms and Incantations may be got is becoming more and more limited, the collector has further to contend with these difficulties (first) that those who know them and believe in their efficacy will not communicate them to anyone on whom they may look as an unbeliever; and (second) that many who know them as matter of tradition are frequently ashamed to own the fact. It is satisfactory to know, however, that many of these relics of the past have been rescued, and it is to be hoped that members of this Society may do what they can to add to our store of this peculiar kind of folk-lore ere it be too late. Our friend, Mr Alexander Macbain, published a valuable collection of them in the *Highland Monthly* during last year (1891). To-night I propose to resume the subject commenced before this Society in 1879; and although it may be necessary to recall here and there portions of my former paper, and also to refer to, and sometimes to quote from, the writings of Mr Macbain and others, I will endeavour to place before you, in the main, Charms and Incantations which, so far as I am aware, have not hitherto been published.

From the earliest times we read of wizards and witches, sorcerers and magicians. The State punished them as persons dangerous to society, and the burning of witches forms an interesting if not a very edifying feature of our national history. In these proceedings the Churches have taken an active part. A popular proverb has it—"Gheibh baobh a guidhe ged nach fhaigh a h-anam trocair"—"A witch will get her wish though her soul may not get mercy." To banish from the minds of the people such a belief as this was a task which the Churches seemed to have placed before themselves. Our Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were taught to place no belief in witchcraft and divination, and our cousins in Ireland were taught the same lesson. In a Catholic Catechism I find the following among the things forbidden by the First Commandment :—

Q.—A bheil a Chiad Aithne 'bacail ni sam bith eile ?

A.—Tha—buidseachd, eolasan, giseagan, innse-fortain, a' toirt brìgh a brúadar, agus gach comunn de 'n t-seorsa sin ris an Albheistear.

Again, in the Catechism by Andrew Donlevy, Director of the Irish Community at Paris, published in that city in 1742, and still in use in Ireland, I find the following among the things forbidden by that commandment :—

Ceisd.—An bhfuil sé an aghaidh na hAithne-si Comhairle d' iarraidh air lucht fàisdine, Draoidheachta, no Piseóg, noch do ní cunnradh ris an Diabhal ?

Freagradh.—A tá gan amhrus ; do bhrìgh gur ab o'n Diabhal gheibhidh gach Eolus, da mbí aca.

C.—Creud is Piseóga ann ?

F.—Briathra do rádh, no Comharrtha do dheunamh chum críche, do chum nach bhful brìgh na buaidh aca ó Náduir, ó Dhia, na ó 'n Eaglais.

Notwithstanding the influence of the Churches, the belief in witchcraft is not quite dead, and Charms and Incantations have survived to the present time. As to the supposed effect of witchcraft, I will quote a sentence from a leaflet which I picked up in Inverness last winter. It is headed the "Crofters and Witchcraft." The writer says he himself was confined in an asylum—a circumstance throwing all the light necessary on his lucubrations. His description of his feelings under what he believed to be the influence of witchcraft is, however, exceedingly interesting. It is as follows :—

“As an example of how this man of sin punishes those who differ from him in religion, I may state that I am daily tortured by his most powerful agent, viz, witchcraft. It takes away the faculties of my brains; it makes my body feel as if some one was sticking hot irons in me, at other times I feel as cold as ice; it weakens me to such an extent that I am hardly able to move out of the position in which I stand; it gives me such a shock while I am walking on the public road that I am not able to stand and speak to any one; it has got such a hold upon my body and soul that I find that the most experienced members of the medical profession are unable to do any good to me.”

The popular belief in witchcraft is also well expressed by Duncan Mackenzie, the Kinlochewe bard, in a song appearing at page 22 of his book. In this song the nuptials of a young couple are described. The mother of the bride, according to the bard, was a witch—her race being noted for “*Buidseachd a’s Draoidh-eachd a’s Farmud.*” In the song the old lady is pictured as using herbs, assuming the form of a hare, and robbing her neighbours’ cattle of their substance, endowing the musicians at the marriage with the power of playing fairy music, and by means of a Love Charm winning the affections of the bridegroom for her daughter. The following two verses will serve as specimens:—

’S i mathair Ceit Uilleim bha lamhach
 ’N uair chaidh i ’n riochd gearr feadh na duthch’;
Bha im aic’ a thoradh a’ Bhraighe
 ’S bha ’n caise bho mhnaibh Leitir-iùgh,
 Bha ’m bainne cho tiugh ris a’ bharr aic’
 (A’s muighe dubh lan ann an cuil)
 Ga ’bhleoghan a dubhan na slabhruidh,
 ’S i ’g aithris nan rann a bh’aig Fionn.

’N uair chuir iad a’ charaid a chadal
 Bha ’chailleach ga faire gu treang;
 Chuir i uisg’-oir air an casan
 A’s liath-lus a’s aitionn fo’n ceann.
 Bha i ga’n sianadh ’s ga’n teagasg
 An dochas gun gineadh iad cloinn
 ’S chuir i fath-fith air na balaich,
 Cha loisgeadh na dagaichean straoil.

In connection with Charms and Incantations, it has to be pointed out that while it appears to be impossible to get the malific Charms, or such as are identified with what is usually

termed witchcraft,¹ there are numerous specimens which are really of a Christian character, and are intended by the invocation of the Trinity to defy evil agencies, or effect cures. In these cases the Charms are forms of prayer—a sort of ritual unauthorised by the Churches. Although the Churches might have laughed at them, those who practised them sincerely believed in them. A discussion on the domain of prayer forms no part of my subject, but I think the ordinary mind may find it difficult to see wherein lies the difference between the simple-minded peasant who, with implicit faith in its efficacy, mutters a prayer with the view of stopping the toothache or curing a colic, and the modern ecclesiastic who, by a prayer, hopes to stamp out the influenza.

As illustrating the Christian character of many of our old Charms, reference may be made to St Patrick's Hymn

¹ Since the above was written, my friend, Mr Walter Traill Dennison, West Brough, Sanday, has favoured me with the formula of old used in Orkney to acquire witchcraft. Mr Dennison wrote it down nearly 50 years ago from the recital of an old Orkney woman—the grand-daughter of a noted witch. The formula to be gone through to obtain witchcraft (or, as Mr Dennison says, in plain English, a formula for giving one's self to the Devil) was as follows:—

The person wishing to acquire the witch's knowledge must go to the sea-shore at midnight, must, as he goes, turn three times against the course of the sun, must lie down flat on his back with his head to the south, and on ground between the lines of high and low water. He must grasp a stone in each hand, have a stone at the side of each foot, a stone at his head, a flat stone on his chest, and another over his heart; and must lie with arms and legs stretched out. He will then shut his eyes, and slowly repeat the following Incantation:—

O, Mester King o' a' that's ill,
 Come fill me wi' the warlock skill,
 Au' I sall serve wi' all me will.
 Trow [Satan] tak' me gin I sinno ! [shall not]
 Trow tak' me gin I winno ! [will not]
 Trow tak' me whin I cinno ! [cannot]
 Come tak' me noo, an' tak' me a',
 Tak' lights an' liver, pluck an' ga',
 Tak' me, tak' me, noo, I say,
 Fae de how o' de head tae de tip of de tae ;
 Tak' a' dat's oot an' in o' me,
 Tak' hide an' hair an' a' tae thee,
 Tak' hert an' harns, flesh, blend, an' büns, [bones]
 Tak' a' atween de seven stüns [stones]
 I' de name o' de muckle black Wallawa !

The person must lie quiet for a little time after repeating the Incantation. Then opening his eyes, he should turn on his left side, arise and fling the stones used in the operation into the sea. Each stone must be flung singly; and with the throwing of each a certain malediction was said. Mr Dennison's informant professed to have forgotten the terms of the malediction, but he rather suspected she considered the imprecations too shocking to repeat.

—one of the old Irish hymns preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, a collection made in the 10th or 11th century of hymns composed in former times. The hymn in question is attributed to St Patrick himself—“*Patraice dorcué innimmunsa*”—and we are told that it was composed in the time of *Loegaire Meic Neill*, who persecuted the Saint and his followers. According to the Four Masters, Loegaire was killed by the Elements of God—*Dúile Dé*—in the year 458. In the hymn we have the Saint binding himself to God, and invoking heavenly powers for protection against *inter alia* “Incantations of false prophets” (*tri tinchella saibfáthe*), and against “Spells of women and smiths and druids” (*fri brichta ban 7 goband 7 druad*). [For hymn in full, *vide* “Scottish Celtic Review,” p. 49].

Charms and Incantations are known by different names, and although many of them seem to be now regarded as synonymous, there was doubtless originally a difference of meaning. We have the *Rosad*, a malific charm, which rendered its victim powerless. Thus the hunter who was unlucky in his sport believed that a witch or other evil disposed person put a *Rosad* on himself or his gun. The opposite of *Rosad* is *Sian*—the latter being the spell that protected one from evil agencies and ordinary dangers.

Geas was a form of enchantment—*Daoine fo gheasaibh* are men spellbound and enchanted; and most Inverness men are acquainted with the popular belief that the *Feinne* are enchanted, reclining on their elbows in Craigachô. The word *gisreagan* or *geiseagan*, which is commonly employed to signify enchantments, and the belief in witchcraft, is doubtless from *geas*. This word occurs in Manx; and in Moore’s “Folklore of the Isle of Man” we have, on page 89, an account of *Caillagh-ny-Ghueshag*, or the “Old woman of the spells.”

Then we have *ubag*, *ubhuidh*, *obag*, or *obaidh*, meaning a “charm” or “incantation.” In Old Irish the form is *upaidh*. The word occurs in Manx as *obbee*, and we may translate *fer-obbee* as “a man charmer,” and *ben-obbee* as “a woman charmer.”

The *Eolas*, which really means “knowledge,” is probably the most popular of our charms. The origin of *Eolais* in the Western Islands, according to the local traditions, is as follows:—

St Columba had two tenants. One had a family and the other had not. The rent was the same in each case. The one who had no family complained to the Saint of the unfairness of his having to pay as much rent as the other considering his circumstances. The Saint told him to steal a shilling’s worth from any person, and to restore it at the end of a year. The man took the advice, and

stole a small book belonging to St Columba himself, and thereafter he proceeded to the Outer Hebrides, where he permitted people to read the book for a certain sum of money. The book was read with great avidity, as it contained all the "Eolais" composed by the Saint for the curing of men and cattle. Thus it was that these "Eolais" came to be so well known in the Western Islands. The farmer went back to St Columba at the end of a year, having amassed a considerable fortune, and restored the book. The Saint immediately burned the book, so that he himself might not on its account earn a reputation which he thought he did not deserve.

Finally, we have the *orr* or *orra*, *ortha*, or, as the Irish have it, *oráid*. As the English word "charm" is derived from the Latin *carmen*, a song: and "incantation" from *cano*, I sing; so *orr* may be derived from *oro*, I pray. The Irish *oráid* and the Latin *oratio* are probably different forms of the same word. In the Western Islands of Ireland *ortha* means a hymn. Macalpine in his Dictionary defines *orra* as "amulet or enchantment to effect something wonderful;" and he gives the following list of examples:—

- Orra-ghraidh—An amulet¹ to provoke unlawful love.
- Orra-sheamlachais—An amulet to make a cow allow the calf of another cow to suck her.
- Orra-chomais—An amulet to deprive a man of his virility, particularly on his marriage night, by way of vengeance.
- Orra-na-h-aoine—An amulet to drown a foe.
- Orra-an-donuis—An amulet to send one's foe to the mischief.
- Orra-ghrudaire—An amulet to make every drop of the wash to overflow the wash-tuns; and
- An orra-bhalbh—An amulet to prevent one's agent to make a defence in a court of justice.

The Charms and Incantations which follow may be divided into five classes:—First—Those aiming at divination; Second—Those which, by means of volition, seek to attain certain ends; Third—Protective Charms and Amulets; Fourth—Those intended for the cure of men and the lower animals from certain diseases; and Fifth—Blessings and miscellaneous Charms.

I will commence with the subject of divination. Under the general title of *Divination*, I will take first the *Frith*.

¹ Although "amulet" is the word used, it is obvious that "charm" or "incantation" is meant.

FRITH.

So far as I am aware, the *Frith* is quite unknown on the mainland. Professor O'Growney, of St Patrick's College, Maynooth, informs me he never heard of it in Ireland. He, however, explains that the word *frith* is a verb in Irish, and signifies "to find." One can therefore easily conceive how it came to be used in the special sense given it in this charm—" *Frith Isú isin Tempull* (literally, *Inventus est Jesus in Templo*, and signifying the finding of Jesus in the Temple)—would easily lead the unlettered to take *frith* as a noun. Macalpine appears to be the only Gaelic Lexicographer who gives us a definition of it in the sense here used. He describes it as "an Incantation to find whether people at a great distance or at sea be in life." It is, in short, a species of horoscope, wherein the position of the objects which meet our eyes takes the place in the *Frith* which the position of the heavenly bodies took in the horoscope of the ancient astrologers.

The *Frith* is religious in its character, and is attributed to the Virgin Mary. It is called in Uist, *Frith a rinn Moire dha Mac*—"the *Frith* that Mary made for her Son." According to Holy Writ, Joseph and the Virgin Mary went with the child Jesus, when he was twelve years old, to the Feast of the Passover in Jerusalem. When they fulfilled the days of the feast, they returned, but the child Jesus tarried behind them in Jerusalem, and they knew it not. The account of their three days' anxious search for him is narrated in the Bible, and our Highland poetess, *Sileas na Ceapaich*, beautifully describes the whole situation in *Laoidh na Maighdinn* :—

.

Thug iad cliu do Dhia 's an Teampull
 'S gu Nasaret air dhaibh bhi tilleadh,
 Suil ga'n tug iad air an gualainn
 Dh' ionndrainn iad bluap am Messiah.
 'S iadsan a bha duilich, deurach,
 'Nuair nach b' urrainn doibh ga sheanchas,
 'S tuirseach a bha iad mu dheighinn,
 Na trì là bha iad ga 'shireadh ;
 'N àm 'bhi dol seachad an Teampuill
 Dh'aithnich iad a chainnt gu beathail,
 Eadar na doctoirean a' teagasg,
 Bu deas a thigeadh dha labhairt.

This subject, too, forms one of the Fifteen Mysteries of Mary recognised by the Catholic Church. During the search the Virgin

Mary, we are told, made a *Frith* which enabled her to discover the Saviour among the doctors in the Temple, and left it for the benefit of future generations.

The *Frith* is not yet an institution of the past in some of the Outer Islands ; and when the fate of absent ones is causing friends anxiety, or when it is uncertain whether the illness of men or of the lower animals may speedily pass away or terminate fatally, a *Frith* is made. A *Frith* may be made at any time ; but the first Monday of the quarter—*a' chiad Di-luain de'n Raithe*—is considered the most auspicious.

The mode of making the *Frith* is as follows :—

In the morning the *Ave Maria*, or *Beannachadh Moire*, is said thus—

Beannaichear dhut, a Mhoire,¹
 Tha thu lan dhe na grasan ;
 Tha 'n Tighearna maille riut ;
 'S beannaichte thu measg nam ban ;
 'S beannaichte toradh do bhronn—Iosa.
 A Naomh Mhoire—'Mhathair Dhe—
 Guidh air ar son-ne, na peacaich,
 A nis agus aig uair ar bais—Amen.

After repeating the *Ave*, the person proceeds with closed eyes to the door. On reaching the *maide-buinn*, or door-step, he opens his eyes, and if he sees the Cross (*Crois Chriosda*), although it were only made with two straws lying across each other, it is a sign that all will be well. On getting outside, he proceeds round the house sunwise (*deiseal*), repeating the following Incantation :—

Dia romham ;
 Moire am dheaghaidh
 'S am Mac a thug Rìgh nan Dul
 'S a chàirich Brìghde na glaic.
 Mis' air do shlios, a Dhia,
 Is Dia na'm luìrg.
 Mac Moire, a's Rìgh nan Dul,
 A shoillseachadh gach ni dheth so,
 Le a ghras, mu'm choinneamh.

¹ This version of the *Ave Maria* I noted from an old Uist lady. Other versions commence "Failte dhut, a Mhoire." In Donlevy's Irish Catechism, previously referred to, it begins "Dia do bheatha a Mhuire." In Munster the form is—"Go mbeannaightheair duit, a Mhuire."

Translated—

God before me ;
 The Virgin Mary after me ;
 And the Son sent by the King of the Elements ;
 And whom St Bridget took in her arms.
 I am on thy land [side ?], O God !
 And God on my footsteps ;
 May the Son of Mary, King of the Elements,
 Reveal the meaning of each of these things
 Before me, through His grace.

Another version of the Incantation is as follows :—

Tha mise falbh air srath Chrìosd :
 Dia romham, Dia am dbeighidh,
 A's Dia a m' luirg.¹
 A Fhrith a rium Moire dha 'Mac,
 A sheid Brìghde troimh a glaic,
 Mar a fhuair ise fios frinneach,
 Gun fhios breige,
 Mise dh' fhaicinn samhla 's coltas ———²

Translated—

I go forth on the track of Christ—
 God before me, God behind me,
 And God on my footsteps.
 The *Frith* that Mary made for her Son,
 Which Bridget blew through her palm ;
 And as she got a true response,
 Without a false one,
 May I behold the likeness and similitude of
 A—— B——.

The Incantation finished, the person looks forth over the country, and by the auguries or omens which meet the eye he divines what will be the fate of the man or animal for whom the *Frith* is being made—whether the absent one, about whom nothing is known, is in life, and well ; or whether the sick man or beast at home will recover from his ailment. Subjoined is a list of objects, with their significance. This list is compiled from various sources, but largely from notes placed at my disposal by Father

¹ We have similar expressions in St Patrick's Hymn, already referred to—

“Crist lim Crist rium Crist imdegaid”
 (Christ with me, Christ before me, Christ after me).

² Here the name of the missing person was said.

Allan Macdonald, Dalibrog, South Uist, a gentleman to whom I am indebted for much information in connection with this paper :—

- A man coming towards you.. An excellent sign.
 A cock looking towards you. Also an excellent sign.
 A man standing..... Sign of a sick man recovering and casting off illness.
 A man lying down..... Sickness ; continued illness.
 A beast lying down..... Ominous—sickness ; continued illness ; death.
 A beast rising up..... Sign of a man recovering and throwing off illness.
 A bird on the wing..... A good sign.
 A bird on the wing coming to you..... Sign of a letter coming.
 A woman seen standing..... A bad sign—such as death, or some untoward event—(*Am bas, no ni rosadach air chor-eigin*).¹
 A woman seen passing or returning Not so bad.
 A woman with red hair Not lucky.²
 A woman with fair hair (*falt ban*)..... Not lucky.
 A woman with black hair (*falt dubh*)..... Lucky.
 A woman with brown hair (*falt donn*)..... Luckiest.
 Fowls without a cock in their midst..... Not a good sign.
 Stonechat (*Clachran*)..... Untoward (*rosadach*)—

Chunnaic mi 'n t-seilcheag an talamh toll,
 Chunnaic mi 'n clachran air lic luim,
 Chunnaic mi 'n searrach 's a chul rium,

¹ Bu choir do dhuine e-fein a choisrigeadh nam faiceadh e boiriunnach an am a bhi 'deanamh na Frithe—(A man should cross himself should he see a woman when making the Frith).

² Red hair does not appear to have been favoured by the Celts. An old song says—

Cha ghabh mi 'n te fhronasaich, chonasach, *ruadh*,
 A chumas an Donus na mhollachdainn suas.

Again, Lady Wilde, writing of Irish superstitions, says—“ It is unlucky to meet a red-haired man or woman the first thing in the morning ; but a freckled red-haired woman is particularly dangerous. Should she be in your path on first going out, turn back at once, for danger is in the way. Some say that Judas Iscariot had red hair, hence the tradition of its evil augury.”

Dh' fhaithnich mi nach reachadh a' bhliadhna leam—
Chaill mi bean-an tighe 's a' ehlann.¹

A lark ²	A good sign.
A dove.....	A good sign.
A crow or raven ³	A bad sign; death.
A sparrow (<i>glaiseun</i>).....	Not lucky—but blessed. (It foretells the death of a child).
A wild duck (<i>Lach</i>).....	A good sign.
Ducks (<i>Tunnagan</i>) ⁴	Good. (For sailors especially—meaning safety from drowning).
A dog.....	Good luck.
A cat.....	Good for Mackintoshes only. To others it is considered <i>rosadach</i> , or untoward. The cat is regarded as evil, as shown by the fact that witches are believed to assume this form.
A pig.....	Good for Campbells. For others indifferent when facing you; bad with its back towards you.
A calf, or lamb.....	Lucky with its face to you; good with side.
A horse.....	Lucky.
A brown horse.....	Is the best.
A chestnut or red horse.....	A bad sign; death.

¹ Another version runs—

Chunnaic mi seilcheag air lie luim
Chunnaic mi searrach 's a chulthaobh rium,
Chuala mi 'chuthag 's gun bhíadh am bhroinn,
Dh' aithnich mi nach cinneadh a' bhliadhna leam.

² The lark was considered sacred, and to it the endearing term of *Uisceag Mhoire* (the lark of the Virgin Mary) was frequently applied. In Orkney the term "Wir Lady's hen" was applied of old to the lark. In Ireland the red breast is associated with the Virgin, its Irish name being *Spideog-Mhuire*.

³ The raven is always regarded as ominous. In the Saga of "Howard the Halt," for instance, it is referred to as "hawk of slaughter" and "blood fowl." In Ireland, as Lady Wilde tells us, "when a raven is seen hovering round a cottage, evil is near, and a death may follow, or some great disaster; therefore, to turn away ill-luck, say at once: 'May fire and water be on you, O bird of evil, and may the curse of God be on your head for ever and ever.'"

⁴ Ducks are considered blessed. Tradition informs us that on a certain occasion Jesus had to take refuge, and that he was concealed under straw. Hens scraped the straw away, thus exposing him, but the ducks pushed it back again. The duck has since been considered blessed.

As to the colours of horses generally, we have the following :—

Each donn	Fearann.	|	Brown horse	Land.
Each glas.....	Fairge.	|	Grey horse... ..	The ocean.
Each ruadh.....	Reilig.	|	Chestnut horse..	The churchyard.
Each dubh.....	Mulad.	|	Black horse.....	Sorrow.

I now proceed to deal with the class intended to accomplish certain ends by the exercise of the will, and commence with

LOVE CHARMS.

In the list of amulets given from Macalpine, we have the *Orra-ghraidh*, or Love Charm. The Highlanders of old, like the ancient Greeks, seem to have believed in the efficacy of charms and philtres, in order, as Erastus has it, to force men and women to love and hate whom they will. “Sagæ omnes sibi arrogant notitiam, et facultatem in amorem alliciendi quos velint; odia inter conjuges serendi.” We have the idea of the Love Charm in Duncan Ban Macintyre’s *Rainn a ghabhas maigh Jean d’a leannan* (Verses which a maiden will say to her sweetheart), but as the ceremony prescribed may, on the whole, be regarded as impossible, it is clear that the poet himself did not believe in the efficacy of such Incantations. That the idea has, however, survived to recent times is undoubted, and a good instance of it is given by the Kenlochewe bard in the poem already referred to. Describing how the bridegroom was “charmed” by the young woman’s mother, he says :—

’S beag a bha dhuil aige ’posadh
 An la chaidh Seonaid ’na chainnt—
 Rug i da uair air a chrògan
 A’s chuir i na h-òrrachann annt ;
 Thionndaidh a chridhe le sòlas :
 Chaidh dalladh a’s sgleò air ’s an àm,
 ’S cha ’n fhaiceadh e aon te cho bòidheach
 Ri Ceit ged a sheòladh e ’n Fhraing.

In the Highlands, a herb called *gradh a’s fuath* (love and hate) was believed, when properly applied, to provoke love or hate, according to the wish of the person using the Charm. For the following Incantation to excite love, I am indebted to Mr Macbain :—

Suil bhilath Chrìosd air Peadar,
 Suil chaomh na h-Oighe air Eoin ;
 Gu’n leanadh, gu’n leonadh, gu’n lotadh,
 Gu’n iadhadh gu teann seachd altanach,

Le seachd snaim cruaidh-shnaim
 Mu chridhe na h-Eala
 'Rinn mise 'lot 's a leon
 Gus an coinnich lot ri lot,
 Leon ri leon, 's a cridhe 'breabadh le aoibhneas
 Ri faicinn gnuis a ruin :
 An ainm an Athar, &c.

Translated—

The soft eye of Christ upon Peter,
 The mild eye of the Virgin on John ;
 To follow, to wound, and to pierce ;
 May seven moss grasses with seven hard knots
 Wind round the heart of the Swan
 That caused my wound and piercing,
 Until wound meets wound and gash to gash,
 And her heart jumps with joy
 At seeing the face of her love :
 In the name of the Father, &c.

A herb—evidently the *altanach*, a kind of mountain or moss grass—was manipulated during the saying of the above.

Our Irish cousins also have their Love Charms, or, as they call them, *Ortha na Seirce*. To Professor O'Growney, of Maynooth, I am indebted for the following, received by him from Mr O'Faherty, of the west of Connaught :—

Ortha a chuir Muire in im,
 Ortha seirce 's sior-ghràdh ;
 Nar stadaidh do cholann, acht d' aire bheith orm
 Go leanfaidh do ghràdh mo ghnaoi
 Mar leanas an bhò an laogh
 O'n là so amach go h-uair mo bháis.

Translated—

A charm Mary (B. Virgin) put in *butter*,
 A charm of affection and lasting love ;
 May thy body not rest, but may'st thou be
 uneasy about me
 Until thy love follows my countenance
 As the cow follows the calf,
 From to-day till death's hour.

As a companion-picture, the following Love Charm from England may be appropriately given. The love-sick maiden was one Susan Lebway ; and the precious document containing the charm

was found some 30 years ago. The paper on which the formula was written also contains figures of the sun and moon and other heavenly bodies, and the magic square. Along with it were parings of the finger and toe nails and a tiny piece of linen, believed to be a portion of Susan's undergarment. The whole was neatly folded up, and was wrapped in three folds of linen and stitched under a covering of silk. This curious collection was worn in the left armpit. The formula was as follows:—

“Susan Lebway to draw the affections of Theobald Young to herself, so that he shall never have any rest or peace until he do return unto her, *and make* her his lawful wife. Let the spirits of the planets continually torment him until he do fulfil this, my request; Cossiel Lachiel Samuel Michail Araiel Rhaphail Gabriel, I continually stir up his mind thereto. Fiat fiat fiat cito cito cito. Amen.”—*Reliquary*, vol. x.

That the Philtre or Love Potion was in use among the ancient Celts there can be no doubt. In support of this statement, I quote the following paragraph from the Irish Life of St Bridget in the “Book of Lismore,” edited by Mr Whitley Stokes:—

“There was a certain man biding in Lassair's Church, and his wife was leaving him, and would not take bit nor sleep along with him. So he came to Bridget to ask for a Spell to make his wife love him. Bridget blessed water for him and said, ‘Put that water over the house, and over the food, and over the drink of yourselves, and over the bed in the wife's absence.’ When he had done thus the wife gave exceeding great love to him, so that she could not keep apart from him, even on one side of the house, but she was always at one of his hands. He went one day on a journey, and left the wife asleep. When the woman awoke she rose up lightly, and went after the husband, and saw him afar from her, with an arm of the sea between them. She cried out to her husband, and said that she would go into the sea unless he came to her.”

In connection with the Love Charm and Philtre, a few sentences may be devoted to *Eolas a' Chomuis* already mentioned. I have been unable to obtain this *Eolas*; but it may be stated that it is referred to in Pennant's Tour in Scotland in 1772 (Vol. II., p. 265), where the unsuccessful lover is represented as revenging himself on his rival by charms potent as those of the shepherd Alpheusibæus mentioned by Virgil. “Donald,” we are told, “takes three threads of different hues, and ties three knots on each, three times imprecating the most cruel disappointments on the nuptial bed;”

but the bridegroom, to avert the harm, stands at the altar with an untied shoe, and puts a sixpence beneath his foot."

Stories illustrative of *Eolas a' Chomuis* are numerous throughout the Highlands. Our Irish cousins have stories on this point akin to our own. The belief in this malific Charm still exists. Those who profess to know something about it say that in anticipation of a marriage where it is intended to have recourse to it, three running knots are prepared. The party carrying out the Charm attends the marriage service, and listens intently until the priest says the passage in the ritual commencing "Ego te conjungo," &c. Instantly these words are uttered by the priest, the "charmer" pulls both ends of the cord and makes the knot fast. The unlucky bridegroom never regains his virility until the treble knot is unloosed!

A somewhat curious parallel to our Highland and Irish stories is told in the part of the Apocryphal New Testament called the "First Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus." I cannot do better than quote the opening verses of Chapter VII. :—

"They" (*i.e.*, the Virgin Mary and Jesus) "came afterwards to another city, and had a mind to lodge there.

"Accordingly they went to a man's house, who was newly married, but by the influence of sorcerers could not enjoy his wife.

"But they lodging at his house that night, the man was freed of his disorder."

I will now give you

EOLAS A' CHEARTUIS—OR CHARM TO OBTAIN JUSTICE.

This Charm or Incantation was said when a Highlander went to a Court of Justice. A Gaelic proverb says, "*Is cam 's is dìreach an lagh*"—crooked and straight is the law—implying great uncertainty. In going to law, the litigant presumably believed in the equity of his cause, but being uncertain as to the result, he appealed to the Higher Powers. In the Incantation here given, we have the picture of a man starting from his house to measure swords before a judge with a neighbour—the occupant of the *Baile ud thall*, or "Yonder Town." On leaving his house the litigant says—

Falbhaidh mise 'n ainm Dhia [Dhé]
 An riochd iarainn 's an riochd each [eich],
 An riochd nathrach 's an riochd féidh ;
 'S treise mi-fhein na gach neach.
 'S dubh dha 'n bhail' ud thall,
 'S dubh dha 'n bheil na bhroinn :—

An teanga fo m' bhonn
 Gus an till mi 'nall
 Mise 'n eala bhàn
 'Nam bhan-rìghinn os an cionn.
 Ionnlaididh mi m' aodann,
 Mar naoi gathannan greine,
 Mar dh'ionnlaideas Moire a Mac
 Le bainne bruich.¹
 Meirc air mo bhial—
 Seire na m' aodann ;
 Bäs Mhoire mu m' amhuich,
 Bäs Chriosda mu m' aodainn,
 Teanga Mathair Ios' a' m' cheann ;
 Sùil a Chuimirich² eatorra,
 'S blas meala air gach aon ni
 Their mi gu'n tig mi.

Translated—

I go forth in the name of God ;
 In the likeness of iron ; in the likeness of the horse ;
 In the likeness of the serpent ; in the likeness of the
 deer ;
 Stronger am I than each one [or "than any one else"].
 Black to yonder town ;
 And black to those who reside therein ;
 [May] Their tongues be under my soles [or feet]
 Till I again return.
 May I be the white swan,
 As a queen above them.
 I will wash my face
 That it may shine like the nine rays of the sun,
 As the Virgin Mary washes her Son with boiled milk.
 May restraint be on my tongue,
 Love on my countenance ;
 The palm [or arm] of Mary round my neck,
 The palm [or hand] of Christ on my face,
 The tongue of the Mother of Jesus in my mouth,
 The eye of the Protector between them ;
 And may the taste of honey be of every word
 I utter till I return.

¹ According to the Lives of the Saints in the Book of Lismore, St. Bridget as an infant was bathed in milk.

² Cuimreach, s.m. = Assistant (O'Reilly). Cuimriche (often used) = Comairce, protection.

Here we have a wonderful combination of agencies with the view of attaining a successful end—iron, symbolic of hardness and endurance ; the horse, of strength ; the serpent, of cunning ; and the deer, of swiftness. Then we have the incantator presented to us pure and queenly as the white swan, with loving countenance, with tongue under restraint but uttering honeyed words. He is under the guardianship of the Virgin and her Son.

On reaching the Court, our litigant, with his right foot on the threshold, repeats the following words :—

Gu'm beannaicheadh Dia an tigh
 Bho 'bhun gu 'bhragh [fhraigh] ;
 M' fhacal-sa os cionn na bhios a stigh,
 'S am facail-se fo m' throidh.

Translated—

May God bless this house
 From its floor to its ceiling ;
 May my word be above all those within,
 And their words under my foot.

In a paper on "Druidism," by Mr Macbain in the *Celtic Magazine* [Vide Vol. VIII., p. 570], we have a reference to the serpent's egg, and to Pliny's account of it. "A Roman knight was making use of it in Court to gain an unfair verdict, and for this was put to death by Claudius the Emperor." Our old Highlander in *Eolas a' Cheartuis* or Incantation to obtain justice stood somewhat differently from the Roman knight who used the serpent's egg. The parallel is, however, an interesting one.

I will now give you *Eolas na Daire*, a Charm supposed to be efficacious in the case of farrow cows. It does not need much introduction, as it speaks for itself. It is as follows :—

EOLAS NA DAIRE.

Eolas na daire 'rinn Moire 's a Mac.
 'S thubhairt Criosda fhein gu'm bu ro-cheart,
 Air a' Chiad Luan
 'Chur a chruidh gu luath a dhair,
 Gun fharlaogh ¹ 'n a dheigh
 Ach laoigh bhreaca bhoirionn uile gu leir.

¹ The word "Far-laogh" is not generally known on the mainland. It signifies extra-uterine conception—a freak of nature which is fortunately uncommon.

Translated—

The Charm for the rutting made by Mary and her Son.
 Jesus himself said it was right
 On the first Monday [at the beginning of the moon?]
 To send the cattle quickly to the bull ;
 And that no extra-uterine conception should follow,
 But spotted female calves.

In some districts, instead of the above, the people say *Duan an Domhnuich*, or the Ode of the *Dies Dominica*. That Ode is as follows :—

DUAN AN DOMHNUICH.

Duan an Domhnuich, a Dhia ghil,¹
 Firinn a's neart Criosda g'ar 'comhnadh.
 Di-domhnuich rugadh Moire
 Mathair Dhe an or-fhuilt bhuidhe,
 Di-domhnuich rugadh Criosda
 Mar onoir dhuinne,
 Di-domhnuich an seachdamh latha
 A dh' orduich Criosda dha-fhein,
 Gu cumail na beatha-'mhairionnaich,
 'S gu'n leigeadh iad uile 'n anail.
 Gun fheum a thoirt bho dhamh no dhuine
 No neach a dh' orduich Moire,
 Gun sniomh snàth sìoda no sròl,
 Gun fhuaigheal na's mò ;
 Gun chartadh tighe, gun bhuan,
 Gun àthadh, gun mhuilinn,
 Gun iomradh airm, gun iasgaireachd,
 Gun a dhol a mach dha 'n t-seilg
 No shnaigheadh dheilgnean Di-domhnuich.

Ge b' e chumadh an Domhnach
 Bu chomhnard dha-san, 's bu bhuan,
 Bho dhol fodha na greine Di-sathuirn
 Gus an eireadh i Di-luain.²
 Gheibheadh e fach dha chionn

¹ The expression "a Dhia ghil" is unusual in the Highlands. I find it in the Irish song "The Star of Kilkenny," by Egan O' Rahilly :—

Ar Pheàrla óg mná uaisle (a Dhia ghil tabhair buadh dhi)
 An chraobh chubhra is uaisle a g-Cill-Chainnich.

² In Shetland the period from sunset on Saturday till sunrise on Monday is known as the Hellie or Heizie, i.e., the holy time.

'S bhiodh toradh an deigh nan crann,
 Iasg air amhuinn fìor-ghlan saile,
 Uisg' an Domhnuich blath mar mhil ;
 Ge b' e dh' oladh e mar dhìbh
 Gneibheadh e slainte gun chron
 As gach galar a bhiodh air.
 Gal an Domhnuich gun robh luath,
 Bean ga pianadh ri an-uair,
 Guileamaid moch Di-luain,
 'S na guileamaid idir Di-domhnuich.
 Fiadh an Domhnuich gun robh luath,
 Anns an linge mar a's truagh
 Ged thuiteadh an ruadh cheann deth
 Biodh e gu Di-luain 'na chadal.
 Aig trath-nona Di-luain
 Eiridh am fiadh gu ro-luath.
 'S airson an dile muigh
 Greis a thoirt a sgeula mu chumraidh¹
 Gun eisdeachd ri gleadhraich nan Gall
 No ri sgeilearachd coitchionnach.
 Ach gart a ghleidheadh air cnoc ard,
 'S lighich 'thoirt gu galar garg,
Is bo a thoirt gu tarbh treun
Fada no fagus gu'n robh cheum,
 'S eathar a leigeadh fo breid-siuil
 Gu tir a duthcha bho h-aineol.
 'S ge b' e mheomhraicheadh mo dhuan,
 'S a ghabhadh i gach oidhch' dha shluagh,
 Bhiodh rath Mhicheil air a cheann
 'S a chaoidh cha 'n fhaicheadh e Ifrinn.

In this ode we have a rule of conduct as regards the Sabbath—general directions as to what we are not to do, and a list of what may be called “works of necessity and mercy”—and among these there is the permission to bring a cow to a bull (*tarbh treun*), no matter how far the distance.²

¹ Redemption (or perhaps *comairce* = protection).

² The “Yellow Book of Lecan” contains Rules regarding Sunday Observances (*Cain Domnaig*), which bear a strong resemblance to the above. “The *Cain Domnaig* enjoins, under severe penalties, that every class shall abstain from all kinds of work on Sunday, and that none shall travel on that day ; but wherever one happens to be on Saturday evening, there he should remain till Monday morning. To this there were some exceptions, such as bringing a physician to a sick person, relieving a woman in labour, saving a house from fire, &c.” (See Irish MS. Series Vol. I., Part I., page 196).

An old man in the parish of Ardnamurchan, who professes to know much about cattle, informs me that he learned a different method from a north country *Aireach*, who was known as "Murchadh nan Gobhar." He does not believe in *orrachan*, or Incantations. I describe his alleged method in his own words, and without any comment of mine:—"Na'm bitheadh beathach òg agam," he said, "nach bitheadh a' gabhail an tairbh, so mar a chuirinn a dhàir i, ach cha bu toigh leam neach eile 'bhi coimhead orm:—A' chiad bhò a chithinn a' dol a dhair, sheasainn ri 'taobh agus cho luath 's a sguireadh an tarbh dhi bhleognainn i, a's bheirinn am bainne—blàth às a h-ùgh—do 'n bheathach òg. Chuirinn an sin an cù ris a' bheathach òg, 's an ceann la no dha bhiodh i dhair agam. Is iomadh uair a rinn mi e!"

The foregoing may appropriately be followed by an Incantation which was said when a cow calved—

RANN AN UAIR A BHEIREAS MART LAOGH.

The ceremony was after this fashion:—The dairymaid sat beside the cow, and blowing her breath through her hands towards the cow repeated this Incantation three times:—

"Mart a sid air breith," arsa Peadar.

"Tha mi 'faicinn gu'm beil," arsa Pàl.

"Mar a thuiteas an duilleach o'n chraoibh

Gu'n tuiteadh a sile gu lar."

Translated—

"A cow newly calved," said St Peter.

"I observe that," said St Paul.

Both—"As the leaves fall from the tree

May her milk freely flow."

I will now pass from Incantations taken by themselves to the class of Charms where the aid of Amulets was called in, and commence with the

AIRNE MOIRE, OR VIRGIN MARY NUT.

This nut has been for centuries prized in the Hebrides as an amulet of great value. Martin, in his "Western Islands," mentions several of the virtues it was believed to possess. He calls it a "Molluka Bean." Pennant also refers to it as a native of Jamaica, carried by the rivers to the ocean, and thereafter by winds and the Gulf Stream to the Outer Hebrides. According to Patrick Neill, this nut, which is washed ashore in Orkney, is the seed from the pod of the *Dolichos Urens* of Linnæus. (See Tour in Orkney in 1806, p. 60).

The name "Airne Moire" I translate as "The Virgin Mary Nut." In modern Gaelic we have *airneag*, "the sloe." The word also occurs in old and modern Irish, and Mr Whitley Stokes translates *arni cumrae*, in the life of St Bridget, in the Book of Lismore, as "sweet sloes."¹

These nuts are of various colours, but the one most prized has the cross indented on its sides. In Wallace's "Orkney" (1693) we have drawings of four varieties of "Molocco Beans"—one of them having the indented cross. I have in my possession one of these nuts from the Hebrides mounted with a silver cross. It was duly blessed by a cleric—*Pears' Eaglais*—and was believed to be possessed of great virtues. It used to be worn about the neck, just as the scapular is worn at the present time; and every one who thus carried it was believed to be under the special protection of the Virgin Mary. She guarded him from evil courses, led him on the right path, and saved him from various calamities, such, for instance, as a sudden death—*Bas obann*.²

While it was believed to afford general protection as above described, it was specially useful in the case of women in travail; and the belief in its efficacy is not yet a matter of the past. There is a tradition in Uist that on one occasion the Virgin Mary and Jesus were travelling on a stormy night. They came to a strange house for shelter. The goodwife of the house was kind and gentle, but the husband was churlish. The wife gave them quarters, much against the husband's wishes. During the night the wife was seized with the pains of labour. Her case seemed to be a critical one, and the assistance of the guests was asked for. Jesus, observing that the woman was in great danger, said—

Seall, a Mhoire, a' bhean
'S i air fòd a' bhais.

Translated—

Mary, behold the woman
In the throes of death.

¹ *Batir imda ubla 7 arni cumrae isin cill hisin.* (Abundant apples and sweet sloes were in that church).

² The above is an account of the virtues of the *Airne Moire* as told me by an Uist crofter. In St Patrick's Hymn, already referred to, we have a similar idea. The hymn, we are told in the prefatory note, is a "Corslet of faith for the protection of body and soul against demons, and men, and vices. Every one who shall sing it every day, with pious meditation on God, demons shall not stand before his face: it will be a defence to him against every poison and envy: it will be a safeguard to him against sudden death: it will be a corslet to his soul after his death."

The Virgin replied—Seall fhein oirre, a Mhic,
'S ann orra [air do] chomus a tha.

Translated—Son, succour her Thyself,
For Thou hast the power.

Whereupon Jesus told the woman in travail to make the sign of the cross three times, and

A' choinneal a lasadh,
An leanabh a bhaisteadh,
'S a' bhean a bhì slàn.

Translated—To light the candle,
To baptise the child,
And that she [the wife] might recover.

The foregoing is the story as told in Uist; and the birth ceremony as now practised is as follows:—The woman in travail takes the *Airne Moire* in her right hand, and repeats the *Ave Maria* three times. Thereafter the midwife, or other woman in attendance, takes the amulet, and with it makes the sign of the cross on the sick woman (air taobh cearr broinn a' bhoirionnaich fo 'n imleig),¹ at the same time repeating the dialogue above given, or the following version of it:—

“Faic a' bhean, a Mhoire,
'Si aig fòd a bhàis.”
“Seall fhein i a Mhic,
'S ann agad a tha” [‘n cumbachd].
“Cuiribh an gin air an làr,
'S fàgaibh slàn a' bhean.”²

¹ In connection with this ceremony, reference may be made to one of the miracles attributed to S. Ciaran of Saighir. Dioma, Chief of Hy Fiachrach, abducted the beautiful and holy maiden, Bruinneach, from a cell near the monastery, and made her his wife. The Saint applied to Dioma for the restoration of Bruinneach, and his request was in the end complied with. She was pregnant—a circumstance that greatly displeased Ciaran. Thereupon he made the sign of the holy cross on her body, and her burden vanished! The words in the original are:—“Ba thorrach an tan sin í agus nìr mhaith le Ciarán é. Do chuir fioghair na croiche césta ar medhon na hingine agus do chuid an toirches ar nemhú.” (*Vide Silva Gadelica*, Vol. I., p. 5).

² Since the above was in type, Prof. O'Growney has sent me, from South-West Cork, a *Rann* to be said for a woman in child-bed. Some of the phrases are the same as those in my Uist version. It is as follows:—

Crios Mhuire an crios,
Crios na d-trí geros,
Crios gur geineadh Críost ann
A's go rugadh Críost as.
Tar, a Mhuire, a's foir an bhean;
Fóir féin í, 'Mhic, ó's agat a tha,

The girdle of Mary is the girdle,
The girdle of the three crosses,
The girdle in which Christ was conceived,
And out of which Christ was born.
Come, Mary, and relieve the woman;
Do Thou relieve her, O Son, since with Thee it is
[i.e., the power],

Go mbeireadh an baidse air an ngein
A's go d-tigidh an bhean slán.

So that baptism may overtake the child,
And the woman may recover.

Translated—

Jesus—“Mary, behold the woman
In the throes of death.”
Mary—“Succour Thou her, O Son,
For Thou hast the power.”
Jesus—“May the child be born,
And the woman again be well.”

Lady Wilde, in her “Ancient Cures of Ireland,” tells us that if an Irish woman is in great danger of death during her confinement, and is not wearing the scapular, she must be invested at once; and the midwife always carries one with her, ready for the purpose (page 71). It would thus appear that the scapular serves much the same purpose in Ireland that the *Airne Moire* does in Uist.

An Incantation somewhat similar to the one above given is used in the West of Ireland. It is entitled “Ortha Mhuire,” or a prayer to the Virgin Mary, “a deirtear do mhnaibh in a luighe seoil.” I am indebted to Professor O’Growney, who received it from Mr O’Faherty, for the following version of it:—

Dís a easadh orm, Cabhair agus Críost,
Mar rug Anna Muire, a’s mar rug Muire Críost,
Mar rug Eilís Eoin Baisde gan dith coise nó láimh’,
Fóir air an bhean, a Mhic! Fóir fein í, a Mháthair.
O is tú rug an Mac, tabhair an ghein o’n g-enaimh;
Agus go m-budh slán a bheidheas an bhean.

Translated—

Two persons I met—Help and Christ:
As Anna was delivered of Mary, and Mary of Christ;
As Elizabeth was delivered of John the Baptist, wanting
neither foot nor hand;
Relieve the woman, O Son! Relieve her, O Mother!
As it was you who brought forth the Son, take the offspring
from the bone [womb];
And may the woman be well.

In connection with the matter of appeals in childbirth to the Virgin Mary, it is interesting to refer to the case of Roderick Macleod, the St Kilda impostor, described by Martin, Buchan, and others. This man, we are told, taught the women of St Kilda a devout hymn, which he called the Virgin Mary’s. It was never delivered in public, but always in a private house or some remote

place, where no eye could see but that of Heaven; and he persuaded the innocent women that it was of such merit and efficacy that any one able to repeat it by heart would not die in child-bearing. By means of this hymn the impostor debauched many of the women! He was paid a sheep by every wife who learned it. A copy of this hymn would be interesting. Will any member furnish it?

Appeals to the Virgin Mary by women in child-bed appear to have been universal in Christian countries; and we have an interesting instance of it in "The Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore." In "Sgél an da leanabh," given in the introduction, we have the story of two children—one a Jew and the other a Christian—who lived in France. The Christian child induced the Jewish child to go to the temple, and there partake of consecrated bread. The Jewish child afterwards informed his parents what had happened. They were wroth at him, and flung him into the flames [teined ar derglasad] to burn and die. He was left there till burned to ashes. On the morrow his parents found him as if in sleep. In response to their enquiries, the child replied that he was saved by the Virgin Mary ["mathair an aird-rig"—the mother of the high king], and that he was to be a fosterling of hers thenceforward. The parents of the child became Christian. "Ocus is mor in mhirbuil do Mhuire, co nach fetann bean iudaidi tuismhedh a leinimh intan bis co n-idhnuibh no gu n-aitheann Muire"—(And [so] great is this miracle of Mary's, that no Jewish woman, when she is in birth pangs, can bring forth her child until she entreats Mary).¹

In Skye the midwives of former times used a certain herb for the same purpose as the Uist women use the *Airne Moire*. An old Sgiathanach recently informed me that his mother, who was a midwife, invariably used the herb when professionally employed. When in attendance on a woman in childbed she went sun-wise round the patient, carrying the herb, and repeating certain words. She was most successful as a sick-nurse. "No woman ever died

¹ In connection with this subject, reference may be made to a strange belief that prevailed in the Highlands till recent times. Pennant mentions it in his *Tour in Scotland* in 1772, and I cannot do better than quote his words. After referring to the burning of witches near Langholm, he proceeds:—"This reminds me of a very singular belief that prevailed not many years ago in these parts: nothing less than that the midwives had power of transferring part of the primæval curse bestowed on our great first mother from the good-wife to her husband. I saw the reputed offspring of such a labour, who kindly came into the world without giving her mother the least uneasiness, while the poor husband was roaring with agony in his uncouth and unnatural pains.—*Vide* Vol. II., p. 91.

in her hands," said my informant. "I have heard of cases where the child was dead for four or five weeks, but my mother," said he, "always delivered the woman in safety." She was equally successful in the case of animals. He could not tell me the name of the herb. Perhaps some member of the Society can throw further light on the subject.

In connection with the *Ainne Moire* as an amulet, I will read a few lines with regard to St Bridget, from which we see that the "Mary of the Gael" was also regarded as a great protectress. The title is "Sloinneadh Brighde, muime Chríost"—"The Genealogy of St Bridget, foster-mother of Christ." The lines, which I received from Father Allan Macdonald, are as follows:—

Brighdhe nighean Dughail Duinn,
 'Ic Aoidh, 'ic Arta, 'ic Cuinn.
 Gach la is gach oidhche
 Ní mi cuimhneachadh air sloinneadh Brighde.
 Cha mbarbhar mi,
 Cha ghuinear mi,
 Cha ghonar mi,
 Cha mho dli' fhagas Críost an dearmad mi ;
 Cha loisg teine gníomh Shatain mi ;
 'S cha bhath uisge no saile mi ;
 'S mi fo chomraig Naoimh Moire
 'S mo chaonh mhuime, Brighde,

Translated—

St Bridget, the daughter of Dughall Donn,
 Son of Hugh, son of Art, son of Conn.
 Each day and each night
 I will meditate on the genealogy of St Bridget.
 [Whereby] I will not be killed,
 I will not be wounded,
 I will not be bewitched ;
 Neither will Christ forsake me ;
 Satan's fire will not burn me ;
 Neither water nor sea shall drown me ;
 For I am under the protection of the Virgin Mary,
 And my meek and gentle foster-mother, St Bridget.

Some of the phrases in the foregoing have a singular resemblance to certain lines of St Patrick's Hymn, previously mentioned. In the Irish hymn we have the following:—

Crist dommimdegail indiu arneim
 Arloscud arbadud arguin.

Translated—

Christ to protect me to-day against poison,
Against burning, against drowning, against wound.

The *Airne Moire* in Martin's time (circa 1695) was worn round children's necks as an amulet against witchcraft, &c. The white one, he tells us, was particularly prized. I show you a specimen of the white nut. It is not so common as the brown one. Martin says that if evil was intended the nut turned black. That these nuts did change colour, he says, he found true by his own observation, but he could not be positive as to the cause. He then goes on :—

“Malcolm Campbell, steward of Harris, told me that some weeks before my arrival there, all his cows gave blood instead of milk, for several days together. One of the neighbours told his wife that this must be witchcraft, and it would be easy to remove it, if she would but take the white nut, called the Virgin Mary's Nut, and lay it in the pail into which she was to milk the cows. This advice she presently followed ; and, having milked one cow into the pail with the nut in it, the milk was all blood, and the nut changed its colour into dark brown. She used the nut again, and all the cows gave pure good milk, which they ascribe to the virtue of the nut. This very nut Mr Campbell presented me with, and I still keep it by me.” (*Vide* page 39).

While referring to the *Airne Moire*, I may mention another foreign nut, gathered on the shores of the outer islands. Martin says that the kernel of this nut, beat to powder and drunk in milk or *aqua vite*, was reckoned a good cure for diarrhœa and dysentery ; and the Rev. J. Lane Buchanan states that during his sojourn in the Hebrides (1782-1790), after the kernel was removed, the shell was used as a snuff-mull. It is so used still, and I exhibit a specimen. In former times Hebridean ladies got these nuts mounted with silver, and used them as vinaigrettes. This nut, according to Patrick Neill (*Tour in Orkney and Shetland in 1806*), is the seed from the great pod of the *Mimosa Scandens* of Linnæus.

Having described the use of the *Airne Moire* at child birth, a Bathing Charm or Blessing may now be given. It is called

EOLAS AN FHAILCIDH,

or, as mainlanders would say, *Eolas an Fhairigidh*. The water having been duly blessed, the woman bathing the infant began by sprinkling a palmful (*boiseag*) of water on its head. As the performance went on, and as each palmful was sprinkled on the child, the following Incantation was repeated :—

Boiseag orr th'aois [air t'aois],
 'S boiseag orr th'fhàs [air t'fhas],
 'S air do chuid a ghabhail ort,
 'S a chuid nach fhàsadh anns an oidhche dhìot
 Gu'm fàsadh anns an latha dhìot
 Tri baslaichean na Trianaid Naoimh,
 Ga d' dhion 's ga d' shabhaladh
 Bho bheum sùl,
 'S bho chraos-fharmad nam peacach.

Translated—

A palmful of water on your age [years],
 A palmful of water on your growth,
 And on your taking of your food ;
 And may the part of you which grows not during the
 night
 Grow during the day.
 Three palmfuls of water of the Holy Trinity,
 To protect and guard you
 From the effects of the evil eye,
 And from the jealous lust of sinners.

While dealing with amulets, I will briefly refer to

ACHLASAN-CHALUM-CHILLE,

or, as it is sometimes called, *Seul-Chalum-Chille*. This plant is described by Lightfoot in his "Flora Scotica" (p 416), where it is given as St John's Wort, *Hypericum Perforatum*. On the Highland mainland the plant is called "Lus-Eoin-Bhaiste." It is also called "Ealabhuidh." This latter word is mentioned in "Miann a' Bhaire Aoida," a poem first published by Ranald Macdonald of Eigg, in 1776. The name "Ealabhuidh," however, is not generally known in the Highlands, as is illustrated by the fact that John Mackenzie, in the "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," considered it necessary to explain it by means of a footnote.¹ It is also mentioned by Donnchadh Ban in "Beinn-Dobhrainn":—

'S ann do'n teachd-an-tìr
 A bha sòghar lea'
 Sobhrach 's *eala-bhi*
 'S barra neoineagan.

The word is given in O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary, from which the inference may be drawn that it is Irish. The plant, according to the

¹ Vide "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," page 14.

same authority, is also called "Allas-Mhuire." It is noteworthy that while it is generally named after St John, we have it in the Highlands named after St Columba, and in Ireland after the Virgin Mary.

We have numerous descriptions, in folk-lore books, of the ceremonies on St John's Eve, the plucking of St John's Wort, and the foretelling of one's destiny, much in the same way as our Hallowe'en observances. Bassardus Viscontinus, an old writer, commends that plant, gathered on a Friday, about the full moon in July, and worn round the neck, as a cure for melancholy, and calculated to drive away all fantastical spirits. (*Vide* Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy"). A German poet beautifully describes the ceremony in connection with this plant, in lines of which the following are a translation:—

The young maid stole through the cottage door,
 And blushed as she sought the *plant of power* :—
 "Thou silver glow-worm, oh lend me thy light,
 I must gather the mystic St John's Wort to-night—
 The wonderful herb, whose leaf will decide
 If the coming year shall make me a bride."

 And the glow-worm came,
 With its silvery flame,
 And sparkled and shone
 Through the night of St John ;
 And soon has the young maid her love-knot tied.

 With noiseless tread,
 To her chamber she sped,
 Where the spectral moon her white beams shed :—

"Bloom here, bloom here, thou plant of power,
 To deck the young bride in her bridal hour!"
 But it drooped its head that plant of power,
 And died the mute death of the voiceless flower ;
 And a withered wreath on the ground it lay,
 More meet for a burial than a bridal day.

And when a year was passed away,
 All pale on her bier the young maid lay ;

 And the glow-worm came,
 With its silvery flame,
 And sparkled and shone
 Through the night of St John ;

And they closed the cold grave o'er the maid's cold clay.

—(*Vide* Hone's "Every Day Book," Vol. I., p. 427).

An Uist lady described *Achlasan-Chalum-Chille* to me as growing in out-of-the-way corners in little branches, with pretty yellow flowers—"Bithidh e 'fas 'na ghasan agus dithein bhoidheach bhuidhe air." To get it growing on the hillside at a time when it was not looked for was considered very lucky, for prosperity and success followed in its train—"Bha buaidh ga ruith." When it was found unsought for, the following Incantation was said:—

Achlasan-Chalum-Chille
 Gun sireadh, gun iarraidh,
 Mo niarrachd ¹ a gheibheadh e.
 Buainidh mise duilleach an aigh,
 Mar a dh'òrduich an t-Ard-Rìgh.
 Cha 'n 'eil aite 'n teid e suas
 Nach buinnigtheadh leis buaidh a's eis.

Translated—

The herb of St Columba [St John's Wort]
 Unsought-for, unasked—
 Fortunate is he who would get it.
 I will cut [or pluck] the foliage of Prosperity
 As commanded by the High King.
 Wherever it is put up
 It will win victory and command homage.

Another version of the Incantation was thus:—

Achlasan-Chalum-Chille
 Gun sireadh, gun iarraidh,
 Air sliabh chaorach tha mi ga d' spionadh.

Translated—

St Columba's herb,
 Unsought-for and unasked—
 On the sheep hills I pluck thee.

Another version was—

Luibh Chalum-Chille gun sireadh, gun iarraidh ;
 'S a dheoin Dia cha bhàsaich mi nochd.

¹ Foinne mu 'n iadh bròg
 Mo *niarrachd* bean òg air am bi ;
 Foinne mu 'n iadh glaic,
 Mo *niarrachd* am mac air am bi.

The phrase "Mo niarrachd" is probably equivalent to the Old Irish "Mo n-genar det-siu"—"it is happy for you"—now "is meunar duit-se."

Gaelic Society of Inverness.

Translated—

St Columba's herb (or wort) unsought-for and unasked ;
And please God, I will not die to-night.

The plant, carried about the person, was believed to act as a charm or protection against all manner of evil agencies. Old persons preserved it in the hope that their cattle and sheep would increase, and that prosperity in general would attend them ; while school children carried it in the hope of protecting themselves from the teacher's tawse. The Eigg schoolboy who loitered on the road from school in the evening was satisfied he would escape parental reproof if, in course of his wanderings, he came across this precious herb, unsought-for. On thus finding it he said—

Aohlasan-Chalum-Chille, gun sireadh, gun iarraidh ;
'S a dheoin Dia cha 'n fhaigh mi aclmhasan an nochd.

Translated—

St Columba's herb, unsought-for and unasked ;
And please God, I will not be reproved to-night !

Martin mentions the *Fuga Daemonum*, a term which I may translate "Sgiùrsadh nan Deamhan." I think there can be no doubt that the plant he refers to is St John's Wort. He says :—

"John Morrison, who lives in Bernera of Harris, wears the plant called *Fuga Daemonum* sewed in the neck of his coat, to prevent his seeing of visions, and says he never saw any since he first carried that plant about him. He suffered me to feel the plant in the neck of his coat, but would by no means let me open the seam, though I offered him a reward to let me do it."—(*Vide* page 334).

Like St John's Wort, the four-leaved Shamrock was believed to be possessed of many virtues, not only in Ireland, but also in the Isle of Man and the Scottish Highlands. When found without seeking, it was considered fortunate, and concerning it the following lines were said :—

Seamrag nan duillean 's nam buadh,
Bu chaomh leam thu bhi fo m' chluasaig
'N àm dhomb cadal na'm shuain.

Translated—

Shamrock of leaves and virtues,
I would wish you to be under my pillow
On my falling asleep.

TOIR A MACH AN TORAIDIL.

Every Highlander is acquainted with the belief that a witch can take the substance out of her neighbour's milk. The same belief is common throughout Ireland. The idea is not peculiar to the Celts, however; and as illustrating the power attributed to witches, I quote two counts from the indictment charging Marion Pardown, Hillswick, Shetland, 1644, with witchcraft. (*Vide* "Hibbert's Shetland's," p. 282). They are as follows :—

"Item,—Ye the sd. Marion Pardown ar indyttit and accusit for that zeers syne, James Halero, in Hilldiswick, having a cow that ye alledged had pushed a cow of yours, ye in revenge thereof, by yr. said devilish art of witchcraft, made the sd. James his cow, milk nothing but blood, whereas your awin cow had no harm in her milk; whereupon they suspecting you, shewit the sd. bloody milk to Marion Kilti your servant, quha desyrit of you the same bloody milk for Goddis caus to shew you, and said she houplit the cow sould be weil; quhilk having gotten, and coming therewith to your hous, and shawing it to you, thereafter the cow grew weil, thairby shewing and proving your sd. devilish practyce of the art of witchcraft.

"Item,—Ye, the said Marion, are indyttit and accusit for that you having, a'no 1642 zeirs, hyrit ane cow from Androw Smith, younger in Hildiswick, which ye keepit frae the bull, when she wald have taken bull, and the sd. Andro getting knowledge thereof, causit the same to be brought to the bull and bullit against your will. The next year when she calved, ye by your sd. devilish art of witchcraft, took away her proffit and milk, sa that she milked nothing but water, quhilk stinked and tasted of sharn a long tyme, till that you comming by the sd. Andro his hous, he suspecting you, caused you to milk her and look to her, after which doing, immediately the sd. cow's milk cam to its own nature,—thairby indicating and sewing your sd. devilish, and wicked, and abominable airt and practyce of witchcraft,—and quhilk ye cannot deny."

Poor Marion was found guilty, and sentenced to be burned to death.

In the Highlands, similar beliefs as to the powers of witches prevailed; and our Transactions contain an interesting paper by our friend Mr William Mackay, describing the burning of witches in Strathglass. The Rev. Robert Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle in the seventeenth century, gives us in his "Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies," the following account of it :—

“What food they [the Fairies] extract from us is conveyed to their homes by secret paths, as some skilfull Women do the Pith and Milk from their Neighbours Cows into their own Chiese-hold thorow a Hair-tedder, at a great Distance, by Airt Magic, or by drawing a spickot fastened to a Post, which will bring milk as farr of as a bull will be heard to roar. The Chiese made of the remaineing Milk of a Cow thus strain'd will swim in Water like a cork. The method they take to recover their milk is a bitter chyding of the suspected Inchanters, charging them by a Counter Charme to give them back their own, in God, or their Master's name. But a little of the Mother's Dung stroakit on the Calves mouth before it suck any, does prevent this theft.” The formula described by Isabella Gowdie, a witch, was as follows:—“We plait the rope the wrong way, in the Devil's name, and we draw the tether between the cow's hind feet, and out betwixt her forward feet, in the Devil's name, and thereby take with us the cow's milk.”

I am not aware that this mode of treatment existed in the Western Islands. There the people, by means of herbs and appeals to the Trinity and the Church, hoped to ward off the powers of witchcraft. For this purpose a favourite plant was

MOTHAN, OR MOÄN.

I do not find the name of this herb in any of our Gaelic dictionaries; but in Lightfoot's “Flora Scotica,” page 1131, under the heading “Addition of Erse and Scotch names and plants,” we have the following:—“*Pinguicula vulgaris*, Moän, *Gaulis*. Steep-grass, Earning-grass, *Scotis-austral*.”

In Uist this plant was believed to be a sure protection against the powers of witches. It should be pulled on a Sunday in this manner:—On finding a place where it grew in abundance, the person going to use it would mark out three small tufts, and calling one by the name of the Father, another by the name of the Son, and the third by the name of the Holy Ghost, would commence pulling the tufts, at the same time saying:—

Buainidh mise am Mòthan,
An luibh a bheannaich an Domhnach;
Fhad 'sa ghleidheas mise am Mòthan
Cha 'n 'eil e beo air thalamh
Gin a bheir bainne mo bhò bhuan.

Translated—

I will pull the Mòän,
 The herb blessed by the Domhnach ;¹
 So long as I preserve the Mòän
 There lives not on earth
 One who will take my cow's milk from me.

The three tufts having thus been pulled, they were carefully taken home, rolled up in a small piece of cloth, and concealed in some corner of the dairy or milk-kist—"ciste-a'-bhainne." I have here a specimen of the Mòän which was in actual use as an amulet.

As an illustration of the virtues of the Mòän as a *Fuga Dæmonum*, my informant narrated a story, which may be briefly given here:—A certain woman in the Western Islands was delivered of a son. As usual on such occasions, there was a group of admiring females round the fire attending to the wants of the new arrival. While thus employed, they saw a shaggy little creature—"creutar beag, loireach"—traddling in at the door. He stood bewildered ; and in an instant they heard a voice without, "Nach toir thu mach e?"—(Will you not bring it out?) The "creutar loireach" responded, "Cha toir ; cha'n urrainn mi, 's bainne na bà a dh'ith am Mòthan 'na bhroinn"—(No, I cannot, for the milk of the cow that ate the Mòän is in his stomach). The stranger, who was believed to be a Fairy anxious to "lift" the child before it was baptised, then vanished.²

A plant called "Caoibhreachan" was also used as an amulet to protect milk from witches. It was believed that the substance, or "Toradh," could not be taken out of milk in any house where the "Caoibhreachan" was kept under an upturned dish. I do not find this plant mentioned in our Gaelic dictionaries, and I have not been able to get a specimen of it.

In this connection, I may give *Eolus nan Torranan*. I quote it from Dr Stewart's "Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe." Dr Stewart got it from Mr A. A. Carmichael:—

Buaineams' thu, a thorrannain,
 Le t' uile bheannachd 's le t' uile bhuidh ;
 Thainig na naoi earrannan
 Le buaidh an torranain,
 Lamh Bhrighte leam !
 Tha mi nis 'gad bhuaib.

¹ *i.e.*, the Church.

² It was the custom at one time in the Island of Colonsay to put an old shoe to burn at the fireside when a woman was in travail, in order to keep away the fairies that were always ready to "lift" an infant.

Buaineams' thu, a thorrainn,
 Le d' thoradh mara 's tire,
 Ri lionadh gun traghadh
 Le d' laimh-sa, Bhrighde mhìn,
 Calum naomh 'gam sheoladh,
 Odhran caomh 'gam dhion,
 Is Micheil nan steud uaibhreach
 'Cur buaidh anns an ni.

Tha mo lus lurach a nis air a bhuain.

Translated—

Let me pluck thee, Torannan !
 With all thy blessedness and all thy virtue,
 The nine blessings came with the nine parts,
 By the virtue of the Torannan ;
 The hand of St Bride with me,
 I am now to pluck thee.
 Let me pluck thee, Torannan !
 With thine increase as to sea and land ;
 With the flowing tide that shall know no ebbing,
 By the assistance of the chaste St Bride,
 The holy St Columba directing me,
 Gentle Oran protecting me,
 And St Michael of high-crested steeds
 Imparting virtue to my cattle,
 My darling plant is now plucked.

The Kirk-Session of Kenmore, in Perthshire, had several cases of alleged witchcraft in last century. From the Kirk-Session records it appears that Janet Macintaggart was charged, on 19th July, 1747, with "Charnis and Inchantments," by milking three drops from her neighbour's sheep as a charm to recover the substance of the milk. Her sister Margaret was charged with going into every house in the township with an egg shell having a little milk in it concealed in her breast ; and being asked for what end she did it, she answered that "she heard some of the wives of the town say that to go into their neighbour's houses with an egg shell after this manner was an effectual charm to recover the substance of their milk which was taken away."

THE EVIL EYE.

The belief in the Evil Eye is of great antiquity. Virgil says—

"Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos."

"It must be that some evil eye bewitches my tender lambs."

For centuries this belief has prevailed in the Highlands. We are often told that the Highlanders are superstitious, and in that respect far behind their Lowland neighbours. It may not be amiss to point out here that the belief in the Evil Eye has prevailed in all countries, and prevails even in civilised Greece to the present time. Mr Rennall Rodd, in his interesting volume on the "Customs and Lore of Modern Greece," mentions that all grades of Grecian society believe in it. So much is this the case, that it is acknowledged by the Greek Church, which has prayers against its potency.

The Evil Eye was believed to be the outcome of envy. Admiration implied envy and covetousness, and hence when one praised or admired another, whether man or beast, the object praised was believed to be liable to the effects of the Evil Eye.¹ Thus when a woman admires a child, she frequently says—"Gu'm beannaich an Sealbh thu ; cha *ghabh mo shuil ort* ;" which may be translated—"God bless you, my eye shall not punish you"—that is to say that the child should not become a victim to the Evil Eye.

This idea also prevails in Orkney and Shetland, where praise of the description above indicated receives the name "Forespoken." If one says to a child "He is a bonnie bairn ;" or "Thoo are looking well the day," it is regarded as coming from an "ill tongue," unless the expression "God save the bairn," or some such blessing is also used. When one was "Forespoken" the cure in Orkney was "Forespoken Water"—that is water into which something has been dropped, supposed to possess magical powers, and over which an Incantation has been pronounced—probably a reminiscence of Holy Water. The articles dropped in the water were, as a rule, three pebbles of different colours gathered from the sea shore. The charm was considered most potent when one stone was jet black, another white, and the remaining red, blue, or greenish. An Incantation was then muttered over the water, the reciter commencing by saying the word "Sain," and at the same time making the sign of the cross on the surface of the water. The Incantation was as follows :—

In the name of Him that can cure or kill,
This water shall cure all earthly ill,
Shall cure the blood and flesh and bone,
For ilka ane there is a stone :

¹ In the song of the Kenlochewe Bard already referred to, we have the line—
Buidseachd, a's draoidheachd a's *farmad*.
(Witchcraft, sorcery, and *envy*.)

May she fleg all trouble, sickness, pain,
 Cure without and cure within
 Cure the heart, and horn, and skin.

