

Comunn nam Fìor Shàiel.



From Copilarn, 1760-1810

A' Bhannraig.

Suas e! Suas e! Suas e!	hurrar! hurrar! hurrar!
Sìos e! Sìos e! Sìos e!	hurrar! hurrar! hurrar!
Nis..! Nis..! Nis..!	hurrar! hurrar! hurrar!

VOL
I

Leabhar Comunn nam Fionn Sháel The Book of the Club of True Highlanders.

A record of the Dress, arms, customs, arts
and science; of the Highlanders: ~~assembled~~
Compiled from printed and MS. records; and
traditions; and illustrated with etchings
of Highland Relics, and the Celtic
Vestiges of Great Britain and
Ireland: by
C. H. Ince North, Architect.
Chief of the Club
of True Highlanders.



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1854

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"Fior Tuach"



August 1881.

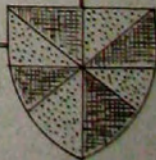
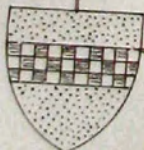


To the

Best of Mothers

this Work is

Lovingly dedicated:



FF
C



Should you, gentle reader, expect a brilliant record of a world-renowned corporation, or the exhaustive essay of a Macaulay, your expectations will not be realized; the record is of a modest Society which has indirectly exercised a great deal of influence on the Scotch residents in London, by carefully fostering that enthusiastic love of country for which Highlander and Lowlander are celebrated, and by advocating the preservation (as precious relics) of all customs, manners, and records that could in any way remind them of the land of the Mountain and the Flood.

The History of the Club will not, perhaps, interest you, although it will be regarded with affection by the old Members, in whatever part of the world they may be; and if it only recalls to memory many a pleasant crack with cronies lang syne, it will have answered one of the purposes I have in view.

The principal portion of the work is an endeavour—Firstly, To supplement the valuable contributions to the History of the Highlands and Highland manners which have been made by Logan the historian, Menzies, Imlah, McDonald, and other Members of the Club of True Highlanders; by carefully collecting the various references which, until lately, were scattered about in numerous and, in many cases, rare and costly volumes. Secondly, To weed out and detect the various mistakes, mis-statements, and errors that have gradually been accepted, without question, from so-called authorities. Thirdly, To preserve the exact form and presentment of arms, armour, musical instruments, dress, agricultural implements, and other relics, by careful measured details, taken in the majority of the cases from the originals, and drawn to a uniform scale, and by careful fac-simile copies and photo-lithographs of ancient drawings, and of such portions of ancient MSS. as tend in any way to throw light on the ancient manners and customs of the "clann nan gaidheal." With regard to those chapters which treat of the various matters in detail, the recital will necessarily appear somewhat disjointed, but I am of opinion that in the majority of cases it will be more satisfactory to lay before you exact quotations than to present the whole to you in a continuous narrative. By this method you will be enabled to judge of the value of each quotation, in a manner which I venture to think no connected narrative, however brilliant, would have enabled you to do.

In conclusion, I make this letter to you, gentle reader, the medium by which I tender my best thanks to those who have so generously helped me in my arduous undertaking; to His Grace the DUKE of HAMILTON, and His Grace the DUKE of Buccleuch, for the prompt and handsome manner in which they responded to my appeal; to the EARL of ABERDEEN, Lady HELEN MCGREGOR, the Dowager Countess of ANTRIM, Miss McPHERSON of Cluny, Miss McLEAN, Mrs. CARMICHAEL, and Mrs. HAMILTON, Lord ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, CLUNY, CABBOLL, CULLODEN, HAMILTON of Ledy, Col. McDougall of Dunollie, McLaine of Lochbuy, Professor STEPHENS, Sir NOEL PATON, CAMPBELL of Isla, Consul-General B. HOMER DIXON, the DEANS OF GUILD OF ABERDEEN AND INVERNESS, Major GRAHAM STIRLING of Craigbarnett, Col. STEWART of Ardvorlich, Lieutenant MORTIMER, HECTOR McLEAN, Revs. Drs. MASSON and STEWART, the Rev. A. MCGREGOR, the LIBRARIANS and OFFICIALS of the BRITISH MUSEUM, ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, SCIENCE and ART DEPARTMENT EDINBURGH; PERTH, INVERNESS, and ELGIN MUSEUMS, MESSRS. McPHERSON, MURDOCH, A. CARMICHAEL, GLEN, A. DAVIE, DUNCAN CUMMING, ISLES, HINGSTON, W. D. MEFFAN, CHALMERS, J. RENNIE, ROBERTSON MACDONALD, CURR, GLEN, JOHN ROBERTSON of Blair, the MEMBERS OF THE C. T. H., and others, who have not only allowed me to make drawings of relics in their possession, but have also contributed much valuable information and advice.

And last, but not least, more than thanks are due to her, who (by many years of loving wifely care) enables me to bear, without hurt or grudging, the loss of time and money I have sustained in submitting this work to the kindly consideration of those, who have honoured me with their support. I therefore make my bow, in the hope that the perusal of the following pages will afford you, gentle reader, as much gratification as the labour in collecting the material has given to

Yours most obediently,

W. D. Meffan

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INTRODUCTION.

COMUNN NAM FIOR GHAËL, OR CLUB OF TRUE HIGHLANDERS.

Clann nan gaidheal an guallhbh a cheile.

"We come from a country of well proven worth,
The mountains of Morven, the Alps of the north,
Where the hills are historic from far distant day,
And each strath and each stream hath its legend and lay.
Though long, long ago from that country we came,
Though changed be our habits, our hearts are the same.
With ancient soul shall flow the bowl, the song and the tale
Of other days, of heather braes, and glens of the Gaël."—(*Fmlah.*)

The formation of the Club; St. Andrew's dinner instituted; deputation to Queen Caroline; the Club permanently instituted in London; John Marloch; Donald Spalding; William Menzies; Robert Storey; James Logan.



HE year 1815, rendered so glorious in the annals of our country by the crowning victory of Waterloo, also witnessed the gradually increasing expression of pride and satisfaction with which Highlanders at home regarded the glorious manner in which the honour of their country had been maintained during the Peninsular War; and when peace was proclaimed they were enabled to turn their thoughts towards the best manner of preserving that Highland dress, which, described by tradition as a fitting garb for heroes, had been so proudly borne to the front by the gallant wearers on the red field of war.