The patient for whom the "Forespoken Water" was prepared had to drink a part of it ; the remainder was sprinkled on his person.

A variant of the Incantation is as follows :—

Father, Son, Holy Ghost,
 Bitten sall they be
 Wha have bitten thee !
 Care to their near vein,
 Until thou get'st thy health again,
 Mend thou in God's name !

The Evil Eye might be described as of a two-fold character. It was (first) believed to be the outcome of an evil disposition on the part of the one who possessed it ; and (secondly) many were believed to be possessed of this unhappy faculty, though at the same time they were innocent of any ill design. I have recently met on the West Coast a man who believed that he himself had the Evil Eye, and that he could not look even on his own cattle and admire them without the animals suffering from the baneful influence ! In Greece the most popular amulet against fascination, and the consequent Evil Eye, is garlic. A mother or nurse walking out with her children, who may be admired, will at once exclaim "Skordon" (garlic). The ancients seem to have held that a power which grew out of envy was best thwarted by anything which provoked laughter. Accordingly amulets of an indelicate character were worn as charms, and spitting was an universal remedy. In West Connaught recourse is had to spitting at the present day. The person suspected of possessing the Evil Eye is got to expectorate on the person "over-looked." Should the suspected person decline, an effort is made to get a part of his underclothing for the purpose of rubbing the "overlooked" person with it. In the event of these "remedies" proving ineffectual recourse is had to a process called *Conlaoideacha*. According to this method a relative of the "victim" takes a mug and proceeds with it to a certain number of houses. He gets every member of each house visited to spit into the mug. The contents are taken home and the "overlooked" person is rubbed therewith. This is believed to be an effectual cure !

In the Highlands there were amulets worn, such as coins and beads, about children's necks ; and the possessor of the Evil Eye was given something as an antidote to his envy. If a neighbour

entered when a woman was churning, the envious eye of the visitor might affect the performance, and prevent the butter from coming ! To avert such a calamity, the visitor got a drink out of the churn. In order to avoid such interruptions, the churning was usually made after bed-time, when the dangers of interruption from without were few.

A certain preparation of water was one of the prevailing remedies when either man or beast was supposed to be suffering from the Evil Eye. At page 126 of Vol. VIII. of the Gaelic Society's Transactions, I gave a short account of the ceremony. According to the description then given, coins of gold, silver, and copper were put into a basin of water. The person performing the *Eolas* repeated the undernoted words over the dish, at the same time blowing the water with his or her breath. The water was then sprinkled on the person supposed to be suffering from the malady. The words given on that occasion were—

'S i 'n t-suil a chi,
 'S e 'n cridhe a smuainicheas,
 'S i 'n teanga 'labhras ;
 'S mise 'n Triuir gu tilleadh so ortsa, A.B.
 An ainm an Athar, a' Mhic, 's an Spioraid Naoimh.

Translated—

'Tis the eye that sees,
 'Tis the heart that thinks,
 'Tis the tongue that speaks ;
 I am the Three to turn this off you.¹
 In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the
 Holy Ghost.

So much by way of introduction. I will now proceed with the mode of curing the sufferer from the supposed effects of the Evil Eye, as the same is practised in Uist. In the first place, the performer goes for water, and, if possible, it is taken from a burn across which the living pass, and over which the bodies of the dead are from time to time carried. Having brought the water into the house, he repeats the *Paidir* (*Pater*), and the *Creud* (*Credo*). He then takes a coin, or coins. My informant was not very precise as to the use of the three metals, as stated in the former description, but she significantly added, “Mar is treise 'n t-airgid 's ann is fhearr e,” meaning that the more valuable the coin, the more powerful it is ! The coin, or coins, are then, in the name of

¹ Here the name of the afflicted person is to be said.

the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, put into the water. Thereafter three palmfuls (*tri boiseagan*) are sprinkled, in the name of the Trinity, on the person or animal suffering. The performer then goes with the dish of water to the fireside, and sprinkles three palmfuls on the fire, repeating these words:—

“ An till teine farmad ?
Tillidh teine farmad.”

(“ Will fire turn envy ?
Fire will turn envy”).

The remainder of the water is then taken outside, and spilled on a flag, or rock—on what my informant called “air lic dhilim,” that is, a flag or rock *in situ*.

At the present day, in Perthshire, a similar performance is gone through when a tenant finds that a ram of his flock is sick. The practice, doubtless, has its origin in the belief that such sickness was due to the Evil Eye. The ceremony is somewhat similar to that described in the first charm ; and it was considered a good sign if the coin adhered to the bottom of the vessel containing the water.

A version I received from Skye a few years ago seems simple. Three coins—half a sovereign, half a crown, and half a penny—were put into the water ; the performer knelt on his right knee, and sprinkled the water on the sufferer, at the same time repeating the following Incantation :—

Chi suil thu :
Labhraidh bial thu ;
Smuainichidh cridhe thu—
An Triuir ga do dhion—
An t-Athair, am Mac, 'san Spiorad Naomh.
(name here)
A thoil-san gu'n robh deanta. Amen.

Translated—

Eye will see you,
Tongue will speak of you ;
Heart will think of you—
The Three are protecting you—
The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

A. B.

His will be done. Amen.

There was a general dread of the Evil Eye among old Skyemen in former times. As an antidote against it, the following verse was repeated when washing in the morning :—

Gu'm beannaicheadh Dia mo shuil,
 'S beannaichidh mo shuil na chi :
 Beannaichidh mise mo nabuidh,
 'S beannaichidh mo nabuidh mi.

Translated—

Let God bless my eye,
 And my eye will bless all I see ;
 I will bless my neighbour,
 And my neighbour will bless me.

Another Skye remedy was the sign of the cross. When a person believed to have the Evil Eye, or to be unlucky to meet (*droch comhdhàlaiche*), was met anywhere, the person dreading any evil result from the meeting made the sign of the cross on the ground, between himself and the untoward person. This practice prevailed till recent times, and may still be observed by old persons—a very significant survival of Catholic times in a purely Protestant district.

Another supposed cure for the Evil Eye was “Eolas a' chronachaidh.” An account of it is given in Mackenzie's “Beauties,” page 268, where it is stated that as the Incantation was sung a bottle of water was being filled, and the performer so modulated his voice as to chime with the gurgling of the liquid as it poured into the vessel. The Incantation, as given in the “Beauties,” is as follows :—

Deanamsa dhutsa eolas air suil,
 A uchd 'Ilie Phadruig Naoimh,
 Air at amhaich is stad earbuill,
 Air naoi conair 's air naoi connachair,
 'S air naoi bean seang sithe,
 Air suil seana-ghille, 's air scalladh seana-mbna ;
 Mas a suil fir i, i lasadh mar bhig,
 Mas a suil mnath' i, i bhi dh' easbhuidh a cich,
 Falcadair fuar agus fuarachd da 'fuil,
 Air a nì, 's air a daoine,
 Air a crodh 's air a caoraich fein.

Translated—

Let me perform for you a charm for the evil eye,
 From the breast of the holy Gil-Patrick [St Patrick],
 Against swelling of neck and stoppage of bowels [tail],
 Against nine "Conair" and nine "Connachair,"
 And nine slender fairies,
 Against an old bachelor's eye and an old wife's eye.
 If a man's eye may it flame like resin,
 If a woman's eye may she want her breast,
 A cold plunge and coldness to her blood,
 And to her stock, to her men,
 To her cattle and her sheep.

I have already referred to the spitting cure as practised in Ireland. I am indebted to Mr D. O'Faherty, the collector and compiler of that entertaining volume, "Siamsa an Gheimhridh," for the following Irish incantation against the Evil Eye:—

An Triur a chounaic mé agus nár bheannuigh mé—
 An t-suil, an croidhe, agus an beul ;
 An Triur a chuir mise do mo chosaint—
 An t-Athair, an Mac, agus an Spiorad Naomb.
 Air a bha beannach, no air a chaoraibh lachtnach,
 Agus mar bh-fuil rud air bith eile aige,
 Faoi na chroidhe agus faoi 'na easnachaibh fein,
 Uaimse agus ó gach duine bhaineas liom fein.

Translated—

Three who saw me and did not bless me—
 The eye, the heart, and the mouth ;
 The Three whom I placed to protect me—
 The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.
 (May the effects of the Evil Eye fall)
 On his horned cattle, on his dun sheep ;
 And if he has nothing else (may he feel its effects)
 Under his own heart and under his own ribs
 From me and from each person who belongs to me.

Mr Leland, in his "Gypsy Sorcery," makes several references to the Evil Eye. At page 51 he describes the Gypsy ceremony against the influence of the Evil Eye, and as it is somewhat akin to our Highland method, I may briefly repeat it here. A jar is filled with water from a stream, and it must be taken *with*, not *against* the current. In it are placed seven coals, seven handfuls

of meal, and seven cloves of garlic, all of which are put on the fire. When the water begins to boil, it is stirred with a three-forked twig, while the gypsy repeats a rhyme of which the following is a translation:—

Evil eyes look on thee,
 May they here extinguished be,
 And then seven ravens
 Pluck out the evil eyes.
 Evil eyes (now) look on thee,
 May they soon extinguished be.
 Much dust in the eyes,
 Thence may they become blind.
 Evil eyes now look on thee,
 May they soon extinguished be ;
 May they burn, may they burn
 In the fire of God !

It is pointed out that the seven ravens in the rhyme are probably represented by the seven coals ; while the three-pointed twig, the meal, and the garlic, symbolise lightning.

From the Evil Eye one naturally turns to what is called in the Outer Hebrides,

EOLAS AN T-SNAITHNEAN, OR THE TRIPLE THREADS.

I have previously pointed out that Pennant, in his Tour, refers to Virgil's description of the charms used by the shepherd Alphesibæus, and the use of triple threads in connection with these:—

*“Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores ;
 Necte, Amarylli, modo et ‘ Veneris’ die ‘ vincula necto.’”*

(“Twine in three knots, Amaryllis, the three colours ;
 Twine them. Amaryllis, and say, ‘I am twining the bonds of love’”).

Eolas an t-Snaithean is simply the Charm or Incantation of the threads, that is, the triple threads ; and it is worthy of note that the triple threads of Virgil were white, rose colour, and black. In Virgil's Eclogue VIII., line 73, we have a clear reference to the *Eolas* of the triple threads:—

*“Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
 Licia circumdo.”*

(“These three threads distinct with three colours
 I wind round thee first”),

thus proving the great antiquity of this charm. It is still very popular in the Western Islands, and is used as a Charm against

the effects of the Evil Eye, and also against Witchcraft. The rite observed is as follows :—

First, the *Paidir* or *Pater* is said. Then the following Incantation :—

Chi suil thu,
 Labhraidh bial thu ;
 Smuainichidh cridhe thu.
 Tha Fear an righthighe¹
 Gad' choisreagadh,
 An t-Athair, am Mac, 's an Spiorad Naomh.

Ceathrar a rinn do chron—
 Fear agus bean,
 Gille agus nighean.
 Co tha gu sin a thilleadh ?
 Tri Pearsannan na Trianaid ro-naomh,
 An t-Athair, am Mac, 's an Spiorad Naomh.

Tha mi 'cur fianuis gu Moire, agus gu Brighde,
 Ma 's e duine rinn do chron,
 Le droch run,
 No le droch shuil,
 No le droch chridhe,
 Gu'm bi thusa, (²) gu math
 Ri linn so a chur mu 'n cuairt ort.
 An ainm an Athar, a' Mhic, 's an Spioraid Naoimh.

Translated—

An eye will see you,
 Tongue will speak of you,
 Heart will think of you,
 The Man of Heaven
 Blesses you
 The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Four caused your hurt—
 Man and wife,
 Young man and maiden.
 Who is to frustrate that ?
 The three Persons of the most Holy Trinity,
 The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

¹ Righ-theach is an ordinary word for Heaven in the old Irish manuscripts.

² Here say the name of person or beast to be cured.

I call the Virgin Mary and St Bridget to witness
 That if your hurt was caused by man,
 Through ill-will,
 Or the evil eye,
 Or a wicked heart,
 That you [A.B.] may be whole,
 While I entwine this about you.
In nomine Patris, &c.

The whole of the foregoing Incantation is recited three times, and, during the recital, the *Snaithnean*, or tri-coloured triple thread, is entwined about the beast's tail (*am bun an earbuill*) with triple knots. If the beast is to recover, the person applying the *Snaithnean* feels himself or herself becoming ill! If the first recital does not prove efficacious, the rite may be performed two or three times.

Another *Eolas*, which appears to be an abbreviation of the *Snaithnean*, is

EOLAS FOIREIGNIDH.

It may be used for man or beast, with or without the *Snaithnean*, in all sorts of illnesses of a sudden nature, and is much in request. It is as follows:—

Ceathrar a laidheas an suil,
 Fear a's bean,
 Gille agus nighean,
 Triuir ga shodhadh sin,
 An t-Athair, an Mac, 's an Spiorad Naomh.

From the Evil Eye and the *Snaithnean* one naturally turns to

THE SIAN, OR SEUN.

Macalpine defines *Seun* as "an amulet to render a warrior invulnerable." The word is also used in an ecclesiastical sense as meaning blessed, or sacred. We have the expression "An biadh gun *sianadh* air do shiubhal," signifying that a person had partaken of food without blessing it or saying grace. In the song of the Kenlochewe Bard, previously referred to, we have the mother-in-law presented to us at the bed of the young couple as "Ga'n *sianadh* 's ga'n teagasg;" that is, blessing them and teaching them. The *Sian*, as explained by Macalpine, and also in a more elaborate form by the learned authors of the Highland Society's Dictionary, is simply a protective charm; and it is of interest to note that the belief in it is by no means confined to

the Highlands. In the work by Mr Rennall Rodd, previously referred to, we have an account of a certain Cretan warrior who, in our own time, pretended to be invulnerable in virtue of a medal of St Constantine, which he wore suspended round his neck. Twice this warrior was hit without being wounded, but a third time he received a serious wound in the neck. This, however, did not shake his confidence, and he attributed his mischance to the fact that in pursuance of a vendetta he had determined in his own mind to take the life of a fellow-Christian, whereupon the saint had withdrawn his protection. This reminds one of the legend that the Highland warriors who were under a *sian* at Culloden had only to remove their plaids and shake off the bullets! The Clanranald chief who was killed at Sheriffmuir was believed to be "charmed" or under a protective spell; and an Uist tradition has it that he was treacherously killed by a man from his own estates who had encountered his ire for some misconduct, and who joined his opponents. This man knew that his chief was protected by a *sian*, and, putting a silver coin into his gun, shot him.

The *sian* of the Clanranalds was, according to tradition, a piece of the club moss (*Garbhay an t-sleibhe*), and a piece of the caul or *currachd-rath* (Fortunatus's cap). These were put into the pocket of the warrior when departing for battle, either by a virgin or an unmarried man. At the same time an Incantation of some kind was gone through. With regard to the club moss, the following lines were said:—

Fhir a shiubblas gu h-eutrom,
 Cha 'n eagal dhuit beud no pudhar,
 'S garbhag-an-t-sleibhe bhi air do shiubhal.

I was not able to find the Incantation of the *Sian* in Uist, but I give here a set which Mr Macbain obtained from one of his mainland friends. The "charmer" and his *protege* go to a retired spot. The recipient of the charm there goes on his knees; the "charmer" lays his hand on the other's head; and, with eyes shut, utters the Incantation. Going round him sunwise, or *Deiseal*, he repeats these words twice:—

Sian a chuir Moire air a Mac ort,
 Sian roimh mharbhadh, sian roimh lot ort,
 Sian eadar a' chioch 's a' ghlun,
 Sian eadar a' ghlun 's a' bhroit [bhraghaid] ort,
 Sian nan Tri ann an Aon ort,
 O mhullach do chinn gu bonn do chois ort.

Sian seachd paidir a h-aon ort,
 Sian seachd paidir a dha ort,
 Sian seachd paidir a tri ort,
 Sian seachd paidir a ceithir ort,
 Sian seachd paidir a coig ort,
 Sian seachd paidir a sia ort,
 Sian seachd paidir nan seachd paidir dol deiseal ri
 deagh uarach ort, ga do ghleidheadh bho bheud
 's bho mhi-thapadh.

Translated—

The charm that Mary placed on her Son be on you,
 Charm from slaying, charm from wounding,
 Charm between pap and knee,
 Charm between knee and breast on you,
 Charm of the Three in One on you,
 From top of head to sole of foot,
 Charm of seven paters once on you,
 Charm of seven paters twice on you,
 Charm of seven paters thrice on you,
 Charm of seven paters four times on you,
 Charm of seven paters five times on you,
 Charm of seven paters six times on you,
 Charm of the seven paters of the seven paters going
 sunwise in lucky hour on you, a-keeping you
 from harm and accident.

Going anti-sunwise, or *tuaitheal*, he repeats the following one :—

Clogaid na slainte mu d' cheann,
 Cearcall a' Chumhaint mu d' amhaich,
 Uchd-eididh an t-sagairt mu b' bhroilleach;
 Ma 's ruaig bho 'n taobh-chuil,
 Brogan na h-Oighe ga d' ghiulan gu luath.
 Sian nan Tri ann an Aon ort,
 Bho mhullach do chinn gu bonn do shail,
 Agus sian paidir nan seachd paidir
 Dol tuaitheal is deiseal, deiseal is tuaitheal,
 Gu d' ghleidheadh bho d' ebul
 Bho luaidhe 's bho chladheamh,
 Bho lot 's bho mharbhadh,
 Gu uair a's am do bhais.

Translated—

The helmet of salvation about your head,
 The ring of the Covenant about your neck,
 The priest's breastplate about your breast;
 If it be rout on the rear,
 The shoes of the Virgin to take you swiftly away.
 Charm of the Three in One on you
 From crown of head to sole of foot,
 And the charm of the pater of the seven paters
 A-going anti-sunwise and sunwise, sunwise and anti-sunwise,
 To protect you from behind,
 From lead and from sword,
 From wound and from slaying,
 Till the hour and time of your death.

The *Caul*—*Currachd-rath*, or, as it is frequently called, *Cochull*—is a membranous cap in which the head of a child is sometimes enveloped when born. Such children are believed to be the special favourites of fortune. In addition to the caul being regarded as a protective charm in battle, it is also believed to afford protection from drowning, and is looked upon as an article of considerable marketable value among sailors. The belief in its efficacy is by no means confined to the Highlands or even to Scotland. The French in Mauritius attach special virtue to it, and offer it for sale at fancy prices. In 1835, an advertisement in the following terms appeared in the *Times* newspaper:—"A child's caul to be disposed of, a well-known preservative against drowning, &c. Price 10 guineas." Mr Moore refers to this superstition in the Isle of Man, and states that a caul has been advertised for sale in a Liverpool newspaper in 1891. Professor O'Growney informs me that advertisements to the same effect appeared frequently in Irish newspapers till about ten years ago.

In connection with this matter, it may be mentioned that the cowl of the monk—Gaelic, *cochull*; Latin, *cucullus*—was also used as an amulet in battle. In the life of St Columba, in the Book of Lismore, we are told that Columcille sained, or consecrated, a cowl for the warrior Aed Slaine, and said that he (the warrior) would not be slain so long as that cowl should be on him. Aed Slaine went upon a raid. He forgot his cowl. He was slain on that day. Again, in Adamnan's Life of Columba (Book II., ch. 25), mention is made of Findlugan donning the Saint's cowl to protect him from the spear-thrusts of Manus Dexter! St Columba is said to have written the MS. known as the *Cathach*. His kindred, the O'Donnells, always brought it with them to battle, and it was their

custom to have it carried three times round their army before fighting, in the belief that this would ensure victory. Hence the name *Cathach*, or Battle-book.

In Ireland an Incantation known as *Marthainn Phadraic* serves the purpose of the Highland *Sion*. According to tradition, St Patrick recited the words over the corpse of one Aine, and stated that any one hearing it would escape many dangers. The language of the *Marthainn* is very old : and several passages have crept into it which are very obscure. The Irish peasantry attribute great virtues to it, and are very anxious to have it. Irish soldiers in foreign lands have been known to send for it in the belief that it would preserve them from being shot. For the following version of it I am indebted to Mr D. O'Faherty, editor of *Siamsa an Gheimhridh*. He took it down from the recitation of an old man named Michael Joyce:—

Claoidhtear seang ; feart fial ; Aine 'sa g-cill go buan
 Go buadh na g-craobh nglaise ; sùgh na géige-géire, gile.
 Go m-budh subbach suan mise agus ingean Aonghuis Saimh Ghlais,
 Gidh nar budh ionann ùinn rún creidimh
 Gan d'ár ngrádh againn air an talamh acht Aine.
 Beannachd leis an anam a bhi i g-corp Aine ní h-áille
 Agus gach neach a m-beidh an Mharthainn seo aige
 Beannachd d'ár ngrádh-ne.
 Is aoibhinn a folt, go bláth fionn-bhuidhe, 'O a h-aghaidh séimhe
 corcardha.
 Agus a corp a bhi seimh cumhra.
 Beul ó fáth focal níor facas a riamh ó náire.
 Aine óg ní h-áille go feart a claoidh !
 Níor chualaidh sí a riamh an aithrige i g-cruth, ó ghuth ná ó
 cháilidheachd.
 Fagamuid na buadha-so mar ar n-aitline ; buadh conganta, buadh
 treise ;
 Buadh feise le fionn mnaibh ; buadh dubhán na tri rígh riaghalta faoi
 Aine, ní bheidh morán cin air d'aithrige ma éistir le comhradh—
 An té a dearfadh mo laoidh go méar-bhinn glan nasal
 Rachfaidh an t-Aingéal ar neimh leis 's níor bh' eagal do Rígh an
 Uabhair.
 An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so tri theinntibh na h-Eireann
 Mór 's iata fosglochar iad eidir chruadh ghlais agus geibhinn.
 An té a déarfadh na Marthainn-so a' dul i m-broid ná i bh-fiach
 Geobhfadh se riar a ghasdail 's beidheadh each a fosgailt 'sa riar air.
 An té dearfadh na Marthainn-so a' dul i g-cath no i g-cliathra
 Tiocfaidh as fó 'n arm gaisge agus a fheoil dearg iata.

An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so a' dul i d-teach an óil
Tiocfaidh as gan gleo anachain ná trobloid.

An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so a dul i g-cinn mna moille
Is maith an turus chum Dé i g-cinn ceile agus cloinne.

An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so a' dul i g-cinn mna naoidhin
Tiocfaidh as slán meanmnach gun doilghe ó na saothar.

An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so a' dul i luing no i bh-fairge
Tiocfaidh as gan bathadh tuinne ná anachain.

An té a dearfadh na Marthainn-so i dul i dteach nuadh
An-marbhadh ni thiocfaidh as cho 'ad a's bheidheas cleith fo dhion
air.

Sgriobhta leis na scolaraibh go feart a dtir fíor, ar feadh an
domhain uile

Agus go feart i g-Cille Claoidhte. Neamh ag gach neach dá
meabhróchaidh í

Agus air aon neach na ceiltear í.

Mise Padraic na bfeart a tháinig 'mo Ard-Easbog go h-Eirinn
Mo chúmaidh ioltain uasail, chaill mi moran de mo leargas.

Mise Pádraic príbhleideach léighim gach uile aithne ; sin buaidh
aig mo Mharthainn go bráth, mar tá si sgriobhta ó láimh na
scolaireadh ó thuis an domhain, ó feart í g-Cill Cloin,

Gur bud e Marthainne Phadraic is ainm di i nGaedhilige, is é mo
chreach bhrónach gan í ag gach aon neach ; agus dá m-beidh-
eadh si sgriobhta í dtri fearsanna-deug aige bheurfá d'anam
o ifriom saor leat. Amen.

From the concluding line it is obvious the Incantation was originally in thirteen verses. My informant, however, could not supply it in flowing verse, and it is above recorded as narrated by Joyce. The Gaelic reader will be able to read and understand the most of it without difficulty. It may be added that there are several versions of this *Marthainn*, and that in all of them there are phrases not understood by the reciters themselves. Some of the constructions, *e.g.*, *Go* = With, in line 2, have been obsolete for upwards of a century.

I will next briefly refer to the charm called

FATH FITHE.

In Vol. VIII., p. 127, there is a brief description of the *Fath Fithe*. As the text will show, this charm is somewhat comprehensive in its character :—

Fa' fithé cuiream ort
 Bho chu, bho chat,
 Bho bhò, bho each,
 Bho dhuine, bho bhean,
 Bho ghille, bho nighean,
 'S bho leanabh beag,
 Gus an tig mise rithisd.

An ainm an Athar, a' Mhic, 's an Spioraid Naoinh.

Translated—

A magic cloud I put on thee,
 From dog, from cat,
 From cow, from horse,
 From man, from woman,
 From young man, from maiden,
 And from little child,
 Till I again return.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The *Fath Fithé*, according to tradition, was a favourite charm with hunters, for it enabled them to make physical objects invisible to the ordinary eye. They could come from the forest laden with the spoils of the chase, but their enemies would see them not. In more recent times it was believed that smugglers protected themselves in this way from the most vigilant of Excise officers. It is to be feared, however, that the art has been lost ! The expression *Fath Fithé* is now seldom heard ; but there can be no doubt that in former times it was considered a protective charm of some kind. In the verses from the Kenlochewe Bard, already referred to, the word is used, but there obviously in the sense of *rosad* as previously described. The power to bring about darkness is an old belief among the Celts, and an interesting instance of a charm used in this connection is given in the Book of Lismore.

In the life of Senan (Book of Lismore) we are told of a wizard (Druidh) who went to the King (Mac Tail) saying he would make a charm (*sén*) to Senan the Saint, and that thereby he would either die or leave the land. The King was glad with this ; and the wizard went to Senan and “sang incantations against him and said ‘leave the land with this spell.’” The saint replied, “I will resist thy spell ;” and he prevailed. Then the wizard “brought darkness over the sun, so that no one in the island could see his comrade’s face.” Senan, however, charmed the darkness.

In that case we have the wizard using his charm or *Sen*, and the superior powers of the Church getting the better of the powers of darkness. Similarly in the same work we are told of a cloud of darkness enveloping the mother of St Findchua from her pursuers, and thus saving herself and the saint, who was not then born, from the rapacity of an enemy.

Again, the Tuath de Dannan were credited with the power of raising storms and causing darkness. When the invading Milesians reached Ireland, the Tuath de Dannan, by means of sorcery, enveloped the Island in mist, and hid it from their view. A sorcerer among the Milesians directed them how to act, and they eventually landed.

The *Fath Fíthe* is believed to be equivalent to the modern Irish *Feth Fia* or the *Faeth Fiada* of Old Irish. The Hymn of St Patrick, previously referred to, is called "Faeth Fiada," or, to use the language of the original text, "7 Faeth Fiada ahainm" (and Faeth Fiada is its name). In modern Irish it is called "Luireach Phadruig," or, St Patrick's Corslet; but anciently it was called by this name and the name *Fiada* or *Feth-fiada*, as we gather from the following passage in the Tripartite Life of the Saint:—

"Tunc vir sunctus composuit illum Hymnum patrio idiomate conscriptum, qui vulgo *Feth-Fiadha*, et ab aliis *Lorica* Patricii appellatur; et in summo abinde inter Hibernos habetur prætio; quia creditur, et multa experienciâ probatur, piè recitantes ab imminentibus animæ et corporis præservare periculis."

Translated—

"Then the Holy Man composed that Hymn in his native speech, which is commonly called *Feth-fiadha*, and by others the Breast-plate or *Lorica* of Patrick; and it is held from thenceforward among the Irish in the highest regard; because it is believed—and proved by much experience—to preserve those that piously recite it from dangers that threaten them in soul and body."

We have already seen, when dealing with the *Airne Moire*, how the hymn was regarded as a protective charm; and we are told that Patrick, when ambuscades were set against him by Loegaire, sang it in order to shield and guard himself and his clerics. Patrick and his followers on singing this hymn seemed to the ambuscaders to be wild deer with a fawn after them.

I have stated that the *Fath Fíthe* charm is extensive in its scope. I subjoin another, equally extensive, from the Sister Isle, kindly sent me by Professor O'Growney:—

Ortha a chuir Colum Cille, le toil Rìgh Neimhe,
 Air bheim suil, air urchoid ¹ chnuic, air shealg agus ae ;
 Leigheas o neimh air an m-ball dubh ta in aice an chleibh,
 Air an leic le a m-bogthar na h-easbaidh ;
 Le grasa Mhìe Mhuire, a's le mìorbhuille Mhìe De
 Leigheas na colainne, 's an aial a bheith reidh.

Translated—

A prayer which Columcille gave, by the will of the King of
 Heaven,
 Against the Evil Eye, against hurt from the Fairies, against
 spleen and liver ;
 A cure from Heaven for the black spot near the breast,
 For the flag (?) by which the *Evil* (King's Evil) is softened,
 Through the favour of the Son of Mary, and the miraele of the
 Son of God
 A cure for the body and for smoothness of breathing.

THE FAIRIES.

“Who were the Fairies” is a question which I need not discuss,
 but the following genealogy of them is interesting :—

Fairies loq.—

Cha 'n ann do Shìol Adhamh sinn,
 'S cha 'n e Abraham ar n-athair ;
 Ach tha sinn de mhuintir an Athar Uaibhrieh,²
 Chaidh fhuadaich a mach a Flaithreas.

Translated—

We are not of the seed of Adam,
 And Abraham is not our progenitor ;
 But we are the offspring of the Haughty Father,
 Who out of Paradise was driven.

I need not here dilate on the wondrous feats attributed to the
 Fairies. People blessed themselves, and prayed the Almighty to
 protect them from Fairies, but I have not come across any Anti-

¹ This word, although not in common use in Gaelic, is found several times
 in Scripture, and in rhymed versions of the Psalms. It is used by Mac
 Mhaighstir Alastair in the song entitled “*Tinneas na h-urchaid*,” and com-
 mencing

“*Gu bheil tinneas na h-urchaid*
Air feadh Airdnamurchan.”

² Compare this designation, “*Athair Uibhreach*,” with “*Rìgh an Uabhair*”
 in *Marthainn Phadraic*.

Fairy charms in the Highlands. Here is one from the West of Ireland :—

Against Fairy Influence.

Gabhamuid lé n-a g-coimirce,
A's diultamuid da n-imirte,
A g-cul linn 's a n-aghaidh uaimn,
As ucht phaise 's bais ar Slanuightheora.

Translated—

We accept their protection,
We repudiate their (evil) tricks,
(May) their back (be) to us, their face from us
Through merit of the passion and death of our Saviour.

Here is another Anti-Fairy Charm sent by Mr O'Faherty from the west of Connaught :—

Ortha an aghaidh na da sineadh maithe.

A Mhic Dé a g'-cluinn Tu an gleó¹ so chugainn go mor san ghleann.
Cluinneann a Mhathair; na bidheadh eagla ort.
Go sabhailidh an t-Athair beannuighthe sinn,
Go m-budh dún daingean an dún a bh-fuilmid ann.
Go m-budh sluagh dall an sluagh seo chugainn.
O! a Iosa Criosta agus a Mhaighdin ghlormhor
A chidheas ar n-dochar agus ar n-dioghbhail,
Go sgaraidh tu do chochal beannuighthe taruinn!
Amen.

Mr Moore in his Folklore of the Isle of Man gives the following Manx Charm against the Fairies :—

A Charm against the Fairies.

Shee Yee as shee ghooi-ney,
Shee Yee er Columb-Killey
Er dagh ninnag, er dagh ghorrys,
Er dagh howl joaill stiagh yn Re-hollys.
Er kiare corneillyn y thie
Er y voayl ta mee my lhie
As shee Yee orrym-pene.

¹ Tumult, disturbance.

Translated—

Peace of God and peace of man,
 Peace of God on Columb-Cille,
 On each window and each door,
 On every hole admitting moonlight,
 On the four corners of the house,
 On the place I am lying,
 And peace of God on myself.

I now pass to the class of charms intended to effect cures, and commence with

EOLAS NA RU AidHE, OR RASH, OR ROSE.

The *Ruaidhe* or Rash was a swelling of the breast of a woman or the udder of an animal, causing retention of the milk, and consequent pain. There are various charms for the cure of this ailment. I will begin with a version given by an Uist crofter. The formula was thus:—The performer, in the first place, got a small round stone, and rubbed the swelling with the side of it which was next the ground. At the same time, he repeated the following Incantation:—

Seall Thusa, Chrìosd,
 A' chioch so 's i air at ;
 Innis sin do Mhoire,
 O'n 's i rug an Mac.
 Ruaidhe eadar atan,
 Fag an leabaidh so ;
 Thoir leabaidh eile ort ;
 Cuir am bainne anns a' chioch,
 Cuir an Ruaidhe anns a' chloich,
 'S cuir a' chloich anns an Iar.

Translated—

Behold Thou, O Christ,
 This breast and it [so] swollen ;
 Tell that to Mary—
 'Twas she who bore the Son.
 Rash between swellings,
 Leave this bed ;
 Betake thyself to another bed ;
 Send the milk from the breast ;
 Transmit the Rash to the stone,
 And (through) the stone to the ground.

The idea here intended to be conveyed was that by means of the Incantation the disease was transmitted from the breast to the stone, and from the stone to the ground.¹ In gypsy sorcery, similar examples may be found where pain is sent into its medical affinity, and so on, back to the source from which it came.

One of the modes of curing the *Ruaidhe* in cattle was thus :—
Get a stone from a March-burn—*allt criche*—rub the swollen teat with the same, and say these words :—

A Chriosda, leigheis am mart.
Leigheis fhein i, 'Mhoire—
'S tu rug am Mac.
Gu'm a slan an t-ugh ;
'S gu'm a crion an t-at ;
'S a Ruaidhe mhor atar iotar,
Fag an t-aite so 's tair as !

Translated—

O Christ, heal the Cow.
Heal thou it, O Mary—
Thou brought'st forth the Son.
May the udder be healed ;
May the swelling cease ;
And thou great swollen dry Rash,
Leave this place, and be off.

Another method for curing the *Ruaidhe* in a cow, was thus :—

A burning peat was taken and held under the udder ; the teats were squeezed in succession, and the milk allowed to drop until the peat was partially extinguished. The smoke caused by the milk and the burning peat was considered medicinal. As the cow was being thus milked, the following Incantation was said :—

Fhaic thu, Chriosd, a' chioch
Gur a h-i tha goirt ;
Innis sin do Mhoire mhin,
Bho 'n 'si-fhein a rug am Mac.
Gu 'm bu slan a' chioch,
Gu 'm bu crion an t-at.
Teich ! teich ! a Ruaidhe !

¹ Professor O'Growney writes me that the mention of the stone in the above formula reminds him of a Donegal phrase. In English, when describing some calamity we would avert from ourselves, we say "God save the mark." In Donegal the corresponding Gaelic is "A shamhail i geloich"=(May) its like (be) in a stone.

Translated—

Christ, behold the teat—
 In which there is [great] pain—
 Tell that to gentle Mary,
 For she brought forth the Son.
 Whole may the teat be,
 Let the Rash depart—
 Rash ! away ! away !!

The following is an Irish charm for the cure of the *Rash*, given me by Mr O'Faherty :—

Ruadh ramhar cùl connáideach.
 D' iarr Colm Cille de Chathach :
 Cia'rd a leigheasfas an Ruadh ?
 Nimh a chuir air g-cùl agus an t-at a chur air lár,
 Gan de bhrìgh 's an Ruadh, an oiread a bheith slán.

Old superstitions have a wonderful vitality. Since the above was written, a striking illustration of the belief in Charms at the present day came under my notice. According to the *Ulster Examiner* of 17th December, 1892, Owen M'Ilmurray was indicted before the Ulster Winter Assizes, for that he, on 25th July, 1892, feloniously did kill and slay one David Archer, Lurgan. According to the evidence, Archer had suffered from bronchitis and erysipelas, or rose, for some time, and was attended by two doctors. The medical treatment did not appear to satisfy Archer and his friends, for they sent for M'Ilmurray, who was a noted "Charmer" in the district. The "Charmer" undid the bandages which the doctors had put on Archer's leg, and rubbed the leg with flour and butter. "While doing this he whispered a charm, which witness (Rebecca Jane Archer, a sister of the deceased) could not hear." "Her brother (the deceased) asked him (M'Ilmurray) for God's sake to try the charm, and prisoner said he was doing it in God's name." Archer, however, died, and the doctors attributed the death to the interference with the medical treatment. The jury disagreed, and the prisoner was set at liberty.

THE TOOTHACHE.

I will now briefly deal with the toothache charm. The formula seems to be the same, or substantially the same, in all Christian countries, and has reference to St Peter sitting on a marble stone suffering from the toothache, and the Lord passing by and healing him. The words of this charm are met with all

over the Highlands, but strange to say they are rarely met with in Gaelic. This is probably owing to the fact that few old Highlanders can write Gaelic. Even in the districts where English is practically unknown to the old people, one gets this charm in English. In Badenoch it is called *Toisgeal*¹ and formerly it was only known to a few who professed to cure toothache. The words were written on a small piece of paper, the paper folded up and handed to the sufferer, who was not on any account to open it up or see what was written thereon. It was then sewn up in a part of one's under-garments, and worn till it crumbled away. So long as the paper lasted the person enjoyed immunity from toothache! If the sufferer had the curiosity to read the formula contrary to the direction of the learned "Charmer," then the *Toisgeal* lost its virtue, and the toothache might at any moment return!

As already stated, the formula is generally met with in English. Here is a Gaelic version from the Island of Barra:—

Shuidh Peadar air Cloich Mharbhail. Thainig Criosda ga ionnsaidh 's dh'fhoighnich e dheth "de 'tha 'cur ort a Pheadair?" Labhair Peadar, "Mo Thighearna 's mo Dhia, tha 'n Deideadh." Fhreagair Iosa 's thuir e, "Eirich suas, a Pheadair, 's bithidh tu slan; 's cha tusa sin a mbain ach duine sam bith a labhras na briathraibh so na m' ainmsa cha 'n fhairich e ciod e 'n Deideadh."

The following is a copy of the English version of the *eolas* copied in South Uist. It may be taken as a rough translation of the above, or *vice versa*:—

Peter sat upon a marble stone weeping. Christ came by and asked, "What ails thee." Peter answered and said, "My Lord and my God, my tooth *toothache*;"² and the Lord said unto him, "Rise up, Peter—not for you alone, but all who will carry these lines in my name shall never feel what is the toothache. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."

A Latin version of the above, from the Maclagan MS., was published by Mr Macbain in the *Highland Monthly* (Vol. III., 292). As it is substantially the same as the above, I annex it here:—

¹ *Toisgeal* is obviously a corruption of the word *soisgeal*, a gospel. According to Croker (*Fairy Legends*, p. 360), "a 'gospel' is a text of Scripture written in a peculiar manner, and which has been blessed by a priest. It is sewed in red cloth, and hung round the neck as a cure or preventive against various diseases."

² *i.e.*, My tooth is aching.

“*Petrus sedit ex marmorum lapis Dominus Noster venit et Dixit petrus quid te gravit, petrus respondit dominus Meus Caput et Dentes meos vexant me Dominus Noster Dicat surge petras salva tu non solum tu sed etiam omnia qui teneant haec mea dicta per virtutem De haec verbis Dominus Noster et in ejus Nomine Dice tuus pestis non moleste te Detri—Minus Pratus.*”

Here is an Irish version of the Toothache Charm, or, as it is called, *Ortha an diaidh-fhiaical* :—

Chuidh Peadar go sruth for-lan.
Thainic Chríost os a Chionn,
“Cia’rd sin ort, a Pheadair?”
“O! m’fhiaicail ata tinn.”
“Eirigh, a Pheadair, a’s bi slan,
Ni tusa acht feara Fail.”

Aon duine a gheillfeas na a dearfadh an ortha,
Ni beidheadh i n-diaigh na h-ortha diaidh in aon deud amhain.
An ainm an Athar agus an Mhíe agus an Spioraid Naomh.
Amen.

Translated—

St Peter went to a full running stream ;
Christ went to meet him, and said,
“What ails thee, Peter?”
“O! my tooth doth ache.”
“Arise, Peter, and be well—
Not you alone, but also the men of Innisfail.”

Any believing in or saying this Incantation
Will not have toothache thereafter in even one tooth.
In nomine Patris, &c. Amen.

The Irish peasant of Connemara has his English version of the Toothache Charm. The following is from Galway :—

Peter sat upon a marble stone,
And unto God he made his moan.
Christ came by, and asked “What’s the matter?”
“O! my Lord God, a toothache.”
“Rise up, Peter, and not you alone,
But every one who believes in this charm
Shall never be troubled with a toothache.”
In the name of the Father, &c.

In Orkney the following variant of the Incantation, and called "Wormie Lines"—"the worm" (the equivalent of our Gaelic *cnuimh*) being an Orkney name for toothache—is used :—

Peter sat weeping on a stone ;
 Christ went by saying "Why dost thou moan."
 Peter said, "My tooth doth ache so sore."
 Christ said, "He shall trouble thee no more—
 From tooth and yackel worm shall flee,
 And never more shall trouble thee."

These lines were written on a slip of paper and worn on the person.

I lately noted, from the recitation of an Eigg crofter, a Toothache Charm, which has a certain resemblance to the Irish one above given. It is as follows :—

Labhair Calum-Cille nan Orth'
 Ann an ordag dheas mo Rìgh—
 Air chnuimh, air dheidh, air dheideadh—
 Air dheideadh a' ghalar-chinn.
 Labhair Peadair ri Seumas—
 "Cha choisich, cha mharcaich,
 Cha teid mi
 Leis an deideadh a tha m' cheann."
 Labhair Crìosda ris na h-Ostail—
 "Cha bhi 'n deideadh is an Rann-s'
 'S an aona cheann."

Translated—

Columba of the Incantations
 Spoke in the right thumb of my King—
 On worm, on ache, on toothache—
 On toothache, the head-disease.
 Peter spoke unto James—
 "I'll walk not, I'll ride not,
 I'll move not
 Through the toothache in my head."
 Jesus said to the Apostles—
 "Toothache and this Incantation
 Will not exist together in the same head."

Mr Moore does not give a Manx version of the Charm. He, however, gives the following formula, which was to be used in the same manner as the *Toisgeal* :—

Saint Peter was ordained a saint
 Standing on a marble stone,
 Jesus came to him alone—

And saith unto him, "Peter, what makes thee shake?"

Peter replied, "My Lord and Master, it is the toothache." Jesus said, "Rise up and be healed, and keep these words for my sake, and thou shall never more be troubled with toothache."

At the base of Ben Marival, in North Uist, there is a well, locally known by the name of Tobar-Chuithiridh, which is believed to cure toothache. Sufferers from this ailment still frequent the lonely well, and, according to ancient custom, leave offerings. On bended knees they drink the water, repeating the following words:—

"Tha mise a' cromadh sìos an ainm an Athar, a' Mhic, 's an Spioraid Naoimh; 's a dol a dh' fhàgail cradh mo chinn anns an tobar nach traogh a chaoidh. Amen."

Translated—

I bend down, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and I am to leave the torments of my head in the well, which never will run dry."

Certain wells in Knoydart are believed to possess toothache cures. Pilgrimages are made to them, and offerings left at them, as in the case of Tobar-Chuithiridh.

I conclude with a Shetlandic Toothache Charm. In its style it bears a striking resemblance to one of the Charms against the rash above given. It is as follows:—

A Finn came ow'r from Norraway¹
 Fir ta pit toot'ache away—
 Oot o' da flesh an' oot o' da bane,
 Oot o' da sinew an' oot o' da skane,
 Oot o' da skane an' into da stane,
 An' dere may du remain!
 An' dere may du remain!!
 An' dere may du remain!!!

At page 124 of Vol. VIII. of the Transactions of the Gaelic Society, I gave an account of

¹ Mr W. T. Dennison informs me that this Incantation was also common in Orkney, but beginning thus—

T'ree Finnmen cam' fae der heem i' de sea,
 Fae de weary worm de folk tae free,
 An' dey s'all be paid wi' de white monie!

EOLAS NA SEILG, OR THE SPLEEN,

as I wrote it down from the recital of a Lochbroom woman some 25 years ago. I will now lay before you the story of this *Eolas*, as I recently heard it in the Outer Hebrides:—"One night," said my informant, "Jesus and the Blessed Virgin Mary came to a house among the hills to escape persecution. The good-wife gave them food. Darkness was coming on, and the Virgin Mary proposed that they should stay there all night. The good-wife (*Bean-an-tighe*) replied that she could not give them shelter as her husband was inhospitable, and would be angry if he found any strangers under his roof. The Blessed Virgin asked to be favoured with any quiet corner till morning, and the good-wife consented. Jesus and the Virgin (*Iosa 's Moire 'Mhathair*) were permitted to lie on some chaff which was in a corner, and the good-wife put a covering over them. The good-man came home at night-fall, partook of food, and went to bed. During the night he was seized with a violent pain in his side. His life being despaired of by his wife, she called in the assistance of the visitors (and as my informant pathetically added "*Bu mhath iad a bhi ann*"). Christ then came to the assistance of the sick man, saying "*Leighisidh mise thu—'s e greim na seilge 'th' ort.*" ("I will heal you—you suffer from the stitch or spleen or bowel seizure"). Jesus then said:—

Bean shoirbh.
'S fear doirbh ;
Criosd 'na laidhe air a' chalg,
Caisgidh e dhiot an t-sealg.

Translated—

A gentle wife,
A churlish husband ;
Christ lying on the awns [of corn],
That will stop the *sealg* [colic or spleen].

Another Uist version is—

Bean fhial, 's duine borb,
Criosd 'na laidhe air a' chalg—
Eirich a's leighis an t-sealg.¹

¹ Professor O'Growney informs me that in the county of Meath he heard the lines—

Bean mhín, fear borb,
Mac Dé 'na luidhe 'san g-colg.

Translated—

A hospitable wife, a churlish man ;
 Christ lying on the awns—
 Arise and cure the spleen.

The version of the story given in Vol. VIII. is substantially the same as the one now narrated. It is noteworthy, however, that in Protestant Lochbroom there is no mention of the Virgin Mary ; whilst the version obtained in Catholic Uist assigns to her a prominent place. The Lochbroom version of the formula was as follows :—

An ainm an Athar, a' Mhic 's an Spioraid Naoimh !
 Duine fiat a muigh,
 Bean fhial a stigh,
 Criosd 'na laidhe air calg an lìn—
 'S math an leigheas air an t-seilg sin.

Translated—

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
 A fierce, churlish man without,
 A hospitable wife within,
 Christ a-lying on the beard of flax—
 That is a good cure for the spleen.

It will be noted that one of the Irish charms above given deals with the *sealg*. There is also a charm for the "Stitch" in a MS. of the 11th century given in Cockayne's *Leechdom and Wort-Cunning of Early England* :—

With gestic.

"Writh Cristes mæl and sing, thriwe thaer on this and pater noster longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor. For a stitch. Write a cross of Christ and sing over the place this thrice."

CASGADH FOLA, OR STAUNCHING BLOOD.

The belief prevailed that some of the old Highlanders could staunch blood. Horse gelders were supposed to be particularly skilled in this art ; but I failed to get any specimen of the Incantations in Uist.

I will, however, give one which I recently noted from Duncan Campbell, an old Strathconan man, now resident in Beaulieu. He learned it from a sister of Donald Macdonald, the *Bard Conanach*.

The Bard, it appears, was celebrated for his Charms and Incantations,¹ and taught the present one to his sister. She taught it to my informant, who firmly believes in its efficacy, and who says that he has on many occasions staunched blood through its instrumentality! The formula is as follows:—Having mentioned the name and surname of the person to be cured, the “Charmer” repeated the *Ortha* thus—

Paidir Mhoire, h-aon.
 Paidir Mhoire, dha.
 Paidir Mhoire, tri.
 Paidir Mhoire, ceithir.
 Paidir Mhoire, coig.
 Paidir Mhoire, sia.
 Paidir Mhoire, seachd.

“Ciod e is brigh dha na seachd Paidrichean?”
 “Is brigh dha na seachd Paidrichean—
 Obainn fala air feirg, fala deirg.
 Recoithidh t’ fhuil, ’s duinidh do lot
 Mar shileadh Moire air Criosd.”

Translated—

The Pater of the Virgin Mary—one.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—two.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—three.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—four.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—five.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—six.
 The Pater of the Virgin Mary—seven.

¹ In local tradition he is represented as having been particularly successful both in letting and in staunching blood. On one occasion, while at the harvest in the Lothians, he lodged with a weaver, who was also a noted phlebotomist. A full-blooded damsel of the district called on the weaver in order that he might let her blood. He tried all his skill, but the blood would not come. Whereupon the Bard took the damsel in hand, and, taking her by the small of the wrist, squeezed an artery, with the result that blood squirted in the weaver’s face. The weaver desired the Bard to show him his method. The Bard responded in verse:—

Cha tugainn eòlas mo lamh fhein
 Dh’ fhear bhualadh slinn no chuireadh i ;
 Lot thu gairdean na nighean dhonu
 ’S cha ’n fhac thu steall de ’n fhuil aice ;
 ’S an uair a theannaich mi caol a dùirn
 Mu ’dha shuil bha ’n fhuil aice.

“What is the significance of the seven Paters?”

“The significance of the seven Paters is—

The fierce (running) of blood—

(Blood) in anger,

Blood (flowing) red.

Thy blood will freeze; thy wound will close,

As Mary's dropped on Christ!

Here is an Irish charm to staunch blood, received from Mr O'Faherty. It is called *Ortha Coisgthe Fola*. I have not previously found a Gaelic Incantation with Latin words:—

Is beannuighthe ainm an fhir a sgoilt croidhe an laoigh ghil;

Is maith an nidh thainic as, fuil, fion, agus fionuisge.

An ainm a n-Athar, stop an fhuil; *Sancti*, taraidh dá chobhair.

Spiritus Sancte, stop an fuil ta ag teacht go treun.

Translated—

Blessed is the name of him who split the heart of the White Calf;
Precious is that which came therefrom—blood, wine, and pure
water.

In the name of the Father, stop the blood; Saints, come to his aid;
Holy Spirit, stop the blood that is spurring so strongly.

Our Manx cousins had several such incantations, and one of them may as a specimen be quoted here from Mr Moore's book:—

Pishig dy Sthappal Roie Foalley.

“Three deiney chranee haink voish y Raue—Chreest, Peddyr, as Paul. Va Creest y Chrosh, yn uill echey shilley, as Moirrey er ny glioonyn yn ee liorish. Ghow for jeu yn er-obbee ayns e lau yesh, as hayrn Creest cros¹ harrish eh. Three mraane aegey haink harrish yn ushtey, dooyrt unnaue jeu, ‘seose’; dooyrt nane elley, ‘fuirree’; dooyrt yn trass-unnaue ‘sthappymys fuill dooinney ny ben. Mish dy ghra eh, as Chreest dy yannoo eh, ayns ennym yn Ayr, as y Vac as y Spyrryd Noo.”

Translated—

Charm to Stop Running of Blood.

“Three godly men came from Rome—Christ, Peter, and Paul. Christ was on the cross, his blood flowing, and Mary on her knees close by. One took the enchanted one in his right hand, and Christ drew a cross over him. Three young women came over the

¹ On repeating “cros^h” you are to draw a cross with the thumb of the right hand over the bleeding part.

water, one of them said 'up,' and another said 'stay,' and the third one said, 'I will stop the blood of a man or woman.' I to say it, and Christ to do it, in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Another charm to staunch blood among the Manx was in Latin, and was as follows:—

A Charm to Stop Bleeding.

Sanguis mane in te,
Sicut Christus in se ;
Sanguis mane in tua vena,
Sicut Christus in sua pœna ;
Sanguis mane fixus,
Sicut erat Christus,
Quando fuit crucifixus.

Our toothache *Toisgeal* was on no account to be seen by the sufferer. Similarly, the above was not to be translated, as translation deprived it of its efficacy !

In Orkney the following couplet, repeated three times, was the formula to stop blood :—

Stem, blood stem ! I say to thee !
In the name of Him that hung on a tree !

BITE OF A MAD DOG.

The bite of a mad dog was naturally much dreaded. Indeed the bite of any dog was. The mad dog was invariably destroyed. In the case of another dog, it sometimes sufficed if water was put on the animal's teeth, and the wound washed with this water, or *Ioc-shlainte* (Health-Restorer) as it was called. Our Irish cousins dealt with the case of the mad dog in their Ancient Laws. In the Book of Aicill we are told "There is no benefit in proclaiming it (the mad dog—*cu confaid*) unless it be killed ; nor though it be killed unless it be burned : nor though it be burned unless its ashes have been cast into a stream."

The matter was also dealt with in the Irish charms. Here is a specimen used in West Connaught :—

Coisgim cu air mire,
Cuirim nimh air neimh-bhrigh,
'Se dubhairt Padruig uair no tri,
In nomine Patris, et filii.

Translated—

I check a mad dog,
 I make the poison of no effect,
 Saith St Patrick twice or thrice,
 In nomine Patris, et filii.

EOLAS NAN SUL.

There were *Eolais* not only to heal sore eyes, but also to remove a mote from the eye. Martin mentions that “there be women” who have the latter art, “though at some miles distant from the party grieved.” The *Eolas* for sore or weak eyes was practised till recent times in many parts of the country. The *modus operandi* was this :—A dish was filled with clean water, and the performer, bending over it, and spitting into it, repeated the following Incantation :—

Obaidh nan geur shùl,
 An obaidh 's fearr fo 'n ghrein ;
 Obaidh Dhe, an t-Uile Mhor.
 Feile Mhairi, feile Dhe,
 Feile gach sagairt 's gach cleir,
 Feile Mhicheil nam feart,
 'Chairich anns a' ghrein a neart.

Translated—

A charm for sore smarting eyes—
 The best charm under the sun ;
 The Charm of God, the All-Great ;
 Charm of Mary, Charm of God,
 Charm of each priest and each cleric,
 Charm of Michael the strenuous,
 Who bestowed on the sun its strength.

The following story, relative to the experiences of a certain Parliamentary candidate for a Highland constituency, and which has not before been published, is interesting :—

In course of a house-to-house canvass, the candidate learned that a certain voter knew *Eolas nan sùl*. The candidate mentioned to this voter the case of a relative who suffered from sore eyes. The rural ophthalmist offered his services, and at once began to prepare a “lotion.” Pouring a quantity of water into a dish, the charmer bent over it, repeating an Incantation nine times—and each time he spat in the water. The “charmed water” was thereafter poured into a bottle and presented to the candidate, to be used as an eye-wash by his relative.

It is greatly to be feared that any possible virtue the contents of the bottle might contain were never tested.

In connection with the spitting in the water, see the story of the healing of the man who was born blind, as narrated in the ninth chapter of the Gospel of St John. The sixth verse of that chapter is as follows :—

“ When he [Jesus] had thus spoken, he *spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle*, and he anointed the eyes of the blind man with the clay.”

A' CHIOCH—THE UVULA.

When the palate fell (*A' chioch 's an amhaich*), the ceremony of *Togail na Dail-chuaich* was resorted to. As the plant called *Dail-chuaich* was pulled, a certain Incantation was said, but I have been unable to get it. Will any reader furnish a copy ?

Another cure for “ raising the uvula ” was the *Ciochag-thraghad*. This small, red, uvula-like marine polypus was gathered when the tide was out, tied in a piece of cloth, and hung on the crook above the fire, in the name of the Trinity, mentioning the name of the sufferer from the *Cioch-shlugain* at the time. As the *Ciochag-thraghad* shrank under the influence of the fire, so it was believed that the uvula of the sufferer would resume its normal size !¹

KING'S EVIL.

Here is an Irish charm for the King's Evil :—

Marbhúigheann m' ortha easbaidh bruth—
Eachmhaidh chneádha, eachmhaidh chneádha,
Gach enuimh i n-deíd a's gach péist
A mbidheann nimh am.

In ainm an Athar agus an Mhic agus an Spioraid Naomh.

Translated—

My charm doth kill the hot evil—
The gnawing worm, the gnawing worm ;
Every worm in tooth, and every monster
Of poisonous nature.

In the name of the Father, &c.

¹ This is interesting alongside with a Welsh formula for curing warts. Certain wells in Wales cured warts. Professor Rhys states the formula thus :—“ On your way to the well, look for wool which the sheep had lost. When you had found enough wool, you should prick each wart with a pin, and then rub the wart well with the wool. The next thing was to bend the pin and throw it into the well. Then you should place the wool on the first white-thorn you could find, and as the wind scattered the wool the warts would disappear” !!!

ROINN A' MHAIM, OR "APPORTIONING" OF SWOLLEN GLANDS.

The *Màm*, or, as it is called in some districts, *Màn*, is a swelling of the glands in the armpit, or at the upper end of the thigh—*glaic na sleisde*.¹ *Mam* is probably the correct form—the swelling being so called from its resemblance to *mam*, a round hillock.

The popular method of curing the *Màm* was to have it divided or apportioned—*roinn*—over a number of *mams* or hillocks in different parts of the country. The mode of carrying out the *roinn*, or apportioning was as follows:—The person who practised the *Eolas* took a darning needle and laid it across the *Mam* or swelling. He then took an axe and placed its edge on the needle, thus forming a cross, and at the same time saying "*So air Mam*"—(naming a particular *mam* or hillock). The needle was then shifted, the axe placed across it again, and that portion of the swelling assigned to another *mam*; and so on for nine or twenty-four times, according to the method of the performer.

The *roinn* or apportioning nine times was considered sufficient to cause the swelling to subside—*dol air ais*. Nine times was the number usually practised both on the Mainland and in most of the Western Islands, but the correct number, according to a Colonsay man, was twenty-four. In apportioning the swelling over twenty-four *mams*, the sign of the cross was made on the floor with the edge of the axe, after the eighth, sixteenth, and twenty-fourth *mams* enumerated below, the operator at the same time saying—"*Tha so air a' Mham Mhor Dhiurach, 's e 's an deicheamh.*"

I am indebted to my friend Professor Mackinnon, of Edinburgh University, for the following list of *Mams* mentioned in the rite as the same is performed in Colonsay. It was recently noted from the recital of Alexander Macneill, an old Colonsay man, who thought it was required by the Professor for some desperate case that had defied the skill of all the Edinburgh doctors!

The performer, taking the needle and the axe, and going through the action above described, went over the twenty-four *mams* thus—

1. So air Màm a' Scriodain [Mull].
2. So air Màm an t-Snodain.
3. So air Màm Dhoire Dhuaig [Mull].
4. So air Màm Chloiche Duinn.

¹ *Màm*—A certain bile, or ulcerous swelling of the armpit; *ulcus quedam, ulcus in axilla*.—Highland Society's Dictionary.

Màn—A brook bile, or an ulcerous swelling under the arm.—Macfarlane's Vocabulary.

5. So air Màm an t-Struthain.
6. So air Màm an t-Siosair.
7. So air Màm an t-Seilisteir.
8. So air Màm Shiaba [Mull].
 † (on the floor) So air a' Mham Mhor Dhiurach, 's e
 'san Deicheamh.
9. So air Màm Aстал [Islay].
10. So air Màm Choireadail [Islay].
11. So air Màm a' Bhatain.
12. So air Màm Shraoisnich.
13. So air Màm an t-Siobarsaich.
14. So air Màm Chataibh [so pronounced in Colonsay,
 where Caithness is understood].
15. So air Màm na Mororaig.
16. So air Màm Chloiche Gile.
 † So air a' Mham Mhor Dhiurach, &c.
17. So air Màm na Doire Uaine [Doire is Feminine in
 Colonsay].
18. So air Màm na Doire Liath (*léith*).
19. So air Màm Arichdhuirich [so pronounced by reciter.
Airidh Ghuaire in Mull is suggested].
20. So air Màm Choire-na-h-cirea'a [Jura].
21. So air Màm Ghribinn [Mull].
22. So air Màm Aisginis [S. Uist ?].¹
23. So air Màm Chlachaig [Mull].
24. So air Màm Choire Chrìostal.
 † So air a' Mham Mhor Dhiurach, &c.

Members of this Society may be able to identify the locality of several of these *Mams*.

Macneill firmly believes in the efficacy of his method of curing the *Mam*; and he occasionally puts his skill to the test in Colonsay.

An Arisaig Man informed me that his father used to "apportion" the *Mam*, and was always successful in effecting cures. "I never saw his method fail," said my informant; "and I have often seen the swelling burst during the operation with the hatchet!"

Donald Maceachan, an old cottar in South Morar, still professes that he can cure such swellings as I have described. Recently I met him, and he was good enough to describe his method. He learned the art in his youth, from an old man, and has practised it from time to time ever since. Shortly before

¹ There is a hill in Caignish called Cnap-Aisginis.

my interview with him, he had cured a young man who had a *Mam* on the thigh—*am bac na sleisde*—and that so speedily that on the day after the operation no trace of the swelling was left!

In Arisaig and Morar the number of *Mams* mentioned is nine, and not twenty-four, as in Colonsay. There is no reference to the Great *Mam* of Jura, to which so much importance is attached in the Colonsay formula. All the *Mams* mentioned are in Knoydart; and Maceachan, in order to convince me of the accuracy of his list, stated that he himself had lived for a long time in that district, and took a special note of the *Mams* mentioned in his formula. His own words were—“Bha mi-fhein a’ fuireach fada ann an Cnoideart’s chum mi beachd air na Màim.” Like the Psalmist, he well might say—

“I to the *Hills* will lift mine eyes,
From whence doth come mine *Aid!*”

The method of “apportioning the *Mam*” in Arisaig and Morar was as follows:—The edge of the axe was placed, in the name of the Trinity, on the swelling. Lifting the axe, the operator then struck its edge into a block of wood—generally the door-step (*maide-buinn* or *stairsneach*)—at the same time saying, “So air *Màm-Chlach-ard*”—*i.e.*, “This part of the swelling I apportion to *Màm-Chlach-ard*”—and so on, until each of the nine hills mentioned in the formula received its due portion! If one recital did not prove successful, the rite might be performed two or three times.

The following is the formula as practised by Donald Maceachan:—

1. Tha mi ’cur so air *Màm-Chlach-ard* [above Loch-Nevis].
2. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Uchd* [Knoydart].
3. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Uidhe* [Knoydart].
4. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Bharasdail* [Knoydart].
5. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Eadail* [Knoydart].
6. Tha mi ’cur so air *Maman-Odhar* [Knoydart].
7. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Suidheag* [Knoydart].
8. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Unndulainn* [Knoydart].
9. Tha mi ’cur so air *Mam-Lidh* [Knoydart].

AN TROMA-LAIDHE, OR NIGHTMARE.

The following is a Charm against Nightmare, or *Troma-laidhe*. It was to be said as soon as the person awoke:—

Aisling a chunnaic mi 'n geilt,
 Thug Criosd oirre deagh bhreith ;
 Dh'innis Peadar i do Phòl,
 'S thubhairt Pòl gum bu mhath.

Translated—

A dream I saw in fear—
 Christ passed on it good judgment ;
 Peter told it to Paul,
 And Paul said it was well.

The above is from Barra. Here is a similar one from the Arran Islands, Galway :—

An Triur is sine, an Triur is óige,
 An Triur is treise i bh-Flaithis na Glóire—
 An t-Athair, an Mac, 's an Spiorad Naomh,
 Do m' shábhail 's do m' ghardail o nocht go
 d-ti bliadhain,
 Agus an nochd fein. An ainm an Athar, &c.

Translated—

The Three oldest, the Three youngest,
 The Three strongest in the Heaven of Glory,
 The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,
 To save and guard me from to-night for a year,
 And to-night itself. In nomine Patris, &c.

SPRAINS.

Eolais for sprains are numerous, and are known as *Eolas an t-sníomh*, or *Eolas air sgiuchadh feithe*. They were applied in the case of man, and also in the case of the lower animals. The performer took a worsted thread in his or her mouth, muttered the Incantation, and tied the thread round the injured limb, where it was kept until worn out. In Norse mythology, we have an account of Woden's adventure with his steed, which slides and wrenches its joint, till successive Galdersongs, or Charms, restore it. It was the same idea with the Highland Charms, Christ, and sometimes St Columba or St Bridget, being mentioned as the author of the cure. Here is a specimen from Uist :—

Dh' eirich Criosda moch
 Maduinn bhriagha mach ;
 Chunnaic e cnamhan 'each
 Air am bristeadh ma seach ;

Chuir e cnaimh ri cnaimh,
 Chuir e smuais ri smuais,
 Chuir e feoil ri feoil,
 Agus feith ri feith ;
 Chuir e craicionn ri craicionn ;
 Mar a shlanaich Criosda sin
 Gu 'n slanaich mise so.

Translated—

Christ arose early and went forth
 One fine morning,
 He beheld his horses' bones
 Broken cross-wise.
 He put bone to bone ;
 He put marrow to marrow ;
 He put flesh to flesh ;
 He put sinew to sinew ;
 And put skin to skin.
 As Christ healed these,
 May I heal this.

The following is a version of the *Eolas* from Lochbroom :—

Chaidh Criosda mach
 'S a' mhaduinn mhoich,
 'S fhuair e casan nan each,
 Air am bristeadh mu seach.
 Chuir e cnaimh ri cnaimh,
 Agus feith ri feith,
 Agus feoil ri feoil,
 Agus craicionn ri craicionn ;
 'S mar leighis Esan sin,
 Gu 'n leighis mise so.

Translated—

Christ went forth
 In the early morn
 And found the horses' legs
 Broken across,
 He put bone to bone,
 Sinew to sinew,
 Flesh to flesh,
 And skin to skin ;
 And as He healed that,
 May I heal this.

Here is another version from Uist :—

Dh' eirich Calum-Cille moch,
 Fhuair e cnamhan a chuid each
 Cas mu seach
 Chuir e cnaimh ri cnaimh,
 Feoil ri feoil.
 Feithean ri feithean,
 Seiche ri seiche,
 Smuais ri smuais ;
 A' Chriosd mar leighis Thu sid,
 Gu 'n leighis Thu so.

It is unnecessary to translate this Incantation. It is in effect the same as the two preceding ones, with this difference that St Columba takes the place in the latter taken by Christ in the two former. It is noteworthy that the healing of broken bones by St Columba is mentioned by Adamnan in his Life of the Saint. The holy virgin Maugina, daughter of Daimen, who lived in Clochur, we are there told, when returning from Mass, stumbled and broke her thigh quite through. Columba ordered a disciple named Lugaid to visit her. As Lugaid was setting out on his journey, the Saint gave him a little box, made of pine, saying—"Let the blessed gift which is contained in this box be dipped in a vessel of water when thou comest to visit Maugina, and let the water thus blessed be poured on her thigh ; then at once, by the invocation of God's name, her thigh-bone shall be joined together and made strong, and the holy virgin shall recover perfect health." Lugaid carried out his master's directions, and we are told that in an instant Maugina was completely healed by the closing up of the bone.—(See *Vita Sancti Columbæ*, Lib. II., cap. v.)

In connection with St Columba's directions to Lugaid, John Roy Stuart's "Prayer" may be mentioned. Stuart sprained his ankle after the battle of Culloden, and while hiding from the Red-coats composed the verses known as "Urnaigh Iain Ruaidh" ("John Roy's Prayer"). According to this prayer, his ankle was to be cured by the Charm which St Peter made for St Paul. Seven *Paters*, in the name of Priest and Pope, were to be applied as a plaster ; while another Charm was to be applied in the name of the Virgin Mary, all-powerful to cure the true believer.

Ni mi 'n ubhaidh rinn Peadar do Phàl
 'Sa luighean air fas-leum bruaich ;
 Seachd Paidir 'n ainm Sagairt a's Pàp

Ga chur ris na phlasd mu 'n cuairt.
 Ubhaidh eile as leath Moire nan Gras
 'S urrainn creideach dheanamh slan ri uair.

— *Vide* Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," p. 268.

Our Norse neighbours in Orkney and Shetland also had their Charms for the cure of sprains. The thread used was called the "wristing thread," and the Incantation was as follows:—

Our Saviour rade,
 His fore-foot slade,
 Our Saviour lighted down;
 Sinew to sinew—joint to joint.
 Blood to blood, and bone to bone,
 Mend thou in God's name!

Another Orkney formula was as follows:—

A thread, having on it nine knots, was tied round the sprained part. As the thread was being tied the following Incantation was muttered—

Nine knots upo' this thread
 Nine blessings on thy head;
 Blessings to take away thy pain
 And ilka tinter of thy strain.

ST COLUMBA AS THE PATRON OF CATTLE.

At the commencement of this paper I mentioned that in Uist the *Eolais* there used were attributed to St Columba. The Saint's name is mentioned in one of the versions of the *Eolais* for a Sprain above given. In the Western Islands St Columba appeared to have been regarded as the patron of cattle. When a man spoke to a neighbour about the neighbour's cattle, he said—

Gu'n gleidheadh Calum-Cille dhuibh iad.
 (May St Columba protect them for you).

As a woman left her cattle on the hill-side to graze she waved her hand towards them, saying—

"Buachailleachd Dhia 's Chalum-Chille oirbh."

(May the herding and guardianship of God and St Columba be on you).

An Eriskay woman used to address her cattle—

Gu'm bu duinte gach slochd
 'S gu'm bu reidh gach cnoc—
 Buachailleachd Chalum-Chille oirbh.
 Gus an tig sibh dhachaidh.

Translated—

May each pit be closed,
And each hillock be plain ;
Columba's herding on ye
Till home ye return.

We have also the following saying regarding St Columba's day—

Diardaoin, La 'Ille Chaluim Chaoimh,
Latha chur chaorach air seilbh,
Gu deilbh, 's gu cur ba air laogh.¹

Translated—

Thursday, gentle Saint Columba's Day.
The day to put sheep to pasture
To warp, and cow to calf.

Adamnan tells us of the Saint blessing cattle, and their number increasing. Nesan, a poor man, who entertained Columba for the night, had five heifers. "Bring them to me that I may bless them," said the Saint. They were brought. He raised his holy hand, blessed them, and said—"From this day thy five little heifers shall increase to the number of one hundred and five cows." Another poor man, named Columban, had five small cows. They too were blessed by the Saint, and thereafter increased to one hundred and five!—*Vide* Book II., chapters xx. and xxij.

Another cattle blessing was as follows :—

'Siubhal monaidh, 'siubhal coille,
Siubhail gu reidh, fada, farsuinn ;
Buachaille Mhoire fo d' chois,
'S gu'm bu slan a thig thu as !

Translated—

Travelling mountain, travelling wood,
Travel freely, far and wide ;
Mary's herdsman by thy feet,
And safely may thou hither come !

The following is a more elaborate version of it, and is called

Rann Buachailleachd, or Herding Incantation.

'Siubhal monaidh, 'siubhal coille,
Siubhail gu reidh, fada, farsuinn,
Banachaig Phadruig mu'r casan

¹ Among the peasantry in Shetland marriages almost invariably take place on Thursday.

Gus am faic mise slan a ri'sd sibh
 An sian a chuir Moire nu 'buar
 Moch a's anmoch 's a tighinn bhuaith ;
 Ga'n gleidheadh bho pholl 's bho eabar,
 Bho fheith 's bho adharcan a cheile,
 Bho lionadh na creige-ruaidhe
 'S bho luaths na Feinne.
 Banachaig Phadruig mu'r casan
 Gu'm a slan a thig sibh dhachaidh.

Translated—

Traversing hills, traversing woods,
 And (while) grazing far and near,
 [May] St Patrick's milkmaid attend you
 Till I see you well again ;
 [And may] the Charm made by Mary for her cattle,
 Early and late going to and coming from the pasture
 Protect you from pit and quagmire,
 From fens or morasses, and from each other's horns :
 From the filling of the red rock [the rose or swelling
 of the udder ?]
 And from the swift-footed Fingalians.
 May St Patrick's milkmaid attend your footsteps,
 And scatheless may you again come home.

Akin to the foregoing is the

Orra-Gleidheadh Spreidhe.

It was as follows—

Cuiridh mise 'n spreidh so romham
 Mar a dh' orduich Rìgh an Domhain,
 Moire ga 'n gleidheadh o fheith nan coimheach,
 Air thùs, a Bhrìde mhin, bi mar riu,
 Le d' bhata 's le d' lorg bi rompa,
 'S gu'n glacadh tu clur as d' fholt,
 O rinn thu dhaibh eolas a's earal,
 Ga 'n gleidheadh o chall 's o lochd,
 O bhathadh an allt 's o gharadh cam,
 No o mhilleadh sluic.
 A Bhrìde mhin, fagam agad,
 Moire tilleadh thugam
 Le leas Dhia 's Chalum-Chille,
 Casan cuiribh fothaibh,
 'S drochaid Mhoire romhaibh.

In the following Charm noted from an old Lochbroom man we have St Columba's cure of the cattle disease known as

An Tairbhean.

An t-eolas a rinn Calum-Cille
 Dh' aona bhò na caillich.
 Cas air muir, cas air tìr,
 Cas eile 'sa' churachan.
 Air mhial, air bhalg,
 Air ghalar dearg, air thairbhein.
 An tairbhean a tha na do bhroinn
 Air an ailbhinn¹ sin thall,²
 Slainte dhut, a bheathaich !

Translated—

The Charm made by St Columba
 For the old wife's only cow.
 One foot on the sea, one foot on land,
 And another foot in the coracle.
 Against worm, against swelling,
 Against red disease (strangury ?) and *tairbhean*.
 May the *tairbhean* that's in your body
 Go to yonder hard stone.
 Health to you, beastie !

We often have St Columba presented to us with one foot on land and the other on the sea, suggesting his sway over sea and land—*per mare per terram*. According to the foregoing, we have the Saint with three feet—one on the sea, one on the land, and a third in the coracle !

A more elaborate version of the *Eolas* is given by me in Vol. VIII. of the Gaelic Society's Transactions. It is as follows :—

An t-Eolas a rinn Calum-Cille
 Dh' aona bhò na caillich ;
 Bha cas Chalum-Chille 's a' churachan,
 'S a chas eil' air tìr :—
 A thairbhein, a thainig thar chuan
 'S o bhun na talmhainn fada thall—
 Air mhial air bhalg,

¹ My informant explained *ailbhinn* as "A' chreag a's cruaidhe th' aon"—(the hardest rock there is). He said it was to be found in the desert, and was so hard "that blood alone would soften it!" "Aill" is an old Celtic word, signifying a cliff or rock.

² Here mention the name of the beast—Niseag, Blarag, or whatever it may be.

Air ghalar dearg,
 A lughdachadh do bhuilg ;
 'S a mharbhadh do mbial,
 A mharbhadh fiolan fionn,
 A mharbhadh fiolan donn,
 A mharbhadh biast do leann,
 A mharbhadh an tairbhein.
 Gu'm faigh thu leasachadh—
 Aghachain, tog do cheann.

Translated—

The charm that Columba wrought
 For the old wife's only cow ;
 Columba's one foot was in the coracle
 And the other on land :—
 Thou *tairbhean* that camest over sea
 And from the foundations of the earth far beyond ;
 Against worm, against swelling,
 Against the red disease ;
 To reduce thy swelling,
 And to kill thy worm ;
 To kill the white nescock,
 To kill the brown nescock,
 To kill the worm in thy bile,
 To kill the *tairbhean*.
 May thou get relief ;
 Heifer, raise up thine head.

Sealmachas.

The following *Eolas* is for *Sealmachas*. Macalpine, in the list of *Orras* already given, calls it "*Seamlachas*." When a cow lost her calf, she refused to give her milk, or allow the calf of another cow to suck her. This *Orra* was said to induce her to give her milk, or allow the calf of another to suck her. Here again we have St Columba mentioned. The *Eolas* was as follows :—

An t-Eolas a rinn Calum-Cille
 Dh'aona bhò na caillich,
 Air thabhairt a' bhainne
 'N deigh marbhadh a laoigh ;
 Bho fheithean a droma
 Gu feithean a tarra
 'S bho fheithean a tarra
 Gu feithean a taobh,

Bho bhun a da chluaise,
 Gu smuais a da leise,
 Air thabhairt a' bhainne
 'N deigh marbhadh a laoigh.

Translated—

The charm that St Columba wrought
 For the old wife's only cow,
 For the giving of the milk
 After the killing of her calf ;
 Be from the veins of her back
 To the veins of her belly,
 From the veins of her belly
 To the veins of her side,
 From the roots of her two ears
 To the joints of her two thighs,
 For the giving of the milk
 After the killing of her calf.

In the following Irish Charm, from Mr O'Faherty, we have St Columba similarly presented to us :—

Ortha a chuir Columb Cille
 Do bhó giolla an t-sonais.
 Ta mo chos air mhuir agus mo chos air tír.
 A Rígh ta ar Néimh foir ar m-boin
 Agus bun teanga na laoigh.
 Teiridh a bhaile a's beidh sí slán !

Translated—

The Charm sent by St Columba
 For the cow of the Servitor of Peace—
 My foot is on the sea and my foot is on land ;
 O King, who art in Heaven, succour the cow,
 And take the calf under your protection.
 Come home, cow, and be well.

Rann Leigheas Galair Cruidh.

In the following *Rann leigheas galair cruidh*, we have Christ and his Apostles instead of St Columba :—

Criosd is Ostail is Eoin,
 An 'Triuir a's binne gloir,
 A dh' eirich a dheanamh na h-ortha,
 Roimh dhorus na cathrach,
 No air glun deas do Mhic.

Air na mnathan mur-shuileach,
 Air na fearaibh geur shuileach,
 'S air na saighdean sitheadach,
 Dithis a' lasachadh alt agus ga'n adhaichadh
 Agus triuir a chuireas mi an urra riu sin.
 An t-Athair, 's am Mac, 's an Spiorad Naomh,
 Ceithir ghalara fichead an aoraibh duine 's beathaich,
 Dia ga 'n sgiobadh, Dia ga 'n sguabadh
 As t'fhuil a's t'fheoil, 's a d' chnamh 's a d' smuais,
 'S mar thog Crìosda meas air bharra gach crann,
 Gu 'm b' ann a thogas E dhiotsa
 Gach suil, gach gnù 's gach farmad,
 O'n la 'n diugh gu latha deireannach do shaoghail.

Translated—

Christ and his Apostles and John,
 The Three of most excellent glory,
 That ascended to make supplication
 Through the gateway of the city,
 Fast by the right knee of God's own Son.
 As regards evil-eyed [lit., wall-eyed] women,
 As regards sharp-eyed men ;
 As regards swift-speeding elf-arrows,
 Two to strengthen and renovate the joints,
 And three to back (these two) as sureties,
 The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost.
 Four-and-twenty diseases to which man and beast are
 subject ;
 God utterly extirpate, sweep away, and eradicate them
 From out thy blood and flesh, thy bones and marrow,
 And as Christ uplifted its proper foliage [fruit]
 To the extremities or the branches on each tree-top,
 So may he uplift from off and out of thee
 Each (evil) eye, each frowning look, malice and envy,
 From this day forth to thy last day on earth. Amen.

STRANGURY.

The next Eolas I will submit to you is *Eolas a' Mhuin-deirg*, or strangury in cattle. The performer measured the animal's spine with the thumb and fore-finger, and at the same time repeated the following Incantation thrice :—

Mar a ruitheas amhuinn fhuar,
 'S mar a mheiltheas (bhleitheas) muileann luath,
 Stad air t-fhuil a's ruith ar t-fhuil.

Translated—

As runs a cold river,
As a swift mill grinds,
Let thy blood stop, and thy urine flow.

Another Uist version is as follows :—

A bhean sin 's a bhean bhalbh,
Thainig thugainn a tir nam marbh ;
A rug air a choire 'na cruth,
Fuasgail an dubh 's lig an dearg.

A PANACEA FOR ALL ILLS.

The following was a cure for all the ills that flesh is heir to :—

Ola cas easgainn,
Bainne-cìch circe,
A's geir mheanbh-chuileag,
Ann an adhare muice,
Agus ite cait ga shuathadh ris.

Translated—

Oil from an eel's foot,
Milk from a hen's teat,
The tallow of midges
(Compounded) In the horn of a pig,
And rubbed to the part with a feather from a
cat's wing !

The above was as potent as “An t-ian a thig a ubh coilich, sgriosaidh e 'n saoghal !—(The chicken that will come out of a cock's egg can destroy the world).

The Irish formula for the cure of whooping-cough is somewhat similar to our panacea. If a relative of the invalid saw a man pass on horseback, he was to be accosted thus :—

“A ghiolla an eich bhain cad a liaghfadh an trioich ?”
“Bainne cìch circe agus e bhleoghan an adhare muice,
Agus cleite cait a chur ga shuathadh !”

Translated—

“O rider of the white steed, what will cure the whooping-cough ?”
“Milk from a hen's teat, milked into the horn of a pig,
And rubbed on with a cat's feather.”

Another Irish cure for the whooping-cough is as follows :—The god-father buys a red thread, of about two feet in length, knots it into a circle or collar, and puts it round the neck of the god-child. This is supposed to relieve the latter !

AMBIGUOUS INCANTATIONS.

Occasionally one meets not only with obscure phrases, but also with whole Incantations, the meaning of which is far from clear. Here is one :—

Uisg' an Easain
 Air mo dhosan.
 Tog dbhiom do rosad
 'S aghaidh fir an cabhaig orm !

Will any learned Gael explain its meaning and purpose ?

THE BLESSINGS.

I have dwelt at such length on Charms intended for cures, etc., that my observations on Blessings and Miscellaneous Charms must be very brief. There were ceremonies and blessings for all the more important duties engaged in. When the cattle were sent to the sheilings in the early summer, there were Blessings suitable for the occasion. Specimens of these are given in the paper on "Old Hebridean Hymns," contributed by Mr A. A. Carmichael to Lord Napier's Report (Royal Commission, Highlands and Islands, 1883).

The Blessing of the Boats was a ceremony regularly observed in the Outer Islands : but the old Gaelic Blessings appear to be now forgotten. Bishop Carsewell gives a Boat Blessing (Modh Beandaighthe luinge ag dul diomsaidhe na fairrge) in his Gaelic translation of the Liturgy of John Knox : and the manner of Alexander Macdonald's "Beannachadh" of the *Birlinn* of Clan Ranald indicates that such Blessings were common in his time. In the Ritual of the Church of Rome there is a Blessing for a New Ship—" *Benedictio Nova Navis*"—and this Blessing is regularly attended to in the Catholic parts of the Hebrides. The ceremony is quite a short one. The priest goes on board the new boat, says the *Benedictio*, and sprinkles the boat with Holy Water. This ceremony is repeated every time there is a change in the crew.

The Barra fishermen always carry a bottle of Holy Water in the prow of the boat, and a Blessed Candle in the cabin. When in danger they sprinkle themselves and boat with Holy Water, and, lighting the Blessed Candle in the cabin gather round it on

their knees and say their prayers. In throwing out the long lines and nets, they do so invoking the Three Persons of the Trinity.

According to Hibbert a somewhat similar practice prevailed among the ancient Shetlanders. A layman assuming the rôle of an ecclesiastic muttered certain religious Incantations over water. The element was then named "Forespoken Water," and boats were sprinkled with it, and limbs washed with it.

The fishing in Barra is annually inaugurated with religious services in the Church on St Bride's Day—*La Fheil Brighde*; and until six years ago the fishing banks were distributed among the various crews.¹ The ceremony of distributing the banks was carried on by means of casting lots, under the direction of the priest. As the people left the Church, they chanted one of their old Hymns:—

Athair, a Mhic, 's a Spioraid Naoimh,
 Biodh an Tri-'u-Aon leinn a la' 's a dh-oidhch'.
 Air chul nan tomn, no air thaobh nam beann
 Biodh ar Mathair leinn, 's biodh a lamh mu'r ceann.

Translated—

O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
 May the Three-in-One protect us night and day!
 On the tossing billows or on the mountain,
 May Mary's arm be our guard alway!

According to Hebridean tradition, a Celtic Saint blessed Barra with these words—"Toradh mara gu tìr a' Cuile Mhoire," implying that the produce of the ocean might be brought from the Virgin Mary's private store-room to the shore. The sea was regarded as the Virgin's Treasury, and when an unexpected haul of fish was landed, it was observed it came from *Cuile Mhoire*, or the secret store of the Virgin. Among boat names in Barra a noticeable one may be mentioned, viz., "Maris Stella." Then the devotional character of the Barra fisherman as he commences his vocation for the season is well depicted in the following beautiful hymn from Father Allan Macdonald's Collection?—

¹ A similar practice formerly prevailed in parts of Shetland. Edmonston, who published his "Zetland Islands" in 1809, informs us that the fishermen of the Island of Burra, to the west of Scalloway, "divide the range of the fishing ground; and the occupier of a farm has generally also a particular spot allotted to him on which he sets his lines."—*Ibid* Vol. I., p. 234.

Dia 'bhith timchioll air an sgothaidh
Mu'n imich i gu doimhneachd mara :
Slig' air linne dhuinn a treuntachd,
Mur eil freasdal Dé ga faire.

Faiceamaid do shoillse, 'Mhoire,
'Nuair tha stoirm is oidheche 'gleac ruinn ;
Gur a tusa " Reul na Mara,"¹
'S e faire 'n éiginnich do chleachdadh.

'Aingil ghil, dian thusa iùl duinn,
'Threoraicheas ar siùbh'l feadh gharbh-thonn :
Sgiath do chùrain sgaoil mu'n cuairt duinn,
'Nuair chinneas gruain air gnùis na fairge.

Guidheamaid do thaic-sa, 'Pheadair,
Gun thu 'leigeil beud 'n ar caramh :
Chuireadh muinntir cuain na d' fhreasdal,
Teasruig sinn bho ascall mara.

Gur a buidhe dhuinn an cosnadh
'Bha na h-Ostail fhein a' cleachdadh ;
'S minig bha Mac Dé na'n cuideachd
'Cur an tuigse dhuinn a thlachd deth.

'Dhia, beannaich ar driamlach,
'N lion, 's gach inneal-glacaidh 'th' againn ;
Iomain thuca mar is iomchaidh
Spreidh 'tha 'g ionaltradh 's an aigeann.

Beannaich thusa dhuinn ar curachd,
Cha'n urrainn nach tig cuibheas oirre ;
Gu'm meallamaid a' Bheannachd Bharrach—
" Toradh mar' a Cuile Mhoire !"

'Nuair a's fheudar dhuinn 'bhi tilleadh
Stiùir Thu cinnteach sinn gu cala.
Ma chur Thu oirne seach ar feuma
Cha'n fhaicear leinn an déirceach falamb.

Na leig thugainn bàs le graide,
Orduich Sagart 'bhi m'ar timchioll ;
Naomhaich le d' Ola 's le d' Chorp sinn,
Mu'n teid anam bochd air iomrall.

¹ " Maris Stella."

In connection with these religious services in Barra, it may be mentioned that in some parts of Ireland the fishing season used to be commenced by saying Mass on the ocean. The late A. M. Sullivan describes this ceremony, as he witnessed it in his youth at Bantry Bay. He says:—

“Few sights could be more picturesque than the ceremony by which, in our bay, the fishing season was formally opened. Selecting an auspicious day, unusually calm and fine, the boats, from every creek and inlet for miles around, assembled at a given point, and then, in solemn procession, rowed out to sea, the leading boat carrying the priest of the district. Arrived at the distant fishing-ground, the clergyman vested himself, an altar was improvised on the stern-sheets, the attendant fleet drew around, and every head was bared and bowed while the Mass was said. I have seen this ‘Mass on the ocean’ when not a breeze stirred, and the tinkle of the little bell or the murmur of the priest’s voice was the only sound that reached the ear; the blue hills of Bantry faint on the horizon behind us, and nothing nearer beyond than the American shore!”—(*New Ireland*).

There is a story told of a fisherman in one of the Western Islands, whose prayer before going to sea was of a somewhat different tone. He considered himself a very respectful man (*duine modhail*), and addressed the Deity as *Sibhse* (You) instead of the customary *Thusa* (Thou). On one occasion when going to sea, danger was anticipated, and he prayed—

“Ud a Thighearna Dhia, Ruin, na ’m biodh Sibh cho math a’s curam a ghabhail do Mhairi’s do Sheonaid; ach a’ Bhan-Diabhlul, nighean Phara Mhic-a’-Phearsain, deanadh i a roghainn: bithidh fear eile aice ma ’s bi mise ihte aig na partain!”

Translated—

“O Lord God, my Beloved, if You would be so good as to take the care of Mary and Jessie; but that She-Devil, the daughter of Peter Macpherson, let her take her choice: she will have another husband before I am eaten by the crabs!”

Mary and Jessie were his daughters. Needless to say the “she-devil” was his wife.

CONCLUSION.

I feel that this paper has extended far beyond the limits usually allowed, and that no matter how interesting the subject may be in itself, I must now conclude. In doing so, I cannot adopt more fitting language than that used by the Hebridean peasant on finishing the labours of the day, and before retiring for night. When smooing the fire he says—

Smalaidh mise 'n nochd an teine,
 Mar a smalas Mac Moire ;
 Gu'm bu slan an tigh 's an teine,
 Gu'm bu slan a' chuideachd uile.
 Co bhios air an lár ?
 Peadar agus Pàl.
 Co bhios air an fhaire nochd ?
 Moire mhin-gheal 's a Mac.
 Bial De a labhras,
 Aingeal geal a dh' innseas—
 Aingeal an doras an tighe,
 Ga'r comhnadh 's ga'r gleidheadh
 Gus an tig an solus geal a maireach.¹

He then says the following *Altuchaidh Laidhe*, or Bed-going Prayer :—

Tha mise nochd a dol a laidhe—
 Ma's a bas dhomh anns a' bhas chadail.²
 Gu'm b' ann air deas laimh Dhe 'dhuisgeas mi.
 A Rìgh na h-ola firinnich
 Na diobair sinn bho d' mhuinntearas,
 A liuthad lochd,
 A rinn mo chorp,
 'S nach fhaod mi nochd a chuimhneachadh,
 Dia agus Moire agus Micheil,
 Bhi leam bho mhullach mo chinn,
 Gu traighean mo bhuinn.
 Guidheam Peadar, guidheam Pol,
 Guidheam Moire Oigh 's a Mac,
 Guidheam an da Ostal deug,
 Gu'n mi dhol eug gun 'ur leas.

¹ The peasants of Connemara have a somewhat similar "smoothing" blessing. In *Siamsa an tGheimhridh*, at page 139, there is the following prayer :—

An Phaidir a deirtear uig coigilt na teinneadh roimh dul a chodladh.
 Coiglim-se an teinne seo mar choigil Criost cáthach ;
 Brighde faoi na bun agus Mac Muire in a lár ;
 Na trí aingeala is mó cumhachd i g-cuirt na ngrás
 A' cúmhach 's a coimhead an tigh seo 's a muinntir airis go lá. Amen.

A version of the same *Paidir* from Cork is somewhat different—

Coiglim an teine so mar choigleann Criost cách,
 Muire air dha cheann an tighe, a's Brighde in a lár,
 Gach a bhfuil d'ainglibh 's de naombaibh i gcathair na ngrás
 Ag cosant 's ag coimead lucht an tighe seo go lá.

² In Ireland the expression "Bas cadalta na h-oidhche" is used.

On getting into bed he says the *Attachadh Leapa*, or Bed Prayer, as follows¹ :—

Laidhidh mi nochd
 Le Moire 's le 'Mac ;
 'S le Brighde fo brat,
 Le Dombnach nam feart,
 Le Mathair mo Rìgh
 Ga m' dhion bho gach lot ;
 Cha laidh mi leis an olc ;
 Cha laidh an t-olc leam ;
 Eiridh mi le Dia
 Ma's ceadach le Dia leigeil leam,
 Deas-làmh Dhia
 Is Chrìosta gun robh leam ;
 Crois nan Naomh 's nan Aingeal leam,
 Bho mhullach mo chinn
 Gu traighean mo bhuinn
 A chionn Dia agus Moire
 A chuideachadh leam ;
 A Rìgh, agus, a Mhoire ghloirmhor,
 A Mhic na h-Oighe cubhraidh,
 Saoir sinn bho phiantainean
 'S bho thigh iosal dorcha duinte.
 Dion ann a's as ar colum
 Ar n-anama bochda
 A tha air fìor chor-oisinn na fìrinn.
 Guidheam Peadar, guidheam Pól,
 Guidheam Moire Oigh 's a Mac,
 Guidheam an da Ostal deug
 Gu'n mi dhol eug gun 'ur leas.
 M'anam a bhi air do laimh dheis a Thighearna ;
 Bho 'n 's Tu a cheannaich e ;
 Micheil Naomh a bhi 'n comhail m'anama
 Nise agus aig nair mo bhais. Amen.

¹ The Irish have a similar prayer. I quote it also from the *Siamsa*, and is as follows :—

An Phaidir a deirtear 'nair luigheas duine air a leabaidh.

Luigheam leat Iosa, agus go luidhidh tú liom ;
 Ola Chrìost air m' anam, Cré na n-Abstol os mo chionn.
 A Athair a chruthaigh mé,
 A Mhic a cheannaigh mé,
 A Spioraid Naomh a bheannaigh mé.
 A Bhainrioghan na gile, a's a Bhainrioghan na h-òige,
 Tog mé as na peacadhaibh agus cuir me air an eólas,
 Agus cuir in mo chroidhe an aithrige go silfead na deóra,
 'S má tá sé í n-dán dam bás d' fhaghail roimh mhaidin,
 I seilbh na glóire go raibh m' anam. Amen.

30th MARCH, 1892.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society, viz. :—Mr Alex. Crerar and Mr James Maedonald, Kingussie ; Mr Ewen Kennedy, Newtownmore ; and Mr Alex. Fraser, Clerk, High Street, Inverness. The paper for the evening was contributed by Mr John Mackay, J.P., Hereford, entitled “Sutherland Place Names—Parishes of Kildonan and Reay.” Mr Mackay’s paper was as follows :—

SUTHERLAND PLACE NAMES.

PARISH OF KILDONAN.

The general appearance of this parish, like many other parishes in the county, is mountainous. The most elevated mountain, Beinn-griam-Mor, has an altitude of 1934 feet above sea level. Several others on the confines of the parish attain to higher altitudes. Its inland boundary line is the water shed to the various rivers and streams flowing south, north, east, and westwards. Its lakes are numerous, forming reservoirs for its principal river, the Ilich, or as natives sometimes pronounce it, Uillie, into which all the minor rivers and streams fall, frequently causing it to be subject to inundations, and generally to have a fuller quantity of water in it for more months in the year than many other rivers, thus affording, with the numerous lakes connected with it, the best trout angling anywhere. The “Ilich” river, following its sinuosities, has a length of considerably over 30 miles, and in that distance has only a fall of 770 feet.

The valley of the “Ilich,” or Kildonan Strath, comprises the chief arable land of the parish. Into its upper portions a number of small glens run down from the higher grounds, giving the whole district a configuration somewhat resembling the form of a tree, of which the strath forms the trunk, and the converging glens, the branches.

The area of the parish is 138,407 acres, of which 169 are foreshore and 3922 water. The predominant rocks are granite, sylvite, and gneiss. In 1869 gold was discovered in the Suisgill Burn, about a mile above Kildonan, by a gold-digger returned from Australia, causing great commotion, and attracting a number of people to the spot. For a short time the gold-seekers were successful, but when the alluvial area of the Suisgill Burn was turned over, and washed by the diggers, the “find” of gold fell off, and farther operations abandoned without effectually trying whence the small nuggets found had come. Many years ago a nugget found here was presented to the Countess of Sutherland, made into a ring of

massive size, which is now in the possession of the present Duke. The value of the gold found in 1869-70 has been estimated as high as £10,000.

The soil of the Strath is light and fertile. The present Duke of Sutherland, who is sole proprietor, reclaimed hundreds of acres on the hill flanks of the Strath, at Kinbrace and Achintoul, 400 and 500 feet above sea level, for the purpose of providing home wintering for his sheep farms, but the costly operations have not been attended with the anticipated success.

The whole of the native population of this parish concentrated in Strath-lligh, and in the converging glens, was displaced, in fact evicted and expelled from their homes, from 1811 to 1819 for the wanton purpose of forming the whole extent into huge sheep farms. Those of the population unable to emigrate to America, the only home of colony refuge then in vogue, were located in small plots of land of 2 to 3 acres on the hill flanks near the coast, about Helmsdale and Portgower, to be reclaimed as best they might, and livelihood obtained from the then supposed El-Dorado of the sea. The result of this harsh proceeding was that a population of 1574 in 1811 dwindled to 237 in 1821, when a few years thereafter Helmsdale, which previously formed part of the parish of Loth, was annexed to Kildonan to equalise the population of both, and obliterate the disparity caused by the ill-advised and cruel evictions.

There are still remaining in the Strath of Kildonan numerous indications of a large population in very remote times, if Pictish towers, tumuli, and hut circles be one, and in more recent days, the "Kils" or "Cells" of the Christian missionaries be another. At Kilpheder are two so-called Pictish towers, one on each side of the ligh, said to be connected by an underground passage built in masonry, and all round them cairns, tumuli, and hut circles. At Kilearnan, further up the river, are other two similarly connected and surrounded. At Kildonan and Learable are ancient burial places and many tumuli; at Suisgill, a Pictish tower, and another in Strath Free, with the usual surroundings of cairns, tumuli, and hut circles. At Kinbrace some more of the same description. These surely indicate centres and locations of the population in prehistoric times. The "Kils" or "Cells," chapels of the Christian missionaries, indicate the same fact in more recent days, such as Kilpheder, Kildonan, Kilearnan, Kilmuir, and Kil-ninian, all of them established by the Culdee monks before, and after, Columba's time, or dedicated to their memory.

The parish, when ecclesiastically formed, took its name from the principal church situated in the middle of the Strath, founded

there by the Culdee missionary, Donan, or one of his followers about the sixth century. In connection with this Culdee apostle, Mr Skene, in his chronicles of the Piets and Scots, gives a tragical account of the martyrdom of Donan and fifty of his "muintir" or followers, by a band of pirates in the Island of Eigg in 617. Probably enough these pirates were Scandinavians roaming in quest of plunder years before they attempted settlements in the islands, or on the mainland. It has been said that the Scandinavians had been incited to this course of action by the Druid priests who sought refuge in Norway from the North of Scotland and the Orkneys, on account of the persecutions raised against them by the missionaries of the new religion, in the hope of extirpating these missionaries and regaining their own lost influence. Be that as it may, the Norsemen, very soon after their plundering expeditions, began to form permanent settlements in the Hebrides and Sudereys, and upon the coasts of Caithness, and finding their way into Sutherland by land and sea, gradually penetrated into the heights of Kildonan, taking possession, subduing the natives or driving them into the interior glens. Their footprints still remain in Kildonan parish. The Orkneyinga Saga, and Torfaeus, relate about the middle of the 12th century that these redoubtable invaders held full control in Caithness and on the coasts of Sutherland, as at that time even a Lady, Frakark, was one exercising great influence in both counties, and had a seat at Kinbrace, on the Hial mundal (Helmsdale), the daughter of a wealthy man living at Bighouse on the North Coast. This lady and her sister Helga were veritable amazons. Frakark was the mother of another virago, a Countess of Athole. Native tradition points out the ruins of Frakark's seat at Kinbrace. The Saga corroborates it, and records a tragical tale in connection with it. At this very time there lived at "Lambaburg," now Freswick, a remarkable man, celebrated as a pirate of the first class, named Swein Asleifson (son of Asleif who was his mother); brave, astute, and of great strength, he had possessions in Caithness and the Orkneys, and strongholds in both to which he carried his booty, and made merry all the winter with his retainers and followers. He made two expeditions every year. When absent he left one of his chief men in care of each castle. The Lady Frakark conceived some grudge against Swein. She instigated one of her henchmen to assassinate Swein's man in Freswick, who made himself obnoxious to her. The deed was done. Swein on his return was informed of all that had taken place. He was intensely grieved at the loss of his man, he concealed his anger, but silently

vowed revenge. He knew Frakark's power and influential position. He passed over to the Orkneys to lay his complaint before Earl Rognvald, the lord superior of the Orkneys and Katenes, and represent to him the perfidious act committed by Frakark, in fomenting quarrels and instigating assassinations. The Earl, desirous of allaying Swein's anger, represented to him that Frakark was very influential, and having so many followers it was much better to let her alone and overlook what had been done, that he himself was very adverse to fresh feuds being kindled, which would have very bad results. Swein listened to all that the Earl advanced, but did not seem satisfied. The Earl at last offered him ransom for the loss of his man and assistance for his next expedition, on condition that Frakark should not be molested. Swein feigned compliance. A great feast was made to ratify the agreement. Next summer Swein asked the Earl for two ships, and on the Earl asking him where he intended going, he told him to the coast of Scotland. He obtained the ships and sailed away. He made for the Moray Firth, but sailed up the Ekkials-bakki (Oykel), landed the greater part of the men, sent the rest with the ships to meet him at Freswick. He at once procured guides, and struck into the centre of Sutherland, then, turning to his right, came down Strath Free in the twilight and near Kinbrace surprised Frakark's sentinels, overcame all opposition, took and burnt the Castle with herself, her sister Helga, and all who took refuge in it, laid it in ruins, plundered all round, and made off to Freswick with a large booty. The ruins of this castle are still to be seen near Kinbrace, and still called "Carn Sìine" (Swein's Cairn).

A younger brother of this celebrated pirate and vikingr, named Gunni, is said to have been the progenitor of the Clan Gunn, as bold and resolute a race of men as any in the Highlands, worthy of their Norse origin. Gunn and his sons acquired considerable possessions and great influence in Caithness on the decline of Norse supremacy, which they maintained for several generations, till the Keiths came into the country on the demise of Ronald Cheyne, whose daughter a Keith had married. The territories of the Keiths and Gunns adjoined. Feuds soon commenced between them, and were carried on with varying success. In 1438 the Keiths, obtaining the aid of the Mackays, who were ever ready for a fray or a foray, overthrew the Gunns in a bloody conflict on the Moor of Tannach, three miles from Wick, yet the feud still continued for many years, each striving to inflict as much loss as possible on the other. In 1464, wearied with these incessant broils, the Keith, says a Sutherland tradition, came one evening

to the Gunn's residence, blew his horn, and demanded hospitality. He was invited in and nobly entertained, the Gunn telling him he was perfectly safe under his roof, notwithstanding the difference between them. The Keith noticing twelve fine-looking stalwart men round the Gunn's table, asked who they were; he was told by the Cruner Mor Gunn that they were his sons, and equal to any other twelve men in Caithness. Before they parted it was agreed between the two chiefs that they should meet at a certain place on a day agreed upon, on horseback, accompanied by their twelve sons also on horseback, to arrange all disputes between them peaceably, or failing so desirable a termination, to decide it with the sword. The day arrived, the Gunns, father and sons, were the first to arrive. The Keiths soon after came in sight, but on approaching nearer, the Gunns perceived that the Keiths had two men on each horse. They at once suspected the Keiths were not on a peaceful meeting bent, but they determined to stand their ground. No sooner had they met than swords were drawn, and a furious conflict began. Numbers prevailed. The Cruner Mor Gunn and seven of his sons were slain. The Keiths suffered severely, and after their victory retired to Dirlet, then held by the "Ridear Dearg," a relation of the Earl of Sutherland, who entertained them hospitably, and attended to their wounded. The defeated Gunns retired some distance from the field, and watched the direction taken by the Keiths. Three of the unwounded Gunns followed them, and at night came to Dirlet. Through an open window Henry, the youngest son of the Cruner Mor, saw the Keiths regaling themselves. He at once drew his bow and sent an arrow straight into the breast of the Keith, exclaiming as he so did, "Iomacharag na Guinnich gu Kaigh" (the Gunns' compliments to the Keiths). The Keiths rushed to the door, the Gunns planted themselves on each side of it and slew several of them as they came out, but James, the eldest son of the Gunn, dissuaded his other two brothers from continuing the fight, and drew away in the dark. The younger brother Henry, who killed the Keith, enraged at James for drawing away, upbraided him for his cowardice in giving up a combat so favourable to a few in the darkness of night. This led to other differences, which induced James to remove from Caithness to Kildonan. From this James, the Chief of the Gunns, acquired the patronymic of Mac Hamish (son of James), while the Caithness Gunns altered their names to Robson, Williamson, Henryson (Henderson).

Settled in Kildonan in the early part of the 16th century, the Gunns became, under the Earl of Sutherland, Wardens of the

Marches, a very risky title, but they proved themselves equal to the risk and the danger. Such a resolute race inured to fight, feud, and foray, provoked assaults as well as repelled them. Raids and conflicts became continuous. They raided on the Mackays, the Mackays upon them. When the foray was made into Sutherland the Gunns were ready to aid in repelling them. When it was a Sinclair invasion of Sutherland, the Gunns were first to give warning and meet the enemy. In 1586, with the aid of a party of the Mackays, they inflicted a severe defeat upon the Sinclairs on the confines of Caithness. It became notable, whichever side the Mackays were on, won the victory. After the Mackay Chief married the sister of the Earl of Sutherland, in 1589, the Sinclairs declined in power, and the expulsion of the Gunns from Caithness followed. Yet it was not till the first Lord Reay became Chief of the Clan, in 1614, that Sutherland and Caithness in some fashion settled mutual difference, to break out again by the artifices of Sir Robert Gordon, who seemed determinedly bent upon humbling the Sinclair Earls, and elevating the Sutherlands. He played artfully with his nephew, Lord Reay, till he despoiled him of a third of the possessions left to him by his father.

MOUNTAIN NAMES.

Ben-griam-mor—G., grim, grimeach, barren, rugged, the big barren or rugged mountain; the adjective, mor, applies more specially to its greater extent of base, than to its greater altitude above its near neighbour, Ben-griam-beg. An old Gaelic word, griama, signifying lichen, suits the pronunciation (grime). I am not aware that lichen grows upon it. The word *griam* may probably be Norse, from grim, grima, hood, or mask, which would be applicable enough in reference to its being frequently mist capped, then the definition would be the "big mist capped mountain," 1936 feet.

Ben-griam-beg—G. or N., the little mist capped, or mist hooded mountain, 1903 feet; it has a less area of base; griam may mean gloom, from gruain, gloom, dark, sullen, cloudy. One who knows these mountams well states, "In cloudy weather it is interesting to watch how, when a cloud wraps one in its passage, the other also soon puts on its mourning robe, as if from sheer sympathy. They would, to the poetic imagination of the Celt, appear like two mourners, and hence 'An da bheinn-ghruaim,' the two mountains of gloom or clouds." The Norse signification given presents the same aspect.

Ben-Armuinn—G., beinn-oir-na-minn ; oir, limit, or border : minn, kids, the mountain of the limit or border of the kids, where kids could go no higher ; Ir., oir, Corn ; oir, limit, W. or Gr., or-os, and our-a, limit, 2250 feet high.

Cnoc-na-maioile—G., maioile, baldness, the bald hill, 1315 feet, in reference to its bare and smooth summit.

Cnoc-an-leat-mhor—G., cnoc-an-leathad-mhor ; leathad, side of a hill, hill of the big side, 1423 feet.

Cnoc-na-bo-riabhaich—G., hill of the brindled cow, 1194 feet.

Cnoc-na-fliuchary—G., fliuch, wet ; and airidh, sheiling, hill of the wet sheiling, 1065 feet.

Cnoc-na-gear—G., cnoc-nan-gearr, hill of the hares, 1500 feet.

Cnoc-an-eireanaich—G., hill of the Irishman ; tradition states, an Irishman, or one presumed to be Irish, had perished on this hill ; more probably it is Cnoc-an-eibhrionaich, hill of the gelded goats, 1698 feet high.

Cnoc-na-fiadha—G., hill of the deer, 1273 feet high.

Meall-a-bhealaich—G., the lumpy hill at the pass, or defile, 1105 feet ; bealach, a pass, ; W., bwlecb, a defile.

Tor-n -gour—G., gabhair, goat, or goats ; pro., in Sutherland, gour, the goat hill, 973 feet high.

LAKE NAMES.

Loch-ascaig—O. G., ascaig ; escaig, dim. of asc ; esc, little stream or small brook, lake of the small stream ; asc, esc, esk, ask, are British and Old Gaelic terms ; Modern Gaelic, uisge, water ; W., wysg, stream, current ; Corn, isg. It appears to have been as common with the Caledonian Picts to apply uisge, asc, esc, to rivers as it was with the Britons. In England these words have been preserved in ax, ex, ox, as prefixes. There are several place names in Sutherland, situated on small streams, ending with "seaic," contractions for asc-aig, esc-aig, as in native pronunciation Aber-seaic, Shiberseaic, Overseaic, now corrupted to Aberscross, Shiber-cross. Such place names appear to be remnants of the Caledonian Pictish dialect.

Loch-na-Cuin—G., cuithean, snow wreaths, lake of the snow wreaths.

Loch-a-chlàr—G., clàr, plain, flat, lake in the plain, or flat land.

Loch Altanearn—G., Alltan-an-fhearna, lake of the small stream flanked with alder woods.

Loch-bad-an-loch—G., bad-an-loch, thicket of, or, in the lake. A small peninsula juts into this lake, upon which is a thicket, or

clump of shaggy birchwood ; bad, a thicket or clump of trees, is the initial syllable of many place names in Sutherland and other Highland counties where a house or hamlet is near it. Here up to 1812 was a large hamlet. See Place Names. This lake is the largest in the parish. On each side of this beautiful expanse of water rise lofty mountains—Ben-Chlibric in the west, Ben-Armuinn on the south, Ben-Griam on the north-east, and in the distance to the north-west is seen Ben-Loyal, blue on the horizon, with its serrated ridge and cliffy sides.

Loch-na-mon—G., moine, peats, peatmoss, lake of the peat-moss.

Loch-an-Abb—G., abba, abbot, the Abbot's lake. See Kildonan.

Loch Traderscaig—O.G., truid, stripe, battle, *air* ou, and, *scaig* contraction for *escaig*, dim. of *esc.*, small stream. Truderscaig and Halmadary adjoining, were extensive hill grazings at the back of Ben Armuinn on the confines of Strathnavar and Kildonan. No doubt many a conflict took place around this lake between the natives and the Norse reivers, and, more recently, between the Aberach Mackays, to whom these grazings belonged, and the Kildonan and Caithness "cattle lifters," hence the appellation, lake of the strife on the little stream. Truderscaig and Halmadary frequently appear in Mackay Charters.

Loch-learn-a-chlamhan—G., leam, leap, spring, bound, and clamhan, kite, buzzard, vulture, lake of the leap of the vulture. This lake is situated between the Griam-Mor and Griam-Beag mountains, the leap applies to the flight of the vulture across the lake from one side to the other. Its banks are noted as the scenes of a severe conflict between the Strathnaver Mackays and the Sutherlands and Gunns. The Mackays had made a raid into Kildonan and carried away a lot of cattle. They were overtaken by a strong body of the Sutherland men under the command of the redoubtable Mac Hamish, Chief of the Gunns in Kildonan. The Mackays had enough to do to hold their own and secure the spoil. The cattle were sent on while the rest of the party faced their infuriated pursuers. The Mackays boldly faced the onset and were severely handled, losing many of their best men, and were ultimately forced to retire through "Bealach nan Creach" (pass of the spoils). Coming to an advantageous position they turned on their pursuers, and when the action was again about to commence, a party of the Abrach Mackays made their appearance on the scene, when the Sutherlands and Gunns were compelled to retreat faster than they advanced, and were in turn pursued

through Bealach nan Creach, losing the greater part of their force. The spoil being thus secured, it was taken to Achness the same evening and placed in the fold, to which there was no door or gate, but a sentry was placed in the doorway to keep the cattle in. Among the cattle was a big fierce bull, which did not at all relish being in confinement, he became very unmanageable, and seemed to resent his being taken away from his native pasture. The bull constantly eyed the opening by which he had been driven in. He roared and pawed the ground, and, at last, charging the sentry, gored and killed him. The way being now clear, the bull made off, followed by the whole of the cattle, and before morning were back to their own favourite pasturage.

RIVER NAMES.

Alt-ach-na-h-uai—G., stream of the field of the graves. Here was a meeting house, or place of worship, of a very primitive style of architecture. It was built of alternate layers of stone and turf, the roof made of birch couples, birch purlins, birch rafters, and covered with birch brushwood and divots, overlaid with a thin layer of straw kept on by heather ropes. The seats were of bog fir. Round about it was the burying-place. Till 1812 it was the centre of a numerous population—Gunns and Gordons, Sutherlands and Mackays, lusty, hardy, brave men.

Alt-garv-mor—G., Allt-garbh-mor, the big, rough, and rapid stream.

Alt-garv-beag—G., the small rough stream; garbh, applied to rivers and streams, implies rapidity as well as roughness. The Garonne (garbh-amhuinn) in the south of France is both rapid and rough in its course. Here is a footprint of the Celtic language in the south of Europe—All river names in France the terminal letters of which are *ne*, are of Celtic origin, Rhone, Rhine, Marne, Seine, and are simply contractions in pronunciation.

Alt-aidh-dhaimh—G., stream of the deer grazing.

Alt-chinbrace—G., allt, stream; chin, gen. of ceann, end or head; and phris gen. plural of preas, a bush; pris, bushes. See place names.

Free—G., frith, forest, hill sides, deer forest; this river rises in a district once the resort of deer, six miles westward of the Ilich, into which it falls near Kinbrace. The little Strath, formed by the flow of the Frith, is said to have been well wooded in ancient times. In the Sagas recording the deeds of the Norsemen in Kateness, it is stated that when Sweine, as previously mentioned, made his onslaught on the Lady Frakark in Kinbrace, some of

her men took refuge in the adjoining woods, and concealing themselves in them, escaped slaughter. The tragic event occurred about 1150. No woods exist now in Strath Free nor near Kinbrace, though a great deal of moss fir used to be dug up in the mosses on the flank of this little valley previous to the eviction year of 1812. Probably wood was the fuel used previous to peat. It is recorded in the Sagas that one of the Orkney Earls was called "Torf Einar," from having shown the natives that turf made good fuel, signifying Einar, the turf man.

Iligh—O.G., pro. illie and uillie, signifies plenty or abundance of water; cognate with lighe, flood, still a common term in Sutherland for full water in a river or stream. There is a Welsh word, llif, flood, pro. thliv, the double l, pro. like th and single f, like v in English. This British word seems to be the same as the Caledonian one, lighe, and is another instance of the affinity between the two dialects of the Celtic language. Many such instances are apparent to the student of both. The cause of the abundance of water in this river has been previously described. The parish is sometimes still spoken of as Sgìre Iligh, and the valley as Strath-illie. The township at its mouth is still known in Gaelic as Bun-illie, the lower part or mouth of the Iligh. The river is no doubt the "Ile-a" of Ptolemy, and the "Ila" of Richard of Cirencester. It is also the Hjalmundal of the Norse Sagas, though Hjalmundal refers more particularly to the mouth of the river, where the Norsemen landed and found a village existing then as now. See place names. The words Iligh, lighe, may be accepted as remnants of the Pietish Gaelic, of which there are many in Sutherland Pits, Pets, *nidh*, the latter the "gwy" of the British or Welsh.

Tuarie—G., tuath, north, and ruith, or ruigh, slope, the trend of the river and its acclivities northwards, tuath-ruigh, northward trend from the Iligh into which it falls. W., rhiw, slope at a hill foot, common in Welsh topography. In Sutherland it is quite as common, and still preserved in the old form, Rhi (in place names), as the Cymry have it. Reidh is a plain, frequently confounded with Ruigh, slope, trend, declivity or acclivity as the position of the observer may be. There are several other rivers in this parish named after the township by which they flow. We shall find them in place names.

PLACE NAMES.

Ach-an-eccan—G., achadh-an-fhaicinn, the field of observation, from the fact that from this place a view is obtained north, east, south, west, points of danger in raiding times, up and down Strath Iligh, eastwards towards Caithness, west towards the much dreaded Mackays.

Ach-in-dun—G., achadh-an-duin, the field of the mound, or tower; there are here the ruins of a Pictish tower.

Ach-na-Moine—G., field of the peat moss, hamlet, and river names.

Ach-rimistal—G. and N., achadh, and raumsdal, name given by Norwegians who settled here from Raumsdal in Norway, being there to this day a district and river name.

Ach-rintle—G., achadh, raoin-an-t-sabhail, the field in the plain of the barn.

Ach-in-toul—G., achadh-an-t-sabhail, the barn field.

Ach-hemisgach—G., achadh sheamais-gaothach, James' windy or wind exposed field. At the upper end of this plot of land is a rock with the form of a cross engraved upon it. The name of the adjoining wood is Coille Cill-mhuire, the wood of Mary's cell, a place of great sanctity, and a sanctuary in the pre-Reformation times.

Ach-an-t-shamradh—G., the summer, or pleasant field. On this spot can still be seen the foundation of a Highland cottage, once the abode of "Donald Direach," "Donald the straight or just," one of the most eminent of the "men" of Sutherland, 1740 to 1768, a race of men useful in their day, now dying out.

Ach-na-nighean—G., the field of the maidens. A weird legend is connected with this field. Here, for many years, lived and worked the only blacksmith in the parish. Near the smithy is the only entrance to one of those singular subterranean passages to be found in the northern districts of Scotland. This passage is a most remarkable one. The entrance is built upon each side of solid masonry, and finished at top by a huge stone lintel which not twenty men of modern days could raise a foot from the ground. The doorway is half filled with rubbish. A few yards further in the interior is a sort of chamber wider than the entrance by five feet; further progress is stopped by the falling in of the roof, which is quite apparent by a deep hollow on the surface outside. The passage is continued towards the river Ilich, in a north-westerly direction, and carried under the river, as has been ascertained by the removal of a few flags close by the river bank, where the passage was discovered 400 yards from the entrance. Also on a woody eminence is the township of Liriball, and, according to tradition, at this place the passage terminates. The following legendary tale is told in connection with this passage:—

Two calves browsing on the field near the eastern entrance began to skip about and chase each other, until at last the one after the other ran in at the opening, and there being then no

obstruction, the calves pursued their way inside. Their entrance into the cave was noticed by two girls engaged in looking after the cattle, and they both at once rushed after the calves to take them back. The girls kept together till they had got to nearly the middle of the passage, when the foremost in pursuit, along with the calves, suddenly disappeared and were never more heard of. The other girl, horror struck, went on groping her way in the darkness until she found her further progress prevented by the termination of the passage. Feeling about with her hands she found that she was in a chamber of considerable size, but low and roofed with flags. About the middle of the roof she found that one flag was more moveable by the pressure of her hand ; she also heard the sound of voices above her. Exerting all her strength to raise the loose flag, she at the same time screamed for help. As the story goes, this subterranean chamber was situated precisely under the hearth of one of the tenants of Liriball, who at the time the cry was uttered and the hearth stone disturbed, was with his wife and family quietly seated at the fireside. The cry from below and the earthquake movement came upon the man and his family like a thunder clap. At once concluding it was a visit from the spirits of the deep, they all started up, and in answer to the poor, desperate girl's cries for help, they only uttered a roar of terror and bolted from the house. The poor girl, desperate with fear and animated with love of life and freedom from such a dreadful adventure, at last succeeded in raising the hearth stone and placing herself by the fireside. To the inmates of the house, after their fears had subsided so far as to allow them to address her, she gave an account of her adventures. Her lost companion, it is said, was the daughter of a witch, who in an evil hour had promised her daughter to the devil. Under the semblance of the two calves the Evil One had come to claim his own. The place was, in memory of the event, called Achadh-na-nighean, maiden's field. (Sage's Memorabilia.)

Ach-bhataich—G., the field of the sticks ; sylvan, woody, where sticks were wont to be cut.

Ach-chroidh-bhothain—G., the field of the cattle booths, or shelters.

Am-bagh-mor—G., the big bay, a bend in the Ilich river noted for angling.

Athan-preas-na-suidheig—G., the ford of the raspberry bushes.

Bad-na-h-achlais—G., literally the tuft of the arm pit, in reference to its conformation and aspect. Here are two tumuli resembling graves, and close to them are other two called Tullach mor and Tullach heag, signifying the big and little hillocks.

Badenloch—G., bad-an-loch, mentioned in lake names. On the north side of this lake and facing the mid-day sun was a larger township, with numerous tenants, occupying the arable land, about 5 acres each, on the runrig principle, and any quantity of hill pasture in common, rearing great herds of black cattle, ponies, sheep, and goats. Bad is applied to hamlets which were near clumps of shaggy birch woods. On the other side of this lake was another hamlet called Breac-achadh, the speckled field.

Bad-fliuch—G., the wet hamlet, or the hamlet contiguous to a clump of wood surrounded by marshes.

Bad-an-t-sheobhag—G., hamlet at the hawk's thicket.

Borrobol—N., barr, barley, and bol, township, the barley township; barr is the root of the English word barley, the Scottish, bear; G., bàr, crop; Welsh, bara, bread; Heb., Chal. Syr.; bar, son; Scot., bairn, child; cognate is the Lat. par-io, beget. Here was one of those ancient corn mills called Muillinn-ton-ri-lar. of which there were several in Sutherland, so called from its water wheel being horizontal, in the shape of the modern turbine, common to this day in Shetland. It is a very interesting fact that this form of mill was common all over Britain and Ireland and the north of Europe, was found in Syria and Persia, superseding the hand quern, a more primitive instrument. See Pro. of Soc. Ant. Scot., 1885.

Bal-bhealaich—G., baile-a-bhealaich, township at the pass.

Bealach-na-creach—G., pass of the spoils, mentioned previously.

Blairmore—G., blar-mor, an extensive morass.

Carn—Written in charters, Cayen, a township near Helmsdale situated at a sharp turn of the Ilich river. It may be O. G. càin still water, or cuinne; angle; W., cyn, a wedge.

Carn-laggie—G., carn, and lagun, small hollow, the cairn of the small hollow.

Ceam-a-bhaid—G., the end of the clump of wood.

Cnoc-phin—G., cnoc-fionn, the fair hill.

Coire-an-lon—G., the corrie at the meadow.

Corrish, Corruis—G., coire-an-innis, the corrie at the grazing field.

Craggie—G., creagaich, rocky place.

Creag-an-rath—G., the rock of the fort. On the summit of this hill may be still seen the foundations of many enclosures running into each other, covering a large area and exhibiting the appearance of an encampment. Many conflicts took place here between the Sutherlands and the Sinclairs about the beginning of the 17th century.

Costly—N., Kosta and lé, good mowing land ; Eng., lea.

Dalmore, Dalbeg—G., the big, the small meadow ; W, dol, a meadow bounded by a river ; N., dalr, a meadow ; Corn. and Arm., dol ; Ir., dail ; G., dail.

Dalcharn—G., meadow of the cairn.

Dal-hahny—G., dail-a-chalmaidh, meadow of the hero.

Dalial—N., daela, a small dale.

Duible—Diobal, old form in charters Daypull, Dowebull, Dwebul ; N. dybol, from dy, bog, and böl, township, the bog-township, or township at the bog. Close to it is a bog or pool of water formed by the rills that rush down to it from the braes above it.

Eldrable, Eildirebail—N., eldr, beacon, balefire, and böl, township, the township of the beacon fire. The hill at the back of this township, 2 miles above Helmsdale, is 1338 feet high. It overlooks the sea, a fit place for a beacon fire. The Norsemen would call it the beacon hill. This hill gave its name to the township ; old form in charters, Alterball. This hamlet is a romantic spot situated on an eminence 50 feet above the Ilich river, and well wooded. On this spot the sun in winter is never seen owing to the height of the hill. It has therefore been called "an taobh dorcha" (the dark side).'

Feuranaich—G., grassy

Fliuchary—G., fliuch-airidh, the wet sheiling.

Gearnary—N. and G., hired pasture, pasture upon which cattle are taken at so much a head for the season.

Gradsary—N. and G., gorod, grad, old form of Scandinavian for the ruins of any building, and airidh, the pasture round the ruins.

Griamachary, Griamachdary—G., griamach, rugged, and airidh, sheiling, pasture ; the rugged sheiling. Here the Mackay and Sutherlands, when allies, had assembled often to invade Caithness. In 1601 there was a great gathering of them here for that purpose. The Sinclairs were in great force to meet them. The Earl of Sutherland, being a young man and unused to war, was unwilling to risk a battle. The Mackay Chief, "Huistean du-na-tuagh" (swarthy Hugh of the battle axe), and the Gunn Chief counselled the Earl that it was necessary for him, for his own credit, to attack the Sinclairs. The Earl took a medium course, sent a messenger to the Earl of Caithness, to the effect that if he remained in his encampment till next morning he would be attacked. In the morning the Earl advanced, the Mackays in front, the Gunns on the flank. On arriving in sight of

the Sinclair encampment, they were seen marching away. The Gunns pursued for some distance and killed some stragglers. Arriving at the encampment the Sutherlands and Mackays found there was no fighting to be done, but to commemorate the event, they raised a cairn and called it Carn-an-teichidh, the cairn of the flight.

Gailval—G., township of the strangers; old form, Gylsbal.

Halgary—G., Helga, sister of Frakark, and airidh sheiling, Helga's sheiling.

Helmsdale (east and west of the Ilich)—N., Hjalmundal hjalli, shelf, terrace on a mountain side; munn, mouth, and dalr, dale, terrace of the mountain at the mouth of the dale; very applicable to the aspect of the place from the sea.

Innis-mor—G., innis, pasture, the big pasture land.

Kildonan—G., the cell of Donan. This place name is variously written in charters Kilduranach, in Bishop Gilbert's charters, circa 1225. The bishop, a Moray man, no doubt knew the Gaelic of the day. It is said that Duranach meant dark, sullen, frightful. It would appear that St Donan was the first Christian missionary who came into the district and acted the priest and the magistrate. In this cell he instructed the people, and lower down the Strath was his seat of justice—three large blocks of stone in the form of a seat or chair, called "Cathair Dhonain." After Donan's departure and demise, none could be found to fill his place with the same moral influence. His successor therefore took a block of wood shaped to resemble Donan, but with features of countenance hideous and frightful. Anyone proving refractory was placed in St Donan's cell, with this picture of the saint facing him, during the darkness and silence of night, and the consequence was that when brought forth next day from his confinement he was invariably reduced to absolute obedience, hence the name "Duranach," which for a time applied not only to the cell but to the district surrounding, till it was eventually styled Kil-donan, the cell of Donan. It is situated in a pretty part of the Strath. It would appear from this that Monks, then and after, had an eye to beauty of situation for their places of worship. Here was an Abbey, the ruins of which are still to be seen, and called Tigh-an Abba. When the Chapter of the Diocese was formed by Bishop Gilbert Moray, the Abbot of Scone was one of the Canons, and the church of Kildonan—or as it was called in the charter, "Kil-duranach"—was assigned to him as the sphere of his pastoral duty, provided that, when absent, a vicar should officiate in his place. The Abbot of Scone had charge of the parish till 1684.

Beside the manse is a chain of heather covered knolls in close succession, varying in shape and elevation, one of these 20 yards from the manse is 60 feet high, and 90 feet in circumference. The top of it was bared some years ago, and found to consist of a huge pile of stones. These tumuli were ancient sepulchres in which reposed the ashes of those mighty men of renown in their day, who fought and worked in the world many centuries ago. There is a standing stone to the west of these tumuli having a rude form of cross cut into one side of it. It is called "Clach-an-eig" (the stone of death). There was a local tradition that a bloody battle was fought here between the Norsemen and the natives, in which the former, by Sutherland tradition, were defeated, and their leader was slain and buried in the knoll above described. Another knoll further west is called "Tor-na-croich" (the knoll of the gallows), from two cattle lifters being hanged by order of the Earl of Sutherland, and the spot where they were apprehended is called "Clais-na-Meirlaich," or the dell of the thieves.

Kil-earnan—G., cell of St Earnan, a missionary Culdee monk, who had come to evangelise the people. Near it is Cnoc Earnan. This was an extensive township. When the Gunns came into Sutherland from Caithness, in the early part of the 16th century, this place was the seat of their chiefs, the redoubtable "Mac-Hamishes" (sons of James), and it may be said of them to their credit in those times and now, they were like the Arabs "true to their friends, worse to their foes."

Kilpheder—G., cell of Peter, a Culdee monk of that name, or more probably, a place of worship dedicated to the great apostle. This is a beautiful spot, interesting not only for the romantic scenery all round it, but for its historical associations in relation to county history. Here lived the Kilpheder Sutherlands, men notable in their day for stature and physical strength, the descendants of a son of the 8th Earl of Sutherland, and a daughter of the Mackay Chief, "Iye Roy" (Red Hugh), the last of whom died in Edinburgh some fifty years ago, enjoying a pension bestowed upon him by the first Duchess of Sutherland, after her succession to the title and estates was disputed in the famous law case of last century, and decided in her favour by the House of Lords. This gentleman was the real heir according to Celtic law; he was not a competitor, yet, failing to establish her case, this gentleman was to be brought forward as being in more direct succession than either herself or her competitors. He was a direct descendant of Alexander Sutherland, son of the 8th Earl John, by a second marriage-

with a daughter of Ross of Balnagown. Earl John, by his first marriage, had a son, John, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of the Earl of Huntly. This son, John, succeeded to the title and estates in 1508. Huntly was the King's Sheriff. Young Earl John was pliant and unsuspecting. He gave Adam Gordon, his brother-in-law, full control over his affairs. Fired with the prospect of succeeding to the title in right of his wife, Adam Gordon and his brother, the Earl of Huntly, the Chancellor of Scotland, set to work to accomplish their designs. "The young Earl," says Sir R. Gordon, "was deemed an idiot, and having never married, the succession of the Earldom came whole and entire to them," that is to Earl Adam Gordon and his wife, Elizabeth Sutherland. But the younger brother, Alexander, had to be dealt with; he was inveigled to Strathbogie, and upon consideration given, was made to acquiesce in this settlement. He repented, says Sir Robert, and returned to Sutherland. The Gordons were detested by the other clans in Sutherland, Alexander's return caused great commotion among them. He, for greater security, sought shelter with the Mackay Chief, Iye Roy (Red Hugh), and married his second daughter. The Mackays espoused his cause, and Adam Gordon, with his household and followers, were compelled to retire to Aboyne. Alexander took possession of Dunrobin, and, feeling himself secure, dismissed his forces. Assisted by Huntly, Adam Gordon suddenly appeared in Sutherland with a larger force, surprised Alexander, who in the conflict that ensued was killed, and Adam Gordon regained possession. This Alexander was the progenitor of the notable Kilpheder Sutherlands.

"At the east end of Kilpheder," says Mr Sage, "the foundations of a house may still be seen, in which the stones are remarkable for their immense size. It is difficult to conceive how they could be placed without mechanical appliances. Here it is said! Alexander Sutherland, slain in the above conflict, once resided, and his descendants after him at a nominal rent. The ruins of this house are more immediately connected with Alexander's son William, a man of herculean stature and strength, who repaired and extended it. He was his own architect and builder. The largest of the stones he took from the channel of the river. One huge block in the middle of the stream was too much for him. His wife upbraided him for giving in, saying it would be a standing proof of William Mor not being the strong man he was reputed to be. Indignant at this reproof from his spouse, he strode into the river crowbar in hand, and grappled

again with the huge mass, turned it over, rolled it out of the river on to a yard of his door, and said to his wife—"There is the stone as proof of your husband's strength, but it is his last act." He entered his house, threw himself on his bed, and died.

Lead Mharcaich—G., leathad-a-mharcaich, the horseman's side of the hill.

Learable—N., leir, muddy, and böl, township, the muddy township. Lerwick, N., leir muddy, an vik, creek. Learable was an extensive township. It is to be observed when bal or dal is the terminal syllable, the place name is of Norse origin, and when bal or dal is the initial syllable, the origin is essentially Gaelic.

Leam-Henrie—G., Henry's leap. Here the river "Ilich" is confined in its course by rocks on both its sides. A strong, athletic young man, named Henry Gunn, in attempting to jump from one to the other, missed the mark, fell into the river and was drowned.

Loiste—N., lysti, pleasant, pleasant place, fertile place; G., loisid, kneading trough. See Joyce, vol. II., 430.

Lon-tarsuinn—G., lön, meadow, tarsuinn, across, the cross meadow.

Marrill—N., mar-baeli, contracted in pronunciation to mar-bhail, mar-rill, farm near the sea, this place is within half-a-mile from the sea at Helmsdale (mar-bhail—marr-ill).

Navidale—N., naefr, birch, and daeli, dale; the birch dale.

Pol-du-chraig—G., pool of the two rocks, a place on the river Ilich.

Preaschoin—G., the bush of the dogs.

Reisg—G., riasg, a moor, a marsh. See Joyce, vol. i., 463.

Rhithean—G., ruighean, summer pastures, more commonly ruigh-an, dim. of ruigh, as ruighan na-caoraich, the summer run of sheep.

Sean-achadh—G., the old field; here it applies to the oldest cultivated land round Carn *Swein* or *Suine*, Kinbrace.

Solus-craggie—G., rock of light, from the fact of the sun's rays always striking it and reflecting light.

Suis-gill—N., suis or susi, roaring noise like that of the sea, and gil, ravine; the noisy or roaring ravine. Such it is when in flood, evincing that the Norsemen were equally keen eyed, and keen eared, as the Celts in describing place and river or stream.

Tor-darrach—G., torr, a conical hillock, and darrach, oak wood; the hillock of the oak-wood; dim., torran; W., torr, a boss; W., twr, a pile, tower; Arm., tor and twr. Moorish, Dyre, mountain; Taur-us, a mountain in Asia; Taur-inian, mountains

between Italy and Gaul; Mam-tor in Derbyshire and no end of tors in Devonshire; conical small granitic hills which endured the blasts of countless ages.

Tomich—G., tom, a knoll or swell of the surface; tomaich, full of knolls, an old Caledonian Pictish word; W., tom, a heap; G., dim. tom-an, a small knoll; W., tomen; Arm., tumb; Ir., tom, a burial ground; Lat., tum-ulus, a mound raised over a body; Gr., tomb-os, a tomb; Eng. tomb.

Tordu—G., a black hillock.

Torruiis—G., torr-an-innis, innis, a pasture field, the hillock on the pasture field; W., ynys, an island; Corn., ennis; Arm., enez; Scot., inch.

Torghorstan—G., torr, a hillock, and gortan, dim. of gort; O.G., a small field; the hillock at, or in, the same field.

Ulbster—N., Ull-böl-stadr, the wool place or township.

PARISH OF REAY.

The aspect of this parish is hilly, but hardly mountainous; its principal elevations are Beinn Ratha, 795, Beinn-nan-Bad-mhor, 952 feet, in the Caithness portion, Beinn Ruadh, 837 feet, on its western border, Beinn Geiambheag, 1903 feet, on the southern border, and the Knock-fin Heights, 1442 feet, at the meeting points of Reay, Kildonan, and Halkirk parishes. Its principal rivers and streams, the Halladale, Forse, Sandside, Reay, and Achvarasdal, all flow northwards into the sea. Its lakes number between sixty and seventy, the largest of which are Loch Calder, on the eastern border, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by nearly 1 mile wide, Shurey, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles by $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide, Cailam, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile by $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, Loch-na-Seilge, $\frac{3}{4}$ mile by $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

On the sea-board, Devonian sandstone, paving flags, and limestone are met with, while those of the hills include granite, syenite, gneiss, hornblende, and quartzite; shell marl has been largely dug at Down-reay and Brawlbin; iron ore has also been found, and a vein of lead near Reay Village; a mineral spring at Helshetter claims to be equal to those of Strathpeffer.

This district, previous to the 13th century, when the Norsemen held sway in Caithness and on the coast of Sutherland, was wholly included in Caithness. In fact, the whole of Caithness and the north of Scotland to Eddrachilis, was included in the term "Kateness." The southern portion of Sutherland, from the Ord to Ekkialsbakki (Oykel), was their "Sudrland" (the land to the south), a term still retained, though it became enlarged to embrace north and south, to distinguish it from modern Caithness.

The district of Reay then formed part of the extensive parish of Farr, or Strathnavernia, for ecclesiastical purposes, but when Gilbert de Moravia, or Murray, was appointed bishop of the diocese in 1222, he dis-severed this district from the Parish Church of Farr and annexed it to that of Reay, on the plea that Farr was "too diffuse," a very politic act on the part of a politic bishop, who proved himself to be an excellent administrator and church ruler, a man of the world, as of the Church, and, like other churchmen of his day, could wield the sword, whether made of steel or the quill of a grey goose. His administration of the diocese was eminently successful, bringing order out of previous chaos; caused tithes to be regularly paid, and regulated the incomes of the clergy, dominated the lords of the soil, and caused his suffragans to be respected. In his day commenced the series of Sutherland Charters, lay and clerical, still to the fore in the Dunrobin Charter Chest. The bishop was quite right. Farr was "too diffuse," for the people of "Helgedal" (Strathhalladale), as this district is called in his Charter assigning it to Reay Church, were twelve miles from Farr, and only four miles from Reay, while, at the same time, it was complained of that the "Helgedal" folks seldom attend church, and more seldom pay their dues to it or the priest.

The river Halladale then, and for nearly four centuries, became the western boundary of the parish, civilly and ecclesiastically, in the sheriffdom and diocese of Caithness, till 1601, when James the VI., no doubt at the instigation of Sir Robert Gordon, whose hatred of the Earls of Caithness prompted him to do all he possibly could to lower their dignity and elevate that of the Earls of Sutherland, constituted this district into a parish of itself, for civil and other purposes, within the sheriffdom of Sutherland.

The eastern boundary of this parish was then drawn along the summits of the mountain ridges, which, from sea to sea, seem naturally to form the boundary line between the two counties, beginning with Druim-holliston, on the north, to Druim-hollesdal, or Eysteindal, in the middle, and onwards to the Ord of Caithness, on the south.

Through this middle portion the Sutherland railway passes into Caithness, and here, in Eysteindal, it is said William the Lion encamped with his army in 1198 or 1202, on the expedition which put an end to Norse domination in the North, and began that of the two powerful and notable families of Sutherland and Mackay, in Sutherland, frequently rivals in many a hard conflict; rarely allies till the dawn of the Reformation, when the Mackay

chief and his clansmen embraced its tenets, and the Sutherlands followed, when both became its firm supporters.

The Sutherland portion of the parish of Reay comprises an area of 71,843 acres; the Caithness portion, 46,317 acres. The river Halladale traverses the Sutherland parish from south to north for $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and in that distance falls 1200 feet to sea level at Bighouse. The strath formed by this river is the only inhabited and cultivated part of the parish, except the adjoining villages of Melvich and Portskerry, on the western side of the bay of Bighouse. Like other straths in the Highlands, it has its fine meadow and arable land, and good hill pasture on its flanks, particularly on the east, towards the confines of Caithness. While the lower end and upper portions of it were, towards the beginning of this century, the scenes of eviction clearances, in the middle portion the inhabitants had the good, the uniquely good, fortune to be left undisturbed by the wave of undeserved, cruel, infamous exercise of the so-called rights of property in land that prevailed in Scotland all over, and in the Highlands in particular, after the "fatal day of Culloden," and devastated many a strath, and made homeless thousands of the families of those brave men who were at the very time fighting the battles of their country and conquering for her in every field. The middle of this strath was the only part of a glen in the county that escaped the burning evictions. It seemed to be left as a testimony to future generations of what the people would and could do had they been left undisturbed. When the Commission for fixing fair rents visited the district this year, they found it content and prosperous—rents fully paid, fields well cultivated, houses well built, and well furnished, and other improvements in progress, shewing, that if other glens and straths had not been disturbed, nor sterile sea-coasts congested, peace, contentment, and prosperity would be the rule and not the exception, would be general, and no calls needed for Government to interfere, nor to render aid.