The present Highland Society of London, it is true, had been established for some years (1778), and had been quickly followed by the Highland Society of Scotland (other societies (a), had enjoyed a brief existence, and then expired); but in the years 1815-16 the fire of enthusiasm seemed to burn brighter than ever, and Glengarry established the Society of True Highlanders at Inverloch. This appeared to act like the fiery cross, for we are informed by the traditions of the Club that Donald Spalding, from Isla, A. McIntosh, from Strathspey, J. McKenzie, from Lochbroom, Duncan Stuart, from Argyll, and A. Ross, from Resolis, Rosshire, founded the London society. Another society of True Highlanders was founded shortly afterwards in Glasgow, and in a few years there was a large number of Highland or Caledonian societies in various parts of the United Kingdom. No minutes appear to have been kept in the early years of the True Highlanders' Society of London, and it is not clear whether the society at that time was really an offshoot of the one at Inverloch; an affiliated society founded with the approbation of Glengarry; or whether it was an independent society. Be that as it may, there is not the slightest doubt that the most cordial and brotherly feeling existed between the London and Inverloch Societies, as we not only find gentlemen described as members of both societies (notably Captain Grant, of Redcastle, and others); but the minutes record that Glengarry was thanked for his present of venison for the annual Camanachd dinner of

(a) In the report issued by the Gaelic Society in 1840, mention is made of the following societies, all of which enjoyed but a short existence:—The St. Andrew's Society of Norwich, after establishing branches in London, Germany, and America (although carried out under the fostering care of Lord Rosberry) shortly ceased to be Scottish in character, the title was changed into "The Society of Universal Good-will." It was ultimately dissolved, and its stock apportioned to other institutions. A Gaelic Society was formed in 1805; this was successful for a time, and "although the zeal which was displayed in the undertaking, and the respectability of the individuals who enrolled themselves as members were such as to justify the hope of its stability, yet, unfortunately, from some causes which could not be easily accounted for, the meetings began to fall off; a want of confidence and co-operation became apparent, and finally the association dissolved itself, or declined and expired, from the effect of these fatal misunderstandings." An attempt was again made by another body of gentlemen, composing several who had taken an active part in the former, and they resolved to establish a similar society, adopting the fraternal appellation of Sons of Morven, the members using a solemn process of initiation, and were arrayed in certain official robes. This society partook more of the character of a debating society, and although it had influential support, it died as the others had done.

the Club, and that all members of the Inverlochy Society would be made honorary members whenever they visited London.

The *Inverness Journal* contains copious notices of the various meetings of that period. We find that the Society met on Tuesday, the 22nd of May, 1817, at the British Coffee-House. Again, on June 22nd, 1817, we find that the Inverlochy members passed the following amongst other resolutions:—"Fourthly. The Society authorised their thanks to be conveyed, by publication of these extracts, to such as have aided their collection of tartans (b), in terms of their former request, and they beg this national object may be persevered in by all their other members likewise, with their earliest convenience, and by the well-wishes of the Society in all Highland districts, to which they are urged alike by our London brethren and the Society of True Highlanders, in the most serious manner"; and again, in the same year, a St. Andrew's dinner having been held at Mr. Cameron's, of the "Thistle and Crown," Chandos Street, on December 1st, we find that the Inverlochy members in January, 1818, passed the following resolution:—"Resolved, in conformity to the measure adopted by their members in the British capital last spring (which is to be continued annually), to appoint St. Andrew's Day as a day of conviviality and good fellowship of their Perthshire friends."

By this somewhat vague paragraph we may conclude that the Club of True Highlanders instituted the custom of dining together on St. Andrew's Day—a custom now looked upon as a matter of course wherever Scotsmen gather.

The Society (c) held their second annual dinner in London (May 14th, 1818) at the British Coffee-House; Lord James Murray in the chair. "The meeting" (so runs the report) "was highly respectable, many of the leading characters of Caledonia being in their appropriate garb. The noble chairman, whose family are the national patrons of the Gows, had secured the attendance of Gow and his band; and Mac Mhic Alastair (Colonel McDonald, of Glengarry, founder of the Institution), was attended by the appearance of the company in the romantic garb of Caledonia, by enthusiasm was fully sustained and gratified by the appearance of the company in the romantic garb of Caledonia, by the wild and martial music of the Highland bagpipe, and, above all, by the harmonious interchange of sentiments, which recalled all the delightful associations of their dear native land—'over the hills, and far away.' The company marched off to the sound of the bagpipe at a late hour."

Logan, the historian, speaking of a deputation to Queen Caroline, says (d):—"I had lately arrived in London (1820), and one day, going to visit my friend Dr. Ross at Sunbury, reaching Piccadilly by Berkeley Street, how agreeably surprised I was to find myself just in time to meet the cortege of our Club, of which I then knew nothing."

Public feeling was at that time very much excited by the failure of the trial of Queen Caroline, and it appears that in December (e) a meeting was held at the "Crown and Anchor," and an address was drawn up for presentation on the 18th to Queen Caroline; Mr. Donald Currie (for many years a member of the Club) was in the chair.

On the eventful morning of the 18th, the roads leading to Brandenburgh House were crowded with processions, of all classes and conditions, on their way to pay their respects to the queen; but, says "our special reporter" (f), "The most novel, and by far the most striking, procession was that of the Highlanders residing in London, and deputed from the Highland Assembly: the summons was, 'Come every hill plaid and true heart that wears one.'" Their gathering place this morning was the "Crown and Anchor," and they were coming from an early hour

"All plaided and plumed in their tartan array."

In the number were several gentlemen, we understand, of very high rank in the army, and some connected with distinguished characters in the Senate, and at the Bar. They were all in full Highland dress, each having a tartan jacket and kilt, with the plaid in rich folds over the shoulder; hose, pouch, black velvet stock, and bonnet blue, decorated with the eagle plume, mingled with ostrich feathers; a sort of collar of white silk was worn over the plaid, and a large rosette of white ribbon on the breast.

The procession consisted of twelve landaus and four—all with white horses—the postillions having white small clothes, waistcoats, and hats, with white cockades, and buff jackets. Two Highland pipers (g) sat in the first landau, and at half-past eleven, when the procession moved forward, a pibroch "waked its wild voice anew." A large flag of silk plaid, with sky-blue streamers, was carried in the same landau. The spectacle was in every respect most

(b) Is this still in existence?

(c) *Inverness Journal*, December 9th, 1820.

(d) *Inverness Journal*, May 29th, 1818.

(f) *Inverness Journal*.

(g) "Book of Sports" (C. T. H.)

(e) Logan says "Book of Sports" the pipers were McNiven and McDonald. "They were standing and pouring forth those endearing strains, which at once raised the temperature of my blood; the tune was the 'Braes of Aberarder.'"

interesting. The crowd assembled to see this procession was very large, and seemed to participate cordially in the feelings of the Highlanders. They were greeted with the warmest cheers along the whole line of their march from the "Crown and Anchor" to Brandenburg House. They marched into the long gallery with their colours flying and pipes playing. When all were regularly arranged, and while the pipes played "Scots wha hae." Her Majesty entered, and immediately turned round, and most graciously recognised the Highlanders, who bowed with profoundest respect to the Queen.

Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. P. Moore, Mr. Waithman, and Mr. Hobhouse were all present in full Court dress. Lady Anne Hamilton wore a rich tartan scarf. Mr. Hume, in full Court dress, introduced the chairman and the mover of the address.

The chairman presented the address to Her Majesty, who was graciously pleased to have it read by the mover in the Gaelic language. It was read with equal modesty and firmness. This was, perhaps, the first time that any king or queen of this country listened to an address in that ancient language."

Mr. Alderman Wood then, by Her Majesty's commands, read a lengthy reply to the address, at the conclusion of which "the Highlanders and their ladies kissed hands. They were most graciously received. The Queen seemed particularly pleased with the present of a bouquet from one of the young ladies of the deputation. Her Majesty held it in her hand till the whole deputation had passed. While the ceremony was performing, the banners waved, and the bagpipes played 'Scots wha hae.' Her Majesty wore a dress of silver lama over a pink satin slip; her head dress, a cap of pink satin, almost covered with diamonds, and surmounted by a superb plume of white ostrich feathers. Lady Hamilton wore a robe and scarf of tartan, and the Highland bonnet, with scarlet and black plumes."

From the above extracts, and others that appeared from time to time, it would appear that the Society took a prominent part in all that related to Highland affairs in London, and from mention being made several times of the spring meeting, we have come to the conclusion that the meetings at that time were held quarterly. Tuesday night, also, for some reason or another, was generally the meeting night, and the same night has invariably been reserved by the members in accordance with the rules of the Club, although it has very often been held with great personal inconvenience to the members.

In 1821 the leading and most energetic of the members felt the time had arrived for placing the Club on a solid foundation as a benevolent—as well as a national—society (*g*), and on Tuesday, April 2nd, at a meeting held at the "Edinburgh Castle," it was resolved to form a philanthropic society, under the name of "The Philanthropic Club of True Highlanders"; and the minutes further add, it was resolved to meet again on Tuesday evening, the 10th instant, with as many friends as possible, to forward the views they entertain of forming, on liberal and generous principles, a benevolent institution. Present: Donald Spalding, John Mackenzie, Clifford Holroyd, John MacGregor, Duncan Stewart, W. Mac Intosh, Peter Mackay, W. Mackay, Peter Emans. W. Mac Intosh was appointed chief; Duncan Stewart, chieftain; Donald Spalding, secretary; and Peter Emans as treasurer (*h*).

On the first meeting night the following gentlemen subscribed to become members:—Messrs. Donald Spalding, Peter Mackay, William Mac Intosh, William Mackay, Duncan Stewart, John Adams, Alexander Ross, John MacGregor (honorary), Peter Emans, John William Allen, James McNiven (honorary), and Walter Biddle (honorary). Messrs. P. Mackay, T. Robertson, J. MacGregor, William MacIntosh, J. Allen, Duncan Stewart, W. Mackay, and Charles Gordon were appointed as members of committee for drawing up laws and regulations for the consideration of the Society, with M. D. Spalding as secretary.

The members meeting weekly, the work of framing the rules and regulations for the government of the Club naturally engrossed the greater part of their time. The death of Queen Caroline, however, reminded them of the gracious reception she had honoured them with, and Kenneth McLennan and Donald Spalding were deputed by the Club to attend the funeral in the Highland dress as a mark of respect.

Logan says that Spalding was a spirited Highlander, whose fervour led him to the extreme of nationality (*i*). . . . "The melancholy cavalcade was prevented from passing through Hyde Park, and a violent commotion ensued. Our undaunted Donald, pressing to the gate, boldly contended with the officer on duty for the right of way, amid cheers and 'Go it, my lord!' 'Hurrah for the Duke of Argyle!' the object being to prevent the funeral from passing to the City, through which the Mayor and citizens were to escort it. The people (after five had been shot) by

barricading the new road forced it down Drury Lane, so that the Mayor received it at Temple Bar." This is the last instance on record in which the Club took any part in a political demonstration, the wisdom of the founders expressly providing that no discussion involving politics or religion be allowed at the meetings of the Club.

Having brought the history of the Club down to this period, by laying before the reader all the most important and reliable records at hand, it would perhaps be as well to notice a somewhat fanciful account of the origin of the Club.

In order to provide a pedigree for another society an endeavour was made to prove that the Club was in existence under another name in 1778, and that, after various transmigrations, "the SAXON element so predominated in 1815 that five members changed the name into the Club of True Highlanders!"

This account, we think, may be assigned to that limbo which is peopled with the Saxon theories, the Norman or foreign origin of our principal Highland clans, and other literary monstrosities, and we only notice the above, in case some future Dryasdust should be tempted to give it any consideration.

The Club was founded by the most thorough-going and typical Highlanders (in every sense of the word) that then resided in the metropolis. It was to be composed of Highlanders, and, under certain restrictions, true friends of Highlanders (*k*), and it was resolved that the name, Comunn fìor ghaèl, be unalterable, and the primary object was to establish a rendezvous for periodical, social, and friendly intercourse among Scotsmen and their friends.

The experience gained from the failure of the various departed and short-lived societies made the founders distrustful of a rigid exclusiveness, and taught them that the only way to establish a permanent institution would be by enlisting the sympathy and support of those permanently settled in London.

We can scarcely realize in these days of rapid communication the isolated position in which the Highlander in London found himself at this period. Practically in a foreign land, he was never certain how long his stay might be, and, in the majority of cases, the metropolis was only regarded as a point of departure. The Highlander, in his fierce struggle for existence, had little time at his disposal for; and his surroundings had nothing in them, to suggest thoughts of home; and it was determined to establish a rendezvous, where the Highlander would not only see his native garb, and hear the auld songs and mother tongue, but would also get a kindly greeting, and valuable and prompt advice and instructions as to the best manner of obtaining an independence. This could be best maintained by founding a society in which the inexperienced but ardent enthusiasm of the Highland youth "fresh frae the hills" would be restrained and guided by that steadfast, and perhaps more lasting, interest that arises from the contemplation of memories or traditions which, like the hills in the far distance, appear, as the day declines, more and more roseate in hue as the setting sun of life sinks into that night which precedes the glorious dawn of a better world.