The strath is said by tradition to have received its name from a Norse chief, slain in battle near "Dal-halladha." The scene of the conflict is pointed out by various small cairns, and near the spot, marked out by a circular trench, is said to have been the grave in which Hallad, or Halladha, was buried with his sword beside him. A stone in the centre of the mound marks the grave. It is undoubted that several battles were fought hereabouts in the 11th century between the Norse and the Scots.

Another account is that it was named from Helga, the daughter of Maddan, "a noble and wealthy man, who lived at

'Dal,' in Katenes." She married Hakod, Earl of the Orkneys, Katenes, and Sudrland, whose death was considered a great loss, "for, in the latter years of his reign, there was peace unbroken." After Hakod's death "his sons, Harald and Paul, succeeded him as joint-rulers. They soon disagreed, and 'divided' the dominions between them, still dissensions continued between the brothers, and the vassals of each were divided into factions." Harald held "Katenes from the King of Scots, and resided there and in Sudrland, for he had many friends in Sudrland." During Harald's rule, and after his death, Helga and her mother, and her sister Frakark exercised great influence in Sutherland, in this district, and in Kildonan. Possibly the strath might temporarily be called after her, but again reverted to its more ancient appellation. These two sisters were "Amazons" of the period, swayed alternately by gentle and fierce passions, by likes and dislikes, ever ready to love and to hate, and capable of inciting their fierce retainers to deeds of atrocity and ferocity worthy of the Norse occupation of the period, and engendered the wild spirit of rapine, feud, bloodshed, and assassination, which lasted in these bounds for four centuries after Norse rule had ceased.

There are still to be seen in the upper parts of Halladale the ruins of two Pictish towers, one on the left of the river above Trantlemore, the other on the right above Craggie. In the Caithness part of the district there are many more. Whatever their purpose may have been, they are still to be seen. Whether built by the Picts for defence from sea rovers, or by the Norse men for protection from the natives they despoiled and ill-used, as they did in France, England, and elsewhere, is a subject still in doubt.

The topography of this district is, on the whole, of Gaelic origin, evincing only partial expulsion and subjection of the natives by the Norse men. Yet in the Caithness portion of the parish place names of essentially Norse origin abound, more especially in the plain, while those in the more hilly parts to which the natives retired have retained their Gaelic description.

The parish name has been variously written in charters. Ra, in 1223 to 1245, time of Gilbert Murray, who would know Gaelic; Ray, in 1560 to 1566; Rhae, in 1640; Rae, in MSS. and maps 1642 to 1726; Reay, since the latter date. The name is probably derived from the most conspicuous object in the landscape of the district—Beinn-Ratha—whose summit rises nearly 800 feet above sea level at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the shore, dominating by its towering altitude and fortress-like appearance

all other objects within miles around it. Viewed from the sea or from the plains of Caithness, it presents against the horizon an object very much like a formidable circular and terraced earth work. The word is pronounced by the Gaelic-speaking natives as *Ràth* or *Rà*. It would seem the mountain received its appellation from its appearance, and transferred it to the district surrounding. Another appellation given the district, and found in Rob Donn's poetry, is *Miogh-rath*. What "Miogh" may mean, it is difficult to say. *Moy-rath*, the mound in the plain, from *Moy*, magh, plain.

Near the shore on the Caithness side is *Dun-reay*, once a seat of the Mackays. It was from this place they took their title. The greater part of the parish belonged to them till the first Lord Reay disposed of it to provide the sinews of war for his romantic expedition into Germany in support of the King of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus in the cause of Protestantism, 1626-1634. Near *Dun-reay* once stood a town of some antiquity and importance. It had its streets, market cross, two annual fairs, and other privileges. The site of it was laid bare in 1750 by a water spout.

MOUNTAINS.

Beinn rath—G., circular-looking mountain, 795 feet high.

Beinn ruadh—G., red mountain, 835 feet; Welsh, *rhud*; Manx, *ruy*, red; Scot., *roy*; Corn., *rydh*; Arm., *ryudh*; Fr., *rouge*; Lat., *rufus*; Gr., *ereudos*; Norse, *raudr*, red.

Cnoc-na-ceardaich—G., hill of the smithy, indicating that iron ore was found, smelted, and manufactured in the vicinity, 628 ft.

Cnoc-feadaireachd-na-gaoithe—G., hill of the whistling of the wind, 700 feet; Manx, *geay*; Welsh, *gwynt*, wind.

Cnoc-bad-mhairtein—G., hill of the polecat thicket, 747 feet.

Cnoc-an-fhuaran-bhain—G., hill of the clear spring, 797 feet; G., *bàn*, fair; Ir., *bàn*, fair; Manx, *bàn*, fair.

Cnoc-lochan-na-clachgrala—G., hill of the lakelet of white stones, 692 feet; *geala*, pl. of *gral*, white; Ir., *geal*; Manx, *gial*, white; Gr., *gala*, milk.

Cnoc-nan-gall—G., hill of the strangers, 902 feet.

Cnoc-nan-tri-chlach—G., hill of the three stones; Ir., *cloch*; Manx, *clagh*, 1135 feet.

Cnoc-freicadain—G., hill of the sentinels, 523 feet (watching for the Caithness reivers).

Cnoc-a-mhuillinn—G., hill of the mill, 400 feet; Welsh, *Melin*; Corn., *melin*; Arm., *melen*; Manx, *mwyllin*; Ir., *muillenn*; Fr., *moulin*; Gr., *mula*.

Meall-mor—G., big lump, 357 feet ; Welsh, moel ; Manx, mooyl, mull.

LAKES.

Loch-crocach—G., shaped like the hand when outspread.

Loch-crosgach—G., shaped cross ways, in the form of a cross.

Loch-nan-gall—G., lake of the strangers.

Loch-na-eaglais mor—G., lake of the big church, so called from its proximity to Kirkton Church, a place of worship in 1574. In 1726 the minister of Reay Church was bound to preach in it eight times a year. This church no longer exists, but the burying place attached to it is still used.

Loch-achredigill—G., achadh, field ; reidh, plain ; and gille, lad or servant ; the lake in the field of the lad's or servant's plain, or meadow.

Loch-na-seilge—G., lake of the hunting, seilge, gen. sing. of sealg ; Manx, *sheilg* ; Ir., *sealg* ; Wel., *helfa*, *pro* : *helva*.

Loch-achrain—G., achadh, and draighean, thorns, lake of the field of thorns ; Wel., *draen*, thorns ; Corn., *dren* ; Ir., *draighean*.

PLACE NAMES.

Achvullin—G., achadh, and muillin, mill, the mill field.

Achumore—G., achadh, and mor, the big field.

Achredigill—G., see lake name, the field on the lad's or servant's slope, or meadow

Ardachy—G., ard, high, and achadh, the high field ; Ir., ard ; Manx, ard.

Bighouse—N., bygg-hus, a barley barn, or barley store, afterwards applied to the house of one who let land, and received rent in kind. It may be an Anglicised term. In Strath Halladale are two places of this name, 7 miles apart, Lower and Upper Bighouse. The Gaelic name is Bunaibhne, or Bun-amhuinn, lower part of the river. Sometimes Lower Bighouse is called Torr, from the hill that adjoins it.

Calgary—G., càl, cabbage, and garadh, garden. Robertson deduces Calgarry in Inverness and Argyll from Càla, a harbour, and gearraidh, preserved pasture. Here is no harbour, there may have been a ferry, and there are meadows which were no doubt preserved for mowing when there was population in this part of Strath Halladale.

Croick—G., croc, croic, deer horns, shaped like the branches of deer horns ; cnoc, small hill, is sometimes pronounced as croc, hillock, as it was in Cornish. *Kryk*, hillock, croc, croic, is fre-

quently applied to the hand, which is finger branched. In Sutherland the term is common, and applied to land at river sides cut into branches by streams and hillocks.

Cuilfearn—G., cuil, nook, and fearn, alder, the alder nook, here in reference to a bend in the river in which alders grow.

Dal-halvaig—G., dail-an-t-sealbhaig, dell of the sorrel.

Forsinain—The first syllable of this word is evidently Norse, meaning a torrent; the last is a corruption of the Gaelic word "mhan," or bhàn, down, hence *Fors-a-Mhan*, "the lower torrent," to distinguish from another higher up, named

Forsinard—Fors, as above, torrent, and Ard, or airde, upper, or higher up, hence *Fors-an-airde*, the torrent higher up, two miles apart. The river Forse, in Caithness, rises on the other side of the ridge or watershed of the Sutherland "Forses." The former runs N.E., the latter N.W., the ridge dividing the sources. Were it not for the occupation of these districts by the Norsemen for upwards of two centuries, we might be inclined to infer from the gently rising declivities of these streams, and wide openings thus made in the hills, that "fors" was a corruption of the Gaelic "farsuing," wide, spacious, which agrees with their aspect; it would then be "*farsuing a mhan*," and "*farsuing-an-airde*," contracted into "*fars-a-mhan*," and "*fars-an-airde*." In either case the appellation would be applicable.

Golval—G., gall, strangers, and baile, township, the township of the strangers, two miles from Bighouse, the lord of which probably drew rents from Golval in kind, and stored them in his "bygg-hùs."

Kirkton—Anglicised form of Bail-na-h-eaglais. See lake name.

Kealsey—G., probably from C'ìl, cell, and eassaich (essie), gen. of easach, rocky stream, the cell at the rocky stream, Kil-easaich, Kealsey.

Melvich—N., from melr, or melar, sand-hills covered with bent-grass. Called elsewhere links, dunes, and downs, and vik, bay, the bay of the benty sand-hills.

Portskerra—N., port, an opening, and sker, an isolated rock hidden at high tide, hence, port of the hidden rocks, gen. plu. of sker is skerja, G., port, a haven, sgeir, a rock in the sea, hence, port in the rocks. From such instances as these, it is evident that the Gaelic has borrowed words from the Norse, and the Norse from the Gaelic. We know of many such instances.

Trantle-mor, and beg—Norse, trantr, snout, or projection of land, now pronounced "trantle" instead of "trauter," the Norse way; mor and beag, Gaelic adjectives to distinguish the one from the other, lying near to each other on different sides of the Halla-

dale. At each of these places the river makes a bend, the land projects and causes the bends in the form of a snout. In ancient charters these place-names are written "Troun-tales."

6th APRIL, 1892.

At a meeting of the Society held on this date, a paper was read which was contributed by Mr Alexander Macpherson, solicitor, Kingussie, on "The Old Castles of Ruthven and the Lords of Badenoch."

13th APRIL, 1892.

At this meeting the Secretary read a paper contributed by Mr Alexander M. Mackintosh, London, on "Clan Chattan Genealogies." Mr Mackintosh's paper was as follows:—

CLAN CHATTAN GENEALOGIES.

The Clan Chattan is perhaps second to none in the number and value of its genealogical and historical manuscripts. Of its three principal divisions in modern times, the Mackintoshes and Farquharsons have two each, and the Macphersons one, all of distinct importance, while several of the families of the smaller septs have preserved pedigrees, carrying them back step by step to their respective stems, from which they struck out two or three centuries ago. Perhaps I may be allowed to refer as an example to the pedigree of my own branch of the Shaws. This came to me from a great-grand-aunt, who was daughter of Angus Shaw of Tordarroch, an officer of the Mackintosh regiment in the '15, and wife of Farquhar Macgillivray of Dalcrombie, one of the three officers of the Mackintosh regiment who survived the battle of Culloden. It gives the descent of the family in eight generations from Adam, youngest son of James Mackintosh (or Shaw) of Rothiemurcus, who was killed at Harlaw in 1411, and was the son of Shaw Mor Mackintosh, the leader of the Clan Chattan champions in the clan battle at Perth in 1396. Except as regards the omission of one name—that of Adam's son, Robert—in the line of descent, this pedigree is perfectly correct,¹ as I have proved by

¹ There is one other omission, that of Adam, grandson of the Robert here mentioned, but he was not in the line of descent, which was carried on by his younger brother Angus. Of this Adam I propose to say more hereafter.

sasine and other records, and as Mrs Macgillivray had no possible means of compiling so correct a pedigree for herself, it is obvious that she must have obtained her information from some record kept in the family. This record, however, is not now to be found.

It is with the genealogies of the more important septs, however, that I propose now to deal, and after a brief description of those belonging respectively to the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Farquharsons, I propose to confine my attention to the genealogy of the first-named clan.

I. The Latin MS. "History of the Mackintoshes," by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, of date about 1670, which I will call the Kinrara MS., is contained in a leather covered book of small 8vo, or large 12mo size, preserved in the charter chest of The Mackintosh. Its writer was brother of William, 18th Chief of Mackintosh, and for some years managed the affairs of both his brother and his nephew, the 19th Chief, so that he would have had full access to the charters and other records of the family. This MS. traces the history and genealogy of the family of Mackintosh from the settlement in the north of Shaw, son of the Earl of Fife, in the second half of the 12th century. Down to 1550 it is professedly founded on three earlier MSS., the first written by Ferquhard, 12th Chief, in 1502, giving the history from the Earl of Fife down to the death of the 11th Chief, in 1496; the second, by Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy, giving the history also from the Earl of Fife down to the murder of William, the 15th Chief, in 1550; and the third, by George Munro of Davochgartie, giving the history of Ferquhard, the 12th Chief, and his three successors. These earlier MSS. are not known to be in existence now, and it is to be feared that they shared the fate of many of the family documents and evidents during the temporary occupation of Moy Hall by a party of Grants in 1746; but Lachlan of Kinrara states that he actually embodied their subject matter in his own MS., and as he seems to have been a man of strict honour, and could have no object in drawing on his imagination, there can be no doubt that he states what was an absolute fact. He was, besides, one of the most accurate and precise of men, as is evidenced by the traces of his hand among the family papers that are left, and we may feel certain that every mention which he makes of date, charter, or bond was verified, whenever possible, by reference to original documents. Indeed, many of his statements, made presumably on the authority of the earlier MSS., are corroborated by the records of other families. As might be expected, the Kinrara

MS. is particularly full in its account of affairs during the writer's own time and immediately preceding it.

II. The next Mackintosh MS. genealogy is entirely in the handwriting of the Rev. Lachlan Shaw, author of the "History of the Province of Moray," published in 1775. It is entitled "Memoirs Genealogical and Historical of the Family of Mackintosh, with an Introduction concerning the Families of Macduff and Clan Chattan," and bears the date 1758. It is unsigned, but has the same motto—"Antiquam exquirite matrem"—as the "History of Moray." So far as the Mackintoshes are concerned, it brings down the genealogy of the chief family and the several branches from the Earls of Fife to the writer's own time. Like the Kinrara MS., it belongs to the Chief of Mackintosh, but cannot now be found. I have not seen it since the year 1872, when it was lent to me for a few days by the late Mackintosh, during one of his visits to London, and was returned into his own hands. Possibly this notice of it may lead to its restoration to the family. According to my recollection, it is a quarto book of some 80 or 100 pages, with rather close but very clear writing. The pedigree of the Mackintosh Chiefs down to 1770 is given at page 44 of the "History of Moray."

III. The MS. genealogy of the Macphersons is the work of Sir Aeneas Macpherson, second son of William of Invereshie and Margaret, daughter of Robert Farquharson of Invercauld. He was an advocate during the reign of Charles II., when he received the honour of knighthood, and for some years after his elder brother's death acted as tutor of Invereshie. He was well versed in the family and clan history of his country, and, like Mackintosh of Kinrara, had exceptional facilities for tracing the genealogy and history of his own clan. To this work he brought considerable legal acumen and a great capacity for taking pains, and his genealogy for several generations down to his own time may, perhaps, be accepted as generally trustworthy. But most of the earlier portion, particularly that treating of the old Clan Chattan, is too palpably fabulous, and one only wonders that a writer usually so careful and judicious should have been carried away by the stories of sennachies. It is extremely likely, however, that in the main his genealogy from about the 12th century was based on either some written record or well-founded tradition. For example, he gives Muirich, Parson of Kingussie, as father of Gillicattan and Ewen Baan early in the 13th century, and there can be little doubt that Muirich was a progenitor of the clan, as it was called by his name. He also speaks of the three sons of Ewen

Baan by the names of Kenneth, Ian, and Gillies, and there can be no doubt that persons bearing these names were of importance in the clan, as we find the three main branches—of Cluny, Pitmean, and Invereshie—called respectively Sliochd Kynich, Sliochd Ian, and Sliochd Gillies. The MS. is in the possession of Cluny Macpherson. I have not seen it, but I have had the loan of a copy belonging to the late Dr John Stuart.

With the Macpherson genealogy in Douglas' "Baronage," which is followed in Burke's "Landed Gentry," I do not propose to meddle. It has already been shown by Mr Fraser-Mackintosh to be seriously incorrect, and it is clear that the compiler, whoever he was, did not confine himself to Sir Æneas' MS.

IV. The first Farquharson genealogy of which there is trace, was written probably about 1680, as it speaks of John of Invercauld, who succeeded his father, Alexander, in that year. I am not aware whether it is now in existence. It properly deduces the Farquharsons from the Shaws of Rothimureus, but brings these direct from the Earls of Fife, instead of through the Mackintoshes, making the Mackintoshes the off-spring of the eldest, and the Shaws the off-spring of the third son of one of the Earls. Who its author was does not appear, but whoever he was, he seems to have had a very hazy idea of the family history, and to have jumbled up his information in a most extraordinary manner. His main object seems to have been to glorify the family of Invercauld, then rapidly rising in importance, and he goes so far in his obsequiousness as to make the head of that branch of the Farquharsons chief, not only of all the Farquharsons, but even of the Shaws, although a little inquiry would have shown him that there were still Shaws in Rothimureus descended from Shaw Mor, and that among the Farquharsons themselves the family of Invercauld was junior to the family of Craigniety and the numerous descendants of Donald of Castleton. His misstatements, whether due to ignorance or servility, appear to have aroused the ire of Sir Æneas Macpherson, whose mother was a daughter of Robert of Invercauld. In a "Letter to a Friend" that worthy knight handles the would-be genealogist most unmercifully, pointing out, in the plainest terms, his many errors and their absurdity, and utterly demolishing his pseudo-historical house of cards. Sir Æneas' letter, which is in the possession of Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch, is headed "Vanie Exposed, or, a Plain and Short Answer to a late Peaper, Intituled the Genealogie of the Farquharsons, wherein the Authour's Ignorance and Self-contradiction are sett in their true light, and the Right

Genealogie of that modern Family briefly hinted att from the concurring Testimonies of the Shaws, the Farquharsons themselves, and all their neighbour families. In a letter to a Friend by No Enemy of theirs, but a friend to Truth, Sir Æneas Macpherson of Invershie, knight."

V. A more trustworthy genealogy of the Farquharsons is one compiled in 1733 by Alexander Farquharson of Brouchdearg. I do not know where it is to be found, but some twenty years ago I had the loan of a copy belonging to the late Dr John Stuart of the Register House. The writer, evidently having in view the genealogy last referred to, begins by stating that he leaves "all that's controverted or obscure about their descent from the Thanes of Fife . . . their actions and alliances at their first appearance, to such as can find clearer evidence for them than [he is] able to get by conversing with the oldest men, and comparing what has been wrote before on the subject." He gives the descent of the families of Farquharson from "Farquhar Shaw, whose name first gave rise to this surname, and who came over from Rothimureus, and took up his residence near the Linn of Dee," down to the year in which he wrote.

Of these several genealogies, the last mentioned is the only one which, to my knowledge, has never been called in question, so that I propose to treat it as accepted, and dismiss it from our consideration, together with the other Farquharson genealogy. With the genealogies of the Mackintoshes and Macphersons the case is different. They have been not only questioned, but even declared to be without support—so far, at least, as down to the middle of the 15th century—and that by no less an authority than the Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, Mr W. F. Skene.¹ Mr Skene does not mention the recognised Macpherson genealogy, that of Sir Æneas, in his writings, but in his "Highlanders of Scotland" he gives the Macphersons a widely different descent, from a Gaelic MS. of 1450 (or 1467), so that if he then knew of the existence of the recognised genealogy, we may assume that he considered that to be the one which could not be supported. But the descent which in the "Highlanders of Scotland" he gives to the Macphersons, he hands over in "Celtic Scotland" to some "older Mackintoshes," whom he identifies with the Mackintoshes or Shaws of Rothimureus, so that we scarcely know where we are so far as the Macphersons are concerned, and therefore I propose to confine my remarks to what he says on the Mackintosh genealogy. As

¹ Mr Skene has died since this paper was written.

his views on this subject have been brought under the notice of this Society by one of its leading and most valued members, Mr Alexander Macbain, in his paper of the 5th of March, 1890 (Transactions, vol. xvi.), I need perhaps offer no apology for asking the members to hear a few words on the other side.

Both Mr Skene and Mr Macbain are men of well-earned reputation and position in the world of Celtic research, but it does not follow that everything they say on Highland history is absolutely correct, or that all their theories and opinions are such as can safely be accepted, or are even founded on common sense. Since the appearance of Mr Skene's elegant volumes entitled "Celtic Scotland," it has, unfortunately, become the fashion among writers on Highland subjects to refer (and defer) to that gentleman as the final authority on any question relating to the clans and their early history, and to regard whatever he is pleased to say or think as unimpeachable. This is a fashion which I, for one, cannot understand; I can only suppose that those who thus bow down and worship him cannot have read his utterances very carefully, or have observed the contradictions which they contain, the worthlessness of the testimony on which some of the arguments are based, and the insufficiency or incorrectness of the premises on which some of the conclusions are reached. Mr Macbain in his paper accepts, and endeavours to fortify, Mr Skene's views on certain matters of importance in the Mackintosh genealogy, and, therefore—for the convenience of the Society's members who possess the Transactions, but may not all possess Mr Skene's book—I will in the main restrict my remarks to the points dealt with in that paper:—

(1st). Considerable weight is allowed by both Mr Skene and Mr Macbain to the genealogies given in the Gaelic MS. of 1467 in the Advocates' Library, and Mr Skene goes so far as to declare that they "may be held to be authentic" as far back as the common ancestor from whom each clan takes its name, though he does not support his declaration by reasons. Let us now see what this MS. is. At page 338 of Vol. III. of "Celtic Scotland" Mr Skene says:—"There is ample evidence that during this period [*i.e.*, the 14th and 15th centuries], a great proportion of the Highland seannachies were Irish, and that all reverted to Ireland for instruction in their art. It could hardly have been otherwise than that, with the disappearance of the old Highland pedigrees, every presumption and analogy would have driven these seannachies to the better-preserved Irish pedigrees, to replace what had been lost, by connecting them more directly with the Irish tribes.

. . . For the clan genealogies at this time we must, therefore, refer to the Irish MSS., and they are, in fact, the oldest pedigrees which have been preserved. The MS. collections in which we first find them are, first, the Book of Ballimote, compiled in the year 1383; the Book of Leccan, compiled in 1407; and a MS. belonging to the Faculty of Advocates, bearing the date 1467, but the genealogies in which are obviously derived from the same source as those in the Book of Ballimote." At p. 8 of Vol. II. of his "Highlanders of Scotland," published in 1847, Mr Skene mentions that he discovered this MS. of 1467 in the Advocates' Library, and "after a strict and attentive examination of its contents and appearance, came to the conclusion that it must have been written by a person of the name of Maclachlan as early as the year 1450, and this conclusion with regard to its antiquity was afterwards confirmed by discovering upon it the date of 1467." It gives pedigrees—or, at anyrate, strings of names purporting to be pedigrees—of most of the Highland clans, from the Macgregors and Macnabs in the south, to the Mathesons in the north, and carries back some of them to periods when the centuries were numbered with only three figures. For example, it takes back the Campbells to King Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, who, if he ever existed at all, save in the imagination of French romancers of the age of chivalry, was contemporary with the Roman occupation of Britain.

I have already intimated my inability to regard Mr Skene's statements and opinions as infallible, and before I can accept these pedigrees for which he stands sponsor, or any one of them, as correct, I should like to know who the supposed Maclachlan was, and to have some valid reason why his testimony, or even that of the Book of Ballymote, is to be preferred to the testimony of the clans themselves. Was an Irishman of the 14th and 15th centuries more honest or less liable to error than a Scots Highlander of the same period? If the Highlander could be guilty of manufacturing a string of names to connect his family with some notable person in Scottish history, might not the Irishman adopt a similar course in order to glorify the legendary heroes of Ireland? Irishmen in our own century have not been slack or shy in holding up their country as the home of valour and worth in ancient times, and I do not suppose that Irishmen of four or five centuries ago were less patriotically inclined. Again, the fact of which Mr Skene says there is "ample evidence," although he does not indicate where—that in the 14th and 15th centuries many of the Highland seannachies were Irish, or that Irish seannachies of that

period were better informed than those of the Highlands—does not prove that the descents which they give during previous centuries are more correct than those of the clans themselves, or even that they are correct at all. How are the Irish seannachies supposed to have obtained their information? How, for example, did they ascertain the names of the heads of Clan Campbell, or Clan Duff, or any other clan, back from son to father, successively, to the 3rd or 4th century of the Christian era, or even back to the time when the representative of the clan had landed in Scotland? Are we to believe that during all these hundreds of years special correspondents in Scotland had notified every change of leadership to a college of seannachies or other central office in Ireland, and that the pedigree books in such establishment were regularly posted up like the Peerages and Directories of the present day? It is not enough to say, as Mr Skene does, that the pedigrees are “in general tolerably well vouched” as far back as the eponymus or common ancestor whose name was adopted by the clan, and that this later portion “may be held to be authentic.” The vouching given by Mr Skene in the notes to his pedigrees in the appendix to vol. iii. of “Celtic Scotland,” is very slight indeed; in thirty-five main pedigrees, some of which include two or more subordinate pedigrees, the references to documents do not exceed a dozen, and they mostly relate to names of the 14th and 15th centuries. If the pedigrees are not trustworthy before, say, the year 1000 or 1100, I cannot see why they should be held to become so after that date. To my mind it appears only reasonable to believe that the heads of a clan would be likely to know their descent from their eponymus far better than any Irish seannachie, however learned he may have been in the history of the ancient Kings of Ireland, imaginary or real, and if the matter is regarded from a common-sense point of view, I think it must be admitted that, whether the ordinarily accepted genealogies of the clans themselves are correct or not, no sufficient ground appears for believing that the Irish genealogies of the Highland clans, given in the Book of Ballymote and the MS. of 1467, are correct. I am not aware that inspiration has as yet been claimed for them.

(2nd). Coming more particularly to the Mackintosh genealogy, we find in Mr Macbain's paper (on p. 164 of the Transactions, 1889-90), three lists—one giving the pedigree of the Mackintoshes, as contained in their own recognised genealogy, from Ferehar, 12th Chief, back to the Earl of Fife, the others giving two lines of pedigree, taken from the MS. of 1467, back to two

persons named respectively Neill and Nachtain, supposed to have been sons of a certain Gillicattan. For convenience I reproduce these lists here, slightly altering their order :—

(a) <i>Mackintosh History.</i>	(b) 1467 MS.	(c) 1467 MS.
(12) Ferchar, d. 1514	William & Donald	Lochlan
(9) Ferchar (11) Duncan, d. 1496	William	Suibne
(8) Lachlan & (10) Mal- colm, d. 1457	Ferchar (1382)	Shaw
(7) William, d. 1368	William	Leod
(6) Angus, d. 1345	Gillamichol	Scayth (1338)
(5) Ferchar, d. 1274	Ferchar (1234)	Ferchar
(4) Shaw, d. 1265	Shaw	Gilchrist
[(3) Ferchar] William	Gilchrist	Malcolm
(2) Shaw, d. 1210	Aigcol	Donald Camgilla
(1) Shaw, d. 1179	Ewen	Mureach
Macduff, E. of Fife	—	Suibne
	—	Tead (Shaw)
	Neill	Nachtain
	(Gillicattan ?)	Gillicattan

Of the two lists of 1467 that marked *b* is supposed by Mr Skene and Mr Macbain to represent the actual and true line of the Mackintosh Chiefs, while that marked *c* is thought by Mr Skene to represent some "older Mackintoshes," whom he identifies as "*beyond doubt* the Shaws of Rothiemurcus and the Farquharsons of Strathdee . . . whose head in 1464 was Alexander Keir Mackintosh"¹! In his previous work, as Mr Macbain properly points out, Mr Skene had assigned the honours of this older line, as being a matter "*beyond all doubt*," to the Macphersons, but now, for some unexplained reason, and without a word of apology, he leaves the Macphersons out in the cold.¹

Our concern here, however, is with line *b*, which Mr Macbain regards as affording proof of the incorrectness of the Mackintosh genealogy contained in the family histories. In this list the representatives of the direct line of the Mackintoshes, at the date of the MS. (1467), are given as William and Donald, sons of William, son of Ferchar. This Ferchar is obviously identical with the Ferquhar given in the family history as the 9th Chief, who, according to that history, was not acceptable to his clan, and resigned his Chiefship in favour of his uncle, Malcolm. He may or may not have been the Ferquhard MacToshy who, in 1382,

¹ The reader of "Celtic Scotland" and "The Highlanders of Scotland" cannot fail to observe the frequent occurrence of such expressions as "*beyond all doubt*," "*undoubtedly*," and "*must have been*," in many matters which obviously admit of very considerable doubt. The quotations here given afford a good sample of their value.

had molested the Bishop of Aberdeen and his tenants in the lands of Brass or Birse. These lands are far distant even from Rothiemurcus, the nearest point of the known Mackintosh country, and the name Ferquhard was by no means confined to the Mackintoshes at the time : that it happened to belong to a descendant of the thane or toshach of Birse, who had been supplanted by the Bishop of Aberdeen,¹ while at the same time it was also the name of the son of the Chief of Mackintosh, appears to me to be a mere coincidence.² The point, however, is not of importance. A more important matter is the omission in the Mackintosh History of any mention of such a person as William, son of Ferchard, 9th Chief, or of his two sons, William and Donald, and it seems obvious that either that History or the 1467 MS. is wrong. The names of the 9th Chief's sons are given in the History as Duncan, Malcolm, and Ferquhard, each of whom had issue. As has been mentioned, the earliest of the MSS. used by Lachlan of Kinrara in compiling his history was written by Ferquhard, the 12th Chief, within forty years of the date of Mr Skene's 1467 MS., and one would think that he must have known who his own second consins were, although it is of course possible—though perhaps hardly probable—that Kinrara made a mistake. Whether he did so or not is hardly likely to be discovered now, but even if, in the middle of the 15th century, the representatives of the 9th Chief were really named William and Donald, there is no question that at the time the actual Chief of the Mackintoshes was Malcolm Beg, and, so far, Mr Macbain and the Mackintosh History are at one.

(3rd). But although Mr Macbain admits the correctness of the history as to the chiefship of Malcolm in 1450, he contends that that history must be wrong in the matter of Malcolm's genealogy. He says (Transactions, p. 164):—

“Malcolm, 10th Mackintosh, who dies in 1457, is grandson through William 7th (died 1368) of Angus, who married Eva in 1291, the three generations thus lasting as chiefs from 1274 to 1457, some 183 years ! Malcolm was the son of William's old age, and his brother [really *half*-brother], Lachlan 8th, was too old to take part in the North Inch fight in 1396, sixty years before his younger brother died ! This beats the Fraser genealogy brought

¹ Chartulary of Aberdeen i. 360.

² Mr Macbain says (Trans. p. 164), “He is doubtless the same person, for he is given also in the 1467 MS. genealogy.” I must confess my inability to follow Mr Macbain's reasoning here.

forward lately by a claimant to the Lovat estates. It is thus clear that there is something wrong in the Mackintosh genealogy here."

This at first sight seems a truly formidable indictment, but I venture to think that a little examination will prove that there is really not much in it. "The three generations lasted as chiefs for 183 years!" says Mr Macbain; and as Angus was a child of about 6 years old when he became chief on his father's death in 1274, the three lives extended over 189 years. There is thus an average of 61 years for the chiefships, and 63 years for the lives. These are no doubt good averages, although, so far as the lives are concerned, not particularly extraordinary. Mr Macbain will probably recollect the name of Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne. Sir John, who was on the staff of the army in 1868 and died in 1871, was the son of General John Burgoyne, who was born as long ago as in 1722, and entered the army in 1738, serving as captain in the 13th Dragoons at Culloden. Here we have the *two* lives of father and son extending over 149 years¹, and their army services over 130 years—or an average of $74\frac{1}{2}$ years for the lives, and 65 for the services! Looking at these figures, the correctness of which can easily be ascertained, there does not seem to be much difficulty in regard to the 189 years for *three* generations of Mackintoshes.

If we look at the matter in another way, I think we can further reduce the difficulty, if there is one, or even remove it altogether. Thus—

Angus, 6th chief, born 1268, married 1291.

William, his son, born (say) 1300, died 1368, aged 68 years.

W. married 1st wife (say) 1325.

Son *Lachlan*, born (say) 1326, would in 1396 have been 70 years old.

W. married 2nd wife (say) 1360, when he was 60 years old.

Son *Malcolm* born (say) 1361

Malcolm at his death in 1457 would thus be 96 years old.

The dates of William's marriage and of the birth of his two sons are necessary hypothetical, but they are probably near the mark, and anyhow show the possibility, which Mr Macbain seems to doubt, of the covering of a period of 183 years by three generations of chiefs, and of the inability, through age, of Lachlan, 8th chief,

¹ Supposing that General J. B.'s father had been 51 years old at his son's birth in 1722—as is quite conceivable—the three generations would have lived through two centuries!

“to take part in the North Inch Fight in 1396, sixty years before his younger brother died.” So far, then, there seems to be nothing impossible, or even improbable, in the recognised Mackintosh genealogy from 1291 to 1457, and the confusion alleged by Mr Macbain to be in it has no existence.

(4th). The next point to be considered relates to the descent of the Mackintoshes from the old Earls of Fife, which, if the 1467 MS. and the Irish Book of Ballymote are correct, evidently cannot be maintained. Mr Macbain gives the Mackintosh account of the descent of the early chiefs, but declares that it “sadly lacks verisimilitude,” and suggests that those who support it are wanting in intelligence.¹ To my humble intelligence the verisimilitude—or likeness to truth—of the account is one of the most conspicuous things about it. A son of one of the greatest nobles of the kingdom accompanies the king, Malcolm IV., in an expedition against the rebellious tribes of Moray; he distinguishes himself, and is rewarded for his services by a grant of land, being also made custodian of the Castle of Inverness. There is surely nothing here that looks unlike truth; the fact that the king’s expedition actually took place is undoubted, and the presence of a son of the Earl of Fife in the king’s train, and his being rewarded by some of the lands previously occupied by the rebels, are things which one would almost expect as a matter of course.

Then Mr Macbain makes a great point of the use of the word “Thane” by some writers on Mackintosh history when speaking of Macduff Earl of Fife. He says:—“The Mackintosh genealogies, dating from the 17th century, represent the family as descended from Macduff, *Thane* of Fife, as they and Fordun call him. . . . Macduff was not *Toiseach* of Fife. In the Book of Deer he is called Comes, the then Gaelic of which was *mormaer*, now *moirear*.” The Mackintosh genealogies referred to are, I presume, that of Lachlan of Kinrara, and that given at page 44 of the Rev. Lachlan Shaw’s “History of Moray” (edition of 1775). So far as the Kinrara MS. is concerned, I assume that Mr Macbain has verified his statement by reference to it; I shall not be able to do so before the date for the reading of this paper. But even granting that Kinrara does use the word, I do not see that it in any way throws discredit on his account of facts; as well refuse to

¹ His words (Trans. p. 162) are:—“With those who support the Macduff genealogy no argument need be held; like the humorist of a past generation, one would, however, like to examine their bumps.” This seems a somewhat novel method of conducting an argument—in cold blood, at all events, for I believe it is not unknown in Courts of Law.

accept Macaulay's account of the Battle of Killiecrankie because he speaks of Viscount Dundee as *James Graham*. I do not suppose for one moment that Lachlan of Kinrara even knew the difference between a *mormaer* and a *toiseach*, or that either he or John of Fordun or Holinshed or any other chronicler during the Scottish Middle Ages attached any other meaning to the term *thane* than that of a person of noble rank.

But now let us look at the other Mackintosh genealogist, to whom, I presume, Mr Macbain refers—that is, the historian of Moray, who wrote a full century after Lachlan of Kinrara. He is actually so ignorant of old Celtic institutions that he makes a *mormhaor* synonymous with a *thane*.¹ After a quotation from Fordun, he says (p. 180)—“Probably these Thanes were at first the king's servants (so the word signifies) or officers in provinces and countries, and during pleasure only, or for life. But afterwards the title and the lands granted to them were made hereditary. In the Highlands they were termed *mormhaor*, *i.e.*, a great officer. They were likewise called *Tosche* (from *Tus*, *i.e.*, first), that is, ‘Principal Persons, Primores.’”

If Shaw in the 18th century was under the impression that *thane*, *mormaer*, and *earl* were convertible terms, meaning one and the same kind of person, might not Mackintosh of Kinrara, in the 17th century, have been equally mistaken, especially when he had the authority of the national chroniclers for the error? The fact is, that writers of past centuries cannot fairly be gauged by the standard of our own day in these matters; it must be remembered that when Kinrara and Shaw wrote thanages had long been extinct, and that those writers had no possible means of learning anything about them, except from the old chroniclers; while the “Book of Deer” was still unknown, and no Innes, or Robertson, or Skene had yet arisen to explore and explain the intricacies of old Celtic institutions. When they speak of a thane of Fife, they mean an Earl of Fife, and any writer on Scots history or law, down to the early part of the present century, would have attached the same meaning to the term. Gilbert Stuart, in his “Observations concerning the Public Law and Constitutional History of Scotland” (Edin. 1779), expresses the general view when he speaks of the thanes as preceding earls and barons, and as being converted, though not universally, into nobles bearing those modern titles.

¹ He speaks on p. 44 of “the Macduffs, Thanes and Earls of Eife.”

On all this, I submit, it is evident that if Kinrara uses the words "*thane* of Fife," when speaking of his remote ancestor, he means "Earl of Fife," and his use of the term, therefore, affords no argument that his general statement is incorrect.

So much for Mr Macbain on this head. Mr Skene does not argue from quite the same premiss, but confines himself to the name Mackintosh, which, he says, can only mean "son of the thane," and arguing upon this he lays down in his usual dogmatic manner that because the old Earls of Fife never bore the title of Thane, therefore the Mackintoshes cannot have sprung from them. I make bold to believe—and I am not singular in my belief—that the name does not mean only what Mr Skene says, and that "tus" or "toseach" has other meanings than the restricted and academic one which he assigns to it—a leader or principal person, for example. In fact, Mr Macbain says in his paper ("*Transactions*," p. 161) that "Toiseach is the true Gaelic word for chief." But let us for a moment accept Mr Skene's derivation, and admit that "Mackintosh" can only mean "son of the thane"—that is, son of one beneath the rank of noble, who occupied lands for the performance of certain services. Even then I cannot see that Mr Skene is justified in jumping to the conclusion that the Mackintoshes cannot be descended from the Earls of Fife. May not some of the early Mackintoshes have been "thanes" or "toshachs," in the ordinary acceptation of the term? A thane, according to Sir John Skene, was "ane freeholder holding of the king," and this definition is accepted as correct by Mr W. F. Skene in "*Celtic Scotland*" (iii., 244). According to Professor Cosmo Innes, an authority of not less weight than Mr Skene himself, "the administrator of the Crown lands, the collector of rents, the magistrate and head man of a little district, was known among his Celtic neighbours as the Toshach;" taking "a charter of the whole district from the sovereign, he became, under the Saxon name of Thane, hereditary tenant" ("*Sketches of Early Scotch History*," p. 396). If the statement of the Kinrara MS. that Shaw, son of the Earl of Fife, received from Malcolm IV., a grant of lands in Moray, is correct, he would have been "ane freeholder holding of the king"—that is, a Thane, and his descendants would have been "sons of the Thane," according to Mr W. F. Skene's meaning. The MS. says also that the grants to Shaw Maeduff were confirmed to his son and successor, who was made chamberlain of all the king's revenues in these parts, and who thus performed one of the main functions ascribed to the toshach by Professor Innes. Mr Macbain

tells us in his paper that one translation of "toiseach" is steward or seneschall, and that ballivus (bailie) is a title of equal import. Chamberlain of Revenues is precisely the same thing.

Thus the fact stated so positively by Mr Skene, that "the name of Mackintosh clearly implies that they were descended from a thane," even if correct, in no way necessarily affects the question of descent from the Earls of Fife, and so Mr Skene's argument falls to the ground.

(5th). The fifth and last point which I propose to consider has still to do with the origin of the name Mackintosh and of the family. We have just seen that Mr Macbain and Mr Skene reject the account given by the family historians; we will now see what they propose to substitute for it.

Mr Macbain suggests that the name arose with Fercard, son of Seth or Shaw, who is found recorded in 1234 as Seneschal or Steward (otherwise "toiseach") of Badenoch, and whose name appears in both the recognised genealogy and the 1467 MS. Mr Macbain, then, is willing to admit that, as regards Fercard and Shaw, the recognised genealogy may be correct, because it is corroborated by other records; but if he believes or accepts nothing which is not so corroborated, why does he prefer the genealogy of 1467 to that of the Kinrara MS.? The 1467 genealogy is entirely without corroboration, except where it agrees with the recognised genealogy. If Mr Macbain had consulted the Kinrara MS., he would have seen that both Ferchar's father and grandfather had performed the functions pertaining to a toiseach.

Now, let us examine Mr Skene's ideas on the subject; and here, I think, we shall see what a broken reed that gentlemen is to lean upon, how inaccurate and careless he is, with all his dogmatism. I should like to transcribe the two and a half pages of his "Celtic Scotland," in which he treats of the origin of the Mackintoshes, and deal with his utterances line by line; but time will not admit of this. He seems to attach some credit to the Knock MS., a fragment of a history of the Macdonalds, written in the time of Charles II., and printed in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, under Mr Skene's editorship. This MS. is well known to students of Highland history as a monument of inaccuracy, but it suits Mr Skene's purpose to quote from it. Here is an extract from page 357, vol. 3, of "Celtic Scotland"—"In the MS. histories of the Mackintoshes, the whole race, including the old Mackintoshes, is brought from the thane of Fife, but there is another form of it [? of what] which attaches the legend to the later family, the descendent of Malcolm Mackintosh, who, by the

influence of the Lord of the Isles, after the secession of the old Clan Chattan in 1429, acquired the position of Captain of the Clan, for we are told in the Knock MS. that Angus of the Isles had, by the daughter of John Gruamach Mackay, 'the mother of the first laird of Mackintosh, for a son of Macduff, thane of Fife, coming after manslaughter to shelter himself in Macdonald's house, got her daughter with child, went to Ireland with Edward Bruce, where he was killed; by which means Mackintosh is of natural (illegitimate) descent, his progenitor having been got in that manner. Mackintosh in the ancient language signifies a thane's son. The boy was brought up by Macdonald, who, in process of time, procured a competent estate for him in the Braes of Lochaber and Braes of Moray.' This (says Mr Skene) was Callum Beg or Malcolm Mackintosh, whose son Duncan was the first captain of Clan Chattan."

Mr Skene's first mistake is in referring to this MS. at all, and especially in treating or suggesting it as an authority. He next speaks of Malcolm as acquiring the position of captain of the clan, and a few lines afterwards states that Malcolm's son Duncan was the *first* captain. By a third mistake, he makes Malcolm reach the extraordinary age of 138 years, thus:—Edward Bruce was killed in Ireland in 1318, so that if the father of Callum or Malcolm Beg went with him to Ireland and was killed there, the said Callum could not have been born later than 1319, and as he did not die until 1457, it follows that he reached the mature age of 138 years (!), and that his single life was only 45 years short of the period which Mr Macbain seems to think too long for three previous generations.

Just one more quotation from Mr Skene's account of the Mackintoshes in "Celtic Scotland," and I have done with the subject. In the quotation just given, we find mention of two sets of Mackintoshes—one, the "later family," represented by Malcolm Beg and his descendants, whose existence Mr Skene does not call in question; the other, "the old Mackintoshes," represented by the string of names from the 1467 MS. in list *b*, given some pages back. In the following quotation we have a third set, whom Mr Skene calls "Older Mackintoshes" (list *c*). At page 358, volume iii. of "Celtic Scotland," we read:—"The tradition of the Mackintoshes is that Rothiemurchus was their earliest possession, and when Alexander Mackintosh obtains a feudal right to the lands in 1464 he is termed Thane of Rothymurchus. It *seems probable* that the name [Mackintosh] was derived from the Thanes of Brass, who *may* also have been Thanes of Rothiemurchus, and from whom the

'Old Mackintoshes' were descended. In their genealogy the name of Gillimichael, or the servant of St Michael, appears in the place of the spurious Angus, the suppositious husband of Eva, and St Machael was the patron saint of the parish of Birse. As possessors of Rothiemurchus they are brought into immediate contact with that branch of the old Clan Chattan whose principal seat was Dalnavert, and no doubt were, as indicated in the older genealogies, a branch of that clan. The representatives of these older Mackintoshes were, beyond doubt, the Shaws of Rothiemurchus and the Farquharsons of Strathdee, &c." The tradition mentioned in the leading sentence of this question is new to me, and is certainly not held by the Mackintoshes as stated; the Kinrara MS. states that Rothiemurchus was first held by the Mackintoshes in 1236, when the 4th chief took a lease from the Bishop of Moray. Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus is not termed thane in the feu charter from the Bishop of Moray, dated 4th Sept., 1464; only once, in 1472, is he so styled, and the title is then used apparently without any reference to the special functions of a thane or toseach, as defined by experts; indeed, nothing is known of any thanage of Rothiemurchus. Next, I would call attention to the guessing in the first two divisions of the second sentence, and to the dogmatic assertion which follows in the third division, as indicated by my italics. In the third and fourth sentences the *their* and *they* refer presumably to the "old Mackintoshes," just before mentioned, and these "old Mackintoshes," as possessors of Rothiemurchus, meet some "older Mackintoshes," who, "beyond doubt," were represented by the Shaws and Farquharsons, and both old and older Mackintoshes were, "no doubt," branches of the Clan Chattan. Mr Skene does not state the grounds on which he makes one set of these Mackintoshes older than the other, and all he has to go upon for his assertion that a branch of old Clan Chattan had its principal seat at Dalnavert is that, in a charter of the lands of Dalnavert and Kinrara, given in 1338 by Alexander, Earl of Ross, to Malmoran of Glencharney,¹ mention is made of the house of Scayth, son of Fercard, as having stood in a certain spot—"in qua situm fuit manerium quondam Scayth filii Fercardi." How this Scayth, son of Fercard, can be identified with certainty as the owner of the name of the 1467 MS., and how the fact of his having at some time antecedent to 1338 had a residence at Dalnavert, proves that that place was the principal seat of a branch of older Mackintoshes, I fail to see; it is pure guesswork at the best, and

¹ "Spalding Club Miscellany," vol. iv., Gordon Papers.

quite as much probability can be adduced for the identifying of this same Scayth with a younger son of one of the chiefs in the recognised Mackintosh genealogy.

I have now done—so far at all events as this paper is concerned—with Mr Skene's guesses and contradictions, his "must have beens" and his "undoubtedlys," his old and older Mackintoshes. I do not for a moment question his good faith; I am willing to believe that he has set down what he honestly takes to be the true and most likely explanation of matters which seemed to him obscure. But I do question whether he has ever gone closely into the history of the Mackintoshes, as detailed by the family chronicler in the 17th century, or has even had the desire to do so. He discovered the MS. of 1467 when a young man, and seems to have set that up as his standard and infallible guide. His idea seems to be that it must be right, because it agrees with, or was taken from, certain Irish MSS., and the Irish pedigrees are the oldest in existence, while the Irish sennachies surpassed those of Scotland in information and acquirements (*Celt. Scot.* iii. 337-8). Every Highland pedigree which does not fit his standard must, therefore, be wrong, and undeserving of consideration, and he will have nothing to do with it—"unceremoniously brushing it aside," as Mr Macbain expresses it. When a writer of Mr Skene's position and reputation takes up such a line as this, and writes as if he had studied every original manuscript bearing on the question, it is little short of certain that nearly all his readers will accept what he says or thinks as the last word in the controversy, and it seems but a forlorn hope for a humble individual like myself to attempt to show that he is liable to error, or that our ancestors of two and three centuries ago were not always necessarily liars or dupes, as regards their family history, merely because he implies that they were. I venture to hope, however, that the few remarks which I have made may be sufficient to lead the members of this Society to pause before they unreservedly pin their faith to Mr Skene in matters of Highland genealogy, and, whether the recognised clan pedigrees are correct or not, to examine whether any sufficient ground is shown for believing the pedigrees in the 1467 MS. and its Irish originals to be one whit more trustworthy.

Time will not admit of my dealing with the several minor points affecting the Mackintosh genealogy in Mr Macbain's paper, or with his views regarding the clans concerned in the Battle of Thirties at Perth in 1396. My own views on the latter subject have already been made known, and Mr Macbain's remarks on the phonetics of the names used by the old chroniclers convey to my

mind no justification or incitement for changing them. But there are two matters pertaining to the subject on which I would like to say a few words before I close. First, Mr Skene, at page 314 of volume iii. of "Celtic Scotland," published at the end of 1880, comes round to the view, which I endeavoured to support some years previously,¹ that the clans engaged were the Clans Chattan and Cameron, after having maintained in his "Highlanders of Scotland" that they were the Mackintoshes and Macphersons. Second, in my various writings on the clan battle, the last of which was contained in my "Historical Memoirs of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," printed in 1880, I had founded an argument—or, to be strictly accurate, a suggestion—in favour of the view that the Camerons were the Clan Hay or Kay of Wyntoun and Bowar on the synonymy of *Ay* and *Angus*, referring specially to one of my own ancestors, Ay Macbean (Shaw) of Tordarroch, who, in the band of union among Clan Chattan in 1609, signs "for himself and taking the full burden upon him of his race of Clan Ay," and whom I then believed to have been named Angus. Since 1880, I have had a large number of extracts made from documents in the Register House at Edinburgh relating to the Clan Chattan families in Strathnairn, and from these I soon discovered that I had been wrong in supposing *Ay* to be equivalent to *Angus*, and that I have a collateral ancestor of whose existence I had previously been ignorant. I ascertained beyond doubt that *Ay* equals *Adam*, and that Adam, and not Angus, Macbean of Tordarroch signed the bond of 1609. This is clear from a charter dated at Inverness, 9th December, 1607, which Adam gives of a life rent out of the lands of Tordarroch to his future spouse, Agnes, daughter of Alex. Fraser of Farraline. In this charter Adam is described as Adam M'Bean M'Robert M'Ay of Tordarroch, and that the name of Adam's great-grandfather, who is here called Ay, was Adam is known from other sources. Again, in a charter by Sir Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle, dated at Inverness, 12th March, 1621, Adam's daughter is styled "Margaret nein Ay Vc Beane, lawful daughter and heir of the late Adam M'Bean of Tordarroch." The same Ay or Adam appears in other documents. He is not mentioned in the genealogy of the Shaws of Tordarroch which has come down to me, probably for the reason that he left no son, and was succeeded

¹ In "Notes and Queries" (1869); in "A Genealogical Account of the Highland Families of Shaw" (1877); and in "The Clan Battle of Perth," printed in 1874. Of the last named print I forwarded an early copy to Mr Skene.

as head of the family by his brother Angus, with whom I had co-founded him. My mistake has been a weight on my mind for several years, and I am glad to have this opportunity of making public a correction of it.

DISCUSSION—REPLY BY MR MACBAIN.

First as to the MSS.: Mr Mackintosh Shaw is unjust to the 1467 MS., and to what he calls "Irish" MSS. and sources. Surely it is well known that "Irish" here means Gaelic; and the MSS. which he decries are, on Scotch points, of excellent Scotch origin. The "Irish" scribes were the common literary class in Scotland and Ireland. The language and literature, historical and otherwise, were shared in common till the end of the 17th century; a glance at the work of the M'Vurich genealogists and bards, ought surely to keep Mr Shaw right on this point. The "Irish" genealogies are therefore good evidence if contemporary, and for at least two centuries before—as good as, ay, better than, any Kinrara MS. of the 17th century or any MS. of its class. Those 17th century MSS. are a delusion and a snare too often; and I accept the Kinrara MS. for the 15th and 16th century only when it seems according to reason, or is so far corroborated by contemporary documents. It is useless to say that it is made up of two previous MSS.; I know them and their kind too well to be impressed with such statements. The 1467 MS. is surely contemporary with 1467, written by a "Gaelic" seanachie, who knew well what he was doing. William and Donald, sons of William, are the contemporary Mackintosh chiefs, according to the writer; can Mr Shaw get round that? He has the neighbouring Cameron chiefs all right; why should he make a mistake in the case of the Mackintoshes? No, no; he simply does not recognise Malcolm Beg as chief: that is all.

Second, as to the genealogies. Mr Shaw's vindication of the three generations, which cover nearly two hundred years, does not impress me much; I never thought that any genealogist would write himself an ass by giving impossible dates; only he does the next thing to it.

I have to make a correction at this point. Mr Fraser-Mackintosh thought that he had found Angus, the so-called sixth chief's name, in a 1297 list; and I was struck by the similarity. But, on further search, I find that the individual meant—Angus Macerchar—was the head of the Argyleshire Lamonts of the day.

I am glad that Mr Shaw recognises the impossibility of the name *toiseach* applying to the Earl of Fife; it seems to me that it

settles the whole case. It is impossible that a son of the Earl of Fife should be settled in Inverness-shire without at least being as prominent as Adam of Strathbogie was (circ. 1200), who was really a son of the Earl. Besides, it is a pernicious fiction to join the Mackintoshes to Inverness Castle; they never had anything to do with it. Mr Barron has lately traced fully the history of the Castle, and no such connection appears. The whole Macduff and Inverness story is a fable, and a poor one, started in that century of fables—the 17th. It is then we hear of Diarmad O'Duinn as ancestor of the Campbells, and Colin Fitzgerald appears in the veracious pages of the Earl of Cromartie as ancestor of the Mackenzies.

The Mackintoshes are not all descended from one original sept. The Perthshire Mackintoshes, I know, are not of the Clan Chattan stock; they are descendants of the local *toiseachs* of Monivaird and Tiriny. I still adhere to my view that the Inverness-shire Mackintoshes are descended from the *toiseachs* and *seneschals* of Badenoch. In fact, after all Mr Shaw's attack, I am still of the same opinion as to the 15th century break in the Clan Chattan genealogies; and, if Mr Shaw directed his energies and undoubted knowledge to the unravelment of this portion of Clan Chattan history and genealogy, instead of pinning his faith to Kinrara and his Macduff *cum* Inverness Castle absurdities, he would do a real and much needed service to his clan and to mid-Highland clan history.

4th MAY, 1892.

At the Society's meeting on this date, the following were elected members, viz. :—Miss A. E. Macdongall, Woodburn House, Morningside, Edinburgh; and the Rev. Edward Terry, Methodist Manse, Inverness. The Secretary laid on the table the following contributions towards the Society's Library:—"Place Names in Scotland" (Johnstone), from Mr W. G. Brodie, Edinburgh, and "Reliquiæ Celticæ" (Dr Cameron), from the Editors, Messrs Alex. Macbain, M.A., and the Rev. John Kennedy. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper contributed by Mr Charles Ferguson, Gatehouse, on "The Chronicles and Traditions of Strathardle," Part II. Mr Ferguson's paper was as follows:—

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY, LEGENDS AND
TRADITIONS OF STRATHARDLE AND ITS GLENS.

PART II. *

I will begin the second part of this paper where I ended the last—at the death of King Malcolm II., in

1033.—The year in which Malcolm II. died was remarkable for its extraordinary storms and bad weather, of which, no doubt, Strathardle got its full share, as we read in Peacock's "Annals of Perth," page 21 :—"The year in which King Malcolm died was remarkable for severe frosts and snows in the middle of summer, which destroyed the produce of the earth and caused a distressing famine."

Old George Buchanan, in his own quaint way, says :—"The year in which he died was a prodigious one, for in the winter the rivers did mightily overflow : and in spring-time there were great inundations of the sea. And moreover a few days after the summer solstice, there were very pinching frosts and mighty snows, by which means the fruits of the earth being destroyed, a great famine did ensue."

Tradition says that the great chain of lochs that undoubtedly existed in Strathardle burst their bounds during a great flood, caused by heavy rains melting a deep fall of snow in summer, and that all the cattle were swept away down the strath, and that a great famine followed. I have no doubt that tradition refers to this time.

1057.—About this time we find the first mention of an ancient and honourable Strathardle family—the Rattrays of Rattray and Craighall, who derived their name from the Barony of Rattray, and who, according to Nisbet, flourished here in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and whose descendants hold several estates in the district to this day.

1072.—King Malcolm Canmore and his good Queen Margaret founded the great Abbey of Dunfermline, which afterwards held the Churches of Moulin and Strathardle, with the lands of Persie and many others in the district.

1100.—About this time King Edgar changed the ancient Thaneship of Athole into an earldom, adding the whole district except Breadalbane, and conferring it on his cousin Madach, son of King Donald Baue. One of the Duke of Athole's titles now is Earl of Strathardle.

* For Part I. see Society's Transactions, Vol. 17.

1114.—In this year King Alexander I. founded the Abbey of Scone, one of the witnesses to the foundation charter being Madach, Earl of Athole, who afterwards was a great benefactor to the Abbey. Scone afterwards, as we shall see, held extensive lands in Strathardle.

1127.—King David I. in this year converted the ancient Culdee Monastery of Dunkeld into a regular Bishopric. It had been originally founded by St Columba as a Culdee Church about 570, and, as already stated, raised by King Constantine McFergus to the primacy of Scotland in 806. Dunkeld possessed most of the lands in middle and lower Strathardle till the Reformation.

1153.—At this time we find Strathardle belonged to the King, as it formed one of the Royal Manors of Gowrie. We read in Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Vol. III., p. 133 :—"We find there were four Royal Manors of Gowrie, viz., those of Scone, Cubert (Cupar), Foregrund (Longforgan), and Stratherdel." And in the "Chronicle of Scone," page 6, we find a charter by Malcolm IV. to the Canons of Scone :—"In principale sede regni nostra fundata," in which he conveys to them the titles "de quatuor maneriis neis de Gourin scilicet de Scon, et de Cubert, et de Fergrund et de Stratherdel."

Strathardle was also a Royal Thanage, as we find in Skene's "Celtic Scotland," Vol. III., page 275 :—"In the reign of Malcolm IV., who confirms the foundation charter of Alexander I. to Scone, we find mention of the four Royal Manors of Gowrie paying 'can' to the King, and these were Scone, Cupar, Longforgan, and Strathardle, and these appear to have been likewise Royal Thanages."

In Skene's "Notes to John of Fordon's Chronicle of the Scottish Nation," page 417, we find in the list of Thanages given there those of Strathardle, Alyth, and Glentilt. We also find in the "Chartulary of Arbroath," page 27, a charter granted in the reign of King William the Lion by Laurance of Abernethy, of the Church of Abernethy, to the Monks of Arbroath, one of the witnesses being Macbeth, Sheriff of Scone and Thane of Strathardle. We also find this same Macbeth, Thane of Strathardle, etc., with the additional title of "Judge of Gowrie," witnessing a charter of King William the Lion to Cupar Abbey of the Marsh of Blairgowrie, which shall be noticed afterwards in 1168.

1164.—In this year Cupar-Angus Abbey, another of those great religious houses which for so long held so much of Strathardle, was founded. From very early times we find a great deal of the lands of Strathardle in the hands of the Church, a fact

which speaks very highly for the value of that lovely glen, even at this early date, for it is a well-known fact that the clergy have always been exceedingly wide awake in the choice of good and fertile lands for their own purposes. All the great religious houses are built on fertile fields, and to this day the manse and glebe are almost always found on the fattest land in every parish. For agricultural purposes Strathardle then, as now, certainly was behind many neighbouring districts, but its grazings were very good, most of its hills and braes were finely wooded with heavy timber, so very valuable for building purposes, that we find special foresters appointed to look after these woods; its forests and hills abounded with every kind of game; and its rivers then swarmed with the finest salmon, as we find the fishings of Drimmie and Cally let at a yearly rental of fourscore salmon; which altogether made Strathardle a most desirable addition to the estates of the luxurious ecclesiastics of the middle ages. We have already seen that the great religious houses of Dunfermline, Scone, and Dunkeld held lands in Strathardle, and we now add that of Cupar, which for four centuries afterwards held a great deal of land in the Strath, and which, by encouraging agriculture and other arts of civilisation, did a great deal of good, and helped to raise the inhabitants of the district far beyond the rude state of the people of the more inland Highland glens.

Cupar Abbey was founded by King Malcolm IV. on Sunday, 12th July, and was dedicated to the Virgin, and planted with monks of the Cistercian order. Old Andrew of Wyntoun, in his "*Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*," records the founding of Cupar Abbey, as follows:

“ A thonsaud, a hundyre, and sixty yhere
And fowre till thai till rekyne clere,
Malcolme Kyng off Scotland,
And pesybly in it rignand;
The ellevynd yhere off his crowne
Mad the fundatyowne
Off the Abbay off Culpre in Angws
And dowyt it wyth hys alwms.”

1165.—Malcolm, 2nd Earl of Athole, grants a charter to Cupar Abbey to cut large beams of timber in his forests of Athole and Strathardle for building purposes. About this year, King William the Lion granted a charter, at Forfar, to Cupar Abbey of the Marsh of Blairgowrie; one of the witnesses being that famous man of many titles, Maebeth, Thane of Strathardle, Sheriff of

Scone, Judge of Gowrie, &c. The original charter runs :—"Carta regis Villielmi eisdem monachis facta de toto maresio meo in territorio de Blare," &c., &c.

1178.—At Edinburgh, on September 19th, King William the Lion granted to the Abbey of Cupar a charter of the lands of Cally and Persie, and that part of the lands of Cally held by Mackholffe, except that part of Cally on the south side of the water of Ferdill opposite Cluny, which the king kept for his own use. The original charter begins :—"Carta Donationis regis Willielmi eisdem monachis de terris de Parthesin per suas rectas dinisas, et illam Kalathin quam Mackholffe tenuit per suas rectas divisas excepta illa parte terræ de Kalathyn qui est ex australi parte aquæ de Ferdil versus Cloyn qui ad opus meum reseruani," &c.

1180.—At Forfar, King William grants to Cupar Abbey a charter for two ploughgates of land in the district of Rethrife or Rattray.

In this year also Malcolm, Earl of Athole, grants a charter of the Church of Moulin to the Abbey of Dunfermline. The original is given in "Regist. de Dunfermline," page 85, and is titled "Malcolmus Comes Atholie : De Ecclia de Molin," &c.

In Henderson's "Annals of Dunfermline," page 62, I also find under this date—"The Church of Strathardolf." In an undated charter of about this date King William gives to the Abbey of Dunfermline the Church of Stathardolf or Strathardol, in the north-east part of Perthshire, "as a perpetual free gift, to be held in quiet and honourable possession," &c. (Regist. de Dunfermline, page 39).

1232.—In this year I find from the "Chartulary of Moray," page 87, that Gillemychel M'Ath, or M'Ade, Gillemichael the son of Adam, of the old Fergussons of Balmacrochie, excambes a davoch of the lands of Pitcarmick, in Strathardle, with the Bishop of Moray for the lands of Dolays Michael in Strathspey. This Gillemichael, or servant of St Michael, very likely took his name from the patron saint of Kirkmichael; and I have no doubt that his son Cormac or Carmac gave his name to Pitcarmick, or as it is always called in Gaelic, "Baile-charmaig," the town or dwelling-place of Carmac. It shows how ancient some of our place names are, when we consider that though nearly seven centuries have passed since Carmac dwelt at Pitcarmick, his name still adheres to the place to this day. It also shows how for ages some of our Highland clans stuck to certain favourite personal names, as the Fergussons have done to Adam and Fergus. Here we find in the

ancient family of the Barons Fergusson of Balmacrochie that this Gillemichael's father, about 1200, was Adam. Again, in 1358, Fergus, the son of Adam of Balmacrochie, and Robert de Atholia, ancestor of the Robertsons of Struan, got into trouble with the Sheriff of Perth about their lands, and we have Adams in the family down till the last Adam Fergusson, who sold the ancient patrimony of his race, and went to America about 1840.

1235.—At Traquair, on June 1st, King Alexander II. granted charter to Cupar Abbey of two and a-half ploughgates of land in the feu of Meikle Blair, in exchange for the Common Muir of Blairgowrie.

1246.—In November of this year, King Alexander II. stayed at Cupar Abbey, and hunted in the forests of Strathardle and Cluny.

1260.—For some time previous to this, the proud and haughty Cummings were lords of Athole, and ruled at Blair Castle with terrible severity, till about this time Ewan Mackintosh of Tirigney, Thane of Glentilt, in revenge for the slaughter of all the rest of his family, surprised the Cummings at a marriage festival near Blair Castle, and, after chasing them up Glentilt, he slew the Big Cumming at Leac-na-diollaid (the Saddle Stone), in Glenloch, and his brother further on, at the Coi-leum, in Glen Fernate. Col. Robertson of Lude, in his "Earldom of Athole," page 80, says:—"Tradition states that when the Cummings got a footing in Athole they commenced the then usual practice to attack their neighbours. They attacked the Mackintoshes when at a feast, who were all murdered, except a young child, in a cradle, named Ewan, who, in ten or fifteen years afterwards, attacked the Cummings at a place called Toldamh, near Blair-Athole. He defeated them, and the Cummings fled up Glentilt, and turned in at the stream that comes out of Lochloch; but this Ewan (Sherigan, as he was called) crossed a near way, through the hills of Bengloe, by a stream called the Cromaldan, and met Cumming at Leac-andiold, and slew him; and which last place was so named, and signifies that Cumming had there been driven out of his saddle—he was shot. The tradition as thus stated has every appearance of probability; and to this day the cairn raised by Mackintosh where Cumming was killed remains. The situation of it is a little to the north of Lochloch. The date of the circumstance is supposed to be in, or soon after, 1260."

James Grant, in his most interesting work "The Legends of the Braes o' Mar," gives a much fuller account of this incident:—"The Tirigney Mackintoshes held the lairdship of that name, near

Blair-Athole, while the Big Cumming held sway. Wild, lawless, and deceitful was the race of the Cummings. We have still a proverb to this effect—'Cho fad 's a bhios craobh 's a' choill, bidh foill anns a' Chuimeanach : 'As long as there is a tree in the wood, the Cumming will be treacherous.' As one example of the unprincipled conduct which gained for them this reputation, it is said that the father of the Big Cumming put to death, on the Tarff, no less than sixteen lairds in one day, in order to possess himself of their lands. Coming down Glentilt after this praise-worthy exploit, with a party of followers, the pony on which he rode misbehaved; 'and well you may,' cried the Big Cumming, in great glee, 'with sixteen barons on your back.' The words were scarcely uttered, when an eagle, fluttering for a moment overhead, swooped down and struck the pony with its wings. The terrified animal made a bound forward; a cleft rock, which it grazed past, caught one of Cumming's feet, and he was torn asunder. The pony never stopped till at Blair Castle gate, dragging along with it one part of its master's corpse. The remainder stuck fast in the cleft rock, and the spot is still known as Ruidhe-na-leth-choise: The sheiling, or place of the one foot. The son of this worthy had married a lady of peculiar aldermanic taste. A 'choppin' of beef marrow must needs be served every day for her dinner. Cumming the Big's stores of good red gold were in a fair way of being exhausted, and it was therefore with great joy that the advent of Christmas was hailed. Then the lady or lord superior went the rounds of the retainers begging their 'Christmas.' Mackintosh of Tirigney, knowing the tastes of Lady Cumming, presented her on this occasion with a bull and twelve cows. Tirigney must be the place for rearing cattle, thought the lord of Blair Castle, and would be a prize worth the mint, under present circumstances. When might was right, nothing was easier than to acquire the lands of Tirigney. Cumming the Big, with a body of retainers, surprised the mansion in the night, and every soul within was put to the sword—nay, not every soul: the cradle containing a young boy was upset in the scuffle, and he alone escaped. Thus the lands of Tirigney were added to the estate of Blair. Among the murdered Mackintosh's tenants was a certain 'Croit-a-bhoineide' (he of the Croft of the Bonnet), so called because for his croft he gave the laird the yearly rent of a new bonnet, getting back at the time the old one for himself. He, good soul, coming with his yearly rent early next morning to the mansion, was horror-struck at the butchery. One consolation he found in the surviving child, weeping under the cradle. With the

greatest secrecy, he had it conveyed to its mother's relatives, Campbells in Argyle. There the child was brought up and well educated, visited by Croit-a-bhoineide, who passed for its father, every Christmastide. Among his numerous virtues, as he grew up, was that of being a famous archer, and, when at the age of eighteen the worthy crofter saw him fill the bull's eye with arrows, 'Bravo! Tirigney,' cried he, no longer able to contain himself; 'broader far than the round on that target the brow of the murderer of your father.' 'The murderer of my father!' said the astonished youth; 'are you not then my father?'"