The second purpose for which the Club was founded was the preservation of the ancient language, music, amusements, and garb of the gaidheal. To attain these objects, a school was established for teaching Gaelic at the house of one of the members (Mr. Gray), and we find from the minutes (*l*) "that the school is suffering much inconvenience for want of Gaelic grammars and vocabularies, and that treasurer be instructed to order six copies of each from Scotland, to be sold to members at prime cost, and to others at 50 per cent. profit" (*m*).

A piper was appointed, and in addition to the regular meetings—at which the chief and chieftain are obliged to wear the kilt—gatherings were to be held on St. Andrew's Night for the annual dinner; the ball was to be held about the time of Auld Yule, and the Camanachd was to be held on some day as near as possible to Belteine, and at all of these gatherings it is "de rigueur" for the members to wear the breacan an fhèilidh.

The third, and in many senses the most important, object of the Club is to render assistance in every possible way to those Scotsmen who are not successful in the battle of life. This subject, although it should be borne in mind to the end of the chapter, must necessarily be but lightly referred to; the sacred sorrows of the poor are no fit foundation for the Pharisaical boast and the sorrowful and quaintly worded appeal, or mayhap the joyful note of thanks, must still remain as private records of the Club, the contents of which are sacredly preserved from the light of day.

Having briefly stated the various objects for which the Club was founded, we shall lay before the reader

(*k*) C. T. H., Minutes (1811). The Comunn nam fìor ghaèl was the title under which the Club was registered, and as a mark of respect this spelling has been retained in the principal inscription on the title-page. The other two inscriptions are spelt gaidheal. The words Kelt and Keltic we have also retained, as undoubtedly giving the truest pronunciation of the words.

(*l*) Minutes, February 32nd.

(*m*) We present this FACT for the consideration of those who describe the Highlander as an uncivilized barbarian, for we maintain that the charge of 50 per cent. shows an appreciation of civilized profits worthy even of those who deride the miserable and meagre pittance of the co-operative society.

Leabhar Comunn nam Fìor Shìel
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)



Thick's Smythson, Ltd. Brooch 5" Halfpenn.

James Logan
Seana-chaidh.
Comunn nam Fìor Shìel.
Author of Scottish Gaelic &c.

Your most obedient servant
James Logan

a few extracts, in order to give a clearer idea not only of the manner in which the intentions of the founders have been carried out, but also of some of the men who have risen, from time to time, and girded up their loins in order to carry on those good old watchwords:—"The cause of good fellowship and charity all over the world," and "The prosperity of the Club of True Highlanders" (n).

1824.

In this year (o) the Minutes record the name of Mr. John Murdock, the schoolmaster who instructed Robert Burns (Cris North calls him the good John Murdock)—"a young scholar, whom William Burness and four or five neighbours engaged to supply the place of the schoolmaster, who had been removed to another situation, lodging him by turns in their own houses." He continued his instruction for about two years. In course of time he was fighting the battle of life in London, with varying and doubtful success; he was the author of several books connected with his profession as schoolmaster. In 1783 he was residing in Staple Inn, and in 1790 was engaged as teacher of French at Hart Street, Bloomsbury. His weary pilgrimage came to an end in 1824. A short time after his name appeared in the Minutes.

1827.

The Gwynidion Society paid an official visit to the Club, to the mutual satisfaction of both societies, and a friendly intercourse was maintained with the members until the extinction of the former.

1828.

James Logan, the historian, formally joined the Club, and, with Imlah, the poet, and William Menzies, formed a brilliant trio, whose genius and patriotism, stimulated and strengthened by the sympathetic approbation of their brother members, found a congenial task in forming a brilliant record of the ancient garb, manners, and customs which it was the object of the Club to perpetuate.

1829.

March 24th.—It was decided that quarterly festivals be established, in honour of eminent Caledonians and particular events in Scottish history. The first Tuesday in April to be devoted to Ossian, and one Tuesday in July to Burns.

1830.

The death of Donald Spalding, the founder of the Club, was the first great loss the Club sustained. Donald was a native of Isla, a spirited Highlander, whose fervour led him to the extreme of nationality, and whose sturdy and uncompromising assertion of the dignity of the Highland character made him a most valuable member. He was buried in St. James's Church Yard, Hampstead Road; his remains were followed by about thirty of his countrymen in the garb of Caledonia, who were preceded by three pipers, who, however, did not, in deference to the Lord's Day and the usages of this country, play the Coronach of their departed friend. The snow lay deep that day.

His portrait (plate 4) was shortly afterwards presented by his executors to the Club, and his Highland face still seems from the wall to keep guard over the interests of the Club he loved so well.

The year was also memorable in the annals of the Club as the year in which several members founded the Gaelic Society of London.

For some time past there had been growing indications that the devotion with which members kept up the sports and pastimes of their forefathers greatly interfered with the study of the Gaelic, and in 1830, Mr. W. Menzies, knowing (p) that "literature was not a main object of our Society," conceived the idea, in conjunction with another member (Mr. Lewis McDougal), of starting an exclusively literary society for the study of Gaelic, and "the title of Comunn Gaelig, being unappropriated by any other Society," was adopted as the fitting designation of the new society. This society may be considered as a supplementary, and not as an antagonistic society to the Club of True Highlanders: the names of Logan, Fife-Duff-Watt, Donald Currie, Wilkinson, McLan, McIntosh, McPherson,

(n) Toasts given at every general meeting of the C. T. H.

(o) March 9th, 1824.

(p) Report by Gaelic Society in 1840.

and others, shew not only that the members of the Club of True Highlanders gave the new society their hearty support, but that they also formed the backbone of the venture, which for many years devoted its energies to the preservation of the language of the Gael. The same year it was resolved that the meetings of the Club of True Highlanders should be held monthly; on the first Tuesday of the month, the council meeting on the third Tuesday. A fresh set of rules and bye-laws were drawn up some time afterwards, and these being approved by Tidd Pratt, in 1836, the Club was enrolled as a benevolent society. Mr. Menzies shortly afterwards received a vote of thanks from the Club for his exertions in the matter.

The Club for some years continued the even tenor of its ways, the members sometimes contending amongst themselves in the Camanachd at Blackheath—sometimes lending a kindly help or recommendation to their less fortunate brethren, or receiving, with a Highland welcome, parties of Highlanders who arrived from time to time in London, and speeding them on their way to New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, and other British Colonies; or at other times entering an energetic protest against the assertions of some renegade scribbler who tried to establish a reputation as a wit (or maybe to curry favour) by endeavouring to decry the beloved garb of the Gael. In 1840, however, one of the trustees and a very old and valued member, Mr. Donald Currie, appears to have taken the opposite view of his rights as a trustee to that entertained by the majority of the members, and, being a hot-headed Highlander, proceeded, not exactly to plunder and ravish the books, &c., of the Club in old Highland fashion, but to exercise his supposed authority in a manner which did not meet the approbation of his fellow members; this being objected to, he obtained forcible possession of the books. The upshot was—summons, appeal; and after the case was argued in the Court of Exchequer the present Club was declared to be the victor, and entitled to the books as the original Society; the costs were taxed, and, instead of being allowed to carry fire and sword into their defeated foeman's territory, in accordance with ancient use and wont, the members had the negative consolation of paying £10 more than the taxing master allowed—a very unheroic termination to a dispute in which both sides displayed a spirit worthy of the praise of Ossian (y). Shortly after this division the Club removed to the "Crown and Anchor," and the defeated one and his friends started a new society, which they christened "The Society of True Highlanders." The day of meeting was changed from the first and third Tuesdays, as in the old Club, to the first and third *Fridays of the month*.

The only other notice of this rival society that we find in the papers of the Club is contained in a letter sent by Logan, in 1844, to the *Imverness Courier*, in which he points out that "The Society of True Highlanders is not The Club of True Highlanders."

On October 4th, 1842, the presentation of Mr. Menzies' portrait to the Club was made, and in the following year (April, 1843) that staunch old Highlander, Sir Francis McKenzie, and his two sons, attended the Club as visitors. Sir Francis expressed his satisfaction of the objects of the Club, and, wishing to become a member, he was unanimously elected a life member, the standing orders being suspended. He was proposed by Logan, the historian; seconded by Mr. Brookman; after his election he joined the members in a reel, and it is recorded in the Minutes, with evident satisfaction, that he danced the reel with real Highland spirit.

Those who have been to the Club meetings can well understand the enthusiasm of the members when they saw that the active and enthusiastic chief and his worthy sons were no degenerate Gaels.

Munro about this time, in speaking of the Highland Clubs of London (after mentioning the Highland Society), says:—"There are two other creditable Highland Clubs in London, viz., The Club of True Highlanders, and Comunn Gaelig, or The Gaelig Society. The former of these is a regularly constituted corporation, and has existed for a considerable period. Its immediate object is conviviality, according to the Highland fashion and usage, but its ultimate object is charity, directed especially towards poor Gael in and about London.

"The door is kept or sentinelled by a certain official, styled a henchman. The henchman in our time was one Gallie, a native of Tain, a thick-set, sturdy, grim, gruff old fellow, a Gaidheal of the purest and roughest type, proud of his post, and looking just as we may fancy Fingal's doorkeeper to have looked 'when the curtain of the night descended on the hills, and heroes were feasting in Selma.' On opening the door to admit a visitor he used to flourish a tremendous battle-axe—the symbol of his office—in a way so unexpected and so formidable, that every stranger who did not start back in affright was astonished to find himself introduced *with his head on*. There was nothing so genuinely Gaelic-looking about the Club as Gallie—he was a very Cerberus of a Celt—though, poor fellow, 'his look was worse than his bite.' To a Highland eye, wearied of seeing Sassunach shapes and visages, it was truly refreshing to look at him.

(y) And this is called *civilisation*.

Leathar Comunn nam Fìor Shàel
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)



Donald Mackenzie



James Mackenzie
W. Menzies

"The Chairman for the evening is styled 'Chief,' and the form of addressing him is, 'Most Respected Chief.' He sits at one end of the room in a great arm-chair, ornamented with the Highland insignia, and having on the table before him a hammer and a naked broadsword. When the Chief takes the chair the meeting commences—the 'shell and the song' begin to circulate. The entertainments consist of songs, Ossianic recitations, patriotic toasts, and cheerful converse, generally carried on in the mother tongue. When a Gaelic song is sung all join in the chorus, if there be one, and this sometimes produces a very animating effect. During the singing time is kept, after the old Highland fashion, by the junction of plaids, all round the circle. The Club employs a bagpiper, who is always in attendance, and who, after each of the principal toasts, strikes up some suitable and soul-stirring strain of the mountain music, meanwhile moving majestically round the room. In short, the whole affair is conducted in the most approved Gaelic style, with no lack of spunk and spirit; and nothing is wanting that may in anywise contribute to keep alive in the breast of the Anglo-Caledonian the fire of his fathers, the flame of patriotism, the remembrance of ancient manners and ancient mirth, and a taste for the endearing enjoyments of his native Highland home."

Space will not allow us (nor would it be desirable, says the reader) to trace the varying fortunes of the Club step by step. It has been fortunate in enrolling members like the Etrick Shepherd, the son of the immortal Burns, Generals McDonald and McNab, McLain, Peter Nicholson, Sir William Wallace Sibbald, Captain McDougall of Lorn, Clan Ronald, and many others celebrated "in arms, in arts, in song;" and we will only note a few events which may prove interesting or instructive to the reader. One of the most entertaining of our *visitors* was the late Robert Story, the Northumbrian poet, who being, as he often said, "half a Scot by birth, and all a Scot by nature," was wont, whenever his muse prompted him, to come to the meeting and recite some poem that he had composed. He had a venerable appearance and pleasing manner when reciting, and never shone to greater advantage than when he was reciting the "Bonnie Pink Flower," "The Bridge that Bears us Over," or the "Ode to Burns," composed for and recited at the Alloway festival.

The subject of a professorship of Gaelic in some of the Scottish Universities had long been considered an important requirement, and a petition was forwarded by Colonel Sykes. It was thought that the reform of the Universities of Aberdeen offered a favourable opportunity for the endowment, and the Secretary signed on behalf of the Club. In the letter to Colonel Sykes it was asked that in this part of education the Scots should have equal justice with the Welsh and Irish (*x*).

In the year 1862 the annual gathering was held at Beaufort House, Walham Green; professional athletes were invited to compete, and a number of valuable prizes were given. The meeting was highly successful in the manner in which it was carried out, but the experiment of inviting the attendance of professionals was not repeated, as the members suffered a heavy pecuniary loss (*y*).

October of the same year witnessed the death of William Menzies, who died on the 23rd, at the venerable age of eighty-three. He was a native of Fortingal, in Perthshire, which place he left in early life for Edinburgh and the south; he joined the Club in 1822, and it was owing greatly to his untiring energy and Highland zeal (*z*) that the Club was endued with the vitality for which it is celebrated; he was mainly instrumental in obtaining the enrolment of the Club in 1836, and received a special vote of thanks for his services.