"Half willing, half unwilling, Croit-a-bhoineide related his sad tale. Their plans were soon matured. With a band of chosen men, the young Tirigney and his trusty saviour stole privily into the Braes of Athole. The men were concealed in his father's old barn, while he with Croit-a-bhoineide applied for shelter at the house of his father's foster-nurse. At first she refused admittance, but on the reiterated assurance that the son of her foster-child stood at the door—"Let him then breathe through the key-hole," said she; 'for I would know the breath of a Mackintosh.' The youth did as requested. 'Yes, yes!' cried the gladdened old woman, as undoing the bolt she admitted them; 'a true Mackintosh—my foster-child's son indeed.' The nurse and Croit-a-bhoineide shortly after went out separately to reconnoitre. The latter, on his way to Blair Castle, met near by an old woman, who inquired, 'What armed band of men was that I saw at the big barn of Tirigney?' 'An armed band that you will never see again,' replied Croit-a-bhoineide, as he plunged his dirk into her heart. He threw the body into a ditch out of the way. Remember, gentlemen, she was only an old woman, and Croit-a-bhoineide feared her chattering might lead to discovery, and mar their plans. Some have it that the nurse had learned the Big Cumming was honouring by his presence the marriage of one of his retainers; that the Mackintosh partisans got between him and the Castle; that the alarm was given, and that Cumming rushed for his stronghold, but, finding himself intercepted, directed his flight up Glentilt. Others say that an ambush was laid near the Castle; that a party of Mackintoshes came forward to make a feint assault, and afterwards fled, drawing out the Cummings in pursuit; that the ambush intercepted their retreat; and that those who escaped from the short combat which ensued, fled with their leader up Glentilt.

"The streams that join the Tilt all the way to its source recall by their names the places where some of the fugitives fell. Thus

we have Allt-na-maraig, pudding-burn; Allt-na-strone, the rose burn; Allt Lurg-na-smearn, the burn of the Shin of Marrow, and so forth.

“Alone at last, Cumming the Big turned away by Lochloch, east of ‘Ben-a-ghloe nan Eag.’ But young Mackintosh and Croit-a-bhoineide still pursued. They kept on one side of the loch, the murderer on the other. As he sat down to rest a moment on a large stone, raising his hand to wipe away the perspiration, an arrow from the bow of Tirigney pinned that hand to his brow, and the Big Cumming fell dead. Carn-a-Chuimaneib, Cumming’s Cairn, still marks the spot.”

Such is the tradition in Athole and Braemar, and in Strathardle it is the same, with the addition that Cumming the Big’s brother accompanied him in his flight, and stood beside him when he was shot at Leac-na-diollaide. When the brother saw him fall, he at once continued his flight eastwards through Glenloch and down Glen Fernate, closely followed by the vengeful Sheirgan alone, as Croit-a-bhoineide, being now an old man, was much fatigued. The chase continued down Glen Fernate on the north bank of the river, which happened to be in full flood, Tirigney gaining very fast on Cumming. When they came to the Coileum, where the river rushes through a narrow chasm between two rocks, Cumming saw his last chance, and with one desperate bound leapt across the foaming torrent. Mackintosh dared not follow, but he drew his bow, and sent an arrow across, which killed Cumming as he fled up the brae on the south side of the river. So fell the other Big Cumming, and he was buried where he fell, where his grave is to be seen to this day.

1280.—About this time I find a charter by Duncan, Earl of i’ife, to Sir Robert Lauder of part of the lands of Balmacrochie, in Middle Strathardle, an estate which, as will be afterwards seen from the different charters I will give, was continually changing superiors for several centuries, though part of it was always held by the Clan Fergusson, who were also proprietors of Easter Balmacrochie, or Woodhill as it is now called, for over 700 years, till the last laird, Adam Fergusson, sold the estate and went to America early in this century. This charter also includes the lands of Upper Blavalg, at the head of Glenderby, which were then in the Barony of Strathord, just as we find them at the Rebellion of 1745, when Lord Nairne held Strathord, Glenderby, and Blavalg. This charter is preserved in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh (No. 57, book of Original Charters, by Sir J. Balfour, No. 15-1-18), and as it is very interesting and valuable, showing as it does how land

was held at that early date in Strathardle, I will give the following translation of it, as given in Col. Robertson's Earldom of Athole, p. 5:—"To all who shall see or hear this charter, Duncan, Earl of Fife, wishes everlasting salvation in the Lord.—Know that we have given, granted, and by this our present charter confirmed, to Sir Robert Lawedre, Knight, for his homage and service, all our land of Balmacoychely and all our land of Loghibride, that, namely, which Lord Robert, the Rector of the Church there, held from us in farm, together with all our land of Upper Blabolg, in our Barony of Strathurd, within the Sheriffship of Perth.—To have and to hold by the said Sir Robert, his heirs and assignees, of us and our heirs, in fee and heritage for ever, by all their right meiths and marches, freely, quietly, fully, peacefully, and honourably, in huntings and fowlings, ways, paths, woods, haughs, lakes, waters, warrens, fish ponds, mills, multures, moors, marshes, fields, meadows, bainings, pastures, and with all other liberties, conveniences, easements, and just pertinents named or unnamed, to the said land belonging, or that may belong in future.—Performing thence to us and our heirs, the said Sir Robert, his heirs and assignees, three suits of Court yearly, at the three Capital Pleas, of our court of Strathurd, together with the extrinsic Scotch service to our Lord, the King of Scotland, from the said land, yearly, duly, and customarily.—And rendering thence to us and to our heirs one pair of gilt spurs at the feast of Christmas yearly, if demanded, for all other secular exaction, service, or demand, which may be claimed by us and our heirs. Moreover, we, Duncan and our heirs aforesaid, shall warrant, secure, and defend forever the whole land aforesaid, with all that pertains or may pertain to it, to the said Sir Robert, his heirs and assignees, against all men and wemen."

1292.—In this year Sir Eustace Rattray of Rattray gave to Cupar Abbey a charter of the lands of the two Drimmies:—"Carta donatiionis eisdem monachis, per Eustachium de Retaife dominum de eodem de toto uire quod habet in trritorio de Drumys, in tenemento de Glenbatlack," &c., &c. And his son, Sir Adam Rattray, also the same year gave the Abbey the lands of Dumtay in Glenbathlock. This Sir Adam Rattray, at the same time, was compelled, along with most of the other Scotch barons, to submit to King Edward I. of England, which he also had to do again in 1296.

1297.—In this year Sir William Wallace visited Cupar Abbey, and resided there for some time after he had defeated the English at Perth; and at the same time he reduced the Castles of Dundee,

Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and Aberdeen, in which exploits the Strathardle men assisted him.

1308.—In Robertson's "Index of Charters," about this date, I find a charter of King Robert the Bruce, of the lands of Mause in Lower Strathardle, to John de Kinnymonth, and it is interesting to notice that about five centuries later the Laird of Kindrogan married the heiress of Kinmonth.

At the same time Bruce gave a charter of the lands of Drumlochy to Thomas de Camera, or Chalmers, the ancestor of another old Strathardle family. Index of Charters, 19-95.

1314.—King Robert the Bruce gives a charter to Sir Neil Campbell, and Mary, his spouse, sister to the King, and John, their son, of all the lands which were David, Earl of Athole's. This son John was afterwards the famous Sir John Campbell of Moulin, who built the old Black Castle of Moulin.

In the same year the Bruce gave a charter to his nephew, young Neil Campbell, of Kirkmichael, Dalruizion, Dunie, and other lands in Strathardle. It is given in Robertson's Index of Charters, 26-27 :—"Carta to Nigelli Oge, the lands of Killmychill, Drondayllen, Dunnor, Keyllpoll, Reythenan, in vicecom Perth." The men of Strathardle were loyal and true to the Bruce, and fought under him at Bannockburn.

1317.—In this year King Robert the Bruce resided at Cupar Abbey for some time, and hunted in the forests of Strathardle. There is an old tradition of the Bruce hunting on Pitearnick Hill, near the little lake of Loch-nan-Biorrach, a place of evil repute to this day, and for centuries one of the most dreaded spots in the district for travellers to pass, even in daylight, as it was supposed to be haunted by all sorts of spirits, and I well remember, when a boy, how carefully I kept away from its dark waters. As the story goes, Bruce had a favourite hound, which, as they were hunting near Loch-nan-Biorrach, raised and pursued some "droch-bheist"—some evil or uncanny beast—that haunted the loch. It endeavoured to reach the loch, but was prevented, and it fled up Corrie-Charaish, pursued by the hound, which gained on it very fast. When it reached the head of the corrie, it sped up the face of Craig Corrie-Charaish to the famous cave near the top of that hill, into which it disappeared, followed by the hound, whose baying and barking could be heard for some time after, getting feebler as it descended into the bowels of the earth, till at last all was still. Bruce and his companions waited long for his favourite hound to reappear, but in vain, as the dog did not return, and they gave it over as lost. About a week after that, the hound,

torn, bleeding, and starved, was seen coming out of the opening of a small cave in the rocks of Craighall, about a dozen miles down the strath. What became of the "evil beast" is not known, as it was never seen again, but the poor dog must have had a long and weary experience of the lower regions before it once more appeared above ground at Craighall. To this day there is believed to be an underground passage between Craig Corric-Charaish cave and Craighall rocks; and I have known old keepers who so firmly believed this, that, when fox-hunting, they would not allow their terriers to go near that cave, for fear of their landing at Craighall. The entrance to this cave is low and narrow, and at some distance from its mouth a great, dark, yawning chasm sinks down into the very bowels of the earth, and when a stone is thrown in, it is heard rumbling and knocking down against the rocky sides till the sound is lost in the far distance. The mouth of this famous cave was filled up with large stones some years ago, by Mr M'Nab, the then tenant of Pitcarnick, as his sheep were in the habit of going in and getting lost. If all old tales be true, perhaps he might have found these lost sheep amongst the rocks of Craighall, had he looked there for them. I hope some day the depths of this famous cave may be explored. There is another famous cave a little further south, at Craig-na-h-Uaimhaigh (Rock of the Cave), in Dunkeld wood, the other end of which is said to be near Loch Ordie. Several of Prince Charlie's Strathardle followers took refuge there in the troublous times after Culloden, and lived there in safety till better times. No doubt the most blood-thirsty of Cumberland's butchers would think twice before he attempted to follow them underground as far as Loch Ordie.

1320.—About this time we find the Rattrays of Rattray very powerful barons in lower Strathardle, and taking a leading part in the affairs of the kingdom. Dr Marshall, in his "Historic Scenes in Perthshire," says:—"Alexander Rattray was one of the barons of the Parliament held at Ayr in 1315, which settled the succession to the Scottish Crown. His brother Eustatius, who succeeded him, was, in the Parliament held at Perth in 1320, charged with being an accomplice in the conspiracy of Sir William Soulis and Sir David Brechin against Robert the Bruce, but on investigation the charge was found false, and he received an honourable acquittal."

David, Earl of Athole, at Scone, confirms the lands of Moulin, &c., to the Abbey of Dunfermline, and as the old names are interesting, I may give them, as in "Index of Charters," 28-7:—"Appunctamentum parliamenti tenti apud Sconam, 1323, inter

Davidem de Hastyns et Abbatem et Conventum de Dumferline, super terris de Melyn, Petdunedy, Petmalduc, Balcolnie Pet M'Duffgyll," &c.

1333.—This was a great year in the annals of Strathardle. John Munro, tutar of Foulis, and a party of the Clan Munro, were returning to Ross-shire from Edinburgh, and travelled north through Strathardle, and up Glen Fernate. Night coming on they encamped on a little haugh on the north side of the Fernate above Craiglosgte, but they neglected to ask the usual permission from the proprietor to encamp on his lands. This neglect the men of Glen Fernate took as an insult, and in revenge they, during the night, cut the tails off all Munro's horses, in memory of which that haugh is still called "Dal-nan-earball"—Field of Tails, to this day. Munro determined on revenge, and hastening home to Ross, gathered 350 of the best men of his clan, returned to Strathardle, devastated the country, killed many of the people, and carried off all their cattle. So savage was this raid carried out, and so disastrous the consequences, that it gave rise to a very bitter hatred in Strathardle against the north country clans, which was the origin of the common Strathardle proverb :—“Cha thainig ni math riamh a tuath, ach a ghaoth fhuair s' t'-fhoghair”—“Nothing good ever came out of the north, but the cold wind in harvest.” A noted Strathardle worthy, who died about half a century ago, and whose wife was from Ross, used to relieve his pent up feelings, on the occasion of domestic squabbles, by quoting this old proverb for her edification.

Munro got the Strathardle cattle, but he had to fight again for them before he got them home to Foulis; for, when passing Moy, the Chief of Mackintosh demanded part of the spoil. This was customary amongst the clans when a party drove a “Creach” of lifted cattle through another Chief's property, and was called a “Staoig Rathaid” or “Staoig Creich”—a Road Collop. Munro offered a fair share, but Mackintosh demanded half the spoil, and as he did not get it, gathered his clan in hot haste and pursued to take the whole by force, an exploit which ended in the great clan battle of Clachnaharry.

As Sir Robert Gordon, in his “History of the Earldom of Sutherland,” page 46, gives a very good account of this affair, I may give it here :—“John Munro, tutar of Foulis, travelling homewards on his journey from the south of Scotland towards Rosse, did repose himself by the way in Stratherdale, between Sanct Johnstoun (Perth) and Athole, where he fell at variance with the inhabitants of that country, who had abused him, which

he determined to revenge. Being returned home to Rosse, he gathered together his whole kinsmen and followers and declared into them as he had been used, craving with all their aid in revenging himself of that injurie. Unto the which motion they harkened willinglie, and yeilded to assist him to the whole of their abilities. Wereupon he singled out thrie hundered and fyftie of the best and ablest men amongst them and went with these to Strathardaill, which he wasted and spoiled, killed some of the people, and carried away their cattle. In his return home, as he was passing by the ile of Moy with the prey, Mackintosh (Cheftain of the Clann Chattan) sent to him to crave a pairt of the spoile, being persuaded hereto by some evil disposed pepleous about him, and challanging the same as due into him by custome. John Munro in curtsie offered into Mackintosh a reasonable pirt, when he thorow evill councole refused to accept, and would have no less than the half of the whole booty, whereunto Munro would not harken nor yield, bot goelt on his intended journey homewards. Mackintosh convenes his forces with all dillegence and followes Munro, whom he overtook at Clagh-ne-Hayre, besid Inverness, hard by the ferry of Kessock. John, perceiving Mackintosh and his companie following them hard at hand, he sent fiftie of his men home to Ferrindonald with the spoile, and encouraged the rest of his followers to fight, so there ensued a cruel conflict, wherein Mackintosh was slain with most pairt of his companie, divers of the Munros were also slain. John Munro was left as deid in the field, and was taken up by the Lord Lovat, his predicessors, who carried him to his house, where he was cured of his wounds, and was from thenceforth called John Bacclawigh, because he was mutilate of one of his hands all the rest of his days. From this John Munro the familie of Milntoun Munro descended."

In a lecture given by the Rev. Alex. Macgregor in Inverness in 1875, he gave a graphic account of this famous raid, and in a conversation I afterwards had with him he told me that a Strathardle man told him over thirty years before that the field on which the Munro's encamped when the tails were cut off their horses was well known, and still called "Dal-nan-earball"—Field of Tails, and Mr Macgregor asked me if I knew it. I told him I did not, though I was quite familiar with the circumstances of the raid. I then made every possible inquiry, my only elue being that Mr Macgregor knew it was a "high-lying haugh near the river," but I could not fix the spot, though I visited every likely place above Bridge of Cally, and cross-examined all the old folks.

For eleven years I was unsuccessful, till at last I got a letter from my old teacher, Mr Morrison, the able and worthy schoolmaster of Kirkmichal, to whom I had at first applied for assistance, saying :—"I was lately in Glenshee seeing an old man, Robert Fleming, with whom I had a conversation about his earlier days. His parents removed to Glen Fernate when he was a child to the service of the late Mr Spottiswood. I asked him if he knew a place by the name of Dal-na-carball. He said he knew it well. It is that level haugh above Craig-Iosgte on the north side of the Fernate, at the foot of a round hill. There is a small stream winding through it. I am afraid old Rob is now one of the very last to recognize the place."

I was very pleased indeed to get this valuable information, and so to be able to settle exactly the locality of one of our most historic scenes in Strathardle. Had it not been for Mr Morrison's kind interest in hunting up this place, and the happy chance of his meeting old Rob away in lone Glenshee, the secret of the whereabouts of Dal-nan-earball would have died with the old man, who soon after went over to the majority, which shows that not a moment should be lost in collecting what is left of our old lore.

1335.—This was a black year for Strathardle, for after the terrible ravages of the Munros, and the carrying away of all their cattle, the country was in a very bad state, which was aggravated by a terrible famine all over Scotland at the same time; Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, says :—"A greivous famine, occasioned by the continual ravages of war and the cessation of all regular agricultural labour, had for some time desolated Scotland." And in Peacock's "*Annals of Perth*," page 69, we read :—"At this time a severe famine raged in Scotland, by which thousands of the lower classes in Perth, as well as other places, perished." No doubt such dire consequence following cured the good folk of Strathardle from indulging in such practical joking as cutting off horses' tails.

1336.—Still another year of war, want, famine, and turmoil in Strathardle, as it was overrun by both friend and foe, including Sir Andrew Moray, Regent of Scotland, and even the great King Edward of England himself, who, after a forced march, endeavoured to surprise and capture the Regent Moray at Strone of Cally; but the Regent, after showing surpassing coolness and bravery, eluded Edward, who then marched the English army up Strathardle, over the hill to Blair Athole. In Skene's, *John of Fordun's*, "*Orygynale Cronykytle*," page 353, we read :—"In 1336, in the month of October, Andrew of Moray, then Guardian of Scotland,

mustered an army, and besieging the strongholds of Dunnottar, Kynniff, and Lauriston took them and levelled them to the ground. Then he tarried the whole winter in the Forest of Platen and other very safe places in Angus, being often waylaid by the English, and braving their dangerous attacks. So through the ceaseless marauding of both sides the whole land of Gowrie, Angus, and Mearns was almost, for the most part, reduced to a hopeless wilderness and to utter want."

Tytler says, in his "History of Scotland," Vol. I., page 180:—"Prompted by the restless desire so often formed, and so constantly defeated, of compelling the subjugation of Scotland, the English Monarch penetrated first to Perth, and afterwards into the more northern parts of the kingdom. His march was, as usual, marked by the utter destruction of the district through which it lay. After wasting the northern counties, he in vain endeavoured to bring the Regent, Sir Andrew Moray, to battle. Under the command of this leader, the Scots, intimately acquainted with the country, were ever near the enemy, and yet always invisible to them; and an anecdote of a masterly retreat made during the northern campaign has been preserved, which is characteristic of the cool discipline of Moray. On one occasion word being brought to Edward that the Regent was encamped in the wood of Stronkaltère, he instantly marched against him. The intelligence was found to be true, the English and Scottish outposts came in sight of each other in a winding road leading through the wood, and after some skirmishing the Scots fell back to inform Moray of the near approach of the English army. The Regent was then at mass, and although the danger was imminent, none dared interrupt him until the service was concluded. On being told that Edward and his army were at hand in the forest, he observed there was no need of haste; and when his squires brought him his horse, he began quietly to adjust its furniture, and to see that the girths were tight and secure. When this was going on the English every moment came nearer, and the Scottish knights around Moray showed many signs of impatience. This, it may be imagined, was not lessened when one of the straps which braced his thigh armour snapt as he buckled it; and the Regent, turning to an attendant, bade him bring a coffer from his baggage, from which he took a skin of leather, and, sitting down leisurely on the bank, cut off a broad strip, with which he mended the fracture. He then returned the box to its place, mounted his horse, arrayed his men in close column, and commenced his retreat in such order that the English did not think it safe to attack him; and having at last gained a

narrow defile, he disappeared from their view without losing a man." "I have heard," says Winton, "from knights who were then present, that in all their life they never found time to go so slow as when their old commander sat cutting his leather skin in the wood of Stronkaltyre."

Tytler adds a note:—"The exact position of this ancient wood cannot now be discovered. I conjecture it was in Perthshire, somewhere between Dunkeld and Blair." Tytler is quite wrong in this, as the ancient wood of Stronkaltere is well known to students of Perthshire history, and is simply the old wood of Stroncally, at Bridge of Cally, in Strathardle, or as it was usually spelt, Stroncalady, Stronkalathyn, or Stronkaltere. In proof of this, we find in the Rent-Roll of Cupar Abbey this ancient wood of Stronkaltyre very often mentioned, and the Abbey from its very earliest date always kept a special head forester to look after it. For instance, in the Rent-Roll, page 198, we find a tack from the Abbot David in 1473:—"Our lands of Calady ar set to Neyl MkKeden for all the days of his lyfe: And he shall keep the Wuddis (woods) of Stroyncalady and be master forester of all our wuddis in Strathardyl." So that there can be no doubt whatever about Stronkaltere, or Stronkalathyn, as it is differently spelt in old records, though Tytler was not aware of the ancient spelling of Stroncally, or of there being a famous forest there of old, of which we have many records.

There can be no doubt whatever as to the "narrow defile" through which the Scottish army disappeared when the English came upon them, as the entrance to Glenshee up the Blackwater afforded one of the best possible retreats from Stronecally, and a few brave men could there have successfully opposed the whole English army.

After the Regent escaped at Stroncally, Edward marched the English army up Strathardle and Glen Brierachan to Blair Athole, as Winton informs us:—

"And northwartis on his gate can ga
He came to Blare, and there thai lay."

King Edward stayed some time at Blair Castle, on a visit to the Earl and Countess of Athole, who were then on the English side.

As we have just read, in the quotations given from Tytler, of Edward's conduct during this expedition:—"His march was as usual marked by the utter destruction of the districts through which it lay." Now, if such was the case *before*, we may be sure that *after* being outwitted and out-generated by the Regent at

Stroncally, Edward and his army would be more savage and destructive than ever during the march up Strathardle and Glen Brierachan. Wynton says Edward "was wa" when the Scots escaped, and as the English were so numerous, 20,000 men, nothing could have escaped them, so that the whole district must have suffered utter destruction. As King Edward's attempt to capture the Regent Moray at Stroncally is one of our principal historical events in Strathardle, I may give the original account of it as it is given in Wyntoun's "*Orygynale Cronykil*" for year 1336:—

“ A thowsand and thre hundry yhere
And sex and thretty to tha clere,
And then the Kyng of England,
Wyth twenty thousand chosen men,
He held his way wyth his menyhe.
And sune he passyd the Scottis Se ;
And syne to Perth has tane his way.
Schyre Andrew off Murrawe than lay,
Wyth the menyhe that wyth hym were,
In the wode of Stron Kaltere.
That to the Kyng Edward was tald,
Tharefor evyn till hym he wald,
And came so near in tyll a thrawe,
That thaire dyscoverowris athir sawe
Sum off thaim justyd off were.
Schyr Andrewe in Stron Kaltere
Herand his Mes was standand then,
Bot there wes nane of all his men,
That evyr wes in his rowt that day,
That ony word durst till hym say,
Quhill he wes herand Mess, for he
Thareat suld anoyit be.
Tharefor thai made thaim bowne and bade
Quhill that he herd his Mes all had ;
Than have thai tald till hym how nere
That the Kyng and his gret ost were.
He said, “ Na hast,” quethyr perfay
Hys folk wald fayne have bene away,
For the gret ost wes then so nere
That sum but schort space fro thame were.
Hys hors till hym thai broweht in hy ;
Thai wald, he had bene on blythly.
He hym dressyt his sted to ta ;
Hys cusche laynere brak in twa.

Than wald he nowcht sterc off that place,
 Bot for all hast, that evyr thare was
 He gert bryng hym a lytill cofyne ;
 A rone skyne tuk he thar off syne,
 And schayre a (thawyng) all at lay sere,
 And tharewyth festynd up his gere.
 I herd sere Knychtis syndry say,
 That thame thowcht nevyre in thare day
 So rycht anoyus a bydyng,
 As thai had at that (thawyng) scheryng.
 He lape on syne, and in aray
 Held welle hys folk, and held hys way.
 And quhen the Inglis saw thame then
 Hald sa togyddyr all thare men,
 Thai folowyd, noucht owt off aray,
 Bot in hale batale folowyd ay
 Sa fast that thai had bene ourtane,
 Na war, that thai had wyth (thaim) aue,
 That kennyd thame a by way,
 That ewyn down betwix craggys lay.
 Throw that strayte rode, that dewys,
 Thai gat welle fra thare inuymys,
 And lefft nothir man na lad.
 And (quhen) the Kyng sawe that he had
 Tynt thame off swilk wys, he was wa,
 And northwartis on his gate can ga,
 He came to Blare, and thare thai lay."

1340.—About this time I find King David II. giving many charters of lands in the district, such as:—"To John Stewart of half the lands of Ferdill. To Hugh Blair of the lands of East Mause, or Maler-cist, paying five chalders of victuall yearly. To John Hering of the lauds of Glasclune. And to Adam of Blacradock the lands of West Mause."

1355.—In Peacock's "Annals of Perth" we read:—"At this time such dreadful torrents of rain fell in Perthshire as carried away water-mills, bridges, houses, men, and herds of cattle, and destroyed many of the towns which stood near the banks of rivers. These disasters were succeeded by an awful pestilence, which carried off a great number of the inhabitants. There had also been a terrible plague in 1346, which carried off a third of the inhabitants of the kingdom.

1358.—In this year we find Fergus Fergusson, son of Adam, Baron of Balmacrochie, and Robert, son of Duncan de Atholia,

ancestors of the Robertsons of Struan, getting into trouble with the Sheriff of Perth about their lands, as we read in the "Book of Garth and Fortingall," p. 118 :—"In 1358 the Sheriff of Perth is allowed £12 for deforcements made upon him by Robert, son of Duncan (de Atholia), and Eergus, son of Ade, who failed to give suit for the lands of Balnafert, Ballmacrochie, Balnakand," &c.

1365.—Once again we find part of Balmacrochie changing hands, as there is a charter in Robertson's Index, 49-4, of the lands of Balmacrochie, Logybryde, and Blavalg, to the Abbey of Dunfermline. These lands, as we have already seen, were granted to Sir Robert Lawdere in 1280.

1375.—In this year we find King Robert II. residing twice during the winter at Cupar Abbey, and hunting in Strathardle ; and he dates one of his charters in Glenshee, and another at Cupar, to his nephew, James de Lindsay, of lands in the Thanedom of Alyth, and the old Castle of Inverqueich, which for long was a stronghold of the Lindsays. The charter as given in the "Index," 121-75, is :—"The castle stead of Invercnych, together with the lands within the same Thanedom of Alyth, which belonged to Thomas de Rettre." In this year also died, David, the last of the ancient Celtic Earls of Athole ; and Skene says :—"When the Celtic Earls of Athole became extinct, and, in consequence, the subordinate clans in the district of Athole assumed independence, the principal part of that district was in the possession of the Clan Donnachie, or the Robertsons." Up till the end of last century most of the upper part of Strathardle belonged to that powerful clan.

1389.—In this year one of the greatest events in the annals of Strathardle took place—the famous Raid of Angus, when the Clan Donnachie, or Robertsons, led by the sons of their chief—Robert, Patrick, Thomas, and Gibbon, and other allied clans, under the leadership of Duncan Stewart, son of the famous and ferocious Alexander Stewart, called the Wolf of Badenoch, fourth son of King Robert II., made a raid, and harried Glen Isla, Glen Esk, and other districts of Angus, killing many of the Ogilvies and Lindsays, and driving off all their cattle. The men of these districts gathered, and followed the Highlanders to Glasclune, in the Sormont, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Clan Donnachie were victorious, and they continued their march up Strathardle, driving their spoil before them. Meanwhile, news of the raid had spread all over the country, and most of the Angus lairds gathered their forces, and, joining the defeated men of Glen Isla and Glen Esk, hurried up Strathardle, and overtook the High-

landers at Dalnagarn, at the very head of Glen Brierachan. Here a second battle took place, one of the fiercest ever fought in all the conflicts of the clans, when the Highlanders, in kilt and plaid, and armed only with target and claymore, met and routed the flower of Scottish chivalry, mounted, and armed with long lances, and fully clad in steel armour of the finest temper, and led by Sir David Lindsay of Glen Esk, the most renowned warrior of his time in Scotland, Sir Walter Ogilvie, Sir Patrick Gray, and other barons of equal renown. Tytler, in his "History of Scotland," Vol. II., page 3, says:—"Sir Walter Ogilvie, then Sheriff of Angus, along with Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay, of Glen Esk, instantly collected their power, and, although inferior in numbers, trusting to the temper of their armour, attacked the mountaineers. But they were almost instantly overwhelmed, the Highlanders fighting with a ferocity and contempt of life, which seem to have struck a panic into their steel-clad assailants. Ogilvie, with his brother, Wat of Lichtoune, Young of Ouchterlony, the lairds of Cairneross, Forfar, and Guthrie, were slain, and sixty men-at-arms along with them, whilst Sir Patrick Gray and Sir David Lindsay were grievously wounded, and with difficulty carried off the field. The indomitable fierceness of the mountaineers is strikingly shewn by an anecdote preserved by Wynton:—"Lindsay had pierced one of these, a brawny and powerful man, through the body with his spear, and thus apparently pinned him to the ground, but although mortally wounded, and in the agonies of death, he writhed himself up by main strength, and, with the weapon in his body, struck Lindsay a desperate blow with his sword, which cut him through the stirrup and steel-boot into the bone, after which his assailant instantly sank down and expired."

A good deal of confusion exists amongst our old writers about the raid of Angus; Bower and some others give the date as 1391. Bower says:—"In 1391 the Caterns invaded the Braes of Angus, with Duncan Stewart at their head, and were encountered by Walter Ogilvie, Sheriff of Angus, with such of the barons of Angus and their followers as he could hastily summons, at a place called Glenbrereth (Glen Brierachan), where the Sheriff and sixty of his followers were slain" (*Scotichiconon*, vol. ii., page 450). Wyntoun and others give the date as 1392, but both these dates are wrong, and it must have been in 1389, as we find the King, Robert III., holding a Council at Perth, for making arrangements for punishing the leaders of the Highlanders, as early as 20th March, 1390. Skene, in his "Celtic Scotland," vol. iii., page 309,

says :—" It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the conflict, striking though the details are, but we have more certain information as to the leaders of the Highlanders in a brief, issued by King Robert III. at a general council held at Perth on 20th March, 1390, and addressed to the Sheriff and bailiffs of Aberdeen, directing them to put to the horn as outlaws the following persons guilty of the slaughter of Walter de Ogilvie, Walter de Lichton, and others of the King's leiges :—Duncan and Robert Stewarts, Patrick and Thomas Duncansons, Robert de Athale, Andrew Macnair, Duncan Bryceon, Angus Macnair, and John Ayson, junior, and all others their adherents, and as taking part with them in the slaughter ; Slurach and his brothers, with the whole Clanqwehil, &c. (N. Acts of Parliament, vol. i., page 579). The Stewarts were sons of the Wolf of Badenoch, Earl of Buchan ; the Duncansons, with Robert de Athole, were the heads of the Clan Donnachie, descended from the old Earls of Athole, who possessed the north-western district bordering on Badenoch ; the Macnairs possessed Foss, in Strathmummel ; and the Aysons, Tullymet, in Athole. The others belonged to Buchan and Strathnairn, and were followers of the Wolf of Badenoch ; and the cause of the raid seems to have arisen from this—that Sir David Lindsay had inherited Glenesk in Angus and the district of Strathnairn from his mother, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir John Stirling of Glenesk, while another of the daughters had married Robert de Atholia, chief of the Clan Donnachie. His possession of Strathnairn would bring him into contact with the Wolf of Badenoch and the northern clans, and a quarrel regarding the succession probably brought the Clan Donnachie into the field."

I find another link of connection, which Skene seems to have overlooked, in Col. Robertson of Lude's "Earldom of Athole," where we find (pages 26-27) that Robert de Atholia, and his wife, the co-heiress of Glenesk's daughter ; also Janet, married the Wolf of Badenoch's son, Duncan Stewart, the leader of the Highlanders at the raid of Angus. This Duncan Stewart was the ancestor of the Stewarts of Garth, Bonskeid, Fincastle, &c.

The Angus barons overtook the Highlanders at Dalnagarn, at the very head of the Glen, and the battle took place on the field to the west of the farmhouse, which, as before mentioned, took its name, Dal-nan-carn, Field of Cairns, from the cairns raised over the slain, according to the ancient custom of the Highlanders, both as a memorial and to prevent wolves from scratching up the bodies. When defeated, the Angus men fled eastward, and many other place names in the Glen still recal the deeds of that famous day,

such as Cluneskea, *Cluan-cath*, Haugh of Battle; Dalchosnie, Field of Victory, on the south side of the river opposite Tomchulan, where the Angus men made their last stand; Clash Cath, Pass or Ravine of Battle, that narrow pass at the very foot of Craignan-Cunaig, one of the most romantic spots, and finest bits of scenery, and one of the most unfrequented places in Strathardle, through which the defeated barons rode, and where they lost many men, whose bodies were afterwards thrown into the little loch—Loch-an-Dun, or An Lochan Dubh—the Black Loch of the Dun, which ever since then has had a very evil repute as being haunted by the ghosts of the slain Angus men. The *Chaic-Dhubh*—Black Hillocks—that range of black heathery knowes that lie between the Pass of Clash cath and the present road from Ceannghline to Strathloch, also got their name then, and ever since have been reputed about the very worst haunted place in the district, and up till the present generation the bravest men in the glen did not care to take that road after dark, and always had an eerie feeling, especially in passing the burn that comes from Loch-an-Dun. A lady friend of mine told me not long ago that the worst fright ever she got was when a girl at school she was playing with others in the Cnoic-Dhubh, where the burn from Loch-an-Dun passes under the road, and on looking into the dark pend under the road, she saw something blood-red which, from the evil repute of the place, she at once set down as something uncanny, but which on further investigation turned out to be only old Norman Shaw, the road surfaceman's dinner tied up in an old Turkey-red handkerchief. Such were the effects of superstition which lingered there and kept alive the memories of deeds done nearly six centuries before.

Early in this century a number of silver coins were found on Stronehavia, which are supposed to have been hid there immediately before or after the battle of Dalnagarn. Colonel Robertson of Lude, in his "Gaelic Topography of Scotland," p. 337, says;—"Glenbrierachan is in Athole, and is derived from 'Gleann-braighe-riabhach-an,' and signifies the valley of the stream of the great heights. Within this glen the Clan Donnachie, or Robertsons of Athole, gained a second victory over the Lindsays, who had followed them to their own country after the battle of Glaslune, where the Lindsays were also defeated, and which is known in Scotch history as the Raid of Angus. Near the site of this ancient battle, in Glenbrierachan, there was found about fifty years ago a considerable number of silver coins of the period. It is probable the owner had hid them there before the fight began, but had been killed."

In the New Statistical Account of the Parish of Moulin, we read :—"Coins have been dug up in different parts of the parish. A few of Edward I. of England, and Alexander III. of Scotland, were found several years ago on the farm of Stronchavie, in Glenbrierachan." And in the same work, the Rev. David Duff, in the account of the Parish of Kenmore, says :—"In the Parish of Moulin, when the writer was minister of that place, there were found well up towards the ridge of a lofty hill at the head of Glenbrierachan, nearly two dozen of the same kind of coins, of which two or three were of Alexander, and the rest of Edward. Of these the writer has half-a-dozen, and the singularity regarding those of Edward is, that while the obverse of all presents the head of the King, the reverse of one bears the inscription 'Civitas Cantor;' of another, 'C. London;' of another, 'C. Eborac;' and of a fourth, 'C. Dunelm;' thus indicating, as it were, the different stages of the progress of that rapacious monarch towards his destined prey."

I made a very interesting discovery last year when at Dalnagarn visiting my respected friend Mr Donald Stewart, the present tenant. In talking over the battle, I asked him if ever he had come across any relics of it in tilling the ground; and he told me that some years ago one of his sons had found an ancient stone grave when ploughing in the middle of the field of battle. I wrote that son, Mr John Stewart of St Fink, for details, and he replied as follows :—"I remember quite well, several years ago, of coming on an ancient stone grave in that field. I was ploughing, and the horses having taken fright at a shot fired there, I stuck the plough deep into the ground to stop them, and came right against the stones. I would have thought nothing about it, had it not been for the strange hollow sound I heard, which caused me to examine it. There were two flat stones lying on the top, about two feet from the surface. They were lying north and south. I did not see but the one grave, and when taking out the stones I did not see any trace of bones, only I must say I was not looking for them; but I came across pieces of old metal. I have come across several other flat stones near the same place. I have also come across several pretty large cairns on the hill to the east of Dalnagarn, and I have no doubt but that if they were dug out to the bottom they would reveal something."

I have no doubt but what this stone grave was that of Sir Walter Ogilvie, or of some of the other Angus barons who fell with him there, and that the other flat stones Mr Stewart refers to very likely cover the other graves, and no doubt the pieces of

old metal he found were the remains of those suits of mail, of tempered steel, in which the bold barons put so much faith, but which proved of so little use as a defence against the tremendous blows of the Highland claymores. As to the several cairns he mentions on the hill to the east of Dalnagarn, no doubt they were raised over the remains of some of the fugitives who fell there on their retreat from Dalnagarn, as part of them fled along the south side of the river by Dalchosnie.

I may now conclude this account of the battle of Glenbrierachan by giving the poetical account of it given by old Andrew of Wyntoun in his "*Orygynale Cronykil off Scotland.*" I must, however, point out that he makes a mistake both as to the time and place of the battle, giving the date as 1392, when we know now from the Acts of Parliament that it took place in 1389. He also mixes up the two battles together, making all the fighting to take place at Glasclune, whereas we know that the Angus barons were not at Glasclune at all, only the men of the raided glens of Isla and Esk fought there, and the Angus lairds afterwards joined these and followed on to Glenbrierachan. However, a Churchman living quietly in St Andrews Abbey is to be excused though he gets rather confused about the conflicts of the clans. Wyntoun says (Book IX., Chapter xiv.):—

“When slane wes off Angus
 The Scherrawe gud and vertuous.
 A thousande thre hundyr ninty and twa
 Fra Cryste wes born off Maria,
 Thar fel a hey grete dyscorde
 Between Schir Davy Lyndesay, Lorde
 Off Glenesk, and the Heyland men.
 Thre chifftanys gret war off thaim then
 Thomas, Patrik, and Gibbone ;
 Duncansonnys wes thare surnowne.
 For this discorde a day or twa
 Wes set, bot all held nocht of tha.
 Schir Davy de Lyndesay, that wes wys,
 Trowit nocht in tham, bot malys ;
 In preivate he send fon-thi
 Up into the land a spy.
 Fra that spy passit in that land,
 Off hym hard he na tithand,
 Quhil thare com down all suddenly
 Off Scottis a gret cumpany :

Off tha ilke Hyeland-men
Thre hundyr, or ma, ware sowmyt then.
The Schirrane of Angus in Ketymys lay,
And by hym neire Schyr Patrik Gray,
The Lord de Lyndesay at Dundee.
Quber word ourspred than the cuntrie,
That the Scottis Hieland-men
Ware neire the watty off Ile then.
Schyr Walter off Ogylvy, that gud knycht,
Stowt and manfull, bald and wycht ;
And the gud kuycht Patrik Gray,
That in the cuntre that nycht lay ;
Schyr Davy Lyndesay out off Dundee
Sped hym fast at thaim to lee ;
Wyth tha thre Lordis gadrit then
Passit few atoure thre scor of men.
The Scherrane and Schyr Patrik Gray
As foremost held the nearest way,
And thought to gere sum thing be done,
Suppos the Lyndesay nevyr sa sone
Suld cum among the Scottis men.
Befor the lawe tha Knychtis then,
That ware of harte baith stern and stout,
Presyt thame fast to skaile that rout.
In the stermond at Gasklune
That dulefule daweke that tyme wes done.
Suhile thai ware in that pres fechtand,
The Lyndesay gud wes at thare hand,
And if tha Scottis heire and thare
Sum he slewe, sum wondyt sare,
Sua, on his hors he sittand than
Throw the body he strayk a man
Wytht his spere down to the erde :
That man held fast his awyn swerd
In tyl his neve, and up thrawand
He pressit hym, nocht agayn standand
That he was pressit to the erd,
And wyth a swake thare off his swerd
The sterup lethaire and the bute
Thre ply on foure abume the fute
He straik the Lyndesay to the bane
That man na straike gave bot that ane,
For thar he deit ; yeit nevirtheless

That gud Lord thare wondit wes,
 And had deit thare that day,
 Had nocht his men had hym away
 Agane his wil out of that pres.
 Schir Patrike Gray sare wondyt wes,
 And trowyt thar til haff bene ded,
 Had he nocht bene had of that stede.
 Gud Schir Walter off Ogylwy,
 That manly knyecht and that worthy
 Scherrane that tyme of Angus,
 Godlike, wis, and vertuous ;
 And a gud squire off grete renown
 His bruthire Wat, cald off Lichtounne
 (To this gud Scherrane off Angus
 Half bruthire he wes, and richt famous ;
 Off syndry fadris ware thai twa,
 Off lauchful bed ilkane of tha)
 Carncors, Forfare, and Guthery,
 And Wylliane Yong of Ouchtirlony,
 And uthir gentillis and yomen ma
 Off his kyn and his (house) alswa
 Wald nocht fra hym pas away ;
 Bot bidand in the feyld that day,
 Slane al togiddy (thai) war,
 That bidand ware wyth the Scherrane thare,
 Al oure land sare menyt done
 That dulefull dawerk at Gasklune.

This "doleful work at Glasklune," which good old Wyntoun laments so pathetically, was not done there at all, as we have already seen, but at Dalnagarn, and there the "gud Sheriff" lies, with the "other gentles of his kin, who would not from him pass away, but stayed in the field that day, slain all together."

1402.—In this year I find a charter from King Robert III. to Thomas Duncanson, or Robertson—the first Robertson on record called "of Struan" (the previous title being "de Atholia")—and who was one of the leaders of the Clan Dcumachie at the raid of Angus, of the lands of Straloch, Easter Davan, Tomanturie, Dekerwand, and Dalcharinch (now Glen Fernate Lodge). This is the first written record I have come across of the Clan Donnachie's connection with Strathardle. This charter is given in Robertson's "Index of Charters," 141-47 :—"To Thomas Duncanson of Athol, of the lands of Strathloche, Easter Davache, and Tomcury, Dekar-

wand, and Dalacharmy." The next charter in the "Index," No. 48, is also to Thomas Duncanson of Athole, "of the lands of Strowane, ane ratification of all his lands, with a taillie." About the same time I find a charter—"Index" 148-32—to William Buttar, of the lands of Gormack. And also a charter—"Index" 149-43—to James Spalding of the lands of Fermall and Fornachty in Forfarshire. These charters are the first records I have found of the old families of Buttar and Spalding, who have been so long connected with Strathardle.

1404.—The winter of this year was noted for one of the greatest snow storms ever known in Perthshire. In the "Chronicle of Fortingall we read:—"In the year of the Lord 1404 a great snow fell generally on the land at the Feast of All Saints, and remained, increasing always, even to the Feast of St Patrick." That is, from 1st November to 17th March, a period of nineteen weeks, the snow went on increasing.

Having now, in this second paper, followed the history of Strathardle for about another four centuries, I will leave what follows for another year.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twentieth Annual Assembly of the Society was held in the Music Hall on 14th July, 1892. As in previous years, great trouble had been taken with the decorations of the platform. In the absence of the Chief of the Society—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart.—the Rev. Dr Norman Macleod, one of the Chieftains of the Society, presided. Every part of the building was crowded, and the meeting was attended with an amount of success never perhaps equalled at these gatherings. Dr Macleod was accompanied to the platform by Emeritus Professor Blackie; Mr Gilbert Beith, M.P. for the Inverness Burghs; Sir Henry C. Macandrew; Provost Ross; Mr William Mackay, solicitor, hon. secretary to the Society; ex-Bailie Mackenzie; Mr Alex. Mackenzie, Ballifeary; Mr Godfrey Mackinnon, Dunain Park; Mr Fraser of Millburn; Dr F. M. Mackenzie; Mr James Fraser, C.E.; Mr William Gunn; Mr H. V. Maccallum, Queensgate; Mr Macpherson, banker, Kingussie; Rev. Mr Macdonald, Killearnan; Rev. Mr Sinton, Dores; Rev. Mr Bentinek, Kirkhill; Rev. Mr Archibald Macdonald, Kiltarlity; Mr A. F. Steele, banker; Mr D. H. Chisholm; Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary to the Society, and others.

The Secretary intimated apologies for absence from the following members of the Society:—The Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart. ; Duncan Forbes of Culloden ; James E. B. Baillie of Dochfour ; Ian M. Grant of Glenmoriston ; Fitzroy C. Fletcher of Letham Grange ; W. D. Mackenzie of Farr ; Lachlan Macdonald of Skaebost ; Rev. Alex. Stewart, D.D., Nether-Lochaber ; Major Jackson of Swordale ; C. Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P. ; Charles Innes, solicitor ; P. Burgess, Glen-Urquhart ; Captain Chisholm of Glassburn ; and Colonel Murray, Inverness.

The Chairman, who was received with applause, said—I esteem it a privilege to occupy the chair on this occasion. For the first time in my life I find myself a “Chieftain,” and gladly do I avail myself of the opportunity of thanking those whose kindness has placed me in a position as novel as it is honourable. I am very sensible that my personal claims to be heard on such subjects as those affecting the literature, traditions, and history of the Highlands are extremely slender, and yet I fain hope that my sympathy with the aims of your Society, with the additional qualifications of a Highland name not unforgotten or unknown in this connection ; of a Highland tongue and a Highland heart, may be deemed some sort of fitness for the office which, through your kindness, I now hold. First of all, let me congratulate you on the good work accomplished by the Gaelic Society of Inverness during the twenty years of its existence. The Transactions published annually are in the highest degree creditable to the intelligence and research of the members, and have in numerous instances thrown an interesting light on the manners and customs as well as on the literature of a time long past.

THE CONDITION OF THE HIGHLANDS.

One object of the Society is the perfecting of the members in the use of the Gaelic language, but other objects have certainly been attended with a gratifying measure of success, while “burning questions,” which might have “set the heather on fire,” have, as a rule, been wisely avoided. I do not intend by this last observation to suggest for a moment that such a point as, for example, the social state of the Highlands in the past or the present, is unworthy of the consideration of a Society like this. On the contrary, I believe that a historical investigation of that subject, fairly and honestly conducted, might contribute in many ways to the calm, earnest, and reasonable discussion of present-day problems which is so much to be

desired. I deplore, from the bottom of my heart, the depopulation of the Highlands, though I regret the direction which the recent agitation has sometimes taken, and feel bound to condemn much that has been said and done. I would yield to no man in the strength of my desire to see existing evils removed by every legitimate method. I know well that there have been hardship and suffering, for which the poor people themselves are in no sense responsible. They have been driven, in too many instances, into a corner, where subsistence was barely possible. It may be true that there are no "waste" in the Highlands in the technical meaning of that word, but "waste" lands, so far as human habitation is concerned, undoubtedly there are, and I for one would rejoice to see these lands, wherever possible, re-peopled by a happy and contented peasantry. It is hard, no doubt, to fight against economic laws, but I do trust that measures may yet be devised by which the population may be more equitably distributed and more comfortably settled in their own country. We, of this Society, will ever watch efforts with the warmest interest and, so far as lies in our power, I am certain that our best endeavours will be used at all times to advance the comfort, happiness, and material prosperity of those who are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. If the race degenerate, as I trust and hope it never will; if it lose its patriotism, its martial spirit, its reverence for law and order, its virtue, and its piety, let it perish; but if it is still made of the same good fibre as of old, I say preserve it by all manner of means for its own sake and for the country's sake. Do not suppose, therefore, that when I express my satisfaction that burning questions have been avoided, as they ought to be, it was because I am indifferent either to the acknowledged wrongs or just aspirations of the Highland people. It was only because I feel, oh, so thankful, that the Gaelic Society has no politics.

HIGHLANDERS AND COUNTRY.

Thank heaven that this evening, at all events, we can shut our ears to the din of controversy which is heard outside these walls, and soothe our minds, whether they are flushed by victory or cast down by defeat, with the dear, old Gaelic airs to which we are to listen by-and-by. Allow me to particularly emphasise one good end effected by the Society. I shall call it cultivation of Highland brotherhood. It is often said that we Highlanders are clamish. Well, I accept it as a compliment.

We can see our own faults and acknowledge them, but let the outsider, be he "Gaul" or "Sassenach," dare to suggest or insinuate a fault, and he is pretty sure to awaken resentment that sometimes expresses itself in very forcible terms. A friend of mine was once travelling in a railway carriage with a Highland drover. My friend—an enthusiastic Highlander himself—was bold enough, for his own amusement, to make some depreciatory remarks with regard to Highlanders and their ways. The worthy drover stood it patiently for some time, but at last could stand it no longer, and, turning sternly to his companion, he addressed him in a manner at once cautious and decisive—"Sir," he said, "I won't say what I think, but if I said what I thought, I would be tempted to say that you are a most impudent fellow, and a liar to the bargain." His clannishness, as it is called, may show itself in ridiculous forms, but, at bottom, it is a noble trait of character. It is easy to call it "sentiment." But sentiment, ladies and gentlemen, is one of the most powerful factors in our lives. Destitute of it, we become dull, -rosaic, and unimaginative beings, who are of the earth earthy.

It has often been remarked, and that truly, that the love of country never glows with a brighter flame than among those who are inhabitants of mountainous regions like our own. There is that assurity in the beautiful or sublime in nature, which appeals to what is deepest and truest in our hearts with a power which nothing in this world can surpass. "Two mighty voices there are," says Wordsworth, "the mountains and the sea." These two mighty voices once heard can never be silenced or forgotten. To the dweller among the hills every grey ben and storm-beaten sgaur is instinct with life, and has an individuality all its own. The love of country is a "passion" among Highlanders. To the ends of the earth they may be expatriated, but no change of circumstances or lot can eradicate those feelings of affection, with which they cling to the land which is their fatherland, the land where are the sepulchres of their fathers, where they were born, and where, if it were God's will, they would like to die and be buried.

"From the dim shieling of the misty island,
Mountains divide them and a waste of seas,
But still their hearts are true, their hearts are Highland,
They, in their dreams, behold the Hebrides."

To such a sentiment as this, ladies and gentlemen, I see not why we should not open our hearts freely and generously. We are the inheritors of a common language and a common

history, such as the lonely hills and misty moors alone could mould. Ours is a land of wondrous beauty and romance, and though there is much in the present condition of its people which we cannot but deplore, there is also much that justifies the continued existence of that feeling of Highland brotherhood, which it is the aim of this and kindred societies to foster and increase.

IS GAELIC DYING?

("No," and applause). That is a question often asked. I suppose it is, though languages die hard, and it will take many a long day before Gaelic ceases to be a spoken language in the Highlands. With that, however, we need not concern ourselves meanwhile. There can be no doubt, at all events, that it is a spoken language at this moment in some districts almost to as great an extent as it was a hundred years ago. And that being so, it is surely right and fair that this fact should be recognised in connection with the educational and religious work of the country. It is not a question about keeping a language alive by what are called artificial methods. The language is the vernacular of tens of thousands of the people, and I see not that we are entitled to deal with them educationally or religiously just as if it had no existence. There is the matter of education. I would be the last to suggest that the teaching of Gaelic should be substituted for English. That, of course, would be mischievous and absurd, but why not use it as an instrument of education in the proper sense of that word, and as an aid to the intelligent acquisition of English? It seems reasonable that in Highland districts, which are Gaelic-speaking, the teacher should be bi-lingual, and thus able to make English intelligible to the scholars, instead of being, as it often is, a sort of parrot language, which is little understood and soon forgotten. Nor is Gaelic less required in connection with the ministrations of religion. There is too great a tendency in some quarters to discontinue Gaelic services, or to thrust them into a corner. Whatever may be thought of Gaelic for other literary purposes, it is a magnificent language for devotion and for preaching. With marvellous flexibility it adapts itself to the varying emotions of the human heart, and it is a splendid vehicle for the communication of divine truth to the mind of man. I greatly fear that its use in these respects is too frequently hindered by the inability of ministers to speak with the ancient power and purity. The man who can preach now-a-days with a pure Gaelic idiom and with good taste, as

well as fluency, is, I am afraid, quite exceptional. I am almost inclined to think that old stories one has often heard about ridiculous mistakes in Gaelic idiom or pronunciation might be paralleled by modern examples. One such story comes to my recollection, which perhaps the Gaelic speaking portion of my audience will appreciate. Towards the close of last century a minister from Ireland was settled in the parish of Jura. On his arrival, he was sent to sleep in a shepherd's hut. He was separated from the apartment occupied by the shepherd and his wife by a wicker partition. In the course of the night he overheard the wife say to her husband, "Eirich marbh an t-eirionnach" (Rise, husband, and kill the goat buck—Eirionnach being the Gaelic word for a goat buck). The minister thought it was Eireannach, an Irishman. "Dean moille," said the shepherd, "cha do choidil *esan* fhathast." (Wait a bit, *he* has not slept yet. The minister, unable to notice the emphasis on the "*esan*," which a good Gaelic speaker would have understood, became greatly alarmed. After an interval of silence, he again heard the wife addressing the shepherd in what seemed still more threatening language. "Chaidil e nis" (he sleeps now), she exclaimed, as she peered through the wicker partition with the lighted candle in her hand. "Eirich, agus marbh a' bheist." Whereupon the shepherd began to sharpen his knife on the grindstone, while the minister, thinking it was time to make his escape, rushed from the house, with the shepherd after him with the knife still in his hand, and, no doubt, imagining that the presentee had been seized with some terrible form of nightmare. I think it was the same man who wished to convey the information that he had hurt his heel, and the way he expressed it was this—"Ghoirtich mi mo chas dheiridh" (I have hurt my hind foot). These are mistakes which might conceivably happen still. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I must not stand any longer between you and the feast of music and song which has been provided for our entertainment. I wish once more to thank you for the honour of presiding at this annual festival, and to express my hearty interest in the prosperity of the Gaelic Society, and all that concerns the welfare of "Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach."

THE PROFESSOR'S SPEECH.

Professor Blackie said he would make two remarks upon the spur of the moment, and the first was, cultivate their native song. Let them beware of London, for healthy growth can only be made in one spot, the native spot. London made a great noise

in the world, but it could not produce birch trees, pine trees, nor our mountains, our songs, our Highland music. He had been called a learned man. That was perfectly right. He was the most learned man in Scotland—it was easy to say that, for Scotland was not a learned country; but if they wanted a learned country they must go to Germany. There were few ministers in Scotland who read correctly their own Bibles. With regard to languages, he knew Hebrew, and eight or nine other languages. What did they think of that? But he did not care a straw for that, and that was the reason he mentioned it. He would squash all the languages he knew, and every book about them—all he would retain was the Bible and the Scotch songs. He would even burn his Greek books. The best thing was song—it embodied the whole manhood of the people; and the best man the nation ever had was Robbie Burns, who wrote songs that the world admired. As a man who spent the greater part of his life, he proceeded, in the work of education, I say that the most important part of education is our native song. I don't care what Romans or Greeks call the sun. I care for my heart, my voice, and my soul. Why should I be more stupid than the mavis or the blackbird? They have the sense to sing; then, I say, sing, sing, sing, sing your native songs. Don't be deceived by London fashions and learned pedantries. Knowledge sounds very well, but what is the good of knowledge if you don't use it? What use is it at all? The devil is a very knowing fellow, I presume. You must have inspiration from the heart. "The heart's aye the part aye, that mak's us right or wrong." It is your own fault (to the Chairman), don't call me up again; I generally speak for an hour and a half. Because out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh wisdom. "I love Highlanders," the Professor went on, "but they have one strong objection. They make a kind of divorce between religion and happiness. They think people should not sing on Sunday, and they have a monstous objection to organs in churches. But you must make your piety shake hands with your gaiety. Make your religion full of singing and dancing too. Oh, read the 150th Psalm. I know the Psalm as well as you do, and a good deal better perhaps. You find it says praise the Lord with organs and timbrels and harps, and praise the Lord with dances. Do not make your religion sour. That is the only thing I don't like about Highlanders. The 'Book' and the song should go hand in hand. Religion without gaiety is disagreeable, and gaiety without religion is shallow, and does not reach the heart." When the

Professor had resumed his seat, there were loud cries for “a song,” but he declined, remarking that “The man that cannot say ‘no’ is a coward.”

THE GAELIC ORATION.

Rev. Archibald Macdonald, Kiltarlity, was then called upon to deliver the Gaelic oration, which he did as follows:—Fhir na Cathrach 's a luchd-duthcha,—Tha mor thoilinntinn agam a nochd ann a bhi rithist am measg comunn mo ruin—Comunn Gaidhealach Inbhirnis. Bha mi gu tric a' faotainn tuairisgeil mu 'r deighinn anns an leabhar bhliadhnail a bha an run-chleireach cur thugam anns an bheil iomadh oraid fhoghlumte agus thlachdmhor air a cumail air chuimhne, mu bheil aithris mu eachdraidh agus mu bhardachd nan Gaidheal. Bho 'n chunnaic mise an comunn mu dheireadh tha aiteachan falamh 'n 'ur measg. Tha am bard a bha agaibh an uair sin, Mairi Nic Ealair, a sheinn cho ceolmhor biun air iomadh pong, an deigh a chlarsach fhonnmhor a leigeil as. Cha chluinn sinn a guth an so gu brath—Ach ged tha na filidhean fein basmhor cha chaochail spiorad na bardachd am feasd. Tha falluinnean nam bard a tuiteam air feadhain eile. Cha 'n 'eil agus tha mi 'n dochas nach bi an comunn gun bhard, agus an diugh tha ar cruith-chiuil air a gleusadh le h-aon do 'n aithne pongana milis a thoirt aisde, fear a dh' inneas duibh ann am briathraibh a ruigeas cridhe gach Gaidheil mu 'n ghleann 's an robh e og. B'fhearr leam fhein 'nuair a dh' iarr an run-chleireach orm oraid a thoirt dhuibh gu 'n robh e 'n deigh ceann teagaisg a thoirt dhomh. Tha fhios agam 'n a leithid so de chruinneachadh gu bheil feadhain de gach ghne beachd, agus mar sin 'nan tugainnse mo bharaill mu na ceisdean a tha lionadh intinnean dhaoine araon anns an Eaglais agus anns an Staid, tha eagal orm gu 'n saltairinn air ordagan cuid, gu'n toirinn fuil air ceann carrach, agus sgal air craos cam. Agus mar sin feumaidh mi mo chursa stiuireadh gu seolta air eagal gu 'n tig mi tuaitheal air cuid de m' chairdean ionmhuinn. Air an laimh eile ma chuireas mi seachad an uine a moladh a' Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich agus an oibre tha eagal orm gu 'n can sibh nach 'eil annam ach piobaire 'n aon phuirt. Cha chreid mi nach faodar so a radh mu Chomunn Gaidhealach Inbhirnis gu bheil e dol air aghaidh mar bu dual agus mar bu nos, cha 'n ann le piseach a' mhinnein ghaibhre am modhad 's an grainndead, ach a' cinntinn ann am maise agus am neart, mar a tha e fas ann am bliadhnaichean agus ann an aircamh. Tha e iomchuidh gu'm biodh a leithid so de chomunn ann gu bhi cumail 'nar cuimhne gur Gaidheil sinn. Tha uaille oirnn gun teagamh gu'm buin sinn.

do 'n aon righeachd' gu bheil sinn fo riaghladh na h-aon Bhanrigh, agus na h-aon Pharlamaid. Gidheadh cha toil leinn gu'm biodh daoine feuchainn ri Goill no Sasunnaich a dheanamh dhinn. 'S fada bho 'n thoisich an obair sin Thug Parlamaid Bhreatuinn ionnsuidh air, an deigh cogadh Phrionnsa Tearlach 'nuair a bha ahd Rìgh agus Parlamaid air a toirt a mach a dh'orduich nach faodadh na Gaidheil am feileadh a chaitheamh. Ghabh iad a leithid a dh'oillt roimh'n tartan agus cha bu nar doibh. Ach bha an lagh ud air a mheas na chruadal. Cha do ghabh iad idir gu toileach ris an triubhas. 'S ann a rinn iad iomadh aoir agus oran fanoid d' i, a bha aig a' cheart am a cur an ceill cliu na deise Gaidhealaich—

“'S coma leam a bhriogais lachdunn,
B' amsa 'n fheileadh bheag 's am breachdam,
'S beag a bh' agam riamh a thlachd,
De 'n fhasan a bh' aig clann nan Gall.”

Tha mi tighinn thairis air so gu bhi leigeil fhaicinn cho mi reusonta 's a tha e, agus cho fada 'n aghaidh naduir a bhi feuchainn ri Ghaidheil a dheanamh nan Goill. Far a' bheil fìor Ghaidheal cha 'n e idir eun is isle tha 's an ealtuinn, cha 'n e meanglan is mi-thorraiche tha 's a gheig. Ach far a bheil Gaidheal a tha ceilteinn a dhaimh 's a tha feuchainn a thoirt a chreidsinn air daoine gu bheil e gle ghallda, cha 'n 'eil ann ach creutair bochd a' salach' a nid 's an deachaidh arach, agus a di-moladh na carraig as an deachaidh a shnaidheadh. Chuala mi cuid de 'n t-seorsa ud ag radh :—“ Ciod e feum a bhi cumail suas na Gaidhlig—tha i dol bas co-dhiubh—agus ged a bhiodh i beo re tamuill, ciod e feum a tha innte gu faighinn air aghaidh 's an t-saoghal?” Faodaidh e bhi gu bheil a' Ghaidhlig a basach ach ma tha, tha i gabhail a h-uine. Thoisich i ris an deo a thilgeil ann an Albainn ann an laithean Chaluim a' Chinn-mhoir—agus cha b' e sin an de—gidheadh tha i beo fathast. Faodaidh e bhi gu bheil canaichean eile ann is fearr a phaidheas, leis a mo 'n dean daoine dh' airgid. Ach an e airgid crìoch araid an duine? Na nithean is maisiche tha ann cha ghabh iad reic no ceannach, tha iad thar luach, solus na greine, ditheana na macharach, failidhean cubhraidh an t-samhraidh, torman nan allt, am bheil na nithean ud 'nan neoni a chionn nach urrainn duinn a bhi 'g an reic 's 'g an ceannach, mar gu 'n ceannaicheadh tu each, no damh, no poca cloimhe? Tha na nithean ud mar ola chubhraidh air a dortadh a mach, cha ghabh a luach a bhi air a thomhas ann am puinnid Shasunnaich; agus air a' cheart doigh tha luach agus mais agus brìgh ann ar canain

mhathaircal—'na litreachas, 'na beul aithris, 'na sean-fhocail, 'na h-eachdraidh, 'na ceol a tha eadar-dhealaichte bho shalachar an t-saoghail so--agus cha dubhairt mi nach 'eil luach saoghalta ann an eolas air a' Ghaidhlig cuideachd. Cha chreid mi nach biodh e na bhuanachd do iomadh aon aig a bheil an comhnuidh an an tìr nam beann—ministearan, doctairean, luchd-lagha, maighistearan-sgoile—'nam biodh comas labhairt aca gu h-ealanta, agus gu gleusda anns a' chainnt a ruigeas cridhe gach Gaidheil air thoiseach air gach cainnt eile. Ach cha 'n e mhain gu bheil an comunn so a' cumail suas canain nan Gaidheal, agus gach nì a ta air a chur an ceill innte, ach tha, mar an ceudna, co-fhaireachadh aca ri 'n luchd-duthecha anns a h-uile nì a bhuineas do 'n cor saoghalta. Cìod air bhì eadar dhealachadh bharaìl a dh' fhaodas a bhì am measg buill a' chomuinn, a thaobh na meadhonan leis am bhì suidheachadh ar co-bhraithrean air a dheanamh nì 's fearr, tha sinn a dh' aoin inntinn anns an durachd gu soirbhich leo. Agus tha fios againn anns an linn so gu 'm b' i an euis air a tagairt, agus nach b' i an coraichean air an di-chuimhneachadh. Roimhe so bha luchd-aiteachaidh na Gaidhealtachd mar luchd-turuis sgith gun chala sabhailt gu ruithe 'g a ionsuidh ann an am am feum. A nis, tha iad cosmbuil ris an fhear a bha 's an sgeulachd. Chummaic iad solas fada uatha, 's 'g e b' fhada uatha, cha b' fhada 'g a ruighinn. Bhuaìl iad bas ri crann dorus mor na Parlamaid, agus bha iad air an gabhail a steach gu aoidheachd. Chuireadh uisge bog air an lamhan, agus uisge bog air an casan, agus plaid-eachan mine caola geala gu cadal annta. Cha 'n e mhain gu bheil a mal air isleachadh, ach tha bata na smuide a' taghal aig gach port—tha sitrich an eich-iarruinn a' dusgadh Mac Talla an iomadh gleann agus srath, far nach cluinneadh tu roimhe ach langanaich an fheidh no ceileireadh nan eun, agus faodaidh tu fios-dealain a chur gu d' charaid, agus gu d' namhaid cuideachd, na ceudan mìle air asdar cha mhor ann am prioba nan sul. Agus tha cinnt againn nach 'eil na nithean a rinneadh mar tha, ach nan earlas air na nithean a bhios fhathast air an deanamh air son luchd-aiteachaidh na Gaidhealtachd. Ma tha cunnart idir ann 's e gu'm bhì tuilleadh 's a choir air a dheanamh air ar son. 'S e so an cunnart anns am bheil araon Goill is Gaidheil air an latha 'n diugh. Tha Pharlamaid 'g an altrum, 'g an arach, agus a' gabhail a leithid de churam dhiubh. Tha i cur an cloinne do 'n sgoil—a' paigheadh air son an teagaisg agus a' deanamh iomadh nì eile air an son a b'abhaist doibh a dheanamh air an son fhein. A theagamh gu'm bu choir feadhainn bhì ann a chum daoine dhion bho 'n aimideachd fein. Ach bu choir dhuinn fhaighneachd, Cìod e dh' fhag luchd-aiteach-

aidh nan eileinean so iomraiteach mar dhaoine gaisgeil treun os cionn gach cinnich eile? Tha da aobhar air a shon. Anns a' cheud aite tha spiorad anns an t-sluagh fein a bhuannaich coir dhoibh a chum 's gu bheil urram air a thoirt do bhrataich agus suaicheantas Bhreatainn anns gach cearn de 'n t-saoghal mhor. 'S ann air an aobhar so a tha Bhan-rìgh a riaghladh thairis air righeachd air nach 'eil feasgar a' ciaradh no grian a' dol fodha. Ach tha aobhar eile mar an ceudna air son cruadal agus treubh-antas muinntir na righeachd so, agus gu h-araidh luchd-aiteachaidh na h-Albain, agus 's e sin gu 'n robh aca ri bhatal a chur, nach robh a h-uile ni air a dheanamh soirbh dhoibh. Ann an righeachdan eile mar tha an Spàinn agus an Eadailt tha na speuran ni 's soilleire, agus na siantan ni 's caoimheile, agus an talamh ni 's sultmhoire, agus tha h-uile ni cho reidh 's gu bheil daoine ullamh air fas somalt' agus leasg. Ann am Breatainn agus gu h-araidh an Albainn bha daoine bhò chionn fada strìth an aghaidh stoirm agus uisge, siantan caochlaideach, agus fonn neo-thorrach. Agus bha an cruadal roimh 'n deach' iad a' tarruing a mach an duinealachd, agus an treubbantas a bha amta. Cha 'n iad na luibhean a dh' fhasas fo ghloine far nach ruig oiteag de 'n ghaoith no pleoiteag de 'n t-sneachd iad is mo thig gu ìre agus neart, agus is treise ghlasac greim le 'n frianhaichean air an fhonn, ach an fheadhain a dh' fhasas am measg reothaidh agus sneachd. Agus b' e so reuson cudthromach gu 'n d' thainig ar luchd-duthcha—iomadh aon duibh gu ìre agus gu neart, gu 'm b' eiginn doibh a h-uile ni a thoirt a mach le an luath's, agus an cruas agus an laidreachd fein. Agus air an laimh eile tha cumnart ma bhith's nithean air an deanamh tuilleadh a's soirbh, ma bhios a h-uile slighe air a deanamh dìreach, 's a h-uile sliabh ard air isleachadh, 's a h-uile garbhach air a dheanamh reidh, gu'n caill sliochd nan sonn tombas de 'n ghaisgealachd bu dual doibh. Agus feadh 's a tha dochas againn gu faigh ar luchd-duthcha ceartas agus lan-ceartas, cha bu mhaith leinn gu faigheadh iad oirleach a bharrachd, cha bu mhaith leinn gu 'm biodh iad ann an seadh 'sam bith air an deanamh 'nan dilleachda-deirce. Cìod air bith a thachras tha mi 'n dochas nach fas an Gaidheal meata no lapach, agus nach fannaich e anns an reis. Tha ainm sgrìobhta le urram ann an eachdraidh na rìgh-eachd mar neach a sheas ann an uchd an teine gu bhì dìon coraichean agus dachaighean duthaich a bhreith. Cha 'n 'eil fhios again am bi an ginealach a tha beo an diugh air an gairm gu leithid so de strìth. Ach tha iad air an gairm gu iad fein a dhearbhadh ann am batal na beatha so—am batal is coir do gach neach, a bhì cur ann an aghaidh gach gne uile agus mi—run, agus

's e mo dochas agus mo mhiann, gu'n teid iad air aghaidh anns an strith so leis a' mhisneachd, agus leis a' ehruadal a bhuinneadh do 'n ghineal bho 'n d' thainig iad. Buaidh 'us piseach le Comunn Gailig Inbhirnis, a h-uile latha chi 's nach fhaic.