In 1842 the members, to mark their respect for the father of the Club, determined to have his portrait painted on the completion of his twentieth year of membership. "The portrait (*u*) was paid for by the subscriptions of numerous friends, who determined to commit its preservation to the society in which he had taken so great an interest (plate 4). There were upwards of two hundred and fifty persons present when the portrait was presented (ladies on this occasion being admitted), and the effect of such an assemblage was increased by the office-bearers, members, and many of the visitors, being arrayed in the national costume. Mr. Menzies was *bho Appin na Meinnich*, and the presentation was made by his friend and countryman, Mr. J. Stewart, in an appropriate speech, to which the

(*r*) The Club petitioned to the same effect in 1858.

(*s*) In 1879 the various societies of London were invited to join in the Scottish gathering on August 4th, and the meeting was so successful that it was determined to make it an annual affair.

(*t*) "Neath heaven's canopy so blue,
Than Menzies, ne'er a heart saw true:
To him our thanks are doubly due
For meikle mair than shinty."

Book of Sports, C. T. H.

The picture was then hung up, McIntyre pealing forth the Menzies' salute. It was acknowledged to be a striking likeness, and a production highly creditable to the artist, Alexander Chisholm. During the evening Mr. Menzies played, with characteristic pathos and spirit, several of Neil Gow's favourite melodies, he being a professor of dancing in the lang bow and Strathspey style of Neil Gow.

While the genuine old style of Scottish music and dancing was patronised by the haute-ton, and courtiers of distinguished patronage kindly shone upon him, and he instructed a large circle of the nobility and courtiers of George III.'s reign in the mysteries of the "ceum siubhal" and "ceum coisiche"; and when Her Most Gracious Majesty gave that unique ball, the characters of which were equipped in the dresses of the "45," Mr. Menzies was selected as the only one who could instruct Lady Breadalbane's Highland party in the form and style of dancing, as it was in the then unaltered state of Keltic Society: the choreography and tunes were also selected by him. He was an excellent Gaelic scholar, had acquired French and German, and a knowledge of some of the dialects of India. We believe, in addition to those already mentioned, that he left some papers on the affinity of languages and on Scottish antiquities; these have, unfortunately, been destroyed, and papers that might have been of great value to the possessor have been lost.

In 1844 he delivered a lecture to the members of the Club of True Highlanders on the Social Principle in Man. Mr. Menzies (*w*), in "a short and pithy discourse, showed how ambitious and designing individuals raised themselves to a perilous pitch of power through the want of unanimity, or the incomplete exercise of what may be called the social principle, among the members of a community. He mentioned as an unanswerable observation, that in any society where a spirit of union and of cordial and continuous co-operation existed no individual could attain a dangerous degree of power. He showed, in a very striking manner, that slavery, decay of national strength, and other social ills, were the certain and miserable results of disunion; that the efficiency of associations, such as the one whose members he was then addressing, was seriously impaired and their very existence endangered when individual desires and self-gratification were pursued in disregard to the general good." At the conclusion of the lecture, the ladies were treated to a dance, and the company, the chronicler is careful to inform us, at a "decorous hour" returned to their homes.

He was also author of essays "On the Difference of Pronunciation among Scottish and Irish Gaël," "On the Camanachd," "Gaelic Toasts and Sentiments," and he was the founder of the "Gaidhealg Society," of which he was President for some years.

After forty years of active membership, the summons came! "*Cha til thu tuillidh!*" Messrs. Sanderson, McGregor, and Rennie paid their sorrowing respects on behalf of the Club, and followed his remains to their last resting-place (No. 1232) in Paddington Cemetery, Willesden, on the 28th day of October, 1862; and we cannot close this notice with a better tribute than that paid to his memory by his old friend James Rennie, the present Father of the Club of True Highlanders:—"We may venture to read, in the success of his matured life, the plain moral, 'That honesty through life is the best policy.' Those who had the fortune to meet him, soon knew him; and those who knew him, mourn the loss of a gentle-hearted companion."

In 1866 the meetings of the Club were held in Bedford Row, and a deluge of members was the result;—these new brooms determined in having a miniature House of Commons, and, as a matter of course, all was swept clean; a number of unworkable laws were passed, and they determined, like the members of another place, to have the refreshment department under their own control. The Club was accordingly converted into the likeness of a modern club, and all went as merry as a wedding bell until the day of reckoning; then the reformers vanished, and the old members, after withdrawing part of the funds to make good the losses, set to work to restore the practical simplicity of the old rules; and since that time, in spite of a small muster-roll and crippled resources, the ancient spirit of the founders has been kept alive by those who at present steer the stout old ship.

1869.—Moved by McGregor, seconded by J. Grant, "That the Club petition the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales to re-apply for the conduct of Divine Worship in the Gaelic language, the interest upon a sum of nearly £3500 subscribed about sixty years ago by Scotsmen in London for that purpose."

Nearly ten years after the departure of William Menzies, another and more celebrated member, James Logan, was called to his rest. A native of Aberdeen he attended Marischal College, it is believed to qualify himself for

(*v*) Looking at our own times, we may say that the lecturer displayed a prophetic foresight worthy of a Highland seer.

the law; this intention was frustrated by an accident (w), the marks of which always remained, and which gave him, as will be seen in the portrait, that peculiar appearance about the nose; recovering after a painful illness, he next studied as an artist, and having attracted the attention of the Earl of Aberdeen, he came up to London in order that he might benefit by the instruction then given at the Royal Academy. The atmosphere of the Academy in those days, with its severe and repressing classical shade, was but ill-suited to the taste of one whose whole life was bound up in the glorious traditions and monuments of our Islands, and who was heretic enough to consider that Rosslyn, Melrose, the beauties of Elgin, Salisbury, and other monuments of native skill, were quite equal to those subtle beauties which were so cunningly and very often so impenetrably hidden under the rules and proportions of Vitruvius or Chambers; and when it came to making copies of the nude, and we are afraid sometimes naughty, models of those days, he, who had seen the well-shaped foot of the "Highland lassie," soon discovered that he had no vocation in that line, and his soul still craved for *the* something that it had not yet discovered; so, like the sage of old, he

"Resolved to take his staff and see
If such a thing could really be,"

He tried Architecture, but that coy and fickle damsel had hidden herself behind the refined outlines of Harley Street and Grosvenor Square; she was too *gentle* to recognise so utter a barbarian, and the want of his life still remained unsatisfied.

At this period of his career he became acquainted with the Club of True Highlanders, and it was while entering heart and soul into the spirit which animated its members, and in carrying out the fundamental principles of the Club, that his unsatisfied mind cried, "Eureka"; his genius discovered its natural bent, and he entered into that life of incessant toil, and begrudged recompense, which is too often the lot, the independent enthusiast has to encounter (x).

Writing for the papers as a means of subsistence, he speedily set about the work by which his fame was made, and after some time spent travelling about Scotland, in researches at the British Museum, and other libraries, he produced "The Scottish Gael," a work which,—when we consider the difficulties he had to encounter in obtaining illustrations, the chaotic ignorance existing on the various subjects, and the few trustworthy authorities that were available for reference at that time;—must be considered as a monument of unflagging exertion and careful, discriminating research, of which any man may be proud (y).

Besides his celebrated works, "The Scottish Gael," "Gaelach Gatherings," "Clans" (z), &c., he published "Monumental Obelisks in the North of Scotland," "Essay on Carnac Remains," "Antiquities at Campbellton, Argyll, and Taradon, Rosshire," "Memoirs of Lord Lovat," "Recovery of Scottish Regalia," &c. &c. He wrote the introduction to McKenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," and projected a history of the Scottish clans, with biographical notices of celebrated individuals of each name, &c., &c.—it was to have been published in twelve parts (royal 8vo.), at five shillings each; he was also the author of numerous short essays, amongst which we may mention as read before or written for the Club of True Highlanders, Royal Archaeological, Gaelic, and other societies—

1827—Some sculptured stones in Elgin.

1832—Account of several Gaelic Antiquities; Anecdotes of some Remarkable Individuals, and Observations made in a Tour through the Highlands.

Some Observations accompanying the Exhibition of part of a Skull, supposed to have been that of a Druid, *Claodh nan Druidhean I-Colum-cil*, &c.

Some Observations on the Ancient Forests of Caledonia.

1833—The Baron of Brackley.

Account of Dunolladh Castle, the Brooch, &c. (with a drawing).

(w) While attending some athletic games he was struck down by an ill-directed throw of a hammer. The original portrait is in the possession of the C. T. H.

(x) His first, but informal, introduction to the Club was on the memorable occasion, shortly after his arrival in London, when the members paid their respects to Queen Caroline, and as he was about to visit a friend, Dr. Ross, at Sunbury, he followed the procession, in spite of the crowds, as far as Chiswick. Speaking of the event, he says:—"I was in green young age in that day, and meeting with an Elgin man equally so, who had followed the Highland party from national feeling, we went into the 'Swan' to have a gill. We had heard the Englishers asking for *quarters*, and as this was the first change house we had been in, and not taking up the word correctly, I desired the waiter to bring us a *quart* of rum. We were not a little surprised when he presently came in with a full measure of the capacity ordered. 'I thought,' says he, 'it was a goodly order, but, as such crowds are always coming in, it might be you expected some friends.'"

(y) His chapter on the tartan is the standard work on the subject, and the list, from which the one in the second volume of this work is copied, was the gift of Logan to the author.

(z) The illustrations were by another member, Robert Ronald McLan, a painter of considerable merit. His "Wesley Preaching to the Indians," and others, were engraved.

- 1833—Gaelic Triads.
Observations on a Pistol, Sporrán, and Spur (exhibited).
Acted as Editor of the Caledonian Magazine at this time.
- 1834—Report on the Prospects of the Gaelic Society.
- 1835—On Druidical Remains in Banff.
An Essay on Tom nan Moid.
Letter to the Dublin Penny Journal.
Translation in the Buchan dialect.
Translation of Mons. Saussure's Travels in Scotland.
On the Bonaid Breac.
In the Book of Sports:—Club of True Highlanders.
Memoir of Donald Spalding, memo. re targaid, and Observations, &c., the Highland Dress.
The Influence of Song on the Scottish Highlanders.

During all this time he was a most energetic member of the Club. The extent of his exertions may be seen in the following extracts from a report he presented to the Club in 1840 (aa). It would appear that the minutes before that time had been roughly kept, and that he had offered to fair copy them.

After referring to the part Mr. Menzies had done, he says, "My entries extend from 1832 to 1839 inclusive," and the amount of writing extended to 229 pages. "Much additional writing was occasioned by procuring the enrolment of the Club, and by drawing out the rules anew, and carrying the work correctly through the press, which last duties devolved on me. I have formed an index of the most material transactions at the end of the Minute Book, which will greatly facilitate a knowledge of its contents."

"The 'Book of Sports' has been chiefly filled up by me, with the original and other articles, under the suggestion of Mr. Menzies, and agreeably to a resolution of the Society, and, with permission, I will continue to make appropriate entries. I have been present for the last seven years upwards of one hundred and sixty times, in which I do not reckon extra committees and festivals, having been absent scarcely seven times. Taking the length of sederant from nine o'clock until twelve, it will give four hundred and eighty hours in which I have enjoyed myself with friends and countrymen." To this amount of unpaid labour we may add, that at this date (1840) he was the secretary to the Gaelic Society, with all the troubles of an infant and struggling society full upon him. He also held the post of secretary to the Highland Society for two or three years. This amount of labour given, without stint or grudging, to the cause he loved so well prevented him from saving even that little which the struggling denizen of Grub Street was able to save in those days, and sometime in the year 1850 he was presented as a brother of the Charterhouse, in which retreat he passed many quiet years of his life.

Some years after we made his acquaintance (bb), we visited him in his retreat "mar bu dhuthail dhuinne"; his heart immediately warmed to the tartan; no Highland chief could have been more courteous or ready to do the honours of the place. We were taken by him over the venerable dining hall, and, after inspecting the ancient portion of the monastery, we returned to his sanctum, examined the small book-case, or kist—we forget which—containing the literary treasures of the then defunct Gaelic Society, while he related his experiences of the Society, in whose cause he laboured so well and so unavailingly. We examined a few of the illustrations of one of his works, and in taking leave were presented with a few pieces of the tartan stuff which had been sent to him from various parts of the country when compiling his list, and also a copy of his List of Tartans, the accuracy of which he proudly pointed out had never been successfully questioned.

In this admirable institution he might have passed the remainder of his life, wrapped up in the ample and appropriate black gown (above which the chimney-pot hat of the present day is most ridiculously conspicuous), the even tenor of his way brightened now and again by visits to well-remembered haunts, but the ruling passion of his life unfitted him for the necessary restraints of the institution (cc).

(aa) He was living at the time at 66, Newman Street.

(bb) We first met in 1838.