A long and interesting programme, comprising Gaelic and English songs, pipe music, and Highland dances, was gone through. The musical programme, taken altogether, was probably the best that has been submitted at this annual event. The pianoforte accompaniments were played with much taste by Miss C. Fraser, Church Street. Dr Macleod proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the speakers, and to the ladies and gentlemen that entertained them that evening. A vote of thanks to the Chairman, on the motion of Provost Ross, brought a very successful meeting to a close.

The following anniversary poem, composed by the Bard of the Society, Mr Neil Macleod, Edinburgh, was read at the meeting :—

AIG BLIADHN' AR FHICHEAD A DH' AOIS.

Tha bliadhn' ar fhichead uaim air triall
 Bho 'n ehaith an Comunn so air rian,
 Le àireamh bheag de ehloinn mo ghaoil,
 Aig an robh meas air tir an fhraoich ;
 'S bhòidich iad gu duineil dileas,
 A bhi seasmhach mar an sinnsir ;
 'S a bhi 'g altrum suas na Gàilig,
 Canain aosda tir nan àrdbheann.

Dh' fhàs an comunn beag so làidir,
 Anu an saibhreas 's ann an àireamh,
 Mar ehraoibh a sgaoil a mach a blàth,
 Gu do rach ùr fo dhriùchd nan àrd ;
 Mar fhuaran cuisleach, blasda, beò,
 Ag uisgeachadh nam meangan òg ;
 Tha 'n comunn so le tuigs' is ciall,
 Mar thobar eòlais, fallain, fiall.

A' dùsgadh suas le dealas dian,
 Na duain a bha 'n an suain bho chian,
 'S a' neartachadh le misneach ùr,
 Eachdraidh nan sàr 'tha enàmh 's an ùir.
 Na laoich a dbearbh an lamh 's an t-strith,
 'S le 'n gaisgeadh threun a dhion ar tir ;
 Cha leig gach àl a thig 'n an déidh,
 Gu bràth air dearmad glòir an euchd.

Gach buaidh is piseach air na seòid,
 'Tha duineil dìon air taobh na còir,
 'S le spiorad rioghail mar bu dual,
 A' cumail eaint air sinnsir suas ;
 Gu 'n robh bhur soirbheachadh 's bhur fàs,
 A' cinneachadh as ùr fo bhlàth,
 'N 'ur comunn fiùghail aig gach am,
 'S a' cosnadh cliù do thir nam beann.

O ! 'thir nam beann, a thir mo ghràidh,
 Ge corrach, gruamach, d' fhireach àrd,
 Is fuaim nan sruth, is gair nan tonn,
 A' bàrcadh mu do chreagan lom,
 Gur binn leam ceòl do chaochain bras,
 A' taomanh bho na h-àonaich chas—
 Biodh eaint do shliochd, is cliù do shuinn,
 Gun mheirg gun smal bho linn gu linn.

21st DECEMBER, 1892.

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Rector, Raining's School, read a paper on "Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland" at this meeting. Mr Macbain's paper was as follows :—

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF SCOTLAND.

Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian geographer, flourished in the second quarter of the second century. Nothing much is known of his personal history, but his works on astronomy and geography dominated the world of learning and research for a dozen subsequent centuries. Ptolemy systematised the results of ancient research in these two subjects, adding some clarifying theories and facts of his own. That the earth was a sphere was a fact accepted by the ancient world of science ever since the time of Aristotle, but Ptolemy was the first to produce a rational plan for projecting the sphere, either in whole or in part, upon a plane surface. He is in fact our first real scientific map maker.

Ptolemy's work on Geography is very properly entitled "Instruction in Map-drawing :—" for, of its eight books, the second to the seventh merely contain tables of names of places, with longitude and latitude attached, so as to be transferred to the map. The first book gives instructions how to make the map

with the proper projection. Ptolemy also drew 27 maps himself, and maps that purport to be their descendants are still found in the Ptolemy MSS. It is easy, however, to see that the real value of the work lies in the tables and not in the maps, whose accuracy, unchecked by the tables, could never, after so many centuries of copying, be depended on.

Ptolemy's degrees of longitude start from the then known westernmost point of the world—the Canary Islands; his latitude, of course, begins from the Equator. His degree of latitude was estimated at 500 stadia, which is one-sixth too small; his longitude degrees properly enough converge as he moves northward. His northernmost point of all is Thule, which he places in latitude 63 degrees. In regard to Britain his latitude on the south coast of England is 2 degrees too high, and by the time Scotland is reached this error is doubled; the Solway Firth is put down as 58 degrees 45 minutes, whereas it is 4 degrees less than this really.

While Ptolemy's outlines of England and Ireland are in a general way fairly accurate, the fact that he places Scotland at right angles to England gives his map of the British Isles a grotesquely inaccurate appearance. On closer inspection, however, it will be found, when once this initial error is allowed for, that his outline of Scotland is as good as those for the two sister countries. Up to the Tyne and Solway, Ptolemy's map is as accurate as could be expected from his general work; but, here, instead of continuing Scotland straight to the North, he turns it eastward, exactly 90 degrees wrong. Many explanations have been suggested for this error; the most satisfactory is that of Mr Bradley, who thinks that Ptolemy or a predecessor had England, Scotland, and Ireland first on three separate maps, and, in fitting them together, he had placed Ireland too far north, and so, perforce, was led to place Scotland at right angles to England. In any case, latitude and longitude have shifted places as far as Scotland is concerned, and the Mull of Galloway is the furthest north point of Scotland according to Ptolemy.

Of course the text is often corrupt, different MSS. presenting different readings. The latest and best edition is that of Müller (Paris, 1883); he has collated some forty MSS., and he gives in his notes all the various readings, noting the MSS. in which they occur. I have followed Müller's text in the translation and transcription of Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland, which I here present. The map which accompanies this paper has been kindly prepared by Mr James Fraser, C.E., Inverness. He has given the

latitudes and longitudes of Müller's text, but on these he has grafted the more or less rounded contours of the Latin Ptolemy map of 1478. This preserves the map from the odd look which such angular reproductions as those in Captain Thomas's maps always present, while accuracy, it is hoped, is not a whit sacrificed.

After describing the "Britannic Isle of Ivernia," that is, Ireland, Ptolemy sets about describing the situation of the Hebrides, which he places to the north of Ireland. Ptolemy's text runs thus :—

There lie above Ivernia islands which are called Æbūdæ, five in number, the westernmost of which is called—

	Longitude.		Latitude.	
	Degs.	Mins.	Degs.	Mins.
Æbūda	15		62	
The next to it towards the east is likewise				
Æbūda	15	40	62	
then Rhicīna	17		62	
then Makeus	17	30	62	30
then Epidium	18	30	62	

And towards the east from Ivernia are these islands :—

Monacæda	17	40	61	30
Mona island	15		57	40
Adrū, a desert island	15		59	30
Liumū, a desert island	15		59	

GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ISLAND ALVION.

The description of the north side, above which is the Ocean called Dvēcalēdonius :—

Peninsula of the Novantæ and Cape of the same name.....	21		61	40
Rerigonius Bay.....	20	30	60	50
Vindogara Bay	21	20	60	30
Estuary of Clōta	22	15	59	20
Lemannonius Gulf	24		60	
Cape Epidium	23		60	40
Mouth of the river Longus	24	30	60	40
Mouth of the river Itys [Eitis]..	27		60	40
Volas [or Volsas] Bay	29		60	30
Mouth of the river Nabarus... ..	30		60	30
Tarvedūm or Orcas Cape	31	20	60	15

The description of the west side, to which are adjacent both the Ivernic Ocean and the Vergionius Ocean. After the Cape of the Novantæ :—

Mouth of the river Abravannus..	19	20	61
Estuary of Iēna	19		60 30
Mouth of the river Dēva	18		60
Mouth of the river Novius	18	20	59 30
Estuary of Itūna	18	30	58 45

The description of the next sides looking south-east, to which is adjacent the Germanic Ocean. After Cape Tarvedūm or Orcas, which has been mentioned :—

Cape Virvedrūm	31		60
Cape Verubiūm.....	30	30	59 40
Mouth of the river Ila	30		59 40
High Bank	29		59 40
Estuary of Varar	27		59 40
Mouth of the river Loxa	27	30	59 40
Estuary of Tvesis	27		59
Mouth of the river Cælis	27		58 45
Cape of the Tæzali [Tæxali]	27	30	58 30
Mouth of the river Dēva	26		58 30
Estuary of Tava	25		58 50
Mouth of the river Tina	24		58 30
Estuary of Boderia	22	30	59
Mouth of the river Alaumus.....	21	20	58 30
Mouth of the river Vedra	20	10	58 30

The Novantæ dwell along the north side below the Peninsula of like name, among whom are these towns :—

Lūcopibia	19		60 20
Rerigionium	20	10	60 40

Below them are the Selgovæ, among whom are these towns :—

Carbantorigum	19		59 30
Uxellum	18	30	59 20
Corda.....	20		59 40
Trimontium	19		59

From these towards the east, but more northerly, are the Damnonii, among whom are these towns :—

Colanica	20	45	59 10
Vandogara	21	20	60
Coria	21	30	59 20
Alauna	22	45	59 50
Lindum	23		59 30
Victoria	23	30	59

More southerly are the Otalini [better Otadini], among whom are these towns :—

Coria	20	10	59
Alauna	23		58 40
Bremenium	21		58 45

After the Damnonii towards the east, but more northerly, from Cape Epidium about eastwards are the Epidii, after whom (the Cerōnes, then more easterly) the Creōnes, then the Carnonaee, then the Cærēni, and, most easterly and furthest, the Cornavii. From the Lemannonius Gulf as far as the Estuary of Varar are the Calēdonii and above them the Caledonian Forest ; from them more easterly are the Decantæ, touching whom are the Lūgi, and above the Lūgi are the Smertæ. Below the Calēdonii are the Vacomagi, among whom are these towns :—

Bannatia	24		59 30
Tamia	25		59 20
Alata Castra (Winged Camp)....	27	15	59 20
Tvesis	26	45	29 10

Below these but more westerly are the Venicōnes, among whom is this town :—

Orrea	24		58 45
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More easterly are the Tæzali [Tæxali] and their city :—

Dēvana	26		59
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Islands lie adjacent to the Isle of Alviōn at Cape Orcas :—

Scētis Isle	32	40	60 45
Dūmma Isle	30		61 20

Above which are the Orcades Isles, about 30 in number,

the middle of which is	30		61 40
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And still further up than these is the Isle of Thūlē, the parts of which lie—

The westernmost	29		53
The easternmost.....	31	40	63
The northernmost.....	30	20	63 15
The southernmost.....	30	20	62 40
The middle	30	20	63

I will examine the above names with a double purpose : first, to see if they, or the places they refer to, can be traced to modern times ; second, to discover, if possible, what language or languages the names belonged to. This last point practically means that I am to discuss the Pictish question from a linguistic standpoint

Professor Rhys, as is well known, maintains that the Picts were non-Celtic and non-Aryan, a view which he has lately expounded afresh in an extraordinary paper in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, on the language of the Northern Picts. We shall see whether Ptolemy's names for the ancient Highlands and Isles involve necessarily non-Aryan or non-Celtic elements. Of the above names, fortunately about two-thirds of them belong to the region of the Northern Picts.

Ptolemy, as we know from Marcian, called the British Isles the Prettanic Islands, but the MSS. now have the more or less Roman form of Brettanic. Prettania is the real old Greek name of our Isles, and it is clear that the Roman Britannia is but a corruption of it. Professor Rhys and others maintain that the two names are separate; he says that Britain got its Roman name from the South of England tribes, who called themselves Brittones. But there is no authority for this. In fact, the name Prettania or Pretania has been preserved in its Brittonic form in the Welsh Prydain for Britain, and in Prydyn, the Welsh for a Pict = Gaelic Cruithne. Gaelic *c* answers often to Welsh *p*, and consequently Gaelic Cruithne, pre-historic Qrt-an-ic, is the same as the ancient Pretania; in short, the Picts gave their name to the British Isles. Probably they were the only Celtic inhabitants of Great Britain when the Greek voyager Pytheas (circ. 300 B.C.) visited these isles. The name is allied to Gaelic *cruth*, form, appearance; they may have been called the "figured" or "painted" men, as old writers insist they were so adorned.

Ptolemy's Alviou appears in Pliny and others as Albion; he means by it Great Britain; but the Gaelic population of both islands have always restricted this name to Scotland—Alba, gen. Alban. We may compare the Latin Alba to it; the Latin adjective *albus* signifies white. The underlying meaning is the very common and, in this case, appropriate one of "White-land." Ivernia, "Ireland," is the Latin Hibernia—a piece of folk etymologising, for Hibernia in Latin means "Winter-land" (*hibernus*, winter). Another old Greek form of the name is Iernē, which is exceedingly near the modern Gaelic sound. Some think that an initial *p* has been lost, and explain the name as Piverion, "Fat or Rich-soiled Land," Greek Pieiria. It has, however, to be remembered that several rivers (the Scottish Earns, Find-horn, etc.) have the same exact name; consequently it is either the name of a goddess, or a name applicable to both "island" and "river." (Compare the Teutonic *ey*, isle, from a root allied to *aqua*). Not only does 'Eire, Ireland, appear in river names, but we have at

least two other island names applicable to rivers and estuaries—*Ilea* or *Islay* and Ptolemy's *Dumna* (compare the Irish *Inver-Domnan*, etc., from the goddess *Dumna*). Professor Rhys, of course, refers *Ivernia* incontinently to a non-Celtic source, and we hear much of the pre-Celtic *Ivernians*.

If Scotland be shifted back into its proper place, the *Æbūdæ* Isles will be to the west of it, and suit, in a general way, the Western Isles. Ptolemy has 5 *Æbūdæ*; Pliny says there are 7 *Æmodæ* (*Æmodæ*) and 30 *Hæbudes*; Mela speaks of 7 *Hæmodæ*. The name now appears resuscitated as *Hebrides*, by the misreading of a MS. copyist. Ptolemy has two islands of the same name—*Æbuda* or *Ebuda*; it is usual, from their position, to equate them with *Islay* and *Jura*; but probably Capt. Thomas was right in identifying them with the two *Uists*, North and South. The Norse name for *Uist* is *Ivist*, and the first syllable is not unlike the first part of *Ebuda*.¹ *Rhicina*, Pliny's *Ricina*, appears in a few MSS. as *Engaricina*, and some have consequently been tempted to refer the name to *Egg* (Greek *Enga* may be *Egga*); but it seems certainly intended for *Rathlin* isle—Irish *Reachrainn*. *Maleos* is, of course, *Mull*; *Adamnan* calls it *Malea*. Dr Stokes equates the root *mal* with Albanian *mal*, height, border; Lettic, *mala*, border. The change of *a* into *u* in modern times is caused by the influence of the *e* or *i* sound in the second syllable. The Norse name was *Myl*. The isle of *Epidium* has been equated by Skene with *Lismore*, and by Captain Thomas with *Islay*. As the name cannot be separated from *Cape Epidium* (*Kintyre*), Mr Bradley thinks that it is a bit of the *Mull of Kintyre* which was inserted on the Irish map which Ptolemy worked from—one of the three which he fitted so ill together. We shall treat of the name *Epidium* afterwards. It is generally agreed that *Monæla*, Pliny's *Monapia*, is the *Isle of Man* (Welsh *Manaw*), and that *Mona* is *Anglesey*.

Ptolemy calls the *Solway Firth* the *Estuary of the Itūna*; this name is identified with that of the *Eden river*. Going westwards, or rather, according to him, northwards, we first meet the river *Novios*, the *Nith*; the word is the Celtic *novios*, new, Welsh *newydd*, Gaelic *nuadh*, and the word *Nith* is a Brittonic rendering of the old name. Next, in its proper order, we have the *Dēva* or *Dee*; the name simply means "god-less," and is one testimony, among many, of the worship of rivers and fountains, which *Gildas* (6th century) so bitterly complains of. There are many *Deva*'s

¹ Since the above was written, Sir Herbert Maxwell suggests that *Bute* is the modern representative of ancient *Eboudæ*.

on Celtic soil both in Britain and Spain. Then comes the Iēna, but, unlike the Nith and Dee, the name is lost, and the guesses made vary between the rivers Cree (Skene) and Fleet (Thomas) and anyway in Wigtoun Bay (Muller). The Abravannus is identified with Luce river and bay (Skene and Bradley) and the Annan (Muller), the latter on account of the similarity of the names when *Aber* is removed from Abravannus. It is usual to etymologise the name into the Welsh *Aber-afon*, "river's mouth" = Mouth of Avon; and this may be correct. Then we reach the Mull of Galloway, three times its normal distance away from the head of Solway (Itūna), under the name of the Cape of the Novantæ, the people who are represented as inhabiting the "chersonese" or peninsula which abuts here. The name has left no modern traces; the root seems to be the same as that in Novios river—"New-comers?"

Turning northward, or, according to Ptolemy, eastward, we have the Rerigonius Bay; this is by general consent set down as Loch Ryan; the form suits well enough the modern name. It might be divided into *Re-rig-onios* "fore-stretching," the main root being the common one of *reg*, stretch, go. The Bay of Ayr is represented by Vindogara Sinus: there is no modern representative, but the *vindo* is the well-known Celtic adjective *vindos*, white, a nasalised form of the root *vid*, see. The *-gara* may be parallel to the common river-name of Garry—Gaelic *Garaidh*, being possibly from the root *gar*, sound, and meaning "brawling." The Clōta is, of course, the Clyde; the Gaelic is *Cluaidh*, old genitive *Cluade*, Adannan's *Cloithe*, Bede's (Welsh) *Cluith*; it is usual to refer the word to the root *klu*, *klou*, cleanse, the Latin *cluo*, cleanse, *cloaca*, sewer.

Next comes the Lemannonius Bay: we may take this form as the correct one, though many MSS. have Lelaanonius. By general consent the place meant is recognised as Loch Fyne; Muller, Bradley, Thomas, and Stokes all agree on this. And it suits Ptolemy's position well enough, though Loch Long is technically more correct, where, indeed, Skene places it. The name still exists in that of Lennox, the older Levenax or Levanach, the Middle Gaelic of which is Leamhain. The root is *lem*, now *leanh*, an elm; and we may compare the Helvetian Lake Lemannus. Some think that Loch Lomond is meant; at anyrate, they think it is its name that we have here got by some confusion or other. The Gaelic of Loch Lomond is Loch Loimean, but in old times it was called Loch Leven, a name which in Ptolemy's times would be Livona (Lei-vo-na, roct *lei*, smooth,

flowing, Greek *leios*¹). The difficulty is not altogether with Lemannonius Bay, but with the Longus river, which Ptolemy places next after Cape Epidium in a position that might suit, relatively to the other two places, the western mouth of the Crinan Canal. Here the river Add discharges itself into the sea; the name means the "Long River;" and hence Skene concluded that this Long river was Ptolemy's Longus. There are several objections to this theory. First, it takes for granted that the Gaels were the inhabitants of the district about the year 100; this may be true. Second, it is Ptolemy's practice to translate the native names into his own Greek, as witness High Bank and Winged Camp, not into Latin, as Longus would imply. Skene made the error because he used a Latin map and text, and he has even caused Mr Bradley to stumble after him. The name is the name of Loch Long, however much displaced; it means "Ship" or "Navigable Loch," from Gaelic *long*, W. *llong*, ship. In fact, the Norsemen called this very firth Skipafjörðr, that is, Ship Fjord. Dr Stokes thinks that Longus is a Celtic word cognate with Latin *longus*; but the word *long* or *luing* is a common name in the Western Isles, one or two islands going by more or less oblique forms of the name (Lunga, Luing, and two Longa's). The identification of Longus River with Loch Long implies much confusion on the part of Ptolemy or, rather, of his informants; but when one looks at the numerous lochs and firths and headlands of the Clyde Firth and Argyllshire Coast, one need not wonder that the Roman sailors blundered. It is right to say that Capt. Thomas identified the Longus river with Loch Linnhe—An Linne Dubh, or Black Linn. Cape Epidium (Mull of Kintyre), we shall discuss in the name of the Epidii.

Starting from the Mull of Kintyre and ignoring Longus river, we next meet with Itis or Eitis river, which fits quite well as to distance from the Mull with Loch Etive. This identification has commended itself to Muller, Bradley, and, doubtfully, to Captain Thomas. The name suits well; Etive in Modern Gaelic is Eitigh, in Middle Gaelic Eitichi (Story of Deirdre). The only difficulty is that, if the *t* was single between two vowels, we ought now to have it aspirated. It has, however, to be remembered that Etive is doubtless a word borrowed into the Gaelic, and in that case the rule does not always hold (witness the early borrow *sagart*, from *sacerdos*). Stokes gives the root as *ei* or *i*, to go, as in Lat. *itum*, *iter*, etc. Some compare the Gaulish Portus Itius, whence Cæsar started for Britain. Skene places Itis at Loch Carron.

¹ See further in *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. II., p. 551.

Accepting Loch Etive as Ptolemy's Itis, we find that his distance therefrom to the Volsas (Volas) Bay will bring us to the neighbourhood of Loch Alsh, a name that wonderfully fits with that given by the old geographer. The root may be *vel*, *vol*, to "well," "roll;" German *wolle*, a wave. Muller, Skene, and Thomas place the Volsas Bay at Loch Broom, a view that is tenable enough if the longitude of the Varar, Loxa, etc., on the east coast are considered. If Loch Alsh is the Volsas Bay, then the river Nabarus, which is undoubtedly the Naver, is much too far south—only one degree away from Loch Alsh. Any way we take it, there must be a discrepancy. As can be seen, Ptolemy ignores Cape Wrath, though many writers think that this is his Tarvedum Promontorium, notably Mr Bradley, who thinks that Ptolemy has misplaced the Naver; in fact, he thinks that Tarvedum and Vervedrum should come before the Naver. But this is very unlikely, as we shall see. In many MSS. Nabarus is given as Nabæus, but there is no doubt in the mind of any one that the river is the Naver. The root seems to be *nav*, swim, etc., whence *navis*, a ship; in short, the meaning of the word is much the same as we found in that of Loch Long. The Modern Gaelic is *Nair*, the preservation, such as it is, of the *v* showing a borrowing from the previous Pictish tongue.

After the Naver comes Cape Tarvedūm or Orkas, which Captain Thomas and Mr Bradley identify with Cape Wrath. Mr Bradley rests his case on his derivation of Vervedrum, which he thinks is the progenitor of Farout in Farout Head—an impossible derivation. It is altogether a needless dislocation of Ptolemy's positions; he means the three or four heads to the north and east of Caithness—Holburn Head, Dunnet Head, Duncansby Head, and Noss Head. Tarvedūm is given by Marcian as Tarvedūnum, that is, Bull's Dun or Fort; compare the Tarodūnum of Gaul with like force. The meaning may, however, simply be Bull's Head. The point meant is either Holburn Head, near Thurso, or Dunnet Head, also forming an outpost to Thurso Bay. As a proof of our identification, Thurso itself is the Norse Thjórsa or Bull's Water! With it may be compared the Icelandic Thjórsá or Bull's Water of modern times. Ptolemy gives the cape a secondary name—Orkas; it seems to me that he means the two sentinel capes of Thurso Bay—Holburn and Dunnet Heads. Duncansby Head is called Virvedrūm Cape; all writers are agreed upon this, Mr Bradley excepted. He thinks that Farout Head is meant; he analyses Vir-vedrum into the preposition *ver*, the Gaulish form of the Gaelic *for* or *far*, Lat. *s-uper*, Greek *uper*; it means "upon"

or "exceeding." The *vedrūm* he equalises with the Pictish *fothar*, appearing in Dunottar (Simon of Durham's Dum-foeder). The *vir* is doubtless the prep. *ver*; but *vedrūm* can hardly be *fothar*, for the latter word itself is simply a prefix word—a preposition, seemingly of like meaning with Gaelic *for*. The Wear river is called by Ptolemy *Vedra*; and Dr Stokes suggests a connection with O. Slavonic *Vedra*,¹ clear. This would give a meaning in each case of Cape Clear and Clear River, which are, as to signification, quite satisfactory. Cape Verūbiūm, or Noss Head, also contains the prep. *ver*; the root *ub* has been happily referred by Stokes to the Irish word *ubh*, sword-point, doubtless allied to the English *weapon* (root *veb*, *ub*). This would give the meaning of the word Verubium as "Sword Head."

Turning now southward, or westward according to Ptolemy, we come to the river *Ila*. By almost common consent this is regarded as the Helmsdale River, called in Gaelic *Ildh*, Eng. *Ulie*, Sir Rob. Gordon's *Villy*. The name *Ila* is common as a river name in Scotland (spelt *Isla* usually), and there is also the Island of *Islay* so named. In this we must remember the parallel case of *Erinn* in being used both for rivers and for the Island of Ireland. Stokes suggests a reference to the root in German *eilen*, to hasten, go. Skene draws attention to the fact that the syllable *il* enters largely into Basque topography. A degree (of longitude) further south is "High Bank," which Skene identifies with the hills north of the Dornoch Firth, but which most writers regard as the Ord of Caithness misplaced. It is likely the Ord of Caithness that is meant, and some seek the *Ila* north of it in the Latheron district, but without success. Berriedale Water may have also once been an *Isla*; witness the North and South Esk. The Varar Estuary is undoubtedly the Inverness and Beaully Firth. The name still exists in the River Farrar, and glen of Strath-farrar. The root is *var*, which may mean "winding," "bending;" compare Lat. *varus*, *varius*. We are now at the innermost corner of the Moray Firth; and it may be remarked that Ptolemy has a wonderfully accurate account of this part, indeed of the whole, of the eastern coast of Scotland.

The river *Loxa* is represented as in the same parallel (that is, longitude) as *Varar*, but half a degree to the north. That is how the best MSS. have it; other MSS. place the *Loxa* between High Bank and *Varar*, equating it with the Cromarty Firth (Captain Thomas), or the *Loth*, an insignificant river in Loth Parish

¹ Root *vid*, see, as in Gaelic *flonn*, white. But *ved*, wet, suits the phonetics better.

(Bradley). The Loxa ought naturally to be the Nairn by position ; but the name is identified by Skene, Stokes and others with that of the Lossie, far away from Ptolemy's place for it on the map. The phonetic difficulty here is a racial one ; from an early Pictish *x*, we should expect a later *ch*, that is, if the Pictish was a Brittonic language and treated *x* as the other Brittonic languages did. Compare Ochil of the Ochil Hills and the Welsh *uchel*, high, Gaelic *nasal*, Gaulish *uxellos*. The form *lok-s* may be from one or two roots, and may mean "oblique," "shining," etc. Measuring from Varar, we should put the Tvesis Estuary about Cullen ; it is doubtless the mouth of the Spey that is meant. On this all the authorities are agreed. The names seem also allied ; Spey, Gaelic Spé, may come from Spesi-s or Speisi-s, a Celtic *squei*, to vomit ; Gaelic *sgeith*, Welsh *chwyd*, vomo ; compare for force the old Italian river Vomanus. Ptolemy's *tv* initial is an attempt to reproduce the initial Pictish sound which has now settled into the very non-Gaelic form of *sp* in Spey. Half-way between Spey and Kinnaird Head is the Caelis (Greek *kailis*) River, or Celnus, which suits the position of the important river Doveran or Deveron, but which in name fits Cullen and Cullen Water (Welsh makes original *ai* into *u* ; hence *Kailnios*, which two MSS. give, represents admirably a latter Cullen). Doveran is a Gaelic name and a late one ; as the earlier form Duffhern shows, it means the Black Earn opposed to the Findhorn or White Earn. The root *kail* is in modern Gaelic *caol*, narrow. Kinnaird's Head is called the Cape of the Tæzali or Tæxali (Taixali), a name that should produce in later times a Pictish (British) Tæh-al or a Gaelic Taosal ; the parish of Tough in mid Aberdeenshire ideally represents the British form of the root.

Turning southward, we come to the River Dēva, now the Dee. Skene accepts the bad reading of one MS., which gives Liva or Leva, and identifies it with the North Esk. Next comes the Estuary of the Tava, the Tavaus of Tacitus, which in position suits the Esk, but in name and in reality means the Tay. The name Tava appears on Brittonic ground in the Devon Tavy and the Welsh Tawe, and there is a Welsh adjective *taw*, signifying "quiet," "gentle," to which Gluck equates the Gaulish Tavia, Tavium, and the woman's name Tavena. Between the Tay and the Forth Ptolemy places the river Tina or Tinna ; by position, of course, it suits the Tay best. The river meant is the Eden, which makes a considerable bay near St Andrews. Many think that the Tyne, of Newcastle, is meant, but this is unlikely, because this portion of the coast was possibly the one best known to the Roman

fleets, as we can easily guess from Agricola's campaign. If it be the Eden, then the remarks on the Eden from which we started may apply to its derivation. Otherwise Tina or Tinna may be referred to the root *ten*, stretch, pull, Welsh *tyu*.

The Estuary of Boderia is undoubtedly the Firth of Forth; this name Tacitus gives as Bodotria. By combining the two readings we may arrive at a form Bodertia, the first portion of which may be the well-known Pietish form Fother, so common in place-names as a prefix, latterly dwindling into For (compare Fothuirtabhaicht, now Forteviot, Fordun from Fotherdun), projected in Scotch to Fetter (Fettercairn, Fetteresso). It is possibly terminal in Dumottar, anciently Duin Foither, Oppidum Fother, Dun foeder (Simon of Durham for latter). Dr Stok suggests a connection with Irish *foithere*, woods; but the Pietish *fother* points as likely to an older *voter*, a comparative form of the prep. *vo*, under, and comparable to a Greek *upoteros*. The Picto-Celtic form of Forth may have been *Vo-ter-tia*, which with the hardening of the *v* and the softening of the *t* (to *d*), which were in process probably as early as the first century, would give us the *Boderia* or *Bodotria* of the Classical writers. Forth seems to be the descendant of the word which Bodotria stands for. The 12th century writer of "De Situ Albaniae" says the river is called Froch in Gaelic (Scottice) and Werid in Welsh (Britannice)—Eng. Scottewatre, that is, Scottish Sea. In two Irish versions of a poem on the Picts, added to the Irish medieval Nennius, we are told the Picts took Alba "O erich Cat co Foireu (or Foirehiu)," that is, "from the bounds of Caithness to Forth." Zeus compares Bodotria to the form *buadarthe*, turbulentus, applied to a stream in an old Irish gloss, and no doubt a shorter form of the word *buadar*, that is, *bodar*, would do; but then the modern name Forth, which seems connected with the Classical names, must receive a separate explanation.

The next point on the coast noticed by Ptolemy is the mouth of the river Alaunus; the river named is the Alne of Northumberland, surely insignificant compared to the Tweed, which is ignored. Captain Thomas suggests that the Tweed is meant but the Alne named. In a similar way, the Tyne is passed unmentioned, while the Wear is taken, under the name of Vedra. For its derivation, see Cape Vervedrum. There was another Alaunus in the south of England, identified with the Axe, and two cities in France and two in Britain called Alauna. There are at least three Scotch rivers called Allan, and this is supposed to be the modern form of ancient Alaunos, or, the more Celtic, Alauna.

There is a Welsh Alun river, and the Cornish Camel is also known as the Alan. The word likely divides into *Al-ama*, and possibly the root is *pal*, as in Latin *palus*, marsh.

Let us now consider the sixteen or seventeen tribes that Ptolemy divides Scotland among. The Novantæ occupied Wigton; we have already regarded them as the "New-comers," root *nov*, new. Eastward to the head of the Solway lay the Selgovæ, whose name still survives in Solway Firth; the root is *sety*, which in the Celtic tongues means "hunting;" the Selgovæ were the "Huntsmen." The great tribe of the Damnonii occupied the counties of Ayr, Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Stirling, Menteith and Fotherve or the western portion of Fife (Skene). They are generally in name regarded the same as the Dumnonii of ancient Devon, to which they gave that name. Prof. Rhys calls the Damnonii a Brythonic people, and finds remains of their name in that of the river Devon in Perthshire. If the Damnonii are in name the same as the Dumnonii, the root is the very common Celtic one of Dumnos or Dubnos, "world," the modern Gaelic *domhan*, allied to Eng. *deep*. East of the Selgovæ and Damnonii lay the Otadini (long *ō*), along the east coast from the Wear to the Firth of Forth, if not into Fife! So awkwardly does the town Alauna fit the position of the Estuary of Boderia that the situation of the town suits only the isle of Inchkeith. Otalini is the reading of five good MSS., Otadini or Otadēni that of I5, and Tadini or Gadēni that of some others. The preferable reading is Otadini, which suits the old Welsh name of the Lothian district, viz., Guotodin.

While the tribes we have just enumerated are said to have possessed towns, which are duly named and "positioned," a matter which helps the identification of the tribal localities, the next ten tribes are slumped together townless, and with little or no guidance as to their position. First come the Epidii, touching the Damnonii to the north-west, and starting from Cape Epidium, as Ptolemy says. We may assign them Kintyre and Lorn. The name is from the root *epo-*, the Gaulish for "horse," Gaelic *each*. The ancient Gaelic name would have been Eqidios; indeed the name exists in Adamnan's personal name, Echodius and the later Eachaidh, which in Gaelic passed into Eachuinn. Dr Stokes, however, thinks the root is *peku*, cattle, Lat. *pecu*; he would give the oldest form as *(p)ekvidioi*, "cattle-holders," the later Irish personal name being Eochaid; but the other derivation seems the right one, for, as a matter of fact, the root *peku* appears nowhere else in Celtic. Next are the Ceronēs or Creonēs, for the MSS. differ as to whether these were two or one people. The root of

the name is either *ker* or *kre*; it is a root of several meanings, the chief one of which is to "cut, divide, throw." Various authorities see remains of the name in the West Coast loch names—such as Crinan, Creran, etc., also Carron, Keiarn, Kearon. Captain Thomas extends them from Crinan to Loch Leven, and finds the name in Creran. The Carnonacæ, according to most writers, occupied Wester Ross, and, of course, Loch Carron has been equated with the name. The true derivation seems to be *earn*, "a hill," common to all the Celtic tongues; they were the men of the "Rough-bounds," or Garbh-chriochan—the "Cairn-men." The use of Carn or Cairn for mountain names is peculiar to Pictland and Wales. Dr Stokes connects the 8th century name Monith Carno, the scene of a battle between two rival Pietish kings, fought in 729, near Loch Lochy (?). The Cærēni, or, properly, Cairēni, may be placed in Western Sutherland up to near the Naver. The root *cair* is that of **cairas*; the modern *caora*, sheep: compare the Cærocēsi of Gaul. Animal names giving names to persons or nations is not an uncommon phenomenon. The Cornavii occupied Caithness, the "horn" or *corn* of Scotland. There were Cornavii between the Dee and the Mersey in England, and Cornwall still holds the name, standing for Corn-Wales, "the Welsh of the Horn."

Neighbours to the Cornavii southwards were the Lūgi, occupying easter Sutherland. Around Loch Shin were the Smertæ, and Easter Ross was occupied, up to the Varar Estuary, by the Decantæ. The root *lūg* of the name Lugi appears in many Celtic names, both on the Continent and in Ireland. Indeed, there was a Lūgi tribe in Mid-Germany contemporary with the Highland Lugi. The god of light and arts among the Gael was called Luga of the Long Arms; and the old name of Lyons was Lūgdunum, explained by an old glossary as "desiderato monte"—the desirable town. Dr Stokes refers the root *lūg* to a Celtic base corresponding to Ger. *loken*, allure, Norse *lokka*. In that case the Norse god Loki is Aryan cousin, probably, to Luga, though the former is the god of evil enticement, while the Celtic Lug is alluring by good. The Smertæ or Mertæ also shows a common root; we have the personal names Smertalos (Cumberland inscription), Smertulitanos, Smertomara, Ad-smerios, etc.; and the goddess Minerva of the Gauls, called Ro-smerta. These Dr Stokes refers to the root *smert*, to shine. The Decantæ are paralleled by an ancient people of North Wales—the Decanti, or Decangi (?), now Degannwy. The name seems also to be found on the Ogam inscriptions as Deceti; there is also the Decetia of Caesar,

Dr Stokes gives the root as *dec*, Latin *decus*, glory, Eng. *decorous*.

The Calēdonii or Caledonians are definitely located; they stretched, says Ptolemy, from Lemann Bay to the Estuary of Varar—from Loch Fyne to the Inverness Firth; above them, that is, west of them, is the Caledonios Drumos or Forest. This last, as Skene said, is Drum Alban and the western Grampians. A line from Loch Fyne to Inverness goes right along Drum Alban for half the way; in fact, the district so defined is an impossible one for two reasons. The Caledonians were east of Drum Alban; secondly, Dunkeld, which most writers allow as containing their name, shews that Perthshire was occupied by them. In fact, the Caledonians inhabited Perthshire and easter Inverness. Much discussion has raged round the name, and authorities are by no means agreed yet. Professor Windisch gave as the root of Caledonian the form *Cald-onios*; the root *cald* in Gaelic and Welsh means “wood”—Gaelic *calle*, Welsh *celli*. Hence *Caldonii* or *Caledonii* meant “Woodlanders.” As a further proof, the name Dunkeld is in old Gaelic *Dun Calden*, now *Dun-Chaillinn*; and there is also the mountain *Sidh-Chaillinn* in mid Perthshire. The combined sound *ld* was separated by the Romans and a vowel *e* introduced; this was mistakenly lengthened by Ptolemy and his imitators. The Welsh forms show *Celidon*, but are evidently founded on the Latin pronunciation of *Calēdonia*. Dr Stokes separates *Caledonii* from both *Dun Calden* and from *cald*, *coille*, wood. He cannot agree that the root in *Calēdonia* can be *Calden* and *cald*. Professor Rhys, on the other hand, allows that *Dun Calden* contains the name *Caledonia*, but he denies that either can be of Celtic origin, much less akin to the root *cald*. The *Dvē*-Caledonian Sea or Western Ocean has a puzzling name; the *dvē* has been explained as meaning “two.” This postulates two *Caledonias*, and this there was, if Perthshire was their southern and Inverness-shire their northern seat, and according to all evidences the Caledonians were an inland people; it is difficult to understand how they could have given their name to the Western Ocean, unless, indeed, the northern half occupied all Inverness-shire, west as well as east. In the wars of Severus so important were the Caledonians become that only they alone are mentioned for the northern Highlands, the other tribe being the *Mæatae*, near Agricola’s wall.

‡The *Vacomagi*, according to Ptolemy, occupied territory east of the Caledonians and coterminous with theirs throughout. What suits his figures is the stretch of country which begins on the Moray Firth with Elgin and Banff, includes Western Aberdeen-

shire and Perthshire, or, at least, the eastern portion of it. One of their four towns—Bannatia—would fall about the Earn or Almond, near Crieff, while the northernmost town is identified, probably rightly, with Burghead, and is called “Winged Camp.” The name Vacomagi has been explained by Mr Bradley and Professor Rhys as “men of the open plains,” in opposition to the Caledonian Woodlanders. The stretch of country allotted to them by Ptolemy, intersected as it is with the Grampians and its south-tending spurs, would hardly gain them this name: but possibly they really occupied Forfar, West Aberdeen onwards to the Moray Firth, leaving Perthshire to the Caledonians. As to the derivation, the form *vacos* is very common in Celtic names, both as prefix and affix, but, as Gluck remarked, its meaning is obscure. The Welsh *gwág*, empty, which Mr Bradley and Professor Rhys’s derivation brings forward as a parallel, is apparently borrowed from Latin; Dr Stokes, however, allows it as a native word in his *Comparative Dictionary*, just published. The form *magi* may be equated with old Gaelic *mag*, plain, now *magh*. No trace of such a name as Vacomagi now exists. The Tæxali of Aberdeenshire we have already discussed; and Ptolemy’s only other tribe is the Ven(n)icones, or Venicomes; this name is found also, but only once or twice, as Vernicomes. They occupied Easter Fife, and perhaps stretched northward into Forfar; Ptolemy makes them and the Tæxali fill the whole coast, apparently, from Kinnaird Head to Fife Ness. Modern editors prefer Vernicones as the name of this people; Professor Rhys once explained the name as “Marsh-hounds,” adducing the Welsh *gwern*, a swamp, and *cwn*, hounds, as complete parallels. It may be remarked that “dog” names were common and popular among the Gaelic Celts, and the derivation is, therefore, not to be rejected on any idea that such a name would be insulting. But *verno* may also mean “good” and “alder,” and, then, there is the terminal *comes* as against *cones* in the MS. readings. Possibly Professor Rhys’s derivation is the best one. If we take *Ven* instead of *Vern*, then we have the well-known Celtic root for “kin,” “friends,” Gaelic *fine*, seen in names like Veneti, etc.

Ptolemy mentions 21 towns as existent in Scotland in his time; they are mostly in the south, the Highland tribes having none, we may say. What exactly Ptolemy meant by his “towns” it is hard to say, for of regular towns in a Roman sense there were none. Possibly defensive positions—the *dūna* or fortified hills and the strongholds in woods or by rivers—are meant; and certainly within the lines of Roman conquest and campaigning the “towns”

appear to have been so many Roman positions taken up and occupied by Roman camps and forts; witness such a name as Victoria, the position of which is naturally assigned to some place in Perth or Fife that presents prominent Roman remains. Hence we may account for so many towns being named by the rivers on which they were placed; the town, as it were, was "the Camp on the Allan" or whatever river it may have been. Again Ptolemy is very inaccurate in his account of the position of the towns, even in England. Says Mr Bradley:—"No reliance can be placed on any of Ptolemy's indications of the position of inland places not otherwise known to us; and the limits of the tribal territories are dependent almost entirely on the situation of the towns. Under these circumstances, it does not seem that Ptolemy's internal geography of Britain is likely to repay the trouble of a minute examination." The case in Scotland is much worse than with England; there certain names are recognisable, but in Scotland no town name has survived from Ptolemy's time. In these circumstances, we shall pass them in very brief review.

The Novantæ had two towns—Lūcopibia and Rerigonium. The former is placed by Skene at Whithorn, once St Ninian's Candida Casa. The *lūco* of Lucopibia means "white" in Greek and "shining" in the Brittonic languages; so that the English, Latin, and Greek are all translations or adaptations (Greek) of the Celtic original. Others see the name preserved in Luce and Glen Luce, and transfer the town to the latter place. Rerigonium was on Loch Ryan, doubtless, where Roman works can still be seen. The Selgovæ had four towns—one was Carbantorigon, possibly at the Moat of Urr, between the Nith and the Dee (Skene); Rhys thinks the name is a Celtic degradation of Carbantorion, "chariot town," for *Carbanton* meant "chariot." Uxellum or "High-town" (Welsh, *uchel*; Gaelic, *uas*, *uasal*) may have been Wardlaw Hill, at Caerlaverock (Skene); while Corda, whose derivation is doubtful, was possibly at or about Sanquhar. Trimontium, or "Three Mount," suits the Eildon Hills for meaning, but Skene, for position and for the Roman works there, places it at Birrenswark.

The Damnonii had six towns—the first town is Colania, near the sources of the Clyde, making a frontier post on a northward march; second, Coria, which Skene places at Carstairs, where numerous remains, both Roman and Native, have been found; third, Vindogara, whose derivation we discussed already, which may have been at Loudon Hill, in Ayrshire, where remains of a Roman camp exist; fourth, Alauna, which Skene places at the junction of the Allan and Forth, and which would form a defence

against a foe advancing into Caledonia. It was somewhere on the Allan; Rhys places it at the famous Ardoch, *near* the Allan. The fifth town is Lindum, which Skene places at Ardoch; the word means "water, *linn*;" for name Lindum would suit Lin-lithgow best. The town of Victoria, which, in Celtic, would be Boudica or Pietish Budie, must have been a Roman station, possibly at Lake Orr, in Wester Fife (Skene), where Roman remains exist.

The Otadini had three towns: first, Coria, which is variously placed at Peebles and at Carby Hill, Liddesdale (Skene); second, another Alauna, which, as was said, suits Inebkeith by position, but is possibly Alnwick misplaced. Bremenion, whose root *bren* means "roaring," is placed by Skene at High-Rochester in Redesdale, where traces of the Romans still exist.

We are on the confines of the Highlands, if not actually in them, when we come to the Vacomagi. In any case they were a great Pietish tribe. They had four towns: first, Bannatia or Banatia, which is variously placed on the Earn at Strageath, the Almond at Buchanty (Skene, Rhys), or the Garry in Atholl (Thomas). The editor of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* places it at Inverness and *Bona*. The root *ban* or *bann* is found often on Celtic ground: it means "white," "milk," "bond," etc. The second town is Tamia, which Skene places on the isle of Inebtuthill in the Tay, where numerous remains exist; the root *tam* is common, especially for river names, and possibly means "dark." The "Winged Camp" is by common consent allocated to Burghead; while Tvesis is placed by Skene at Boharin on the Spey, for it is but the river name used as a town name.

The Vernicones have been allocated only one town—Orrea, which has been variously placed by modern writers—at the junction of the Orr and Leven in Fife (Rhys), at Abernethy (Skene), and at Forfar (Thomas). Somewhere on the Orr seems best. Skene has suggested that Orr, the river name, is connected with Basque Ur, water; so, he thinks, are the several rivers of similar names which we have—Oure, Ure, Urie,¹ Orrin, and Ore. This should delight Prof. Rhys. The root *or*, however, is a good Aryan one, and signifies to "run," "start;" the Norse *örr* means swift; and the root *por*, which also in Celtic results in *or*, gives like meanings—"passing through, etc." The Texali are represented as having one town—Dēvana. Skene places this, mostly because

¹ The *u* in most of these cases is long. Inver-urie appears in 1300 as Inver-vwry, though the modern spelling existed in 1199. The derivation suggested is from *iubhar*, the yew, the Gaulish *Ebur*, which appears in so many ancient names of places, rivers, and peoples.

of similarity of name, at Loch *Daven*, near Ballater. The phonetics are unsatisfactory in two ways; the *a* does not correspond to *ē* in *Dēvana*, and it is unlikely that *v* could be preserved in such a unique word. In fact, the *v* has disappeared out of the name *Deon*, the *Don* now, from which Aberdeen has its name. The Gaelic is *Dian*, for ancient *Divona*, or rather *Deivona*. This is undoubtedly Ptolemy's word as well, and possibly Aberdeen, or rather Old Aberdeen is meant. The name means "goddess," and is found in Gaul;¹ for the idea underlying it, see the remarks on the *Dee* or *Deva*.

Ptolemy places four islands, or island groups, adjacent to his Cape Orkas. The first is known in the best MSS. as *Skitis* or *Sketis* (once only), while most MSS. give the form *Ocitis*. Ptolemy places *Skitis* about 70 miles N.E. of Cape Orkas, and, owing to the form *Ocitis*, many writers consider it as having been one of the *Orcades* islands. It is, however, more probably the Isle of *Skye* misplaced, a view which commends itself to Muller, Thomas, and Stokes. The latter says that it is "the wing-shaped island of *Skye*; Norse, *Skidh*; Irish, *Scii* (dat. case, date 700 in *Annals of Ulster*); Adamnan, *Scia*; gen., *Sceth* (date 667 in *Annals of Ulster*), *Scith* (*Tigernach*, 668); means wing, Ir. *Sciath*, *Sciathan*." Dr Stokes' derivation is the one usually accepted; the Norse *Skidh*, which is possibly influenced by "folk-etymology," means a "log," "firewood," "tablet," and is allied to another Gaelic *Sgiath*, a shield. It is interesting to note that the Dean of *Lismore* refers to the island as "Clar Skeith"—the Board of *Skith*.

The second island is called *Dūmna*; he places it some 60 miles north, that is west (?), of the mouth of the *Naver*, and the *Orcades* Isles only twenty miles further off northwards. Pliny mentions *Dumna*, but places it along with *Scandia* or *Scandinavia*. Mr *Elton* thinks it is one of the *Orkneys*, Captain *Thomas* says that it is usual to connect it with *Stroma* ("Current Isle"), and Mr *Bradley* considers it either to be *Skye* or the *Long Island*. It may be the *Long Island*; the name seems to contain the root which we have already discussed in the case of the *Damnonii* or *Dumnonii*, the *u* of which is also long.²

There are thirty *Orcades* Islands, says Ptolemy; other writers, such as *Pliny*, *Mela* and *Solinus* mention them and their numbers (40 or 30), and *Tacitus* tells us that *Agricola's* fleet subdued them. The name is still with us in *Orkney*, a Norse form signifying the

¹ *Ausonius* (4th century) explains it thus: "Divona, fons addite divis."

² Compare the goddess *Domnu*, whose name is in *Inver Domnann* (*Rhys'* *Hib. Lect.*, p. 593),

“Isles of Ork.” Old Gaelic *orc* signified a “pig, a whale;” hence “Whale-Isles” is the force of the word. Allied by root is the Lat. *porcus*, pig, whence radically we have the Eng. *pork*. The fourth island is the ever-famous Thule, but what the meaning of the name is or where the island was situated we do not here intend to discuss, for it is a very fruitless task. It is possibly part of Scandinavia; at least we cannot consider Thule as belonging to Scotland.

In conclusion, I will now draw some inferences from these names given by Ptolemy for northern Scotland. Early Pictland, we may take it, was Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde—the part of the country never subdued by Roman arms and called by Tacitus Caledonia. For this district north of the Firths up to the Orkneys, Ptolemy has given us some 44 names. Are the names Aryan by root and character? Are they Celtic? If Celtic, do they belong to the Brittonic or to the Gádelic branch of Celtic? The first two questions are practically answered; we have only to summarise the results at which we arrived in discussing the names separately. Of the 44, three are translated names—Ripa Alta, Pinnata Castra, and Victoria; these cannot count in our argument. The following names we found (1) Celtic derivations for and (2) noted them as existent either on the Continent in Celtic regions or in England and Wales on Brittonic ground, viz.:—Lemannonius, Itis, Tarvedum (Tarvedunum), Deva, Devana, Tava, Cornavii, Decantæ, Lugi, Smertæ, Linduni, to which we may add Alauna. The root of Dumna and Dumnonii is common in Celtic lands, and the elements of Vaco-magi are easily paralleled in Gaul. Epidii is specially Brittonic, and good Celtic roots were found for Clota, Longos, Nabaros, Carnonaca, Cereni, Vernicones, Orcades; the Gaulish prefix *ver* appears in Vervedrum, and Verubium; we suggested probable roots for Volsas, Ila, Varar, Loxa, Ciclis, Cerones (Creones), Sketis, and also for Bannatia and Tamia. Even should our derivation of Caledonia be disputed, the root *cal* may be fallen back upon, and it is quite common in Celtic names; but it is a root of several meanings. The Tvesis and Tina are doubtful as to form and origin (Spey and Eden ?); Bodotria, which is in a similar position, was referred to a Pictish comparative (vo-ter-); Orrea we referred to the root *or*, and Tæxali was left underived. Skene suggests for Orrea and Ila a Basque origin, a view that should commend itself to Professor Rhys.

We thus see that only three or four words cannot be satisfactorily accounted for; and these, in two cases, are badly

recorded forms; we are not sure that we are dealing with the genuine forms of the words. One-third of the names can easily be paralleled elsewhere on Celtic ground—Gaulish and Brittonic, but not, however, on Gadelic ground; a fourth more show good Celtic roots, and another fourth can be satisfactorily analysed into either Aryan or Celtic radicals. Hence we may justly conclude that the Picts or Caledonians spoke not only an Aryan, but also a Celtic language in the first century of our era. Two further facts point to the conclusion that the Pictish language and people were rather Brittonic than Gadelic. First, the *p* of Epidii is thoroughly non-Gaelic, but it is equally thoroughly Welsh; the root *ego* or *epo*, as we saw, means “horse,” and the former is the Gadelic and the latter the Brittonic form. Again, the names which are paralleled by Gaulish and British similar forms clearly belong to Brittonic, or rather Gallo-British, ground, such as Devana, Tava, Alanna, Smertæ, Itis; these names cannot be got either in ancient or modern Ireland. We thus see that Ptolemy’s geography of Pictland yields some proof that the Picts were, as to language, allied to the Cymric branch of the Celtic race. With later sources, such as Bede, Adamnan, the Annalists, and the Place-names, these proofs accumulate, so that now we may claim, despite the cranky theories and objections of certain people, that the Pictish question is settled.

28th DECEMBER, 1892.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society, viz.:—Mr J. E. Horrigan, Collector of Inland Revenue, Inverness; Rev. R. Macdougall, Resolis Manse, Invergordon; Rev. Angus Cameron, St John’s Rectory, Arpafeelie; Mr Donald Nicolson, Primrose Cottage, Uig, Portree; and Professor A. G. Macdonald, Truro, Nova Scotia. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper contributed by the Rev. J. Macgregor, Kilmore Manse, Argyleshire, entitled “Highland Sentiment.”

18th JANUARY, 1893.

At this meeting, Mr Alex. Macdonald moved, and it was unanimously agreed to, that the Society record in their minutes, their loss and deep regret at the death of Ex-Councillor William Gunn, Inverness, who was always an active and energetic member of the Society from its foundation. The rest of the evening was devoted to the nomination of office-bearers for 1893.

25th JANUARY, 1893.

At this meeting office-bearers for 1893 were elected, and Dr Cameron and Dr Cruickshanks, Nairn, were elected members of the Society. Thereafter the honorary secretary, Mr William Mackay, read a paper contributed by the Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, Prince Edward's Island, Nova Scotia, on the "Macintyres of Glennoe."

Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., moved, and Mr W. Mackay, hon. secretary, seconded, the following motion, which was cordially approved of by the meeting, viz. :—"That the meeting pass a resolution expressive of the great loss which Highland and Celtic literature have sustained in the lamented death of Sheriff Nicolson, Edinburgh, one of the Honorary Chieftains of the Society, whose intimate acquaintance with the Gaelic language, and his unwearied interest in all that tended to benefit his fellow-countrymen, caused his name to be well known and deeply revered among Highlanders in all parts of the world." The Secretary was instructed to forward an extract of the minute, with an expression of the sincere condolence of the Society, to Sheriff Nicolson's sister, in Edinburgh.

Mr Sinclair's paper was as follows :—

THE MACINTYRES OF GLENNOE.

The name Macintyre, Mac-an-t-Saoir, means son of the carpenter. It may be regarded as a fact, then, that the progenitor of the Macintyres was known as "an saor," or the carpenter. But why was he called the carpenter? Was he a real carpenter? Or was he merely a man, who, owing to some act or other performed by him, came to be spoken of as the carpenter?

The earliest traditional account of the carpenter from whom the Macintyres have sprung is substantially as follows :—Olave

the Red, King of Man, came with his fleet to a certain loch in the Western Isles with the purpose of bringing the whole of the islands into subjection to him. Somerled, Thane of Argyle, came to the other side of the loch, and calling out asked Olave how he fared. Olave replied that he was well. Then Somerled said that he would assist him in his expedition, if he would give him his daughter in marriage. Olave replied that he would not, but told him that he would have to go with him. Somerled resolved to go with Olave, and brought his two galleys over to the place in which Olave's ship was lying at anchor. Maurice Mac Neill, Somerled's sister's son, was in Olave's company. Maurice came to Somerled and told him that he would find means of getting Olave's daughter for him. In the night time Maurice bored Olave's ship with a number of holes and overlaid them with tallow and butter. Olave, Somerled, and their followers sailed in the morning. When they had passed the point of Ardnamurchan, Olave's ship sprung a leak and began to sink. Olave cried for help to Somerled, but Somerled would not save him unless he would consent to give him his daughter. At last being in danger of losing his life, Olave promised with a solemn oath to give Somerled his daughter. Somerled then received him immediately into his galley. Maurice went into Olave's ship, and took with him pins which he had in readiness. He put the pins in the holes and saved the ship from sinking. From that day he was known as the carpenter. He was the ancestor of those who call themselves Macintyres, or sons of the carpenter (*Collectanea De Rebus Albanicis*, page 283).

According to Duncan Ban Macintyre, the progenitor of the Macintyres was at sea in a boat, and used his thumb instead of a pin to fill up a hole through which the water was rushing in. He cut the thumb off and drove it into the hole with a hammer. He belonged to Sleat, in the Isle of Skye, and was a descendant of Conn Ceud-Chathach.

“ Bha sibh uair gu grinn a seoladh
 Air druim sàile ;
 Chaidh tarrung a aon de bhordaibh
 Druim a bhata ;
 Leis a chabhaig, sparr e 'n ordag
 Sios na h-aite ;
 'S bhuail e gu teann leis an ord i,
 'S ceann d' i fhagail.”

For the latest form of the tradition about the origin of the Macintyres we are indebted to that accomplished, noble-hearted, and patriotic Highlander, the late John F. Campbell of Islay.

According to Mr Campbell's informant, a woman named Flora Macintyre, there was a King in Islay long ago who was known as Rìgh Fionnaghal. He was a Macdonald, and had his residence on the island in Loch Fionn-lagan. He had an illegitimate son. He was one day at sea in a boat, and had this son with him. The peg in the bottom of the boat came out and was lost. The young man thrust his thumb into the hole and chopped it off with an axe. "Mo laochan air saor na h-ordaig!"—"Good on your head, thumb carpenter"—said his father. The King's son was from that day known as Saor na h-Ordaig, or the Thumb Carpenter. The Macintyres are descended from him (*Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. IV., page 35). Rìgh Fionnaghal, properly Rìgh Fionnghall, King of the Fair Strangers, was no doubt the title by which Olave the Red was known among the Highlanders. As the Lords of the Isles were successors of Olave, the same title would be given them. The fair strangers were the Scandinavians who had settled in the Western Islands.

The story which represents the progenitor of the Macintyres, as cutting off his thumb to stop a leak in the bottom of a boat with it, is a little too absurd for credence. It is possible, however, that he did something like that which Maurice Macneill is said to have done. At the same time he may have been a real carpenter. A good ship carpenter would be a very useful and prominent man.

According to tradition, the Macintyres came from one of the Western Isles. They lived for some time south of Ben Cruachan. They tried on several occasions to drive their cattle through the passes of that mountain, but were always stopped and turned back by a spirit that acted as guardian of the mountain. This spirit, however, was by no means unfriendly to them. He told them one day that they had been taking the wrong passes, and directed them to the pass or opening that led to Glennoe. He also told them to follow a white cow that they had in their herd, and to build a house for themselves on the first spot on which the cow would lie down to rest. They followed his advice. The result was that they settled in the beautiful valley of Glennoe.

The Macintyres occupied the farm of Glennoe for a long period. According to an old saying, an apple tree at Loch Eitve and Macintyre of Glennoe were the oldest farmers in Scotland—"Craobh de dh-abhall a gharaidh aig taobh Loch Eitve agus Mac-an-t-Saoir Ghlinn-Nodha da thuathanach a 's sinne 'n Albainn." General Stewart of Garth states that the Macintyres settled in Glennoe about the year 1300. They were foresters of the Stewarts of Lorn, and were continued in the same employment by the Campbells of Glenurchy.—*Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. I., p. 80.

The Macintyres never owned Glennoe. They held it, however, upon very easy terms, first, from the Stewarts, and afterwards from the Campbells. All that they had to do was to give the proprietor a fatted white calf every year and a snowball in the middle of the summer. They could easily get a snowball from the crevices of Ben Cruachan; and very fortunately they had always one or two white cows that supplied them with the calves required from the time of their settlement in Glennoe until the year 1806. When the Highland lairds began to grow greedy like other mortals, the Earl of Breadalbane, by which title Campbell of Glenurechy had come to be known, persuaded Macintyre of Glennoe to pay him a nominal rent instead of giving him a calf and snowball. In the course of a few years the nominal rent was increased to a real rent, and increased to so large a sum that the Macintyres could not pay it and make a comfortable living. They were thus under the necessity of parting with the home of their fathers.

The Macintyres of Glennoe were the chiefs of the Macintyres. Duncan Ban, in his "Rainn Gearradh-arm," speaks of James of Glennoe as "Seumas an ceann-cinnidh nach treig gu brath sinn" —James, the clan-head, who will never forsake us.

Duncan Macintyre of Glennoe, chief of the Macintyres, married Mary, daughter of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, Para Beag, by whom he had Donald, his successor. He died in 1695. He is buried in the Priory of Ardochattan.

Donald of Glennoe got into trouble with the Stewarts of Appin, and was under the necessity of fleeing from their vengeance to Keppoch. It is said that the cause of his trouble with them was that he had killed one of their followers accidentally in a brawl. He remained in Keppoch for some time. He was married twice. By his first wife, Janet, daughter of Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch (Gilleasbic na Ceapich), he had one child, a daughter. By his second wife, Catherine, daughter of Macdonald of Dalness, he had three children, James, Catherine, and Mary. His eldest daughter was married to Alexander Campbell of Ardochattan. Catherine was married to Charles Campbell, an officer in the Excise Customs. Catherine and her husband lived together over eighty years. They had one son. He was a merchant, and died in Charleston, South Carolina. Mary was married to Donald Macnicol, a grazier, and for some time keeper of the stage-house or inn at Dalmally. Mary had two sons, John and Donald. She had three daughters.

James of Glennoe was born about the year 1727. He was educated by the Earl of Breadalbane until he was able to bear

arms. He studied law for some time, but gave it up after his father's death to take charge of Glennoe. He was a man of high culture, and an excellent Gaelic scholar. He was the author of several Gaelic poems, in one of which he makes a bitter attack upon Dr Johnson. He married Ann, daughter of Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, and sister of Cailein Ghlimm Iubhair. He had three sons and six daughters—Donald, Martin, Duncan, Catherine, Ann, Isabel, Mary, Lucy, and Jean. He died in 1799. His wife lived to the advanced age of 103 years.

James Shaw, bard, Loch-nan-Eala, composed a truthful and pretty song about James of Glennoe—

“Fear dubh, fear dubh, fear dubh, fear dubh,
Fear dubh, fear dubh 's e liath-ghlas ;
Fear dubh, fear dubh 's a chridhe geal,
Le spiorad glan gun iargain.

“Cha n-aithne dhomh 's na crìochan so—
'S cha mhis' a theid ga t' fhiachainn—
Aon duin' a chumas seanachas riut,
'S gun chearb a tigh'nn o d' bhial air.”

Martin, second son of James of Glennoe, died in the 18th year of his age. Duncan, the third son, was a captain in one of the Highland regiments. He succeeded his father in Glennoe. He married Ann, daughter of Campbell of Duneaves, in Perthshire, by whom he had a daughter Jane, who died unmarried. Duncan died in London, in 1808. He was the last Macintyre that held Glennoe. His widow married a Major Stephenson. She retained possession of the manuscripts that had belonged to James of Glennoe. What became of these manuscripts I do not know. Among them were the history of Smerbie Mor and the history of the Sons of Usnoth.—*Macnicol's Remarks, Livingstone's Edition*, page 147.

Catherine, eldest daughter of James of Glennoe, was married to Peter Macintyre ; Ann to Donald Macintyre, Peter's brother ; Isabel to Archibald Maclellan ; Lucy to John Macintyre ; and Jean to the Rev. Duncan Macintyre, minister of Kilmallie. Mary died unmarried. Catherine, Ann, and Isabel came with their husbands to Ontario.

Donald, eldest son of James of Glennoe, succeeded his father in the chiefship of the clan. He was a doctor. He studied in Edinburgh. He came to New York in 1783. He married Esther Haines, by whom he had four sons—James, Donald, Thomas, and

Martin. He practised his profession in two or three different places. He died in 1792. He is buried at Sunbury, in Pennsylvania. Donald, his second son, had four daughters; Thomas had three sons and four daughters; Martin died unmarried.

James, eldest son of Dr Donald Macintyre, was born in Newburgh, Orange County, New York, in 1785. He went to Scotland in 1806. He was a factor during several years. He married, in 1817, Ann, daughter of Peter Campbell of Corries, in Glenurchy, by his wife Joan, daughter of John Cameron of Fassiefern. He returned to the United States in 1822, and settled on a farm about four miles north of Johnstown, in Fulton County, New York. He had six sons—Donald, Peter, James, Ewen, Archibald, and Martin. He died in 1863. His wife died February 26th, 1887. She was born at Inverary in 1792. She was ninety-five years of age, except five months, at the time of her death.

Peter, second son of James Macintyre, is a farmer; James is in the glove business in Johnstown; Ewen is a druggist in New York; Archibald is a wholesale provision merchant in Albany; Martin is a druggist at Fonda.

Donald, eldest son of James Macintyre, settled on a farm near the village of Fonda, in the State of New York. He married Phebe Shepard, by whom he had one son, James, and four daughters. He died in October, 1887. He is buried at Johnstown. James, his only son, was born January 24th, 1864. James is the present chief of the Macintyres.

I have seen it stated that the Camerons of Glen-Nevis were originally Macintyres (the *Highland Monthly*, Vol. II., p. 191). What foundation there is for this statement I do not know. It is true that the Macintyres were not lairds. Still, as they claimed descent from Gillibride na h-Uamha, Somerled's father, it is not likely that any of them would change their name, even to please Lochiel.

I find the Clanntyre Vic Coshem mentioned in a bond of manrent, in 1612. They lived in Creignish, and seem to have been Macintyres. The head of the family was Malcolm, son of Duncan Macintyre Mac Coshem (*Collectanea De Rebus Albanicis*, p. 206). Duncan Ban had a gun which he called "Nic-Coiscam."

John Macintyre of Camus-na-h-Eireadh was tenth in descent from Macintyre of Glennoe. He fought under Prince Charles, and was wounded at Falkirk. He composed a few Gaelic poems. He died in 1755. He had at least two sons, Duncan, and one who had a son named Peter. Duncan was a minister. He was

ordained in 1784. He became minister of Laggan in 1809, and of Kilmallie in 1816. He married Jean, daughter of James of Glennoe, by whom he had John and Martin. He died in 1830. His wife died in 1855. John, the accomplished Dr Macintyre, of Kilmonivaig, was the author of several Gaelic poems. Peter, grandson of John Macintyre of Camus-na-h-Eireadh, was a captain in the Royal Marines. He died in 1855. He was the author of "Traghadh mo Dhuthcha" and other Gaelic poems.

"'S e traghadh mo dhuthcha
 A dhrugh air mo chom ;
 I muthadh 's a tiomdadh
 Mar uspairt nan tomn ;
 Na fìor Ghaidheil dhileas
 A diobairt nan tom,
 Is ciobairean diblidh
 Feadh fhrithean nan somn."

31st JANUARY, 1893.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL DINNER.

The Twenty-first Annual Dinner of the Society took place in the Caledonian Hotel this evening, and possessed more than ordinary interest, celebrating as it did the 21st anniversary of its institution. During that period the Society has published seventeen volumes of Transactions, and its present state of membership, and general activity in revising old and breaking in new fields of research, gives promise of still greater literary wealth. Rev. Dr Norman Macleod, one of the chieftains of the Society, presided, supported by Colonel Malcolm, C.B. ; Provost Macpherson, Kingussie ; Mr William Mackay, solicitor ; Mr A. F. Steele, banker ; Mr H. V. Maccallum, solicitor ; Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary to the Society ; Mr Alex. Mackenzie, publisher ; Mr Williamson, banker ; Mr Bannerman, Southport ; Captain Ruari Chisholm, Seaforth Highlanders ; Mr Chisholm, Colorado. Mr Duncan Campbell, of the *Chronicle*, and Mr John Robertson, inspector of schools, were croupiers.

During the progress of the dinner, the Society's piper, Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, played a variety of tunes with characteristic ability.

After dinner, the Chairman gave the loyal toasts in a few choice sentences, followed by that of the "Army, Navy, and

Reserve Forces," coupled with the name of Colonel Malcolm, C.B. With regard to the army, Dr Macleod said, it is impossible not to refer to the animated discussion now going on in connection with the future of that most distinguished regiment, which has its headquarters in our own town—the 79th Cameron Highlanders. Like others, I have read many of those letters with which the newspapers have been filled during the last few months. Some of these have appeared to me, I confess, to be the letters of very stupid and blundering men. Others, again, were evidently written with full knowledge of the facts of the case, and with an intelligent appreciation of the traditions and aspirations of the Highland people. Gentlemen, I imagine that I express the unanimous feeling of this assembly when I say that we are thoroughly opposed to the step which seems to be contemplated, or perhaps I may say, was contemplated. I am not myself sufficiently conversant with military affairs to be quite able clearly to understand the motives which lie at the root of that policy. To a civilian it does seem extraordinary that some plan cannot be devised by which the efficiency of the service may be secured without burying out of sight a regiment which has borne its colours untarnished through many a glorious campaign, and has added lustre to the annals of its country by a thousand deeds of valour. No doubt it is unfortunate that its recruits should at this moment be so largely drawn from the neighbourhood of Bow-Bells. At the same time, if some statistics lately published are reliable—and I believe they are—it is even yet a Highland regiment in more than name; and there is no reason why it should not be maintained on the old footing, so far as any of us can perceive. We are often told that the military spirit is dead in the Highlands. I hope it is not. It is hardly fair to compare the state of matters which existed at the beginning of the century with the present time. That was a supreme crisis, when the nation had to fight for its very existence. The defence of their hearths and homes was the one absorbing thought which then filled the minds of all classes of the people. And no wonder if men flocked around the national standard, as they cannot be expected to do in a time of profound peace and abundance of work like the present. Even now there is more of the martial spirit in the Highlands than is sometime thought. Look at the Naval Reserve. Look at the Militia regiments. Look at the Volunteers. I am persuaded that if the moment of real national danger ever arrive, there will be no difficulty in recruiting the ranks of the Cameron Highlanders and every Highland regiment there is. As for the Navy, we, in this part of the

country, are not often reminded of the existence of the Navy, except, perhaps, when we hear of a great battleship going ashore in a well-known harbour, or something of that sort happening. To be sure, there is the Briton. I forgot the poor Briton! But the Briton only reminds us of the Navy that was one hundred years ago or thereabout. I wish we could see more of the Navy than we do, if it were only in the way of capturing Inverness occasionally, and putting a tremendous price on the head of our excellent Provost! Then there are the Reserved forces, of which we all know. In no part of the country are these Reserves more efficiently represented than in this town and district. I give you the toast of the Army, coupling the Navy.

Colonel Malcolm, who replied for the Army, said it was a very trying ordeal to be asked—in passing through Inverness, which was, of course, a centre which led to everywhere, to Oban, which was the way to everywhere else—to face a large company of the Gaelic Society, when he himself, unfortunately, could not speak the Gaelic tongue. However, like the boy who, when asked if he could speak German, said “No, but his uncle played the German flute,” he might say that, though he could not speak Gaelic, his wife could; more than that, she could do what many present were not equal to—she could spell all the words she knew, and these were not few. After relating a number of humorous stories to illustrate the discipline of the Army, Colonel Malcolm referred to the Cameron Highlanders. It was not for him, he said, to explain away, or explain at all, the action of the Government in regard to this regiment, more especially the action of the permanent authorities of the War Department, but he would like to suggest to whoever it might concern that, if the Highlands were not over-recruited, let the experiment be tried of opening a few more military stations, say at Oban, Dingwall, and other centres. Why, a large number of our fellows on the West Coast really never had seen a soldier; their ignorance was, in fact, so profound that they imagined when a man joined the Army he went straight to perdition. In conclusion, the Colonel expressed the hope that the Gaelic Society might, like the Army, continue to flourish.

Lieut.-Colonel Geo. J. Campbell, Highland Volunteer Artillery, replied for the Reserve forces.

At this stage, the Secretary, Mr Duncan Mackintosh, submitted the annual Report of the Executive, which was as follows:—

“The Council have pleasure in reporting that the prosperity and usefulness of the Society continue to increase. During the

past year, 46 new members joined the Society—1 life member, 6 hon. members, and 39 ordinary—and several volumes have been added to the library. Volume XVII. of the Society's Transactions was issued to the members last week, and it is one of the largest of the Society's volumes. It is believed that its contents will be found of much interest and value. Volume XVIII. is in the press. The syllabus for session 1892-93, which is now in the hands of those present, shows that there is no abatement in the activity of members in the special field which the Society endeavours to cultivate. The Treasurer reports as follows, viz. :—Balance from last year, £36 3s 1d ; income during the year, £152 13s 1d ; total revenue, £188 16s 2d. Expenditure during year, £145 13s 6d ; balance on hand after paying all debts due by the Society, £43 2s 8d. The yearly expenditure of the Society is greatly increasing, and the Council would urgently impress on the members the necessity of doing what lies in their power to increase the list of the Society's life and hon. members. The study of the questions in which the Society is especially interested has greatly extended since the foundation of the Society, and able scholars are willing to contribute to the Transactions, but the Council feel that they cannot issue to the members volumes of such size and value as with a larger income they would be in a position to publish. In connection with this subject, the Council have to acknowledge with gratitude the following donations towards the publishing fund, received during the past year:—Mr J. D. Fletcher of Rosehaugh, second contribution, £25 ; Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch, £5 ; Mr John Mackay, Hereford, £2 2s ; and Mr Paul Cameron, Blair-Athole, £1. Our membership at present is 415, viz., 26 life members, 64 honorary, and 325 ordinary ; and the library contains close on 200 volumes."

The Chairman, who was received with applause, then rose to give the toast of the evening, "Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness." I could have wished, he said, that some one more familiar with the work of the Society during the twenty-one years of its existence had filled the chair to-night, but I can assure you that no one could have accepted the honour of presiding on this occasion with greater pride or pleasure than I now feel. With the general objects of the Society, which are not purely sentimental, but practical and useful from many points of view, I am in entire sympathy, and I desire first of all to congratulate those who have been connected with it from the outset on the gratifying measure of success which has crowned and rewarded their efforts. It has now attained its majority. The perils attendant on infancy and

early youth have been safely surmounted. So far as I know, it has sown no wild oats, but, on the contrary, has garnered not a few of the precious fruits of knowledge—first-fruits, I have hope, of a nobler and richer harvest to be reaped in the years that are to come. This evening we are invited to a retrospect, not of one year only, but of one-and-twenty years, and I think we must all acknowledge that upon the whole it is a satisfactory record, of which the working bees in this little hive have no cause to be ashamed. No doubt, like all human retrospects, it reminds us of losses which have been sustained—two especially which have fallen upon us during the year just ended, anyhow very recently. For, gentlemen, it is impossible to propose this toast without recalling the name of one who, though not a member of this Society, was unquestionably in the foremost ranks of Celtic literature. I refer, of course, to my late distinguished friend, Dr Skene, the historiographer of Scotland. There has been no man of our time who did more for the higher branches of the subject, to which he devoted his great talents with such rare patience and unwearied assiduity. His history of “Celtic Scotland” is an enduring monument of his learning and research. A kindlier or more genuinely Christian gentleman than Dr Skene I have never known—ever accessible to all, and always willing to extend his help to the humblest worker in those fields which he had so widely and exhaustively explored himself. The other, to whom fitting reference has been made in the report, was a member of this Society, and well known to most of you—the genial and much loved friend of many—Sheriff Nicolson. If ever there was a man to whom the Highlands and everything Highland was a passion, that man was Alexander Nicolson. He may not have been great at the law—not because he had not the ability, but only because he was somewhat lacking in other qualities which make for success at the bar as in all professions. But to-night, gentlemen, we think of him not as a lawyer, but as a man, and, above all, as a Highlander. It was once said by Lord Cockburn of a near relative of my own, whose “Teachdaire Gaelach” is not quite forgotten in the Highlands, that if he could be dissected it would be certainly found that his heart was dressed in the kilt. The same remark might be made of Nicolson. There was not a trace of affectation in his Celtic enthusiasm—it was genuine—it was heart-felt. You could not speak to him five minutes without inhaling a whiff of the pure mountain air of the Cuchullins, which he loved so well. Who that have heard him sing “Ho ro Mhòrag” will ever forget

it? I remember meeting him one day in Princes Street. It was shortly after the last Egyptian War. He looked as if he was bothered about something. "What's wrong with you, Nicolson?" I asked, "Well," said he, "I want to add another verse to 'Ho ro Mhòrag,' and I have been trying all day to find a rhyme for *Tel-el-Kebir*, and I can't manage it!" "I am sorry," said I, "but I can't help you," and so we parted. However, some days afterwards, he came up to me, with great glee, to tell me that he had found it. What it was I don't remember, and, to say the truth, cannot now imagine, but, anyhow, the new verse was added to "Ho ro Mhòrag," already sufficiently long, in all conscience, though it is hard to say how many verses have been added since. We shall long remember our friend as a truly able and warm-hearted man, who did not a little in his day to throw gleams of sunshine into the social circle, and, in the more serious business of life, to promote the best interests of his fellow-countrymen, whose welfare was always near and dear to his heart. But, gentlemen, though the retrospect of one and twenty years must, of course, remind us of our losses, it is gratifying to know that there never was a time when the field of Celtic study was more widely cultivated than it now is, or by more capable hands. This Society, in a humble way, has contributed not a little, I think, to the general result. The volumes which record its transactions witness, in my opinion, to a very large amount of good work. The treasure house of the past, has been ransacked. Obscure points in local and family history have been investigated. Fresh contributions, in some cases of real merit, have been added to the literature of the Gael, and in one way or another the original design of the Society has been carried out with zeal, intelligence, and ability. I do not mean to suggest that the work of the Society is purely antiquarian. Non-political it certainly is, and I hope will continue to be. But it would be wrong if it were possible to be uninterested spectators of those movements which so powerfully affect the present condition and the future prospects of the Highland people. My impression is that an honest and impartial investigation of the history of the Highlands, which is clearly within the scope of a Society like this, might contribute not a little to the solution of some of those difficulties which now confront us, or, at all events, the removal of some current fallacies. To the burning question of the repopulation of the Highlands, as it may be called, I shall not venture to refer. Meantime it has been entrusted to a Royal Commission, and may be regarded as in a sense *sub judice*. It must always be assumed that Royal

Commissioners are men of light and leading, who are possessed of a technical skill, insight, and wisdom, which are denied to us who are but ordinary mortals, and therefore we shall await the result of their deliberations with lively interest, though, I confess, that it does appear to me that they have got about as hard a nut to crack as could be well imagined, unless, indeed, they begin by banishing some old fashioned notions of political science to Jupiter, and are able to devise some means by which people can be equitably moved from place to place, as you might move the figures on a chessboard. Be that, however, as it may, we wish them well, for of this I am very sure, that there is not a single individual now hearing me who would not rejoice to see the Highland population better distributed than it now is, and to see that population living in greater comfort and happiness than many of them now enjoy. But what I wish to emphasise is the light which may be thrown on the present condition of the Highlands by such investigation into the history of former times as falls properly to a Society like this. There are two points in particular regarding which there seems to me to be a great deal of exaggeration. One is, the condition of the people in what are called the good old days. We are all very apt, when we recall the past, to think only of the happiness it brought us, and to forget its miseries. We remember the fragrance of the rose, but not the thorns which may have pierced our hand. And the same thing often happens in the retrospect of nations and races. This, at all events, I am bound to say—the improvement that has taken place in the condition of the Highland people during the last 100 years has been enormous, and there is no use denying it. The social, moral, political, and religious life (always subject to certain qualifications here and there) has been immensely elevated. All along the line there has been, in my opinion, a decided advance which we are called upon thankfully to acknowledge. I wish I could say they were a more joyous people. This I fear they are not. The voice of music and song has been too often silenced by influences of one kind or another which I for one deeply deplore. But, upon the whole, there has been improvement—no doubt of it. Then, another point is the question of depopulation. All very well, you may say, to speak of improvement, but what if there are no people? Well, no doubt there are large districts of the Highlands much more sparsely peopled than they ought to be. Taking the Highlands as a whole, I suppose the population is not much less, if at all, than it was 100 years ago. The misfortune is that it is too often

congested in unfertile corners, or congested in wretched villages and townships where subsistence is hardly possible. I constantly read statements, however, which seem to take it for granted that the depopulation of the Highlands, where such depopulation has occurred, is entirely due to what is called evictions. It is nothing of the kind. That at a former time there were evictions, often cruel and capricious, need not be denied. It is notorious. At the same time, it is a mistake, though a common one, to attribute Highland depopulation exclusively, or I would say in the main, to this cause. It is but a phase of a movement which has been going on for years in all parts of the country as well as in the Highlands—the rural population decreasing and the large cities increasing by leaps and bounds. In the Highlands this movement, apart altogether from lamentable evictions, has been accelerated in a variety of ways. For one thing there has been a vast emigration to the Colonies that was, to a great extent, voluntary. Thousands and tens of thousands have transported themselves to regions where they believed they could improve their position, and where they have improved it. In Canada, in Australia, and in New Zealand, and all over the world, Highland emigrants have settled down, and by the blessing of God have prospered. I have no patience with those who shudder at emigration, voluntary emigration of course, as if it was an idea never to be thought of for a moment—a ruthless expatriation which no lover of his country can sanction or approve. It has been in the past, and I see no reason why it should not be in the future, one outlet among many for those who cannot under any conceivable circumstances find employment or subsistence at home. Then again, the failure of the kelp trade during the earlier years of this century has something to do with depopulation. At the outset it had also something to do with the growth of that crofting system in the Outer Islands, which is by no means of such old standing in the modern sense as we sometimes think. During the time of the kelp trade, a large population was necessary. But when it failed there was of course destitution, and many had to seek a livelihood elsewhere, while those who remained settled down under those adverse circumstances which continue to the present day. If the landlords of that time had dealt with their people as mere operatives, the crofting system had never assumed the proportion it has. But as a class they were kind-hearted men, who did not deal with their people as mere operatives. They allowed them for the most part to remain where they were, a fact too frequently lost sight of. Still, hundreds, and I suppose thousands, went

gradually away simply because the work which had hitherto supported them had practically ceased to exist. And once more the growth of the great centres of industry in the south, since the commencement of the century, has tended, more and more, to draw away the people from the glens and islands to those places like Glasgow, where you will find a larger Gaelic-speaking population than in many a Highland county. It was my lot to minister for several years to the Highlanders of Glasgow, and I know well about what I am speaking. Year by year I saw that Highland population augmented by a stream of young men and women flowing into the city in quest of work—not driven away in the majority of cases by eviction at all—but simply following the trade of the country, and seeking to better themselves. The young came first, and by-and-bye, after they had settled down, it was no uncommon occurrence for the whole family, parents and all, to follow. These, gentlemen, are some considerations that are, perhaps, deserving of greater attention than is usually given to them. Exaggeration never does good at any time, and it does appear to me that there is a good deal of exaggeration with reference to such matters. There is much in the present condition of the Highlands which we must deplore, but I trust it is not as bad, when compared with former times, as it is represented to be; and let us hope that, out of confusion and controversy, a new order of things will in due time emerge that will conduce in as large a measure as we all desire to the prosperity, well-being, and general contentment of a people of whom we, who are their kinsmen according to the flesh, have no reason to be ashamed. Gentlemen, I must detain you no longer. I again congratulate you on the good progress which this Society has made, and I cordially re-echo the sentiment—that it may long live and always prosper.

Mr William Mackay, solicitor, in giving the toast of Highland Literature and Education, said on no previous occasion had he proposed this toast with so much pleasure as now, celebrating, as this dinner did, the 21st anniversary of the Society. In other words, the Society had now attained its majority, and a retrospect of the past 21 years was, in his view, both a satisfactory and a pleasant one. With regard to Celtic literature, he did not exaggerate the state of matters 21 years ago, when he said that no general interest was taken in that subject. There were a few Gaelic students working here and there quietly, but there was no general interest taken in Celtic literature such as they had now. Twenty years ago they had no Celtic professorship in England or

Scotland ; and, save possibly in Wales and Ireland, the Celtic language was practically ignored in the schools of the country. Now they had Celtic professors at Oxford and Edinburgh. Twenty-one years ago they had no encouragement whatever, except from what he called private societies, to the study of Gaelic in any sense ; now they had Gaelic grants from Government—which were, by the way, possibly not taken advantage of as they might be, but still they were there, an encouragement. Within the last 21 years book after book had been published upon Celtic language and studies ; and in connection with these publications, he might say they had very good reason to be proud of their own Transactions—of the 17 volumes they had given to the world, to use a big word. They were very interesting volumes. All the material might not be of great value, but, on the whole, they formed a mine of wealth to the future historian of the Highlands, and to the student of Highland folklore. There was another thing he could say with truth. If one took a look through those volumes he would be very much struck, and surprised, by the great improvement that had taken place in the contributions to the Transactions within the last 21 years. They had now Celtic subjects treated in a more scientific, and certainly in a more useful way than was the case when the Society started. With regard to Highland education, in 1871 they had the old parochial system still in existence. No doubt that system was a magnificent one, and one which did enormous good to Scotland—one of which Scotchmen would ever speak with pride—but it had done its work ; and in 1872 the Education Act put an end to it—in the opinion of some of them, put an end to it too much. Perhaps it would have been better to have extended it rather than ended it. At any rate, the new system came into force, and in the course of a few years they had excellent schools erected in every corner of every parish ; they had better teachers appointed ; they had, on the whole, a better system of education ; and last, but not least, they had a great deal of encouragement given them by the Government. The new system had its drawbacks. When begun, it ignored too much what had been a feature of the parochial system, what might be called secondary education. It had a tendency to put every pupil on an educational level with his neighbour, no matter what his talents or business or professional aspirations might be. Another fact was that education became, financially very burdensome, especially in the Western Highlands. These defects had to some extent been removed. Government made special grants, both in relief of taxation and for the encouragement of special studies. The old Society for Propagating Christian

Knowledge had been placed upon another footing, and the new Trust, as it was called, had already done an immense amount of work for education in the Highlands, by establishing bursaries for smart boys, and otherwise encouraging higher education. Now the Government were coming in the wake of that Society, and, he thought, in the course of a few years the country would have a liberal system of secondary education. These changes were of such importance that they had every reason to be pleased. Twenty-one years ago they could never have expected such progress to be made within the time of which he spoke. He was not going to credit the whole of these improvements to the Gaelic Society, but he thought he could endorse what Dr Macleod had said, that they had contributed in their own humble way to the results he had mentioned. He would be inclined to go further, and say that the Gaelic Society had been one of the principal agents in bringing about the improvements. It was at one of the Society's meetings that Professor Blackie opened the campaign for a Celtic chair, and it was really under the auspices of the Society that the movement was started. It was the Society that started and carried on the agitation for the recognition of Gaelic in schools—an agitation which had borne some fruit in the manner in which Gaelic was now treated by the Education Department. Mr Mackay, proceeding, said that it had been suggested to him that on this interesting occasion it would not be out of place for him to refer to the origin of the Society. Twenty-one years was a long time, and while he was sure no member would think of reaping where he had not sown, people's memories were short, and it was advisable to put the facts on record. They might interest future members, if not the present. In November, 1870, Mr Alexander Mackenzie, now of the *Scottish Highlander*, suggested at a meeting of the Inverness Literary Institute that a Gaelic Society should be started in Inverness. The suggestion appeared in the *Inverness Advertiser* of 13th December, but, excellent though it was, the time was not quite ripe, and no steps were taken to carry it into effect. On 5th May, 1871, Mr William Mackenzie ("U. M'C."), now Secretary to the Crofters' Commission, but then a teacher in Raining's School, wrote in the *Advertiser* urging that a "Celtic Debating Society" should be started. This was followed by letters from (among others) "F. D. G." in the *Advertiser* of 9th May; "J. Mac." and "Mealfuarvonie" (Mr Mackay himself) in that paper's issue of the 12th; and "Caberfeidh" (Mr Mackenzie, Maryburgh), and "Clachnacudain" (Mr Alexander Mackenzie) in the issue of the 16th. The correspondence showed a desire to have something

more than a mere debating society, and the result of meetings between Mr Alexander Mackenzie, Mr William Mackenzie, Mr John Murdoch, and Mr Mackay, was that Mr Mackay issued circulars to such as were thought favourable to the proposal, requesting them to meet in the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association on the evening of Thursday, 4th September, 1871. He also inserted the following advertisement (the first connected with the Society) in the *Inverness Courier* of that date:—

“COMUNN GAELIC INBHERNIS.

Tha e air a rùnachadh COMUNN GAELIC a chuir suas anns a bhaile so : uime sin, tha e gu h-àraid air iarraidh air gach neach leis a miannach an gnothach fhaicinn a' soirbheachadh cruinneachadh ann an SEOMAR UACHDARACH COCHOMUINN NAN DAOIN' OGA, aig oehd uairean a nochd (Diardaoin).”

The meeting was well attended ; and, as set forth in the first volume of the Transactions, the Society was established. Mr Mackay exhibited certain papers connected with the starting of the Society, of which the following may be of interest:—

I. Bill of Inaugural Lecture.

INVERNESS GAELIC SOCIETY.

THE INAUGURAL LECTURE

WILL BE DELIVERED

On THURSDAY, 19th October,

IN THE HALL OF THE

ASSOCIATION BUILDINGS, 1 CASTLE STREET,

BY THE

REV. A. D. MACKENZIE, OF KILMORACK.

Subject—“The Position of Gaelic : and its value to the Linguist, the Pre-historic Enquirer, and the Ethnologist.”

Sir KENNETH S. MACKENZIE of Gairloch, Bart., in the chair.

Admission—Lady and Gentleman, One Shilling. Members Free. Tickets to be had at the Booksellers.

Chair to be taken at 8 P.M.

Inverness, 13th October, 1871.

II. Circular Issued by the Council.

“67 Church Street,
“Inverness, January, 1872.

“SIR,

“I beg to send you herewith a copy of the Constitution of the lately founded GAELIC SOCIETY of INVERNESS, with a list of Office-bearers for the current year.

“The objects of the Society are, you will observe, to promote the study of Gaelic Literature and Antiquities; generally to forward the interests of Highlanders; and to form a bond of union among the Sons of the Gael at home and abroad.

“A Library is being formed in this town, of Gaelic books, manuscripts, and books relating to Celtic matters, or in any respect of special interest to Highlanders. The Council are certain that there are many books at present lying in private libraries throughout the country, which are comparatively useless to their owners, and, in some instances, perhaps never looked at, but which would be esteemed of much value to the Society. The Council, therefore, earnestly appeal to parties who are in possession of such literature, and hope they may help the Society and the cause they have at heart, by forwarding the same to any of the gentlemen mentioned below, or to the Subscriber. Valuable donations have already been made by gentlemen renowned in Celtic and other literature, and the Council are confident that this appeal will be heartily responded to by many who may not have yet heard of the existence of the Gaelic Society, but who, at the same time, are equally desirous to further the objects which the Society have in view.

“The Council would further beg to draw attention to the fact, that, with the exception of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, there is no public repository of Celtic Literature in Scotland; and they consider this a further claim for establishing such a Library in the Capital of the Highlands, which, above all other places, ought to be the centre for matters relating to the Highlands. It would be well, when any information is required, either by private individuals or public bodies, as to the literature, history, statistics, &c., of the Gaelic nations, that there should be some recognised place in Scotland where such information could be obtained; and the Gaelic Society hope, ere long, to be able to supply that desideratum.

“Should the funds of the Society admit, a Gaelic periodical will be issued, as well as a yearly volume containing their more immediate transactions; but to attain that object, it is evident that the Council will have to appeal to the liberality, the intel-

ligence, and the patriotism of all who are of Celtic descent, or who desire to widen the gates of knowledge.

“The Council trust that the objects contemplated will meet your approbation, and it will give them much pleasure to enrol you amongst the members. Members at a distance may co-operate with those in town, by contributing papers which may be read by proxy at the meetings of the Society.

“I remain,

“Your obedient Servant,

“WILLIAM MACKAY, Secretary.

“Books, Manuscripts, and Contributions to the Funds of the Society, will be received by the following :—

“Mr JOHN MURDOCH, Academy Street, Inverness.

“Mr JOHN MACKINTOSH, M.A., Rector, Old Academy, Inverness.

“Mr W. MACKINNON BANNATYNE, Royal Academy, Inverness.

“Mr JOHN MACDONALD, The Exchange, Inverness.

“Mr JOHN NOBLE, Bookseller, Inverness.”

Mr Mackay coupled the toast with the names of Mr Duncan Campbell of the *Northern Chronicle*, and Mr Robertson, H.M. Inspector of Schools, both of whom had done great service in the cause of literature and education in the Highlands.

Mr Duncan Campbell said he did not admit that the parish school system failed, except in the towns, where English and Irish mixed largely with the population. Referring to the volume of Transactions just issued, he attached much importance to the Gaelic version of “William Tell,” which appeared as an appendix, and stated that in its translation Mrs Grant had proved, against popular opinion, that the Gaelic language was suited for the rendering of blank verse.

Mr Robertson, in replying for the educational part of the toast, spoke of the primary importance of education in the present stage of the development of the Highlands. So far as the Government was concerned, the amount of money expended in the remoter parts of the Highlands was astonishing; and with regard to the migration to which Dr Macleod had referred, he regarded it as a healthy restlessness, indicating as it did that the people were endeavouring to rise above their uncongenial surroundings, and gain a wider and more remunerative sphere of usefulness. Speaking of the committees appointed to report upon the establishment of secondary schools, he expressed the hope that the grant for the object would be increased, and that the result of the

Government's liberal encouragement would be to make the higher branches of education as successful as elementary education had been in the Highlands.

Other toasts followed, songs were sung, and a most successful meeting concluded with the whole company singing "Auld Lang Syne."

8th FEBRUARY, 1893.

At this meeting, Mr Duncan Campbell, editor, *Northern Chronicle*; Mr Alexander Mackenzie, editor, *Scottish Highlander*; and Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary, were appointed a committee to draw up a petition to the War Office against the proposed change in the dress of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, according to the resolution carried at the Annual Meeting of the Society held on 31st ult. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper contributed by Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond on "The Frasers of Guisachan, styled Mac-Huistean." Mr Mackintosh's paper was as follows:—

MINOR HIGHLAND FAMILIES, No. VI.

THE FRASERS OF GUISACHAN (CULBOKIE), STYLED
MAC-HUISTEAN.

Just a hundred years ago, William Fraser, then of Guisachan, in consulting counsel as to a portion of the once extensive family estates which he thought might be reclaimed, says—"His predecessors were one of the oldest and most respectable cadets of the family of Lovat, and considerable proprietors in the counties of Inverness and Ross." What the Laird said is true, but it is also unfortunately true that at the present the family is no longer on the roll of landowners in the county of Inverness; therefore, while materials remain, let us endeavour to record the outlines of its history and descent.

The name of Guisachan, in itself a Davoch land of old extent, is first found 1206-1221, in an agreement betwixt the Bishop of Moray and John Bissett. The description of the lands in a family deed of 1797 is thus given—"All and whole the town and lands of the two Guisachans and Frigay, otherwise called Meikle and Mid Guisachans, with the pertinents of the same, viz., Hillton, Ballacladdich, Balblair, Easter and

Wester Achnaheglash, Gortan-nan-nin, Glassach, Alt-garte, and Toilour, lying within the parish of Conventh, Regality of Lovat, and Sheriffdom of Inverness." Achnaheglash denotes possession by the Church, which of old possessed a great deal of lands and fishings in Conventh and Kiltariity parishes. Hilton, euphonious as it is, is but a poor substitute for the ancient "Knockan-na-crew," barbarously spelt, but no doubt "hillock of the tree," and what pleasant scenes are pictured in the "Gortan" frequented by the maidens? No prettier property could be found in the Highlands. It had mountain and valley, wood and water, with a numerous and intelligent people cultivating the rich soil on either side of its river, possessing herds and flocks.

Thomas, accounted by Mr Anderson in his history of the Frasers as 4th Lord Lovat, married, when Master of Lovat, Janet Gordon, niece of the Earl of Huntly, and had three sons—Hugh, his successor; 2nd, William; and 3rd, James of Foynes. This

1. WILLIAM was first of the family of Guisachan, which lands he received in patrimony from his father William Fraser of Guisachan is one of the witnesses to a contract of excambion twixt Mackenzie of Kintail and Dingwall of Kildun, of date 20th June, 1543. Of Guisachan spring the families of Kinnairies, Belladrum, Kyllachy, etc., etc.

William Fraser's brothers Hugh, 5th Lord Lovat, and James of Foynes, were killed at the battle of Blair-na-leine, 15th July, 1544. I am unable to say whether William himself fell at Blair-na-leine with his two brothers. The contract of 1546, after noticed, I have not seen, but the few words hereafter quoted from a memorandum made sixty years ago by one in whose possession it then was, would indicate that William was in life at that date. He is certainly dead by 1556. In the year 1815 Glengarry, who had heard that there was an old manuscript of the battle in possession of Culbokie, applied for a perusal. Culbokie's reply, from Balblair Cottage, on the 12th April, says—"Certainly, I do recollect to have seen at Guisachan an imperfect manuscript account of the battle of Blair-na-leine. But really I am much at a loss to know what is become of it, though I think it must be still in the house there, and I am to be up in a very few days, and will make a strict search for it, and if it be found, as I trust, my friend Glengarry will be most welcome to the perusal of it." Again, dating from Guisachan, on the 18th April, he says—"After much search here, as promised in my letter to you a few days ago, I am sorry to say it has defied me to lay my hands on Blair-na-leine. I hope, however, my sisters at Banff [Mrs Macdonell of Scotos, and Miss

Margaret Fraser—(C.F.M.), who set even more value on it than I did, may know something of it. I will immediately enquire of them, and, if the manuscript can be found, the chief may be assured he shall have its perusal."

There the matter rested, and I draw attention to it now, in case this interesting document may yet be found extant.¹ Lord Lovat had sons, and the direct line was carried on; while James of Foynes left an only daughter, Agnes, who married, first, John Glassach Mackenzie of Gairloch, and secondly, Alexander Chisholm of Comar. Through Agnes Fraser the lines of Gairloch and Chisholm were carried on.

James of Foynes, in the year 1539, had a life-rent right of Drumderfit, and two years before his death got a charter from James V. to him and his heirs male of the lands of Culbokie, Kinkell-Clarsach, Docheairn, Davochpollo, and Pitlundie, all in the county of Ross. The destination being as above to heirs male, Agnes did not succeed to them on her father's death. James of Foynes does not appear to have been infeft in any land in Inverness-shire.

William of Guisachan had one daughter, Agnes, married in 1546 (contract dated 1st June) to John Grant of Culcabock, known as "Iain-Mor-Tomantoul;" she in the Sasine on Culcabock, dated 7th August, 1546, being termed "honesta mulier Agneta Fraser, filia Gulielmi Fraser de Guisachan," which would indicate that William was alive. My Glenmoriston Genealogy is erroneous in stating that John married a daughter of Lord Lovat. An apostolic license for their marriage, without distinguishing designations, is in my possession, dated last April, 1544. The Genealogy says there were two sons—Patrick and John, and that Iain Mor subsequently married the widow of Erracht (Ewen, first of the race of the "Boddachs" of Erracht). William left several sons, the eldest,

II. HUGH, through and after whom the patronymic of "Mac-Huistean," who, designing himself brother's son of James Fraser of Foynes, is served heir male, and in special to his uncle James, in the Ross-shire lands, of date, at Inverness, the last day of July, 1556. From and after this period, the head of the family in English was generally called "Culbokie," and this continued until the time of the late Culbokie, though well nigh two hundred years had passed since they lost the last of their Ross-shire lands.

¹ In a manuscript history of the Frasers, in the Advocates' Library, there is a full account of the battle, which I have since published. From this it is seen that Culbokie fell in the battle; and that the pride of Foynes led to it.

William's second son, James Fraser, "in Belladrum," brother german to Hucheon of Guisachan, is so described in a Bond of Manrent of 1578, and James' son, Hugh Fraser, was the first of Belladrum, receiving a charter thereof from Simon, 8th Lord Lovat, on 13th June, 1598. From Belladrum came Dunballoch, Fingask, etc., etc.

Hugh, second of Guisachan, married Margaret Munro, of the Milnton Family. In 1561 Hucheon Fraser of Guisachan is found pursuing John Tawachter-vic-Eachin, and Christina, Alexander Mackenzie's daughter, for the wrongous and masterful occupation of an oxgang and a half-oxgang of the lands of Davochpollo. Sir James Buchart, his procurator, appears for him in court, and gets decree in absence. On the 21st March, in the same year, he is defender in a process, at the instance of John Robertson, Treasurer of Ross; and plaintiff in a suit against George Dunbar, Parson of Kilmuir. In the same year Hugh is surety for Duncan-vic-Gillies of Achmounie, and for Catherine, relict of John-vic-Gillies of Achmounie. In 1562 he is fined for not attending to pass as an assizer in the service of Hector Mackenzie to his father, John Glassich Mackenzie of Gairloch. In the same year he is pursuing his tenants at Culbokie, for withholding their rents, and warning them to remove—one Rorie Allanson being a chief delinquent. In 1574 he sold Davochcainn and Davochpollo to Gairloch, and in 1581, the lands of Kinkell-Clarsach and Pitlundie; getting a charter, however, of Culbokie Miln, 1581. In the year 1583, April 23rd, Culbokie and Foyers were in trouble with Lord Lovat, and had to give security that they would not molest his Lordship's woods of Strathglass, nor the Water of Forne, and others, by the slaying of red or black fish, nor kill his deer, as also should follow his standard. Reference is made to Culbokie's sons, William, Allister, and Hucheon. Culbokie subscribes, but Foyers cannot write. He had at least one daughter, Janet, married to Thomas Chisholm, apparent of Comar, and she is infeft, April, 1578, in the Davoch of Wester Invercannich and Miln. This marriage did not long subsist, and, Thomas Chisholm dying without issue, Janet, with consent of her father Hugh, and designing herself "life rentrix of Wester Invercannich," enters into a contract of marriage with Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, who therein bound himself to infeft her in his lands of Culcabock, etc. The contract was not registered, so that, after Patrick's death, it was found necessary to apply to the Court of Session for that purpose. Steps were taken against John Grant of Glenmoriston, son and heir of Patrick Grant, John "Reoch,"

and James Macculloch, his tutors and curators; and upon 1st August, 1593, the Lords of Council decreed that registration be made in their books. She was served to her terce in Glenmoriston on 31st July, 1587. Janet Fraser was left in peace in her jointure lands of Invercannich by her brother-in-law John Chisholm, and had questions with some of the Glenmoriston tenants. As regards Culcabock, as early as 22nd April, 1583, she, with Lachlan Mackinnon, then her spouse, is called on, as pretended liferentrix of Culcabock, in the Court of Session, to show her right. Here the first, second, and third marriages followed very quickly—1575-1583.

This Hugh, second of Culbokie, alienated all his Ross-shire lands, with the exception of Culbokie, between the years 1574 and 1584, and died in May, 1587, survived by Margaret Munro, who, on 29th May of that year, is served to her terce in Culbokie.

III. ALEXANDER FRASER, the eldest surviving son (he being second in order in the Bond of 1583 before referred to) succeeded, and on 16th April, 1588, is served heir to his father Hucheson in Guisachan. On 10th June, 1589, he is retoured to Culbokie, and infeft, on a Precept from Chancery, on 23rd May, 1590. Alexander married, and had one son, Hucheson, and other sons, from one of whom, according to family tradition, I am descended. Alexander having sons, the family transaction now to be disclosed was highly discreditable. Made to describe himself as of "facile" temper, Alexander put himself, on 17th April, 1588, under the care of friends as his guardians and interdictors, viz., Thomas Fraser of Knockie and Strichen; James Fraser in Belladrum, his uncle; Andrew Munro of Newmore, and others, and granted, at Milnton, 2nd June, 1590, a disposition of his whole estates to his younger brother, Hucheson Fraser, who afterwards got his title confirmed by James VI., 2nd February, 1593. A more cruel and barefaced impetration, sanctioned by relatives, cannot be quoted. Alexander, thus wiped out of his inheritance, is still described as "Alexander Fraser of Guisachan" in the service of John Chisholm of Comar to his father Alexander, on 19th December, 1590. We come next to his brother,

IV. HUGH. When advanced in life, this laird and his cousin Hugh Fraser of Belladrum added considerably to their estates. The Lairds of Mackintosh had been, since the year 1524, proprietors of the whole Barony of Drumhardiny in Kirkhill, and of parts of the Barony of Aird, including the half davoch of Kimmairies, and the lands of Easter Eskadale in Kiltarlity. Kimmairies was for nearly a century, from 11th May, 1569, under

wadset to the Chisholms. The well-known Colonel Hugh of Kinnairies is said by some to have been a younger son of this Hugh, while others say he was grandson of Alexander, the third Culbokie. In the year 1616, Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, from necessity, in his struggles with Huntly and Lochiel, was obliged to part with all his Aird estates. This coming to the ears of Lord Lovat, he desired Culbokie and Belladrum to bargain for him with Mackintosh. In place of doing so they bargained for themselves, to Lovat's deep annoyance. Culbokie took Drumchardiny, getting a Crown charter, 20th December, 1616, while Belladrum took Holm, now called Lentrau, getting a charter same day. Upon 6th October, 1608, he is on the Jury in the service of Simon Lord Lovat. In 1620 Phopachy is said to have been mortgaged by Lovat to Culbokie. Hugh's name is embodied in the agreement of 1628 for the protection of game amongst some of the Inverness and Ross Lairds, but he does not sign, while that of his son and successor, William of Drumchardiny, though not named, is appended. Hugh is one of the Jury in the general service of Simon Lord Lovat to his great grandfather, 9th July, 1629. To Hugh's credit or discredit it has to be recorded that he disinherited his brother, and circumvented his chief.

V. WILLIAM FRASER, styled at different times "of Guisachan," "of Culbokie," "of Drumchardiny," eldest son of Hugh, succeeded and got a charter to Guisachan, Kingillie, Kyllachy, Groam, etc., from Lord Lovat, on which he was infeft, 23rd May, 1634, and on 26th May he is served heir to his father in the lands held of the Crown, viz., Culbokie, Drumchardiny, etc. He is a juryman, 26th July, 1640, in the special service of Hugh, Master of Lovat, to his brother, and again, on 30th March, 1647, in the special service of Hugh, Lord Lovat, to his father. William had, at least, one brother (Alexander), referred to in 1636, and according to the Glenmoriston Genealogy, was first married to a daughter of John Doum, 5th of Glenmoriston, and afterwards married Christina Chisholm, apparently sister to Alexander Chisholm of Comar. In 1636 Hugh, Lord Lovat, disposes the lands of Comar, Croy, to Culbokie, who was infeft and had a Crown charter of confirmation; yet, it is obvious that the purchase was for Chisholm, seeing that little more than a year thereafter Culbokie, with consent of his wife and his son Hugh, disposes to the Chisholm, and it still remains part of the Chisholm estates.

In 1640 he acquired further rights to the lands of Kingillie, now incorporated into Newton estate. He represented the county

of Inverness in Parliament, in the years 1649, 1650, 1651; and in 1658 he is still found as proprietor. One of his daughters, Magdalen, according to Mr Mackenzie's History, married, in 1633, John Mackenzie, second of Ord. Another daughter, Agnes, appears to have been married three times; first to Kenneth Mackenzie of Inverlaul, according to Mr Mackenzie, but this marriage is not recorded in my Culbokie Genealogy; secondly, in 1629, to Alexander Mackenzie of Ballone (brother to Sir John Mackenzie of Turbat), with issue, Alexander, Jane, and Margaret; and thirdly (contract dated Kingellie, 12th January, 1650), as his second wife, the Honourable Simon Mackenzie of Lochslyne, youngest son of the first Lord Kintail, and first of the Allangrange family. Jane Mackenzie married, secondly, Alexander Mackenzie, 4th of Loggie, above mentioned, having married Simon Mackenzie, second of Lochslyne, son of the above Honourable Simon Mackenzie, by his first marriage, it followed that Agnes Fraser was both mother-in-law and stepmother to Simon Mackenzie, second of Lochslyne. Margaret, Agnes' second daughter, married (1st), in 1670, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, with issue, and (2nd) Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald, without issue. William was succeeded by his son,

VI. HUGH, erroneously called "James, younger of Culbokie," one of the attenders at the funeral at Holyrood, of Hugh, Master of Lovat, May, 1643, who was served heir to his father in the lands held of the Crown, 12th April, 1670. He married Agnes Fraser of Stray. In his time and during part of his father's, involvements, cautionary and otherwise, of a serious nature took place. The whole estates in Ross and Inverness were adjudged by Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon and others. It was not difficult for the powerful Mackenzie, whose wife Margaret was Culbokie's niece, to dispossess Culbokie of his Ross-shire estates, which, accordingly, from and after 1672, remained with Findon, passing through the eldest daughter, Lillias, who married Sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Seatwell, into that family. In 1673, Hugh gave a long lease to his brother, Alexander, of Kyllachy, a detached piece of land lying in the parish of Kiltarlity. The manner in which this quarter land of Kyllachy was reclaimed, more than a hundred years after, will be mentioned later on. In 1676, Hugh is infeft in the lands formerly belonging to Mackintosh. Alexander Fraser, then of Kinnairies, and James Fraser, first of the Dunballoch family, in the years 1676 and 1677, adjudicated the Barony of Drumchardiny and the lands of Kingillie, etc., but Hugh Fraser retained actual possession of

Guisachan, dying at Kingillie in the month of June, 1678; Kinnairies and Dunballoch received charters of adjudication, and all these lands, like Culbokie, now fell away from the family for ever. Hugh Fraser was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. WILLIAM, who, in 1683 described as "son and heir of the late Hugh Fraser of Guisachan," had a most precarious hold on Guisachan, the only remaining part of the estates. Kinnairies and Dunballoch in 1699 transacted their respective interests in the former Culbokie lands, and Kinnairies raised a loan, wherefor his heir being unable to pay when the money was repayable, all interests were in 1711 adjudged. A charter of adjudication following, was the foundation of the right whereby Thomas Fraser, second of Dunballoch, sneeringly described by Culbokie as "bred a vryter in Edinburgh," and by Simon Lord Lovat in his memoirs as a "little knave of a Fraser," entered into possession of what is known now as the Newton Estate. Had Culbokie been in a position to redeem or purge the adjudication, the amount would be a trifle compared to the value of the share of the estate, even at that period. Alexander Fraser of Kinnairies, who had then got into difficulties himself, behaved well to Culbokie, considering the disinheritance of 1590, for he disposed Guisachan to William Fraser, eldest lawful son of William Fraser of Culbokie, to which he had right by Charter of Resignation, on the narrative of "the love and favour I have and bear to William Fraser, son and heir of William Fraser of Culbokie, as the apparent stock of the family whereof I am descended, and the vigorous inclinations I have to raise and uphold that family," by disposition dated at Lovat, 6th April, 1706, in presence of David Polson of Kinmylies, Hugh Fraser, his son, and John Chisholm of Knockfin. There is a curious reservation of half the woods so long as Kinnairies or his heirs male held any lands in the county, assignees, however, being excluded.

William Fraser was one of those involved in 1698 as being art and part in the Lady Lovat outrage. Among the Athole papers is a letter in May of that year, signed "S. Fraser," to the Marquis of Athole regarding Culbokie, from which the following is an extract:—"Since I wrote last to your lordship, Culbokie has made application to the Governor of Beaufort, and he, upon security of his appearance at Dunkeld, or wherever your lordship will be pleased to call him to, has granted him protection. He seems to be very sensible of his error, and faithfully promises in time coming to be very steadfast to my Lady Lovat's interest. He gives a very dismal account of his Highland friends."

This William Fraser was succeeded by his son, also named

VIII. WILLIAM, who was one of the heads of Highland families who signed the address to George the First, the non-delivery or acknowledgment of which was one of the great causes of the rising of 1715. He it was who received a charter of the lands of Kinnairies, as before mentioned, in his father's lifetime, of date 6th April, 1706. He took measures to redeem the position of the family, and paid off a wadset over Mid-Guisachan to Knockfin, which had come by progress to Fraser of Kinnairies, and also acquired Kinnairies' lands of Fanellan. By 1741, Alexander Fraser of Kinnairies was dead, and his only son, Hugh, was also dead, without issue, survived by sisters only, when the direct male line of Kinnairies became extinct.

William acted as judicial factor in the ranking and sale of the remainder of the Kinnairies estates. As factor, he is excused accounting for the rents of Fanellan and the quarter lands of Kiltarlity for years 1744 and 1745, in respect that "the multures of the Mill of Fanellan were, during the time of the late rebellion, for the said two years, as well as the hail rents, carried off and destroyed."

A younger son, Simon, described as "in Crochel," is found in 1746. One daughter is believed to have married Fraser of Auchnaeloch, and another, Fraser of Aigas. His eldest daughter, Margaret, married Robert Fraser, younger of Muizie—contract dated Guisachan, 23rd August, 1751. Among the witnesses are Hugh Fraser, son to Hugh Fraser of Muizie, and Simon Fraser, son to Kilbockie. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. WILLIAM FRASER, who, on 1st July, 1755, is served heir male of line, and of provision in general to William Fraser, late of Culbokie, his father, eldest lawful son of the deceased William Fraser of Culbokie. Upon 10th December, 1756, he received a Crown Charter (the Lovat family, the former superiors, being under forfeiture), containing not only Guisachan, but also the lands of Lurg, and Bridaig of Fanellan, in Kiltarlity, whereon he was enrolled as a freeholder. In the year 1825, William Fraser, then of Culbokie, was applied to for information as to his family, and his reply has been preserved. From it I make the following extract:—
"The fact is thus—My father, when very young, was engaged with his unfortunate chief in the ill-advised and miserably terminated adventure of the 1745. The consequence was that in the remorseless and unjustifiable spirit of those days, though my grandfather was still alive and not implicated, he being possessed of the property, still the family mansion was burnt, and with it

all the family papers, manuscripts, etc., were destroyed. The family, thus depressed, and my father—though after the Act of Indemnity and his father's death left in possession of this property—had not much turn for genealogy, so that nothing of what was lost was recovered or reinstated; and you are aware I passed my early days abroad, so that I am quite in the dark."

William Fraser, "younger of Culbokie," is included in the Lists of Insurgents to be prosecuted, his accusation, "Captain of the Frasers under Inverallochie," and the witnesses to give evidence against him were William Fraser, tenant, and Simon Fraser, *alias* Miller, and Peter Gow, *alias* Smith, gardener, all residing in Beauly, who, I trust, were unwilling witnesses. The Culbokies, father and son, were homeless; yet, I cannot but think that the younger man, though a fugitive, from his knowledge of the country, must have given great help, and, perhaps, afforded companionship to Prince Charles. On 23rd July, 1746, Charles Edward was in the Braes, between Glenmoriston and Strathglass; 24th, in a cave, where he was found by the Glenmoriston men; August 1st, in the woods and sheilings of Strathglass, till the 7th; and on the 18th, at Fasnakyle. It is not a little singular, considering the minute details we have of his wanderings in the West and Islands, how little is known of his sojourn in the Braes of Strathglass.

To give a vote to the Honourable Archibald Fraser of Lovat, Culbokie granted a feu charter to Thomas Fraser of Auchnacloch, and a Wadset Disposition to Archibald Fraser, in the year 1760, redeemable at Whitsunday, 1772, which remained unrecalled for 37 years. On his death-bed Culbokie was anxious to get these deeds cancelled, and his son enrolled. Probably the last letter he wrote was on this subject, dated Guisachan, 29th July, 1797, dying two days after. The Lovat Estates being restored in their entirety, the Superiorities revived, and the succeeding Culbokie had to purchase his Superiority, when the great sale of the Lovat Superiorities took place in the beginning of the century. Before this time, wood had become in demand; the natural firs of Strathglass deservedly possessed a high reputation, and none more than Guisachan, as demonstrated by the name.

In 1796 Culbokie entered into a fifteen years' contract of the woods with Thomas Stevenson, junior, merchant in Oban, at a rent of £160 a-year. As the woods were described as situated not only possible, but convenient for floating, the contractor, after trial of the Diag, got out of his bad bargain, alleging that he might as well have purchased "a forest in the internal parts of America."

Later floatings during floods from the Chisholm and other estates created such damage to the river banks of the Strathglass owners that they became frequent subjects of dispute in the Courts of Law.

William Fraser married Mary Macdonell of Ardnabie, of a handsome race, herself a lady of singular beauty and accomplishments, known as the "pride of Glengarry," daughter of John Macdonell, wadsetter of Ardnabie, and Mary Macdonell of Glengarry. This family held a good position, for I find Angus Macdonell of Ardnabie as early as 1643, the wadset not being extinguished until the year 1807. The families were formerly connected; for the Glenmoriston MS. Genealogy states that of the daughters of John Doun the fifth, one was Mrs Fraser of Culbokie before-mentioned, wife of William, the fifth Culbokie, another Mrs Macdonell of Ardnabie.

William, this laird, twixt 1750 and 1760, built the very substantial, suitable mansion-house of Guisachan, which was much admired, and was for so many years the abode of a talented family. Mrs Fraser, celebrated for her knowledge of Gaelic and music, had made a collection of Gaelic manuscripts and music, which were, unfortunately, carried to America in 1773 by one of the family possessed of similar tastes, and through his misfortunes as a Loyalist in the wars his home was wrecked and the papers have long since disappeared. Culbokie's sons were—Major Archibald Fraser; John, described in 1774 as Captain John, thereafter of the Island of Dominica, who died in Edinburgh; and Captain Simon. The daughters were—Annie, married in 1788 to Eneas Macdonell, younger of Scotos and great grandmother of the present Glengarry; Margaret, who died unmarried; Jean, third daughter, who, on 4th September, 1792, married John Chisholm of Knoekfin; Mary, the fourth daughter, died unmarried. Margaret Fraser was long on terms which would have probably ended in marriage with Dr John Fraser, R.N., described "as descended of the family of Culbokie," but who, unfortunately, happened to be serving on the war ship "Queen Charlotte" when the vessel blew up. Dr Fraser in his will, dated 17th May, 1798, and drawn up by himself, left several bequests, and as regards the residue, which was of some value, he uses these words:—"And from the respect and esteem I have and bear to and for the family of William Fraser, late of Culbokie, I give, devise, and bequeath all the rest, residue and remainder, of my property and estate of every kind and nature wheresoever situated, unto Miss Margaret Fraser, second daughter of him, the said William Fraser of

Culbokie, to be *payable on the day of her marriage, and then settled upon herself and her issue.*"

One of the executors, the well known Mr Alexander Fraser of Lincoln's Inn ("Sandy Leadelune"), insisted that until Miss Fraser married she could derive no benefit, and the lady at this time (1862), though she would probably have married her old flame, was long past all thoughts of marriage otherwise. This incident, an illustration of the awkwardness and danger of making one's own will, was solved by an agreement with Miss Fraser's, Scotos nephews and niece, the beneficiaries in contingent remainder.

William Fraser, who had long been in feeble health, survived his wife, and died at Guisachan on 31st July, 1797, aged 74. The obituary notice is ordered to contain nothing except that he is "deeply regretted." He was so ill in February that his daughter, Mrs Macdonell of Scotos, could not leave him to see her sister-in-law, poor "Katie" Scotos, who had been visiting at Erchless Castle, and died of what was formerly called "a galloping consumption" at Inverness on 29th January. The younger Culbokie ordered she should be interred in the Culbokie ground at Kirkhill, near her brother Aeneas Scotos. The funeral was on 1st February, Mr Aeneas, afterwards Bishop Chisholm, officiating, and attended amongst others by young Culbokie, Captain Simon, his brother, and Hugh Fraser, afterwards of Eskdale (see with reference to this young lady, described as exceedingly handsome, "Minor Families, No. 3). She was almost a stranger in Inverness, but a few friends looked after her carefully, and her youth, beauty, and forlorn condition, excited the warm sympathy of the town's people, and I gladly place on record this testimony—"The well-known humanity of the better sort of the inhabitants of this place was well exemplified in their attention to her." This description of the people of Inverness is contained in a letter of date February, 1797. Culbokie was succeeded by his eldest son.

x. WILLIAM FRASER, who, with consent of his father, married Sarah, third daughter of Colonel James Fraser of Belladrum, contract dated Guisachan and Belladrum, 25th and 26th April, 1797. He had been originally in the army, and, prior to his marriage, engaged in business in the West Indies, and was on the way to St Vincent when his father died. Writing on the 8th June, 1798, from St Vincent, he says—"You may be sure I have the utmost anxiety to bid this quarter of the world adieu. I have now every inducement to incline me to return home, yet, I am sorry to say,

I cannot make this out so soon as I expected, without making a sacrifice which my circumstances cannot afford, and which my best friends might censure."

This Culbokie was, perhaps, the best known and had the greatest influence of any of the family. He was a capital man of business, of active and energetic habit, and, I think, for some time Convener of the County. Well would it have been for him and his posterity had he remained, like his father, quiet and content to stay on the paternal estate. The rental of Guisachan in the year 1800 may be given, and contrasted with the Valuation Roll of 1892-1893. By the latter, the total rent is £1596 8s, whereof tenants, in the ordinary acceptation of the term—*nil*.

RENTAL IN 1800.

Mid Guisachan—Sheep Farm	...	...	£70	0	0
Cougy—A Black Cattle Farm	...	...	175	0	0
Mains of Guisachan—Do.	...	...	25	0	0
Ballacladdich—Do.	...	...	64	0	0
Achblair—Do.	...	...	38	0	0
Wester Achnaheglash—Do.	...	...	29	0	0
Easter Achnaheglash—Do.	...	...	15	0	0
Tomich—Do.	...	...	18	0	0
Glassach—Do.	...	...	10	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£444	0	0

The following is a list of the tenants about the year 1810:—

Balcladdich and Grazings of Cougy—Peter Grant, John Macdonald, Alexander Fraser, John Macrae, Angus Scott.

Achblair—Archibald Fraser, Donald Chisholm, Roderick Chisholm, Widow Macdonald.

Tomich—Alexander Cameron.

Easter Achnaheglash—John and Donald Macdonald.

Wester Achnaheglash—John Fraser, Widow Anne Macdonald, James Fraser, John Fraser.

Knockan-na-Crew or Hilton—Alexander Macrae.

Wester Guisachan—William Macrae, Alexander Macrae.

Being nineteen heads of families, with numerous cottars, about 200 souls in all.

During his long possession, Culbokie is always complaining that his tenants never pay rent regularly, that they are addicted to smuggling, and the "Moulin Dhu" always at work.

In one letter, early in this century, he does not know how to act, finding, on an unexpected arrival from his ordinary residence of Achnagairn, that all his servants were maudlinly intoxicated. They had meanly broken into a still some distance off, which they had ascertained would be closed and unwatched at a certain hour, and carried off in "piggys" a large quantity of spirits. No honour, he says, even among smugglers; and meantime he had to content himself with swearing at large and smashing the jars, though his own property. He would not settle at Guisachan, but rented the house of Achnagairn. In 1806, he writes that he leaves Achnagairn for Guisachan, from July to Christmas. Then he built and improved, without proper precaution for refundment, the house of Balblair, formerly called Donaldston, meliorating and improving greatly its surroundings. He was also tenant of the farm of Fanellan. Culbokie was able to redeem a portion of the former estate called Kyllachie, first mentioned in the year 1496, under rather curious circumstances. The description of Kyllachie ran thus:—"All and whole the Town and lands of Kyllaugh or Kyllachie, extending to one quarter or one-fourth part of a davoch of lands of old extent, with the Multures, sequels, houses, buildings, and other parts and pertinents lying within the Barony of Aird, Lordship of Lovat, and Sheriffdom of Inverness."

Upon 15th March, 1673, Hugh Fraser of Culbokie gave a lease of Kyllachie for an undefined number of years, in respect of money borrowed, to his brother Alexander. No title was made up, but simple possession had by Alexander Fraser and his heirs until 1742, when Hugh Fraser, dealing with the subjects as heritage, disposed them in favour of Isobel Fraser, his wife, in life-rent, and himself in fee, on which infeftment followed. Entering into a second marriage, Hugh Fraser made a similar grant to Grizel Fraser, his wife, in life-rent, in 1769. Being in difficulties, Hugh Fraser disposed liberally the subjects in 1774 to one William Fraser of St Vincents, whose brother and heir, Thomas, conveyed to Culbokie in 1797.

It will be recollected that Kingillie was adjudged by Dunballoch, first, from Culbokie, and afterwards from Kinnairies, the Dunballoch title standing in the Charter of Adjudication of 1711 before noted. Fortified by actual possession, their title became unassailable as regards the lands situated in Kirkhill parish. About 1790, Fraser of Newton, who had dropped the title of Dunballoch, to which place his family had only a redeemable right, took proceedings to oust Grizel Fraser, life-rentrix of Kyllachie, before mentioned, who had by this time remarried.

Defences were given in for her, and her husband and William Fraser of St Vincents, to the effect that Newton or his authors never having been in the natural possession of Kyllachy, which was detached from Kingillie, and situated in another parish, nor received rent nor other duties, he lost his right to reclaim, and although it was admittedly within his charter, still there had been possession on another title. The process, at Newton's instance, was dismissed with costs. As Newton threatened to try the matter in another form, Culbokie, who had now become proprietor, found it necessary to fortify his title by serving heir to his grandfather's grandfather, Hugh the 6th, the granter of the lease of 1673. This was carried out in 1800, a Crown charter following. The witnesses of propinquity were William Fraser, tenant in Crask of Easter Crochel, aged 75, cousin german on the father's side, and Alexander Grant, tenant in Guisachan, aged 74, cousin german on the mother's side to the claimant's father (William, 9th Culbokie).

A hint was also conveyed to Newton that if he moved further in regard to Kyllachy, his possession under the charter of adjudication of his Kirkhill estates would be challenged. So, as regards Newton, the matter dropped. Culbokie, however, some years after, in 1813, had to defend himself from a process of eviction at the instance of William Fraser, commonly called "William Kyllachy," son of Alexander Fraser, and nephew and heir-at-law of Hugh, the last leaseholder, who tried to carry on a process by means of admittance to the roll of "poor" litigants, but, to use a common expression, this William had not a leg to stand on.

Kyllachy has for many years belonged to Lovat, and I have been informed by Mr Peter that most of the lands have been planted, forming part of Boblaue Woods, and that the old arable land is tenanted by William Fraser, Kinnairies, the roofless remains of some of the old buildings being still visible, situated not far from Loch Bruiaich on its eastern side. Though Kyllachy has disappeared as an independency, its story will remain.

The Honourable Archibald Fraser of Lovat harassed most of the gentlemen of his clan in various ways, and Culbokie and his successor considered themselves ill-used about Balblair. He took his chief's death calmly, merely writing on 11th December, 1815, from Balblair—"I am come to this quarter to witness the last duties to the remains of my late chief;" not a word of comment, regret or sympathy. His views as to the "new family," the "Aberdeen folks," to use his expressions at various times, may be

best gathered from the following extract from a letter dated Guisachan, 9th February, 1816.—“As to the Aberdeenshire good folks, they seem to have entirely cut with me, and I shall take care that they shall have no difficulty in so doing, though I cannot comprehend the slightest cause for it. However, I conceive myself as independent of them at present, as they are of me, and it will be my endeavour to keep so, nor will I be over-ready to make or receive future advances, as I conceive they have behaved very unpolitely at least towards me. They certainly will have law enough in hand. I understand the two ladies [Mrs Fraser of Lovat and Mrs Fraser of Strichen—C.F.M.], are very thick and great apparently. Mark the end of it. Mrs Fraser, Strichen, thought proper as she was leaving Inverness on the return eastward to write a polite letter to my wife, as if to keep a show of terms.”

Culbokie was evidently much huffed, but it was got over shortly, and before Mrs Fraser of Lovat's death, he in return for attention shewn, did, according to the story common among old people in the Aird, put a strong spoke into the wheel of the Welsh Lovat Claimant of that period, 1815-1819. Culbokie was deeply mixed up in West Indian affairs, and got involved in executorships, cautionary obligations, etc., insomuch that in 1833 his creditors were gathered. They received a very large dividend; but matters continued unsettled, and harassed the old man up to his death. The last paper of his I have seen is dated in October, 1842, not long before his death, and he died at Guisachan, 3rd July, 1843.

He left two sons, William Fraser, W.S., and James, who entered the East India Company's service. Culbokie survived his wife and eldest son, who properly, therefore, ought not to be counted in the list, but I place him as

XI. WILLIAM FRASER. He married, in 1826, Margaret, elder daughter of David George Sandeman, of Perth, and died suddenly while on a visit at Bught on 6th January, 1829, leaving a son and posthumous daughter, Anna Jane, born in March, 1829, who married Mr Parker.

XII. WILLIAM FRASER succeeded in minority to his grandfather, and to an estate embarrassed, but by no means desperate. It was well administered by Eneas Ronald Macdonell of Scotos and Captain Kyle of Bingham (who had married Helen, Scotos) and did something to repay the kindness shewn to the Scotos family by their uncle, Culbokie. That the young gentleman, who was very carefully brought up, and is well spoken of by Mrs Sandeman in

her interesting memoirs, did not, on his accession, in the strength of youth and health, find it incumbent and a high duty to preserve the estate—"come weal, come woe"—must be a source of regret to all well-wishers of the ancient and honourable house of Mac-Huistean.

Lord Lovat received, on his majority the other day, an address signed by upwards of 700 Frasers. The clan flourishes—said to number 25,000—but where are the heads of the cadet families? Remnants are still found in Knoek Voire, but the great districts of Kilmorack and Kiltarlity know them not; and any of their descendants who may visit the Aird, contemplating the past, may echo what was expressed hundreds of years ago:—

"Come, Ossian, come, this is no
Place for us. Strangers now dwell
In the Halls of the Fathers."

22nd FEBRUARY, 1893.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society, viz.:—Professor Strachan, Marple, Cheshire; Mr Alex. Fraser, City Editor, *Toronto Mail*, Toronto; Mr Robert Dey, M.A., Berryhill Public School, Wishaw; Mr Duncan Macgregor Crerar, 93 Nasseu Street, New York; and Mr W. S. Roddie, Music Teacher, Inverness. The paper for the evening was contributed by Mr John Mackay, J.P., Hereford, on "Sutherland Place Names—Parishes of Loth and Clyne." Mr Mackay's paper was as follows:—

SUTHERLAND PLACE NAMES.

PARISH OF LOTH.

This parish is the smallest in extent in the county, comprising only 18,042 acres, of which 430 are foreshore, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ water. It lies along the south-east coast, and the Duke of Sutherland's railway traverses it throughout its whole length of 7 miles. A range of steep hills, whose loftiest summits attain altitudes of about 1900 feet above sea level, extends along its inland boundary nearly parallel with the sea coast, and forms over all its extent, the water shed-line. The surface from this summit-line seaward is first, a steep uncultivable declivity, and next, a plain or nearly

level expanse of alluvial land, fertile, well cultivated, and embellished. The ravines cut down by the streamlets along the descending surface, are very remarkable, and exhibit striking and highly romantic touches of landscape. The largest of these, called, by way of pre-eminence, the Glen of Loth, is flanked by the most mountainous heights of the parish, and it wends its way amongst them with a wildness peculiarly Highland, which caused it to be peopled, by the superstition of former times, with many an imp and worker of terror. The stream or river running through this wild glen is, in its angry moods, characteristic of the glen itself: rising at the back of Beinn-a-Mheillich it falls 1570 feet in its course of 6 miles to the sea. Though almost dry in summer, it used formerly to be very formidable to the traveller, and, as seen from the bridge, by which it is now always passable, it still exhibits the sudden, impetuously rushing, roaring, fearful *spates*, which once caused it to be viewed with dread.

Not only this stream, but some very tiny rills in this parish, possesses the fame of having in some brief but tremendous onsets tripped up unwary travellers, and careered away with them to the sea. Telford, with his roads and bridges, did away with that danger since 1812, and the "imps" and "terror workers" of Glen Loth followed. In connection with this and Glen Loth river, which, up to the end of the sixteenth century, had no visible connection with the sea, and formed, in times of flood, a large lake in Loth More, a wide belt of rock intervening between it and the sea. Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Sutherland, previously Countess of Bothwell, seeing the evil and the loss caused by the accumulated floods, took it into her hardy Gordon head that this belt of rock might be cut through and give the river and floods a free course to the sea, and so prevent good land being rendered useless. Tradition does not report who was her engineer or what "wise" man she consulted, but by her instructions the belt of rock was cut through deep enough to give free egress to river and flood. The cutting is seen to this day, no doubt much deeper than it was made three centuries ago, but dim tradition states that her engineer must have been "a blaek" for interfering with the designs and works of a Higher Being. The quondam lake is now the finest land and most fertile in Sutherland.

The rocks along the coast of this parish are oolite, comprising limestone, conglomerate, variously coloured shales, and white and red sandstones. In the uplands the prevailing rock is a kind of large grained porphyry, unusually fragile, easily worn away by running water.

One-seventh of the area of the parish is in cultivation. The large farm of Cracaig is considered the most fertile in the county.

In this district may still be seen the ruins and remains of ancient and medieval structures, Pictish towers, underground dwellings and passages, cairns and tumuli, castles and mansions of feudal chieftains of their day, and several other objects of interest, to which local traditions have given celebrity, which will be noticed in Place Names. There are traditions of various battles being fought in this district between the natives and the invading Norsemen, near Garty, where there are numerous tumuli. In the construction of the railway in 1870, near a headland called Stron-runkie (sron rudha-na-gaoithe), two skeletons were found lying side by side, with flag stones at head and feet, indicating them to be those of very tall and strong men, the skulls long and finely shaped, showing no sword cuts, bones long and massive, ribs wide and thick, teeth perfect and beautifully set. From inquiries made, it was found that a tradition existed of a conflict having taken place thereabouts, in which the natives had defeated the Norsemen and slain two of their leaders, who were buried near the shore, and if their remains were ever disturbed, a tempest would arise that would destroy the locality. The remains were disturbed, the tempest did not arise, but the injunction and the penalty sufficed to deter desecration, and tell its own tale.

A battle between the Sutherlands and the Sinclairs took place near Helmsdale; another battle between the Sutherlands and Mackays at Druimdearg, in the glen of Loth. While the Earl of Sutherland, assisted by his allies, invaded Strathnaver, the Mackays, by a flank march, invaded the south coast, defeated the men of Sutherland, who opposed them, at Druimdearg, ravaged the country, burnt the church at Loth, and St Ninian's chapel in Navidale, and returned into their own country with a large spoil, having eluded the Earl and his forces, who returned from Strathnaver in pursuit of them.

At the west end of the parish, near Kintradwell, a conflict took place, in which Alexander, the rightful heir of the old Sutherland line, was captured by the Gordons of Aboyne, who immediately beheaded him, and fixed his head on the highest turret of Dunrobin, in fulfilment of the *spae-wife's* telling him that "his head would be the highest of his race." A descendant of this unfortunate nobleman lived in Edinburgh at the beginning of this century, to whom the Countess of Sutherland made an annual allowance while he lived. He was the rightful heir, in male succession, to the estates and earldom.

In olden times this district must have been very populous, for it was well supplied with places of worship. The parish church was for ages, as it is now, at Lothmore; though burnt in 1556 by the ruthless Mackays, it was soon rebuilt. It was dedicated to St Carden. A chapel and hospital, dedicated to St John the Baptist, at Helmsdale. Another, dedicated to St Ninian, at Navidale, burnt by the Mackays in 1556. Sir R. Gordon says it was a place "wher in old tymes ther wes a sanctuarie." The cemetery still exists. Another chapel at East Garty, built by a Countess of Sutherland "for her own devotion, and besyd it lived for some tyme." No trace of it remains. Another at Kintradwell (Cill-Trollie), dedicated to St Trollie, Trollhena of the Ork. Saga, Trollen, Triduan, Tridwen, of the Scottish hagiologists.

LOTH.

The district name presents an interesting subject of speculation, conjecture, study, and research. We have very few variants of it in ancient writs or charters. All we have in the Sutherland charters and writs is, Lothe, cir. 1560; Loth, cir. 1567-74; Lothkirk, 1640. In Gaelic, it is Loth, or Logh, and its inhabitants are termed *Logh-aich*, as the Helmsdale people, *Ill-aich*, from dwelling on both banks of the River Il-igh.

Previous to and after the beginning of the Christian era, Tyrian, and no doubt other navigators and explorers, had visited the coast of Scotland, and left the result of their explorations in maps and MSS., which found their way into the libraries of Alexandria, then the commercial and literary emporium of the world. From such MSS. the great geographical writer, Strabo, and after him the more learned Ptolemy, compiled their maps and geographies. In Ptolemy's map of Caledonia, Sutherland is partitioned among four principle tribes, the "Catini" on the north, the "Carnonacæ" on the north-west and west, the "Mertæ" in the interior, and the "Logi" on the south and south-east.

The bounds of the "Logi" were from the "Abona" (the Dornoch Firth), which name we have still in *Bonar*, to the *Ilu* (the Il-igh or Uillie of modern map). The first syllable of the term Logi is the present name of the district, pronounced in Gaelic as lo, or logh, and the inhabitants are still called *Logh-aich*. What does the word lo, logh, or loth mean? In Gaelic it means colt or foal. In British or Welsh, llo means calf. Were the Logi tribe horse-breeders, and hereby acquired the cognomen "Logi" or "Loghaich"; and were their more inland neighbours, the "Mertæ," "Martaich," cattle breeders, and from such a cause acquire their cognomen "Mertæ" or "Martaich"?

These appellations, given them by Tyrian explorers, were undoubtedly obtained from the natives by means of interpreters, and were noted in the best way that could be done to give effect to the sense and the pronunciation of the names by which they were known among themselves. The process would be the same at that time as it was centuries thereafter, when Columbus, and Captain Cook, and other navigators discovered new lands on the American continent and the Pacific Ocean, and held converse with the tribes that inhabited them.

The antiquity of the term Loth is undoubted, whatever its real signification or definition may be. Its proximity to the "Il-a" and "Abona" of Ptolemy lends force to the supposition that it was applied to the tribal nomenclature long anterior to the visits of the ancient Tyrian navigators.

A very probable conjecture would be that the most striking natural feature in the district might give it its name. The most remarkable feature in this district is the River Loth in flood, as previously described. Having its rise in a large and mountainous watershed, and falling 1500 feet in less than 6 miles, it is excessively rapid in its flow, and, in flood, the velocity of its water is simply amazing. From this physical fact, it may be inferred that the keen-sighted Gael would call it, and name it "*Luath amhuinn*," the swiftly flowing river, as some of the Gauls of France named some of theirs. The difference in phonetics is very slight, the long diphthong "ua" in "*Luath*" is readily transmuted into the shorter sound of "o" when sharply pronounced. Hence the river gave its name to the glen through which it flowed, and extended it to the district of which they are the centre. An instance of this is found in many places, especially in the northern part of the county, in the river Naver imposing its name on the valley through which its course lies, and to the whole district around it. River names in France have in modern times been adopted as the appellation of departments. For these reasons, and upon these grounds, we incline to the idea that it was the aspect of this river in flood which induced the natives of the district, twenty centuries ago and more, to name the river "*Luath amhuinn*," and that this very distinctive and descriptive appellation was thereafter applied to the glen and to the district right and left of it.

A conjecture has been hazarded that the district received its name from a lake that existed between Lothnour and Lothbeg previous to the time when Lady Jane Gordon, Countess of Sutherland in 1575, had the hardihood to cause a belt of rock between it

and the sea to be cut through, which completely drained the lake. But the district before her day was called Loth, not Loch.

But yet another derivation for the term "Loth" has been given in the word "lathach," clayey, miry, in reference to the alluvial soil of the district. It cannot be supposed that the natives of the district twenty or twenty-five centuries ago cultivated so much land as to enable them to judge of what the subsoil consisted.

MOUNTAINS.

Beinn-na-Meillich—G., hill of the bleating, 1940 feet high probably so called from the custom of the inhabitants sending the ewes to that outlying district on being separated from their lambs in summer.

Beinn-chól—G., Kol's hill, where he was wont to hunt. Kol was the name of a Norse magnate of the 11th century, a relative of Frakark, the Norse Amazon of Kildonan, whose castle there was burnt by Swein. On the banks of the Blackwater, in the parish of Clyne, are the ruins of a stronghold called "Castle Cole," or Kol's Castle, built of immensely large stones.

Beinn-na-h-urrachd, more probably Beinn-na-h-onrachd—G., mountain or hill of solitude, 2046 feet.

Beinn dobhraim—G., more probably, beinn doireann, hill of storminess, 2068 feet.

Carn-uain—G., green cairn, an ancient hunting-place of the Sutherland earls in Glen Loth Deer Forest, now a sheep-walk.

Carn Brān—G., a very large cairn, said to mark the place where Fingal's famous hound, Bran, died and was interred.

Cosh-ceavaig—G., probably còs-camhaig, an artificial cave, well built and roofed with stone, leading to subterranean apartments, which served for places of refuge or sepulture. It is situated in the west side of the high banks of Kintradwell burn; còs-camhaig is a very apt description of it, the cave of small caves.

Clach-mac-meas—G., a huge stone which a precocious youth in that interesting period of the world's history, when "giants of mighty bone and bold emprise" dwelt in the land, hurled after a foe to the bottom of Glen Loth from an adjoining mountain.

Carriken-cligñ—G. carraghan clith, pillars or monuments of strength. These are four stone pillars, on an elevated mound or barrow, that point out the resting-place of some leading men of a very remote period.

Craig a Bhodaich—G., rock of the hobgoblin.

Craig a Bhokie—G., crag-a-bhòcan, rock of the spectre.

These two hills, one on each side of Slet-dale burn, a tributary of the Loth, form the very close and singular sides of the burn. These lofty hills are remarkable not only for their towering perpendicular heights, but for the narrow space that separates them.

Creag-a-chrionaich—G., rock of the decayed wood ; 1294 feet.

Creag-na-h-iolaire—G., rock of the eagle ; 970 feet.

Creag-a-mheasgain—G., creag-a-mhaosgain, rock of the unshapely lumps ; 1346 feet.

Creag loisgte—G., burnt rock, in reference to its sterility and colour of its surface ; 1250 feet.

Creag mhor—G., big rock ; 1581 ft.

Druim dearg—G., red ridges, heights on the right side of Glen Loth rising in successive terraces to 570 feet. At the foot of these heights in 1556 the Mackays overthrew the Sutherlands in bloody conflict, burnt the kirk of Loth, harried the surrounding district, and compelled the Earl of Sutherland and allies to return from Strathnaver to defend his own territory.

Meallan liath mor—G., the big, grey, little lump.

Meallan liath beg—G., the small, grey, little lump ; Meall-an, dim. of Meall.

There are no lakes in the parish, no islands attached to it. The rivers and streams and promontories will be noticed under place-names.

PLACE-NAMES.

Ballinreach—G., baile-na-ruighachan, the hamlet on the hill slopes ; W., rhiw, pro. rioo, slope or declivity at hill bases.

Braeval—G., braigh-a-bhaile, the upper part or upper grounds of a hamlet or township ; W., brai, the topmost ; Norse, brā, brow ; Eng., brow ; B. S., brae, from the Gaelic or Norse. It is worthy of note to see how the signification changes by transposing the syllables of this word in Gaelic, putting the second syllable first, as Bal-a-bhraighe, and Bal-a-bhaghad (Balvraid). This gives us the hamlet on the brae.

Crackaig—G., craic ; Heb. G., croic, sea-weed cast away, or cast ashore, and ach, a terminal adjunctive used in Greek, Latin, and other languages, in conjunction with nouns, as Gaol-ach, Mulad-ach, denoting, having, or abounding in. In Greek we have similar adjuncts, in -achos, -ochos, -akos, and in Latin, -acus, -icus. Hence we take Crackaig to be Craic-ach, having, or abounding in, sea-weed, softened in the course of ages to "craic-aig." Crackaig is near the sea-shore, and in front of it is a promontory on the east side of which is a bay, which is sheltered by it, a fit place for sea-weed to be thrown on its shores. If the last syllable be uig,

Norse for bay, we still have the sea-weed bay. The old form of this word in Sutherland charters was *cir.* 1500, Crakog; 1600, Crakag.

Culgower—G., *cuil na-gabhair*, the nook, or corner of the goats.

Garty—G., *gart*, *gort*, an enclosure; W., *garth*, an enclosure; N., *gardr*, a walled dwelling, a court-house; Ger. *garten*, a garden; Fr., *jardin*, a garden. There are three townships in this parish bearing this name, Gartymore, Mid Garty, and West Garty.

Kilmote—The native name of this place is *Bal-na-h-ath*, the township of the kiln. The modern name is the anglicised form of the ancient one.

Kintradwell—The old form of this name was *Clynetredwan*, or more probably *Cill-trollen*, as it was derived from a chapel erected here in remote times, and dedicated to a nun said to have come from Achaia with St Regulus, and canonised as St Trollen, or Trollhena of the Sagas, St Tredwen, Triduan, and Tredwell of other writs, and Scottish hagiologists.

Loth, Lothmor, Lothbeg, described before.

Portgower—So called from the place-name near it, Culgower or from a fishing village being created here on the evictions of the small tenants, in forming the large arable and sheep farms in the parish, 1810 to 1812, and called Portgower, after the title of Earl Gower, the heir to the estates, and afterwards 2nd Duke of Sutherland.

Slet-dale—N., *slet*, slight, small, trivial, in comparison with the great glen of Loth, and *dalr*, dale, the small dale or glen.

Stronerunkie—This word, in the form we find it, is an instance of how place-names are frequently "murdered" when anglicised. It is *Sron rudha-na-gaoithe*, nose of the windy promontory, a headland on the shore near Cracaig.

PARISH OF CLYNE.

This parish extends from the sea-shore at Brora north-westwards for $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the heights of the water-shed at Beinn Armuinn, which divides it from the parish of Farr. Its breadth varies from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its computed area is 75,912 acres, of which only about 1500 is cultivated, 283 are foreshore, and 1110 water, of which the pretty Loch Brora, famous for its salmon, is the largest. The north-western part of the parish is wild, bleak, and lofty, the confines of which form the central mountain range of the county. The central portion of it debouching upon the beautiful, glistening surface of Loch Brora is picturesque,

diversified by the intermingling of mountain and glen, wood and water, green slopes and meads. The south-eastern portion subsides into low lands, yet attractive, and diversified by the green glades and woody hill screens of the loch, the interesting surroundings of Brora village, the well cultivated arable land, and the low sandy beach, with a belt of sand hills, verdant and bent covered. The Duke of Sutherland Railway traverses the whole breadth of the parish, with a station on the north side of the Brora River and village.

The geological formation of this south-eastern part of the parish has a peculiar interest to the student of geology, from the occurrence in its rocks of a coal formation belonging to the Lias and Oolite periods, and for the juxta-position of that formation with granite. The coal was worked here as long ago as 1573 in connection with salt-pans on the shore. Although vigorously worked for many years, both these industries failed to be remunerative, and were for a time abandoned till, in 1812, the then Marquis of Stafford re-commenced operations, and spent £16,000 in opening a new pit, constructing a harbour, and a tramway from it to the coal pit, and four large salt-pans, built at an additional cost of £3500, to give employment to the evicted from the heights of the parish. Yet, though these works were continued for a number of years, they were discontinued again, the salt-pans are now objects of antiquity, but the colliery was again put into operation in 1872 by the late Duke, and 5000 tons a year brought to the surface. The coal is not of good quality, being, it is said, very sulphurous.

There are two quarries of excellent white freestone near Brora, worked for many years for domestic purposes and for exportation. Some of it had been taken for the building of London Bridge. This stone is full of petrefactions of trees, fishes, and various forms of shells, interesting to the geologist.

The arable land now cultivated in the parish is thus divided:—Clynesh farm, 230 acres; Inverbrora, 210; East Brora, 75; Clyne Milton, 33; Glebe, 40; Kilcalnkill, 60; while the rest is divided among nearly 400 crofters and cottars, an average of 2 acres each. The rest is entirely under sheep.

The population in 1801 was 1624, in 1881, 1812, concentrated now around Brora. In ancient times there must have been a considerable population in Strath Brora, judging from the number of "Kills" met with, the primitive abodes and worship places of the Culdee Monks. These will be noted in Place Names. They date back to a remote period. The parish church was dedicated to St

Aloyne, and a fair had been held in 1630 at Clyne on St Aloyne's day, but there is no further record of him.

There are several Pictish towns in this district, and various tumuli and cairns lie scattered over the interior, no doubt marking battlefields and scenes of conflict, in which the slain were buried, but their names and their deeds have passed into oblivion. Pennant had been informed that a tradition existed in the parish of a battle fought at Kilcalmkill between the natives and the Norsemen, in which the latter were severely defeated, possibly accounting for so few of these roving plunderers having located themselves in it, and imposing their language on its nomenclature.

MOUNTAINS.

Asca-na-greine—G., ascnadh-na-greine, the rising of the sun ; 965 feet high ; a hill on the eastern confines of the parish, two miles from the coast, upon which the rays of the rising sun first shine.

Beinn-armin—G., oir-na-minn, mountain of the limit of the kids, 2338 feet high, no higher could they go.

Beinn-nan-Corn—G., 1706 feet ; mountain of the deer, or other horned animals ; or of corn, a bowl like cup, from the shape of the lake below it. (See Golspie Place Names).

Beinn smeorail—G., 1592 feet ; mountain of the bramble berries.

Cnoc-a chrabaich mhoir—G., 1560 feet ; hill of the big bend.

Cnoc-coir an oir—G., hill of the hollow of gold, 864 feet.

Cnoc-garbh-leathad—G., 923 feet ; hill of the rough side.

Cnoc-a-ghrianan—G., 689 feet ; hill of the sunny place.

Cnoc-meadhonach—G., 1134 feet ; middle hill.

Cnoc-na-leamhnachd—961 feet ; hill of the sept-foil.

Cnoc raon-na-gamne—676 feet ; hill of the sterile field.

Ceann-an-tuir—G., summit or end of the tower (Castle Cole).

Meall-coir-an-uisgeachaidh—G., the lumpy hill of the watery or swampy corrie.

RIVERS.

Allt-ach'-na-bãthaich—G., stream of the cowhouse field.

Allt-a-mhuillinn—G., the mill stream.

Allt-smeorail—G., stream of the bramble berries (smeurail).

Allt-na-seilge—G., stream of the chase.

Blackwater—Eng. form of "Amhuinn du," black, peaty water.

Brora—See place names.

Ghoileach—G., the turgid stream, or torrent.

LAKES.

Beann-ach—G., surrounded by mountains ; $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 furlongs.

Bad-an-aon-tigh—G., of the one house place, 6 by 2 furlongs.

Bad-an-earba—G., of the grove of the roes ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 furlongs.

An Eilthiraich—G., of the foreigner ; 3 by 2 furlongs.

Brora—See place names ; $4\frac{5}{8}$ miles by $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs.

Na Glaic—G., of the hollow.

Gruideach—G., strewn with boulders ; $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 2 furlongs.

Gorm Loch Mhor—The big blue lake ; 4 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs.

Gorm Loch Bheag—The little blue lake ; 3 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs.

Tobarnach—G., full of springs.

There are in this parish other 22 smaller tarns.

PLACE NAMES.

Achrimasdal—G. and N., achadh, field, and raumsdalr, the dal or dale of giants ; a district name in Norway.

Achnanirinin—G., field of the maids ; irinean and irin are Sutherland words, for daughters, or daughter, or maid. In Welsh we have wyr, pro. uir, a grandchild. The first syllable, ir, of the Sutherland word is very similar to the British or Welsh one. In this connection it may be here noted that there are in Sutherland many words in common use and in its topography which are obsolete elsewhere in the Highlands. Is this word, irin and irinin, a remnant of the Pictish, or a corrupt pronunciation of inghean, inghin, and nighean, nighin, daughter, daughters ?

Am-aite—G., ām-aite, pro. āām-aite. Am, as a noun, in Gaelic signifies time, season, but its old signification was circle. In Welsh, am, as a prefix, means round or round about, corresponding to the Lat. circum, and the Latins and Romans used "am" in the same sense. Hence in Latin am-nis, a river, which, by its sinuosities, goes round about from one side of a valley to the other, We have the syllable am in Am-an, Am-on, river names, from am, round about, and an, on, contraction for avan, avon, river, and in Gaelic we have the same in ām-huinn, river.

In the Siamese, am is water. In the Basque or Iberian, ame is sea, connected apparently with an original meaning of am, which meant in Gaelic, moisture, dampness ; what Sutherland youth but remembers the injunction to keep out of the dām (?) (dāum), mire, puddle ? The place Am-aite is a semi-circular meadow on the side of the Blackwater in Strath-beg, the hills forming the half circle, the river the chord of the arc. Its aspect formed its name, the round place by the water. There are several places in the Highlands of the same name, all of them possessing the same aspect, and situated on a river or stream.

An Dàman—G., the small dam, allied to the last, holding water back. To this word hangs a tale. In the 16th century, the Sinclairs made a sudden raid into Clyne upon some Chieftains who made themselves obnoxious to them. The Earl of Caithness having at the time possession of Dunrobin, as guardian of the young Earl of Sutherland, the Sinclairs had less to fear from the Sutherlands, who, taken unawares, retreated up the valley, and took refuge on a small island in Loch Brora, taking their boat or boats with them to the island. The Caithness men pursued, and coming in view of the island perceived the Sutherlands beyond their reach. Enraged at this, they immediately set to to form a dam at the mouth of the lake, and to raise the water to drown the Sutherlands, which they well-nigh accomplished, when down upon them came the resolute Clan Gunn from Kildonan, who routed and chased them away, saving the Sutherlands. Ever after, this place at the end of Loch Brora has been called "Am Daman," the dam.

Ascoil—G., eas-a-choile, the waterfall in the wood. In old Sutherland charters, Weskelle, Weskill-moir, Weskelzie.

Badanellan—G., bad, grove, thicket, a place; and eilean, island, the place at, or on, the island; Arm., bad, bat.

Breacachadh—G., speckled, or spotted field; W., brec and brych; Arm., brec; Manx, breck.

Brora—G., lake and village name; native pro., Bru-ra or Broo-ra; bru-an-t-sra, the belly or protuberance of, or on, the strath; old form, in 1550, Broray. The lake no doubt gave its name to the river and the strath, the river to the village which is situated upon it, and the lake itself was named from the eminence near its end. The configuration of it, obviously enough, is belly-shaped. It gradually rises from the end of the lake, which is 91 feet above sea level, in a direct line towards the sea to Badanellan, 200 feet high, then as gradually falls to the sea, and a section at right angles across it shews a declivity towards the river on the one hand, and a declivity the other way on the other hand, thus presenting a form in the shape of a bru or belly. Strath Brora begins at the lake end and goes upwards; the valley of the river issuing from the lake is called Strathsteven.

A Norse derivation has been given to Brora, from Bru-ar, gen. of bru, bridge, and āā, water; this must be a mistake, for no bridge existed here in the days of the Norsemen. The first old bridge over the Brora is said to have been built by the Countess of Sutherland in or about 1575, when she caused coal to be dug from the "cole-heughs" "besyd Broray," and also built "salt-pans." Sir

R. Gordon states that "ther wes good salt maid at Broray, which served not onlie Sutherland and the neighbouring provinces, bot also wes transported into England and elsewher." In 1601 Brora "was erected into a free burgh of barony and regality, with power to the burgesses of buying and selling wine and wax, cloth, woollen and linen, and all other articles of merchandise and staple goods; power to build a tolbooth and have a weekly market on Saturday, with four yearly fairs, with all other privileges, on account of the great expense incurred at Brora by the Earl of Sutherland, to the great advantage of the King's lieges and others." In 1614 the "cole heughs" were repaired and more salt pans erected. In 1619 the bridge of "Broray" was "repaired and rectified." G., bru: W., bru; Corn., bry; Arm., brun; Manx, breen.

Carrol—G., cathair-mheille, the honey hill. Carmel, Carmylie, or Carra-a-choille, the rock of, or in, the wood. Carra is, O.G., a rock, seen in many mountain names, and those of rocky places, such as Car-pathians, in Austria; I-car-ia, the isle of rocks in the Egean Sea; I-car-os, in Greece; Car-mel, in Syria. Old form of Carrol in Sutherland charters was Curreil. The rock gave the name to the habitation at its foot, a seat of the Gordons for three centuries. South side of Loch Brora.

Clyne—G., the parish name, from claoin, hill-sides, or declivities. This parish, in all its aspects, is all declivities throughout its whole extent. Old forms, Clun in 1230, Clyn, Clyne, Cline, 1512 to 1572. There are Clynes in Wales, the aspect of their situation on hill slopes overspread with brushwood, applicable enough to our Clyne.

Clynelish—G., claon, slope, or declivity, sing. of the other claoin, and lios, an enclosure, now garden, the slope to the garden; W., llys, a court, or walled enclosure; Corn., llys, a manor-house surrounded by a wall; Arm., les, a court, or enclosure; Ir., lios, as in Lismore and many Irish place-names; compare G. lios iosal, low garden, with Ir. lios iosal, and Arm. les izel, low court, or lower court; note the pro. of the Arm. les, not, lios, lish. The Sutherland pro. of certain words coincides more with similar words in Corn., Welsh, and Arm., than with the same words in Irish, in Argyle or Inverness Gaelic. In Sutherland the sing. is les, the plural, lish.

Craig-Bar—G., the high-topped rock? 664 feet high, on the south side of Loch Brora, above Carral. The description given of it in the "Old Stat. Acc.," 1794, is thus—"A steep and rocky precipice, fortified with a ditch of circumvallation, every way inaccessible, but by a narrow neck of land between it and a neighbouring

hill. It contains eight acres of land, and could be easily defended against any number of assailants." The probability is that this rock fortress had been formed by some chief, in prehistoric times, of the name of Bar, and that hence its name, like Dun-Rabin. Possibly "Creag-Bar" has greater antiquity than Dunrobin.

Crioslaich—G., limit or border, old form, Crissaligh; here, in 1589, the Mackay Chief, "Huistean-du-na-tuaigh," with greatly inferior numbers, attacked and defeated the marauding Sinclairs, and recovered the spoil they "lifted" before the Sutherlands came up to his assistance.

Doll—G., old form in charters, Doill, corruption of dail, meadow, or plain, bounded by a river. This plain, upon which scores of crofters are located, is bounded by the Brora River. W., dal, what spreads out; W., dol, a dale or mead, through which a river flows; N., dalr, a dale; Eng., dale.

Dalbhaich—G., dalbhan, fair or daisy white meadow, or Dal-amhan, the meadow lower down.

Fothach—G., a pond, the place or habitation at the pond.

Glas-loch—G., the grey, green, or blue lake. W., glas, blue, verdant, and grey, a faded shade of either; Ir. glas, grey; Corn. and Arm., glas, blue, green, grey; Arm., march glas, grey horse; W. and Corn., marc glas, grey horse; Ir. and G., each glas, grey horse.

Gob-an-uisgaich—G., gob, beak or point; uisgaich, waters; the point or beak of land at the confluence of one river with another, not noticed by Joyce or Robertson, yet more expressive than Aber or Inver, about which so much controversy has so needlessly and so heedlessly arisen; Gob, in G., is a bird's bill, a beak, a snout. In W. gwp is head and neck of a bird, joining into the beak or bill; here in Sutherland, with all the imperfections attributed to its Gaelic, excels, in this and many other words and phrases, Argyll or Inverness in primitive words, more especially in topographical names. The word gob is frequently seen and heard of in Sutherland regarding the meeting of waters, and whichever way it may be taken, the meeting of the waters gave the name to the point of land upon which the habitation was fixed.

Grianan—G., sunny place, a place upon which the sun shone longest during the year. The Romans adopted the sense of this word from the Gauls and other Celts with whom they came in contact, and borrowed the word Grann-us, the sun or sunny spot, upon which they built a villa or summer house, and called it Grann-us, the very same way as we moderns say south bank, south side, or sunny side in Anglo-Saxon, and from no other cause and for no other reason. The Roman or Latin name for sun was

sol; the Gaelic word for light is sol-us. What is the derivation of that Gaelic word "Solus," it is "So-leus," light easily obtained from the sun, hence the Latin sol, solis, and the Greek zeilos, light, and the expansion of the Gaelic word solus into soillear, light, perceptive knowledge obtained by the eye, sul, suil, eye, eyes.

Inverbrora—G., inver, imbhior, point of land at the confluence of two streams or rivers meeting, or a stream or river falling into the sea, as at Brora and elsewhere. In this case it is misapplied, from the fact that Inverbrora is at the best a mile from the confluence, but it had been so imposed to distinguish it when the large farm of Inverbrora was made from what was of old called the Doll, and the real name of the confluence was the land beside it. The harbour and the salt-pans constructed on that land were, in the olden times, 1580 to 1601, called Inverbrora, but when these works were constructed and a village built, the place-name became Brora, and the real ancient name was transferred to an inland farm, erected in 1812. "Tempora mutantur, nos mutamur in illis." so do "Place-names."

Kilbrar—G., cill-brathair, the cill, or cell of the brother (monk), a Culdee, where he located himself on a beautiful site, amongst a large population.

Kil-calmkil—G., a cell, or chapel, dedicated to Columba of the Cells or Kills, a very beautiful spot on the north side of Loch Brora, eastward of the Grianan, at which was a hamlet named "Sheanval," to be hereafter noticed. The Gordons of Aboyne held it for 300 years after their introduction into Sutherland, and by them named Gordon-bush. In 1829, the Gordons sold it to the then Marquis of Stafford, great-grandfather of the present Duke of Sutherland.

Kilean—G., cell, or place of worship dedicated to St John.

Kilpheder—G., Kil-pheadair, place of worship dedicated to St Peter; this was called Kil-pheadair-mhor in contradistinction to another a mile lower down the Strath, called Kil-pheadair-bheag.

Pollie—G., place by or near a pool; here the river Black water is very stagnant for a quarter of a mile, and virtually forms a pool, or, in Gaelic, poll; W., pwll; Corn., pol; Arm., poul; the very Sutherland pro., N., pollr; Lat., pal-us; Gr., pel-os.

Scibercross—G., old forms in Charters; Shiberseage, Schibriskeig, Scheb or skaik, Serirsraig, from Sith, a high place; bior, a point; and es-caig, waterfalls; the elevated or high place situated on the stream flowing by it, and falling in cascades to the river which flows below it at a short distance. Scibercross is 400 feet above sea level, the river, a quarter of a mile from it, is only 224 feet. Crossing the Scibercross burn, 60 years ago, was a danger

in night time, which only the manly would attempt, and even with the manly it was a danger that could not possibly be avoided. Necessity, then as now, had no law. It was the abode of bogles and elfs and imps of the lower regions.

Sheanvall—G., sean-bhaile, the old hamlet; † the ancient name of Kilcalmkill, and in its immediate vicinity here, without doubt, was the place of worship dedicated to St Columba, and near it is an ancient cemetery in which the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep, and gone to dust, and where the heroes of those days rest. The grave of a chief of the olden times was here opened some years ago, and in it were found large human bones. It is yet distinguished by four stones and a covering one—"Sic transit gloria mundi"—forgotten, unknown.

1st MARCH, 1893.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society:—Honorary members—Colonel Alex. Macdonald, Portree, and Mr Duncan Chisholm, Colorado Springs, U.S.A. Ordinary members—Mr Dugald Maclachlan, banker, Portree; Mr John M. Morrison, Stornoway; Mr S. W. C. Gauld, banker, Balmacara; Mr Kenneth Cameron, factor, Ullapool; Rev. Thomas Mackay, Strath, Skye; Captain Mitchell, Georgerield, Uddingston; Rev. Duncan Macmichael, Duncansburgh, Fort William; Mr John Mackenzie, banker, Inverness; Mr Alex. Fraser, grocer, Tomnahurich Street, Inverness; Mr James Logan, Music Saloon, Church Street, Inverness; Mr Keeble, of Morel Bros., Inverness; Mr Neil M. Cameron, grocer, Inverness; Mr Andrew Mackintosh, H.M. Customs, Leith; and Mr Hugh Fraser, Foyers Cottage, Inverness.

The paper for the evening was contributed by Mr Paul Cameron, Blair-Athole, entitled "Perthshire Gaelic Songs and their Composers," Paper No. II.¹ Mr Cameron's paper was as follows:—

PERTSHIRE GAELIC SONGS AND THEIR COMPOSERS

PAPER NO. II.

DONNACHA LOUDUINN, NO, LOUDAIDH.

Bha an duine measarra so, a Gleann-Liobhan, far an d' rugadh e, mu 1730. A reir eoslais dh'ionnsaich e an t-saorsainneachd agus

¹ For Mr Cameron's first paper. see Society's Transactions, Vol. XVII., p. 126.

a' mhuilleireachd, oir, tha cuuntas agam air e a bhidh na mhuilleir ann an muileann Choire-Chòinnlidh an Lochabar. Anns an aite sin chail e leanabh-caileig le i 'bhi air a bàthadh fo 'n chuibhle-mhuilinn. Mu thimchioll an sgiorraidh sin, rinn e laoidh do 'n ainm, "Laoidh na Leabach" a toiseachd—

“Ged a tha mi na m' leabaidh
Cha d' fhuair mi an cadal air choir.”

An deighe dha Coire-Chòinnlidh fhagail, tha e coltach gu 'n tainig e gu 'bhi na thuairnear, agus na shaor chuibhleacha-sniomhaidh, maille ri Dughall Buchannain an Raineach. Bha e beagan bhliadhnachan a' fanachd an Gleann-Eireachdaidh, agus o sin chaidh e do Ghleann-Fonnchaistuil far an do thuinich e gu àm a bhàis, mu 'n bhliadhna 1812. Bha e na dhuine diadhaidh, dleasnachail, a' gabhail tlachd ann an colas an Tighearna Iosa Crìosd a chraobh-sgaoiladh.

Chaidh na “Sean-fhocail agus na Comhadan” a leanas, a chlàdh-bhualadh air tìs anns a bhliadhna 1797, agus an dara clòdh-bualaidh anns a bhliadhna 1833—

“Sean-fhòcail gheur 'us comhadan,
Agus mòran do chomhairlean glice,
'S mo shaoileas tu gu bheil iad feumail,
Cuimhnich an leughadh ni 's trice.”

SEAN-FHOCAIL AGUS COMHADAN.

Le Donnacha Louduinn.

'N uair a chailleas neach a mhaoin,
'S gnothach faoin 'bhi 'g iarraidh meas,
Ge do labhair e le céill
'S beag a gheibh e 'dh' éisdeas ris.

'S beag sgoimn do mhóintich am monadh ;
'S beag sgoimn do choille am fàsach ;
'S lugha meas tha 'dhuine falamh,
'N uair 'tha earras an deigh fhagail.

'S ioma caraid 'th' aig fear saibhir ;
Tha daoine bochda gun phrìs ;
'S gann a dh' aidicheas an cairdean
Gu 'm buin iad daibh 'us iad 'bhi 'n dìth.

'S fearr a bhi bochd na 'bhi' breugach ;
'S fearr fheuchainn na 'bhi' 's an dùil ;
'S fearr am fear a chostas beagan,
Na 'm fear a theicheas ann an cuil.

Tha 'n fhirinn gu cliuiteach sona,
 Cha chron air duine 'bhi fial ;
 'S fearr beagan amns an onoir,
 Na 'n donas agus ceithir chiad.

Is ainmig a dh' éireas fortan,
 Le fear crosta 'bhios gun chéill ;
 'S fearr do dhuine fuireach samhach
 Na droch dhàn a chur an céill

Eiridh tonn air uisge balbh ;
 Gheibhear cearb air duine glic ;
 Eiridh gnothach le fear mall ;
 Bristidh 'm fear 'tha call gu tric.

Tha 'ghaineamh fhein anns gach sruthan ;
 Cha 'n 'eil tuil air nach tig tràghadh ;
 'S dona 'n càirdeas gun a chumail,
 'S cha 'n fhaighear duine gun fhailing.

Is coltach fear 'tha ris an fhoill,
 'S nach 'eil sgoinn aige de 'n chòir
 Ris an duine 'thaisg an luaidh,
 Agus a thilg uaithe 'n t-òr.

'S dona thig maighdean gun 'bhi beusach ;
 Cha dean fear gun ghéire dàn ;
 Cha dean fear gun fhoghlum leughadh,
 'S cha tig leigh gu duine slàn.

'S math 'bhi sìothail anns gach ball ;
 Caillidh daoine dall an t-iùl ;
 Is sona neach a bhios gun bheud,
 Ach caillidh luchd nam breug an cliù.

Smuainich mu 'n dean thu labhairt,
 Ma 's àill leat do ghnothach 'bhi' réidh ;
 'S fearr dhut sealltuinn beagan romhad,
 Na sealltuinn fada air do dhéigh.

Is trom snith' air tigh gun tubhadh ;
 Is trom tubaist air na dràichdean ;
 'S duilich do mhnaoi beanas-taighe,
 Dheanamh air na fraighean fasa.

Cha trom leis an loch an lach,
Cha trom leis an each an t-srian,
Cha trom leis a chaor' a h-olainn,
'S cha truimid a' choluim a ciall.

Cha trom leis an fhiadh a chabar,
Cha trom leis a choileach a chèirein ;
'Ni a mbeasas aon neach, mar leth-trom,
Chi neach eil' e, mar thoilinntim.

Tha 'n neach 'tha gleidheadh seachais dhiomhain,
'S a leigeas diadhaidheachd fo 'bhònn,
Mar a bha 'n té e thog a chàth,
'S a dh'fhag an cruineachd air an tòm.

Caillear mart an droch mhuthaich
Seachd bliadhna roimh a mithich ;
Tha sid a' feuchainn 's a dearbhadh
Gu 'n tig an t-earehall le mi-fheairt.

Cha 'n fhuirich muir ri uallach,
Cha dean bean luath maorach ;
Cha dean bean gun aire eugann,
'S cha dean bean gun fhuas aodach.

Far am bi bò bidh bean,
'S far am bi bean bidh buaireadh ;
Far am bi fearg bidh bruidhinn,
'U s as a' bhruidhinn thig tuasaid.

Am fear a bhrathas 's e 'mharbhas ;
Cha deanar dearbhadh gun deuchainn ;
'S gann a dh' aithn' eas tu do charaid,
Gus an tachair dhut 'bhi 'd éigin.

Cha 'n 'eil saoi gun choimeas,
Cha 'n 'eil coille gun chrionaich ;
'S fear beagan a mhathadh
Na sean fhalachd a dhìoladh.

'S math caraid anns a' chùirt,
Ma thig neach gu trioblaid ;
Ach 's fearr eun 's an laimh
Na dha air iteig.

Leig d' eallach air làr mu 'n lag thu,
 Ma dh' aithn'eas tu d' eallach trom ;
 Is mòr gur fearr an cù a ruitheas,
 Na 'n cù a shuidheas air tòim.

Bean thlachdmhor, gun ghnìomh, gun ghleidheadh,
 Ge do thaitinn i ri d' shùil—
 Cìod am feum a ta 'an lann,
 Mur bi làmh air a cùl ?

Pigheid chaileig air bheag céill,
 Ged 'robh feudail aic 'us stòr,
 Cha 'u fhaod a fear a bhì sona,
 Ma bhios i gnogach 's an t-stòin.

Bean gun nàire, gun ghliocas,
 Bean mhisgeach, gun bheusaibh—
 B' fhearr dhut cù 'chur mu d' amhuich,
 Na do cheangal ri té dhiubh.

Bean ardanach, labhar,
 Bean ghabhannach, cheilidheach,
 Is tùs trioblaid 'us aimbeairt
 Dol ga d' cheangal ri té dhiubh.

Am fear a gheallas 's e dh' iocas,
 'S e 'm fear a dh' iarras a phàidheas ;
 Cha choir do neach a bhì ullamh
 Gu dol 'an cunnart no 'n gàbhadh.

Am fear nach dean àr' ri latha fuar,
 Cha dean e buain ri latha teth ;
 Am fear nach dean obair no gnìomh,
 Cha 'n fhaigh e biadh feadh nam preas.

'S fearr sìth á preas na strìth ri glais ;
 Bì faicilleach mu d' ghiulan,
 'S furas seasamh 'n gnothach ceart,
 Ge d' theid gach cùis gu 'n dùbhlán.

Is tùs a' ghliocais eagal Dé ;
 Cha dean eucoir do chur suas,
 C'o dhiubh is math no 's olc 'tha 'd' chré
 'S ann do 'reir a gheibh thu duais

Is fearr an ceartas glan na 'n t-òr ;
Is beag air duine còir an fboill :
An neach a charas thu o d' chùl,
Chuir e 'dhùil an cuid an doill.

Is ciatach gnothach folkaiseach,
Ach 's dona comunn cealgach ;
An rud a gheibhear aig ceann an deamhain,
Cailllear e aig' earball.

Is olc an toiseach cogaidh, geilt ;
Cha 'n ionann sgeul do 'n chreich 's do 'n tòir ;
Is searbh gloir an fhir a theich,
'S am fear a dh' fhuirich ni e bòsd.

Is fearr 'bhi tais na 'bhi ro bhrais,
O'n 's e is lugha cùram ;
Is fearr suidhe 'n tigh a' bhroin,
Na 'n tigh a cheòil 's an t-sùgraidh.

Cha toir neach air éigin beairteas ;
'S duilich droch chleachd a chuir fàs ;
Bheir gach Dòmhnach leis an t-seachdoin,
'S bheir am peacadh leis am bàs.

Na bi eallamh air trodadh,
'S na bi toileach air tuasaid ;
Ach ma 's toigh leat do leanabh,
Na bi leisg air a bhualadh.

Bi 'n comhnuidh air taobh na siothchaidh,
'S na bi di-chaisg air bheag aobhar ;
'S fearr dhut amadan a bhreugadh,
Na dol g' a fhenchainn ann an caonnaig.

Na bi talach air do chuibhrinn,
Ge do robh i baileach sòmhail,
'S fearr greim tioram le siothchaidh,
Na taigh làn iobairt le còmhstri.

Dol a stri ri rud gun choskas,
Cha 'n 'eil ann ach gnothach faoin ;
Cha tig fear tre na clochaibh,
'S cha tig folt tre chlaigium aosl'.

Tha e cruaidh air duine lag
 Dol ri bruthach cas na steud ;
 'S tha e teare an measg an t-sluaigh
 An neach sin a gheibh buaidh air fein.

Na bi 'cur na ciout air càch,
 Ma tha 'n fhàiling agad fein ;
 Is duilich neach a rib' 'an slaod,
 'Us ceann an taoid aige fein.

'Neach tha gu math is coir dha fuireach,
 'Us gun 'bhi 'stri ri rud nach iomchuidh ;
 Is tric 'bha càll an deidh an turuis ;
 Ach 's buidh le amadan imrich.

Is fearr cù beo na leomhan marbh ;
 Is fearr min gharbh na bhi gun bhleth ;
 An rud a chì thu 'thogas fearg,
 Na dean dearmad air a chleth.

Thoir aire cia mar 'ghluaiseas tu ;
 Cha toir thu buaidh le farmad ;
 Is tric le gnothach mìrunach,
 Gu 'n crìochnaich e neo-shealbhar.

Bi eòlach mu dhuine an tùs,
 Mu 'n innis thu do rùn g' a cheann ;
 Na cuir do chlàr air a thaobh
 Do neach nach saoil thu 'chuireadh am.

Na gabh farmad ri neach idir,
 Ge d' shaoileadh tu a staid 'bhi mòr ;
 A' bheinn is àirde 'tha 's an tìr,
 'S an oirre 's trice 'chì thu 'n cèò.

'S math an gille greasaidh an t-eagal ;
 Tha rud air theagamh duilich innseadh ;
 'S fearr dhut teicheadh le onoir,
 Na dol 'thoirt oidhirp neo-chinnteach.

'Nuair a theid thu do 'n tigh-leanna,
 Na iarr a bhi 'g amailt na pàirti ;
 'S mithich druideadh 'chòir an doruis,
 'Nuair a theannas an sporan ri àicheadh.

Is dìomhain dut a bhi 'toirt teagaisg,
Do neach a chuir cùl ri eòlas ;
Mar thionnda 's a' chomhl' air a bannaibh,
Pillidh an t-amadan ri ghòraich.

Ge do robh thu dripeil,
'S coir dhut 'bhi air d' fhaicill ;
'S iad na tomha ¹ trice
Ni na tomhaisean cearta.

Tha ar n-uine ruith gun stad,
Ceart co luath 's a thig clach le gleann ;
Ni i stad 'nuair thig i 'n lag,
Us bidh a h-astar aig a cheann.

Ceart mar a thig gaillionn, no sian,
An uair nach miann leat i 'bhi ann,
Is ambluidh sin a thig an t-aog,
Ge do shaoil thu nach b' e 'n t-àm.

Ceart mar a sgaoileas an eò
'Nuair a thig teas air o 'n ghrein,
Is ambluidh sin a shiubhlas glòir,
Us ioma dochas air bheag feum.

Cha b' e comunn an dà ghann,²
A bha 'shannt orm 'dheanamh riut ;
Ach an rud 'bhiodh agad 'ghabhail uat,
'S an rud a bhiodh uat a thoirt dhut :

Nach b' e sind an comunn saor ?
'S cha b' e comunn nam maor mu 'n chlàr ;
B' e 'n comunn-sa 'bhi toirt a null,
'S cha chomunn ach null 's a nall.

Ma 's fìor gach sean fhocal,
A labhradh le luchd gèire ;
Bheir foid breithe agus bàis
Duine air atha 's air éigin.

DONNACHA MAC-DHIARMAID.

Bha an dhuine so ro-fheumail na latha, leis an taland
chiuil a bh' aige. Cha robh gleann no srath an Siorrachd
Pheirt, ach gann, anns nach robh e a' cumail sgoil-sheim. Ged a

¹ tomachan. ² Math-fhaoidte, do-ghann, neo-ghann, neo-phairteachail.

bha fradharc a shùl ga dhith, cha robh rathad mòr 's an dùthaich, no sraid 's a bhaile-mhargaidh nach siubhladh e, gun sgàth, gun sgiòrradh. Rugadh e 'an Acheasain an Gleann-Dochard, mu 'n bhliadhna 1798. Mu 1850 chaidh e do Dhunedinn, far an do phòs, agus an do thuinich e. Sheinn Donnacha an t-oran a leanas aig dinneir eireachdail a chaidh thoirt seachad, an taigh-osda—Dhrochaid-Choinneachain, mar ònair do dh' Fhear Phort-an-Eilein—

ORAN DO FHEAR PHORT-AN-EILEIN TAOBH LOCH TEAMHAIL.

Le Donnacha Mac-Dhiarmaid.

'S i so deoch slaint an àrmuinn,
'S gun ol sinn i le failte ;
Mac-Dhiarmaid fear Bho-thàluidh,
Tha 'n drasta anns a Phort,
A shiol nam Baran prìseil
A chleachd a bhi 'n Gleannliobhan,
Na sair dhaoin' uailse sìobhailte,
Nach strìochdadh anns an trod.

B' e sid am fìor dhuin uasal,
'S gach faillein 'tha ris fuaighte ;
Cha chualas bonn de 'bhruaidhlean,
Ach suaire, 'us dileas ceart ;
An fhìorfhuil ghlan, gun truaille,
'S an fhìne bho na bhuint' 'thu ;
'S gur ioma fìuran uasal
A thainig uat a mach.

Thaobh eile, bho do mhathair,
Cha 'n fhaod mi fanachd samhach,
Ach labh'ram air na h-àrmuinn
A b' abhaist 'bhi 's a Phort ;
Na Stiubhartaich gu cìnn-teach,
Do chinneadh math nan rìghrean,
A bh' againn ioma linn,
Anns an rìoghachd so le ceart.

'S a' thaobh do cheile phòsda,
Gu'n dean mi beagan comhraidh,
'S bean uasal i 'tha sònraicht',
'Us coir aic' air le ceart ;
A thaobh an teaghlaich uasail,
'S an stoc 'ud as 'n do bhuint' iad ;
Tigh Fas, 'tha cliuiteach fiachail,
Bho 'n chiad fhear thain' a mach.

Nach fhaic sibh 'n t-oigfhear sumdach,
 Tha againn anns an rùm dhiubh,
 Gur mòr an meas 's an cliù do
 Ar duthaich e 'bhi ann ;
 Tha 'riaghladh, tairis, ciallach,
 Gu tùrail, aoidheil, fialaidh ;
 Le thargaid, 'us le sgiath,
 Gu ar dìonadh o gach namh.

Tha Fas 'us Seastal 'd' staoile,
 'S a bharr air sin-'na d' oighreachd ;
 'S tu 'n leomhan sgairteil loinneil ;
 'S tu 'n saighdear anns gach càs ;
 'S nan tigeadh namhaid streupail,
 A bhgairt oirm le eucoir,
 Gu 'n tugadh tusa beum dha,
 'S le creuchdan bhidh e leòint'.

Gur caomh an àm na sith thu,
 'S gur garg an àm na stri thu,
 Gur daoimein anns gach tìr thu,
 'S na mìtibh ort an tòir ;
 Gur laoch fearail, treun, thu,
 'Nuair chuireadh tu 'm bogh'-grein oirm,
 Gu 'm biodh i ann ad reir sa,
 'Nuair labhradh tu gu stòild'.

'S tu 'm fiùran flàthail, fìnealt,
 'S tu ceist, us gradh, nan mòrag,
 'S tu' bheireadh dhaibh toilinntinn,
 'Nuair tharladh tu nan còir ;
 Ach guidheam céile uasal,
 Gu grad a bhi riut fuaighte,
 Le fearrunn 's airgiod fuasgailt,
 'Us buaidhean bhanail, chóir.

Ach a Bharain mhoir Bho-thàluidh,
 'S ann 'their mi fhathast pàirt riut,
 Bho 'n 's tu Ceann-cinnidh àraid,
 Is fhear leam thu 'bhi ann ;
 'S a thaobh nam fiùran àluinn,
 A sheasas leat gu làidir,
 'S toilintinn h-uile là dhuinn,
 Na h-armuinn air ar ceann.

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'Chlann Dhiarmaid bidhibh sìochail,
 'S na togaibh dhasan mi-thlachd ;
 Ach gluaisibh anns an fhìrinn,
 'S air cridhe rioghail glan ;
 O'n 's e 'n Ceann-cinnidh fìor-mhaith,
 A th' againn anns an tìom so ;
 'S 'mhae-oighre bidh dhuinn dìleas ;
 'S mis dh' fhaodadh innse 'n nochd.

An t-oighre 's e gu cìnnteach,
 Ard lighiche na tìre,
 An t-oigfhear suiorail, rìomhach ;
 'S gur grinn leam cainnt a bheòil,
 A chion cha'n 'eil ri àireamh,
 O chùl a chium gu 'shàiltean,
 Le aghaidh fhathail, àillidh,
 A thàladh nam ban òg.

Tha baintighearn' òg 's an tìr so,
 'S i eireachdail thair mhìltibh,
 'S bu mhaith leam i 'rint sìnte,
 Air chinnt' a bharain òig ;
 'S i sin *Miss* Emlidh Stiùbhart,
 De n teaghlach 'ud 'bha cliùiteach,
 An fhìor bhean uasal iùlmhor,
 'S gach giùlain air gach doigh.

Bidh 'n tànaistear na dhion duinn,
 O'n fhuair e staigh do 'n riaghailte ;
 Tha cumail ceart us sìothaimb,
 Us cìosnachadh na rìogh'chd,
 'S gu'n cuir e romhainn seòladh,
 'N uair 'theid sinn thum na còrach,
 A bheir dhuinn mòran eòlais,
 Us fòghlum anns gach nì.

Tha maighstir Rob. an dràsta,
 Air faotuin urran stàiteil,
 'S gur toileachas gu bràth dhuinn,
 An ràdh a thain' an nall,
 Gu'n choisinn e buaidh-làrach,
 Aig cruinneachadh nan Gaidheal,
 Thug sid mòr mheas 'us ciatachd,
 Do chlann Diarmad anns an àn.

Am fiùran sin is oige,
 Nis guidheam sonas mòr dha,
 Le onair, agus mòrchuis,
 'U's fòghlum anns gach tìom,
 Nis bidh mì crìochnach m' òrain,
 'S cha tug mì leth n' is còir dhomh,
 Do'n chuideachd chridheil, chòir sin,
 Thug sòlas dhomh nach gann.

ROB MAC-DHUGHAIL.

Tha mòr-mheas agam air gné-bhardachd an Ughdair so. Tha i soilleir, siubhlach, neartmhor. Bu mhac e do dh' Alastair Mac-Dhùghail, a bha na thuathanach 'am Braigh-Fasaidh. Chaidh e do dh' Australia mu'n bhliadhna 1843, far an do ghabh e tuineachas mu cheithir mìle bhò Mhelbourn. Bhiodh e aig an àm sin, a reir ionraidh, mu dhà fhichead bliadhna 'dh' aois.

COMUNN NA STUAMACHD.

Le Rob Mac-Dhùghail.

Seisd—Buaidh le comunn mo ghaoil !
 Piseach air comunn mo ghaoil !
 O ! soirbheachadh math leis a chomunn
 A chuir an droch obair na sgaoil.

Gu'n tuigeadh an leughadair suairce,
 An comunn a luaidh mi an rann ;
 'S e comunn fìor ghasda na Stuamachd,
 Mu'n togainn mo dhuan anns an àm
 An comunn a dh' eulaidh mu thuath oirnn'
 Feadh ghluacagan uaigneach nan gleann,
 A' leasachadh cleachdaidh na tuath-cheairn,
 'S a cheartachadh gluasaid nan Clann.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Tha 'n Comunn so urramach, feumail,
 A chasgadh gach eucòir 'us gò ;
 'S thoirt caochlaidh ro mhathasach ceutach,
 Air abhaist mì-cheillidh nan slògh ;
 Am fear a bha 'n uiridh le daoirich,
 Na shìneadh 's an aolach gun treoir,
 Tha 'm bliadhna, air fhein 's air a theaghlach,
 Le 'aran 's le 'aodach a fòir.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

'S a bhean a bha 'n uiridh gle dhiùmach
 'S le bochduinn fo thuirse 's fo bhròn,
 Tha 'm bliadhna gu h-aighearach, mùirneach,
 'S am pailteas mu túrlach de lòn.
 O 'n 'mhosgail fear tìghe o 'dhùsal,
 'S a dh' fhosgail a shùilean o chlà ;
 'S a dh' eirich gu farrumach, sùrdail,
 Mar dhuine as-ur a' tigh'nn beò.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

O 'n threigeadh leo cuideachd dhroch dhaoine,
 'S an coluadar baobhail gun tùr ;
 Fhuair fuasgladh a aimbeart an t-saoghail,
 'Us mhothaich iad saorsadh as-ùr.
 Faic 'nis iad gu h-aithreachail geamnuidh,
 " 'G ath-cheannach' na h-aimsir" le sgòinn ;
 'S 'toirt eiseamplair 's airidh a leamhuinn,
 Le 'n oibrìbh 's le 'n sean'chas do 'n cloinn.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Gu'm b'ionmholt' gu'n teagamh 's bu chliuichteach
 An gradh chuir air tus e air bonn ;
 Gradh dian nach robh farasd a mbùchadh,
 'Las cridheachan iulmhor nan somn ;
 Le curam mu an'ma neo-bhàsmhor,
 A thearnadh gu bràth 's a chuir saor ;
 Ged their a chuid mhor de na phràbar,
 " 'Cha 'n 'eil iad ach 'sàbhal am maoin."

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Is ainmeil am ball *deth* 's is fheumail,
 An sagart 'tha 'n Eirionn ud thall ;
 Bu bhuannachdail sealbhach do chendaibh,
 A chuairt 'thug an treun-laoch a nall ;
 Thug *Matthew math* iomadh fear dalma,
 A' *purgadoir* gailbheach an òil ;
 Chuir an sagart so comain air Alba,
 Ged dhiult e 's a charbhas 'dhi feòil.

Buaidh le *Matthew* an laoch, etc.

Gur fhada 'bhios cuimhn' agus luaidh, air
 A bhall sin *deth*, Ruairidh ¹ nan glonn ;
 A theann ris 's na h-eileanaibh tuathach,
 'S a sgaoil e gu buadhach 'n ar fonn ;

¹ Mr Ruairidh Macleoid, ministear an t soisgeil, 'an Ceann-loch-Snìosart 's an Eilean Sgiathanach.

Is dileas 's is gaisgeil an fhianuis
E, ged a bha iarmad gun cheill ;
A feuchaim ri 'sgaradh o 'n fhion-lios,
Mar mheangan de chrionuich gun fheum.

Buaidh le Ruairidh mo ghaoil, etc.

An fear a ghabh aisling neo-bhrioghar,
Nach bi e ga h-innsadh gach là ;
Ach e-san ghabh focal na firinn,
Sior sheasadh e dileas do ghnà ;
C'iod è, an droch mholl do na chruinneachd ?
No ciod e, an cruinneachd do 'n m'oll ?
'N teid daoine glan stuama 'nan cuideachd,
Is daoraich gan luidreadh 's a pholl ?

Cha teid : oir gu deimhin is lèir dhuim,
An caochla 'th air beusaibh an t-slòigh
O'n thuig iad da rìreadh gu 'm b' fheumail,
'Bhì dìteadh 's a seumadh na pòit ;
Na misgearan mosach le athadh
Cha tog, air an latha, an suil :
Mu 's fheudar gu 'n caisg iad am pathadh,
'S ann dh' éigheas iad searrag do chùil.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Mo thruaighe ! air-son luchd nan taigh-òsda,
Tha cusbair an dochuis 'dol eug
Cha'n ioghna iad 'chasadh an sròn rinn,
'S bhì 'g aithris droch sgleò oirm 'us bhreug—
O 'n thachair do chomunn na Stuanachd,
Bhì seòladh an t-shluaigh air deagh cheum ;
Chaill moran diubh "dochas am buannachd."
'S cha 'n fhaigh iad na dh' fnuasglas am feum.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

AN II. CUID.

O ! e'ait a bheil obair cho suarach,
Ri suidhidh mu 'n cuairt air a bhòrd !
An conaltradh dana ri tuaileas,
Ri briommal mì-chuannta ag òl ;
Co-fharpais gun tlachd agus buaireas
Mu dheireadh a' bualadh nan dorn ;
'S a mionnachadh, 'chaidh nach duim-uasal ;
An siachair nach sguab léis a chorn ?

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

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Fear rùchdail an leth-oir na luatha,
 Fear eile 'na shuacan air stòl—
 Fear 'brùchdail 's a sgeitheadh mu 'n chuaiche.
 'S fear eile 'toirt fuaim air a cheòl ;
 An namhaid gu ailghios ri lua'ghair,
 Cha 'n iarr e ceol-chuaise ni 's fhearr ;
 'M feadh dh'fhanas an cogaisean suaimhbheach,
 Oir tha iad gu luath a dol cearr.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

'S a mhaduinn an àm dhoibh sud dùsgadh,
 'S neo-aoidheil an gnuis 'us am fiamh ;
 Iad anshocrach, acaineach, ciùrta
 Trom, airsneulach, bruite nan cliabh ;
 Cha chluinnear o'n slugan ach càrsan,
 Oir theirig an tàbhachd 's an cli ;
 Cha ghabh 'us cha'n fhulling biadh làidir
 Cha fhreagair d' an càileachd ach *tea*.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Nach anabarrach meallta am brудар,
 Bha 'n eanchainnibh luaineach nan Gàel ;
 'N uair mheas iad an carraid 's an tuasaid
 'An cuideachaibh truailidh nam bàl.
 Mar ghaisge, mar urram, 's mar chruadal,
 Bha dhoibhsan tur dhualach 's an strì ;
 Nach ioghna' nach tuigeadh na truaighain,
 Ciod e chuir an t-nabhar 'nan crì.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Ach 'nis bheir an Comunn so buaidh orr',
 'Us treigidh am fuath 'us am fraoch ;
 Cha 'n fhaicear tuill' eabar mu ghuaillibh,
 No sgrioba mu ghruaidhibh nan laoch ;
 Cha bhi *fear-na-toiseachd* an uachdar,
 A' cur nan daoine' naillse fo shàil ;
 Bì'dh iadsan gu ceannalta, suairce,
 'Us paidhidh an tuath dhoibh na màil.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Cha 'n fhaicear fir chòire na stuaimhe,
 Ni 's mò aig luchd druaipe an sàs ;
 Mu 's èiginn gu'n iarr iad 'bheag uatha,
 Leo iocar a luach dhoibh gun dàil ;

Dh' fhalbh cosnadh nan earraide cros la,
 'Bha fiaradh, le brosgal 'an ròd ;
 Chaill iadsan an greim bh' ac de 'n cusbair,
 'S cha chluinnear an gusgal 's a mhòd.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Ach sibhse 'chuir Comunn na Stuanachd,
 An aidbheil caoin-shuarach, 's an nòs ;
 Tha mise 'g radh ribh amns an uair so,
 Gu bheil sibh 'na 'r truaillidheachd fòs :
 Cha dan 'us cha nàr leam 'bhi 'g innseadh
 Gu 'n tug sibh do fhìreantachd fuath ;
 Oir dearbhar gu beachdaidh o 'n fhìrinn
 'Ur cleachdaidh 's 'ur h-inntinn 'bhi tual.

Buaidh le Comunn, etc.

Nach soilleir ri leughadh 's a Bhiobul,
 'S na briathraibh a sgrìobhadh le Pòl ;
 Nach sealbhaich luchd-misg' agus mì-ghnìomh,
 'Chaidh cuibhrinn an rioghachd na glòir !
 Gur ann a tha 'n an' ma fo 'n dìteadh,
 'S gu 'm bi iad gu dillinn 'an truaigh !
 'S nach 'eil aig an corpaibh do shìochaint,
 Ach fhad 's 'bhios iad sinnte 's an uaigh !

*'S truaigh gum bitheadh clann-daoin,
 Straigheadh an an' ma 's am maoin !
 Nach neartaicheadh lamhan a' Chomunn,
 'S gu'n cuireadh droch obair cho faoin !*

Nach treigeadh os-aird 'us os-iosa,
 Na dòigheana nàllteach gun àgh !
 Bha measail na latha aig *Dives*,
 'S a threoraich na milte gu cràdh !
 Nach aonadh ri Comunn nan firean,
 'S an spiorad 's am fìrinn, ri 'n ceann ;
 An caraid tha tairis 'us dileas,
 'S gu suthaim nach diobair am fann ;

Ios an Slanuirhear caomh,
 Cia mor a ghradhaich an saogh'l,
 'Nuair thainig e 'shaoradh a phobuill ?
 'S a dhaingneachadh Comunn nan Naomh.

DONULL MAC-FHEARGHAIS.

Rugadh Dònull Mac Fhearghais ann an Sgìreachd Lagan-ràit, mu'n bhliadhna 1802. Bha e na mhaighstir-sgoile car moran bhliadhnachan aig Dail-charn mu shé mìle o Dhùnchaillim. An deigh dha an t-aite sin fhagail bha e 'cumail sgoile as a leth fein, aig Dùnchaillim mu'n cuairt do dhà bhliadhna; agus o sin, chaidh e-fhein, 's a bhean 's a theaghlach do dh' Australia.

COMH-CHRUINNEACHADH FIR ATHALL A DH' FHAILTEACHD 'NA BAN-RIGH,
ANN AN DUN-CHAILLINN 'S A BHLIADHNA 1842.

Le Dònull Mac-Fhearghais.

A' boillsgeadh gu tlà-gheal tha dearsadh na gréine,
Le àilleachd na maduinn' a' fàilteach' an là ;
Tha 'choisridh le 'n ribheid o dhoimhneachd na coille,
Air fann-ghaoth a' ghlinne a taomadh an dàin :
Tha ard-bheann 'us creag-bheallach le iolach 'us bàs-bhualadh,
Gach tulach, gach comhnard 'us coire fad' réidh,
Nochdadh furain 'us failte, le buaidh-aithris na Gàeltachd,
'S mac-talla gu siubhlach co-fhreagairt do 'n sgeul.

'S ro aoibhneach an là a dhealraich air Athall—
Là' àhuinn cian-ainmeil, 'an eachdraidh r' a luaidh,
Tha Ban-rìgh *Victoria*, prìomh-uachdran na cruinne,
Àir astar le h-Ailbeart 'an Albainn mu thuath :
Beannachd ga d' leanntain dlù, aon chuspair gach crì' 's gach sùl,
Gach sòlas, 's gach mathas a' feitheamh do chuairt ;
Tha togradh nam mìltean 'guidhe piseach a' chaidh dhuibh,
'Chàraid rioghail a' ghràidh, na boidhechid 's nam buadh.

Athall mo ghràidh, mo chearn-bhreth thu 's mo dhachaidh,
Craobh-sgaoilidh do dhilseachd gu h-ard feadh gach iall ;
Gu dìlinn bì'dh luaidh air là faiche Dhùn-Chaillinn
'S co-chruinneach' nam fine le ceanaltas fial ;
Le annsachd tha clann nan Gàel, gu coitcheann le cridhibh blàth,
Am balachan na mhear-là', 's an t-aosda air liath'—
An rìbhinn is àillidh snadh, 's an t-òigear deas, smearail, cruaidh,
Chum ionad na coinneimh le dealas a' triall.

Cha sealladh gach là 'tha an tràs air a thaisbean',
Cha 'nuallan là-féille 'tha togail an sgeul ;
Tha na fine a mach fo cheannsal 'n cinn-feadhna,
Seall' is àillidh an diugh fo ghorm-bhrat nan speur :

Tha uil' ghreadhnachas nàduir, 's uile shuaicheantas àrd-thìr,
Air àrd-ghleus gu h-àghmor, 's a phiob'reachd a' séid ;
Tha 'n luath-ghair a' meudach 's an ait-iollach ag éiridh—
Tha bhan-rìgh 's an astar 'an càbad nan steud.

Failt' air na laoi-ch—mìle failte 'us buaidh dhoibh,
'Tha teachd le Gleann-Libheann o gharbhlach nam beamn,
Le targaid 'us claidheamh 'us cath-thuath Lochabar,
'S an snasadh mar eilid a' frith-leum 's a ghleann
Tha gaisgich Shrath-Mairidh, Shrath-Teimheil, 's Bhraigh-Athall,
Shrath-Arduil, Shrath-Tadha, Thulaich-mhaite 's Dhail-chàrn,
Gu deas nidheamaicht, 'òrdail, 'glacadh geur air' na còdhail—
'S an t-ard-fhlath Dùn-blathain, 's Clann-Fhionnlaidh Bhraigh-mhàr,

Tha' Bhan-rìgh am fagus, 'nis séid suas an ealaidh,
Fench bratach nam buadh air an ard-thùr a' snàmh :
Tha 'suilean a' glacadh cuairt àluinn Dhùn-Chaillinn,
'S na gunnacha' mòra 'toirt sanas do 'n bhàr ;
Cluinn an toirm-ghair ag éiridh, o ghillean an fhéilidh,
'S an iolach a meudach' air astar a chomhnàrd,
Tha *Victoria* 'us *Ailbeart* fo thearmann na Gàeltachd—
Buaidh chaitheam gu suthainn, ò hi, ho rò !!

'S fathail ged 's tlà, 's rioghail ged 's caoimhneil,
An ard-shuil 'tha dearcadh air trom-shreath nan laoch,
'S e ceud phears' na cruinne, is aobhar gach urram
Tha measadh fìor dhùlseachd fìr Athall da taobh ;
Cha do sheas rianh air àirich, 'thug barrachd a bhàr orra
Cruaidh, calma, deas, innealt, gun amhladh, 's gun ghò ;
'S baideal dìonaidh an tràs iad do Bhan-rìgh na Gàeltachd—
Sliochd an sinnseir a mach biodh buaidh aig na seòid.

Tha 'm pàilliuinn gu reachdmhòr measg boidhchid an réidhleim,
A' dealradh le seudan, 's tha chuirn air a sgaoil' ;
Tha ard ainm ar tìr-bhreth, le fialachd 'Ghlinn-Libheann,
A' nochdadh gur rioghail tuath ghlinn an fhraoich ;
Tha 'n itheanaich is prìseil, 's gach lios-mheas is mìlse,
Us beò-dhibhe na fionain a' cuartach a bhùird—
'S an t-ard-fhlath an Ceannard, aig deas làmh na Ban-rìgh,
'S a chèile a' Bhan-mhorair 's an Prionnsa dhì dlùth.

Tha Bhan-rìgh a' fagail—beannachd nan Gàel le',
A cùis-sa 's i 'n cùis-sa cò theireadh no dh' fheud ;
Soraidh 's an àm le, 'us soraidh do dh' Ailbeart,
Am Freasdal g' an dìonadh o dhoch-ann 's o bheud—

'S o 'n tha iad air falbh uainn, air chuairt do Bhraid-Albann,
Tha Athall le fughar beachd leanailt an cùrs'—
Cha di-chuimhnichear chaidh leinn, dealas, giùlan, 'us caoimhneas,
Victoria 'us *Ailbeart* ar 'n annsachd, 's ar dùil.

Deoch-slàinte na Ban-rìgh 's a céile am Prionnsa
Sguab às e, gach fìor Ghàèl le sodan 'us sunnt ;
Deoch-slàinte Ghlinn-Lìbheann, ard cheannard fìr Athall,
'S a Bhan-mhorair àluinn—ni 's fhearra gu gbruund ;
Agus òlamaid uile, Faschoille 'us Urrard,
Bail'na-Cille, 's an Tulaich, Ceandrogan, 'us Leòid—
'Us òlamaid le fathrum, am fìor ghaisgeach an Doire ;
Deoch-slàinte an fhreiceadain, ò hì, hò rò !

DONNACHA MAC-GILLEADHAIN.

Bha an t-ùghdar deas-dhànach so, na mhinistear diadhaidh, saothrachail, anns an Eaglais Shaoir 'an Gleann-Urchaidh ré cheithir bliadhna deug air fhichead. Chaochail e air an sèathanmh latha fichead de *December*, 1871, 'nuair a bha e a dh'aois sé bliadhna deug 'us trì fichead. Bha Mr Mac-Gilleadhain fo 'n ainm "Fìor Ghàèl" na charaid dileas, deallasach, do 'n "Teachdaire Gàelach" fad a reis ghoirrid. Tha 'n t-òran maiseach a leanas, a nochdadh "Aoibhneas a Bhròin," a mhosguil ann an cridhe an ùghdair air dha dearcadh air maisealachd tìr a bhreth 'us oige—agus theirear rium, gur ro-ainmig a chithear sealladh, a bheir barrachd air cruth 'us àilleachd na duthcha sin.

SEALLADH O MHULLACH SHROIN-A'-CHLACHAIN AIG CILLFHINN.

Le Donnacha Mac-Gilleadhain.

'S mi 'm shuidh' air an tulaich,
Air mullach an aonaich,
Gun duine a' m' chuideachd—
Gu buileach a' m' aonar—
Tha smaointeanan iomadh
Air m' anam ag aomadh,
'Bha fada na 'n cadal ;
Ach inuiseam an t-aobhar.

Tha mo shuil air Loch-Tadha,
'S gach faileas is bòidhche
A chi mi na broilleach
Mur chaoim uhd caomh òighe ;

Mar leanabh na chadal
 'Am maduinn na h-òige,
 A ghaoth buin gu caomh ris
 Mu 'n caochail a gloirmhais'.

Tha 'n sealladh 'tha 'sgaoil'
 Air gach taobh agus làimh dhìom
 Làn maise mar 'b' abhaist,
 'S gnuis naduir gun sgraing oirr' ;
 Na coilltean cho ùrar
 'S luchd-ciùil air gach crann diùbh,
 Le 'n ceileirean siùbhlach—
 Mo rùn-sa gach àm iad !

Tha Dochard 'na dheannaibh,
 A' teannadh ri Lòchaidh,
 An coinneamh a chéile,
 Bean bheusach chiuin còmhuard ;
 'S 'n uair thig i 'na ghlacaibh
 'S a naisgear iad còmhladh,
 Grad thréigidh a bhuirb' e
 'Us strìochdaidh a mhòrchuis.

Is maiseach an sealladh
 Gleann-Dochard 's Gleann-Lòchaidh,
 Le 'n lùban, le 'n glacan,
 Le 'n leacan, 'le 'n còmhnaid—
 Le 'n sruthanan suibhlach,
 Le dùsluinnean boidheach,
 'S an cluinnean an smudan,
 Am brùdhearg, 's an smeòrach—

Tha iadsan gun chaochladh
 'S an aogasg a b'abhaist ;
 Ach c'ait 'eil a chuideachd
 A chleachd a bhi 'tàmh annt' ?
 Tha cuid fo na leacan,
 'S a chadal 'tha sàmhach—
 A' chuid is ro phailt'
 Air an sgapadh 's gach àite !

C'ait 'eil a bhuidheann,
 Bha mireagach, luaineach,
 Ag iasgach nan sruthan
 'S a tathaich am bruachan,

Gaelic Society of Inverness.

A' cleasachd gu h-aotrom
 Feadh raointean 'us chluaintean
 'Trusadh chnò anns a choille,
 'S am faighte na ruadh-bhuic !

Tha Deisheir 'na àbhaist
 Fo shailtibh Beinn-lamhair,
 'S a ghrian air a' dearsadh
 O àirde nam flaitheas ;
 Ach co 'chuireas fàilt' oirr'—
 'Ni gàirdeachas leatha
 De 'n chuideachd a b'abhaist
 Bhi 'pàrtach de 'maitheas.

Tha smuid o thigh m' athar
 A' dìreadh mar 'bha i,
 'Na cearclaibh 's na dualaibh
 Réir a dual 'us a naduir ;
 Ach c'ait 'eil an t-athair
 A dh'altrum mi tràthail
 'Us caomhag nam mnathan !
 C'ait 'eil i, mo mhàthair ?

Chi mi 'n tigh-sgoile,
 Gun mhuthadh, gun chaochladh
 Ach c'ait 'eil na fiurain
 A dhuisgeadh mo ghaol doibh ?
 Tha 'n sgeap mar a bha i,
 Ach c'ait 'eil an sgaoth ud,
 Bha cnuasachd na meala,
 'S bha caidireach, gaolach !

'Us chi mi an eaglais
 Air lombar na sràide,
 Ach c'ait eil a' chuideachd
 'Ga dumhlach' mar 'b'abhaist ?
 C'ait am fear-teagasg
 A choisinn mo ghradh dha
 'S e freagradh Mhic-talla,
 " Is beag dhiubh 'tha lathair !"

Fo ghlasaibh nam fuar leac
 'S an uaigh air an tasgadh,
 Gus an tig an là Luain sin
 'S am fuasglar a glasan,

Tha comunn mo ghràidh
A bu bhlàth leam 's bu taitneach,
'S na dh' fhàgadh 'n an craobhan
Le aois air an seacadh.

Gu h-ìosal mu 'm choimeamh
'N am folach 's an dushuinn
Am fochair a cheile
Tha 'n Caisteal* 's a chruislinn ;
Tha easan 'na làraich
Na àros do 'n eunlaith,
'S nì 'm faiccar ann lamh gheal
'Nì clàrsach a dhusgadh.

* Fiomharig.

Threig a mbais' e gu sìorruidh,
O 'n thrial iad na h-àrmuin,
'Tha balbh agus tosdach
Na fhochair 'us lamh ris ;
Sgal sìomsair cha dùisg iad
Mur bu dùgh 'us a b'abhaist ;
Is cadal am feasd doibh
Gus an tig là a bhràth orr'.

Bha iad inleachdach, tèma,
'Us gaolach air beairteas—
'Ga thorradh ri chéile
Le eucoir no ceartas ;
Ach faic mar a dh' eirich,
An tréine 's an tapadh
Do 'n aog b' eiginn géilleadh,
Iad fhein us an gaisgich !

Tha Cìinnealla nan leòmhann
'S Acha-mhòr mar a bha iad,
Ach thrial na fir mhòra
Rinn còmhnuidh 'us tamh annt',
Chrion na stuic, shearg na fùrain
Bha ùrar 'us fàsor ;
Tha 'choill air a rùsgadh
'S na fiùthaidh air basachd' ?

'S iomadh mùgh agus caochladh
'Chi 'n aois nach bu mhian leath,
Bheir deòir o na sùilean
'S a dhùisgeas trom iarguin ;

Gaelic Society of Inverness

Chi i choill 'us an dùshuinn
 'S a fiuranan ciatach,
 Bha nan àileagain rùnach
 Air lùbadh 's air crionadh.

Chi i 'n tigh air a rùsgadh
 'S an smùid air a smaladh—
 'Us tosdachd 'toirt buaidh
 Far an cual i ceòl gàire ;
 Leac-an-teinntein gun ainneal
 'Us smalan 's guch àite,
 'S i fhéin air a dochunn
 Le lot a tha bàsmhor.

Mìle soraidh do 'n tìr
 Leam cinn-teach bu taitneach
 'Us do Chlachan Chill-fhinn
 'S do na glinn a tha 'n taic ris !
 Do bheanntan càs, àrda,
 Gach mam agus leacain—
 Tìr nam fear cròdha,
 Bu bhòidheach fo bhreacan !

'Nis slàn leis na sruthain
 Mu 'm faicte an t-iasgair !
 'Us slàn leis na mòintean
 'S am faighte am fiadhaich !
 Slàn leis na sléibh-tean
 'S Beinn-léimhinn, mo chiad ghràdh
 Slàn le Braidealbann !
 'S am b' ainneil siol Dhiarmaid !

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