(cc) A frequent visitor at the Club: you might see him (his wig slightly awry, and covered with a broad bonnet) sitting in quiet enjoyment, crooning some old ditty, marking time to some favourite air, or drawing himself up, like an old warrior at the trumpet sound, while singing a Gaelic song, totally regardless of the passing moments, until some one of the members who knew he was restricted to time would tell him the hour. This was often somewhat testily received. He would, however, rise, and, after taking leave of the chief and other friends, would depart in reasonable time.

The members of the Club of True Highlanders would always see that he left at proper times, but at other places many troubled themselves but little about "old Logan," and, forgetful of his merits, would suffer him to dream on unheeded. The consequence was, the lateness of his return home was a constant source of complaint and remonstrance, and, as these remonstrances were doubtlessly not well received, the patience of the authorities was at last exhausted. He lost his haven of rest in 1866, and, after drifting about for some years, his weather-beaten bark reached its final port in 1872 (*dd*).

Taking him all in all, we must pronounce his life as one spent in unflagging, energetic toil, the ordinary cares of the money-grubber being ruthlessly swept on one side if they at all interfered with his one aim in life. He had a great notion of the dignity of the Highland character, and none received more frequent or unsparing castigation than the Highlander of the clan Mac Sycophant, or his equally meritorious fellow, who gives himself insufferable airs on account of his only merit—namely, that of being born in one particular part of the country. To his friends he showed the smooth side of his character, and his blunt pleasantries were as agreeable to them as his blunt acedities were distasteful to those whose conduct called for his comments. That his life was *commercially* unsuccessful, we cannot deny, as, we believe, he never sanded a pound of sugar or cheated a bairn of a bawbee in his life; but if there is any credit in promoting kindly feeling between man and man, or in preserving those precious traditions which form the history of a nation, the works of James Logan (whose name as an author does and must deservedly stand high) are an abiding monument of a successful and well-spent life.

In 1873 the Club removed to its present head-quarters, Masons' Hall, Coleman Street. Little need be added to this somewhat prosy and prolix introduction. We love to linger over the memories of "auld lang syne" which the mention of the Club conjures up. The members of the old-fashioned society are not ashamed of the kilt; they believe that kindly and brotherly feeling between all classes still exists, and they love the old Scotch songs, games, and dances: foregathering often enough to make the members appreciate the pleasures of each other's society, the meeting never degenerates into the formal *annual parade*, or the still more objectionable *free-and-easy*;—the members appearing in the tartan in all seasons and weathers, is a practical display of nationality, worth hundreds of essays or after-dinner speeches; and for the young Caledonian, fresh "frae the hills," nothing can be a greater safeguard against vicious temptation than the sentiment of patriotism, the love of kindred and "auld lang syne," and the friendly advice and encouragement he will find at the meetings of the CLUB OF TRUE HIGHLANDERS.

(*dd*) He died on the 29th of March at 66, Whitfield Street. His age was stated on the certificate to be seventy-five, but we believe he was two or three years older. He was buried at Finchley, in grave 56 in 11 D, on April 3rd, 1872.

Leabhar Comunn nam fionn Thiael.
 (Book of the Club of True Pictishlanders).

On Cross at Cluanne muc noise.



From Purghillhead.



Elgin Museum



Bracegirdle (Stephens)
 British 5th Cent.

The Perme Samedha a Bodhiracca of Gotama
 Buddha changing himself into the mire to make a
 path for Bimbakara Buddha: (British. 1100.)



CHAPTER I.

"Lean gu dhu ri clu do shinnisr
'S na dibir a bhith mar iadsan."—OSIAN.

"What ails me I may not as well as they,
Rake up some stirring tales that mouldering lay
In chimney corners; wont by Christmass fires
When read, to urge to fame our ancient sires,
No man his threshold better knows than I,
Cæsar's arrival and first victory,
Luncarty's plain, and Glencoe's vale of blood,
Craig Phadrig stern, and Caledonian Wood."
(Scottish Lay.)

ANCIENT KELTIC LIFE.—The Subject to be Investigated, the Inhabitants of the Stone Period; the Keltic Race; Origin; Migration; Settlement in Britain; Sketch of the Keltic Race about the time of our Lord; the Hunter; the Farm.



MR JAMES SIMPSON has truly said (a), "Single specimens and examples of archaeological relics are in the hands of a private individual generally nought but mere matters of idle curiosity and wild conjecture, while all of them become of use, and sometimes of great moment, when placed in a public collection beside their fellows. Like stray single words or letters that have dropped out of the book of time, they themselves individually reveal nothing; but when placed alongside of other words and letters from the same book, they gradually form under the finger of the archaeologist into lines and sentences, which reveal secret and stirring legends of the working of the human mind and human hand, in ages of which we have no other existing memorials." Bearing this in mind, we can only repeat that we do not attempt to rival the research, ability, and terseness of style which distinguished our late member, James Logan; but since his time, so much additional testimony has arisen, and so many additional sources of information have been opened up, that we consider ourselves fully justified in laying before the reader all the available authorities—the foundation on which from time to time so many learned and interesting essays and theories have been raised—together with such other facts and illustrations as have hitherto remained scattered or unnoticed. The following, therefore, must not be looked upon as a voluminous exposition of the rise and progress of the Keltic race, but rather as a gleaning of precious grain, hitherto scattered on the field of investigation, now garnered, and ready to hand for the use of the future historian.

Before we proceed we must disabuse our minds of the notion that we are investigating the history of a set of ruthless and ignorant savages—granted that the materials from which we have to form our opinions are scanty, but they are amply sufficient to dissipate the misconceptions that have arisen through the carelessness or ignorance of many would-be historians; and we can only hope that (after the lapse of, say, 1200 years) there will be as many evidences of our boasted civilization in existence, as worthy of admiration and of study, as those left us by our forefathers—men whom it was the fashion of many of the eighteenth (and, for the matter of that, the nineteenth) century savants to regard as little better than the beasts of the field that perish. The idea so long prevalent and so persistently encouraged, that the British Isles were suddenly depopulated, and the original inhabitants replaced by foreigners at different periods, is gradually passing away; and, in considering the various branches of the subject before us, we must bear in mind that, when we endeavour to investigate the early history of the Gael, we are in reality investigating the early history of the inhabitants, not only of Scotland,—but also of England, Wales, and Ireland, which now reunited, form the glorious empire, of which we are so proud, and so determined to maintain.

We know that (like as, even to a greater degree, with our language in the present age) geographical position or peculiarity gave rise to certain variations in the Gaelic—the then common language of our country—; but we have

(a) Address to Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1861.

internal evidence (in the fragmentary records handed down to us) to show that the religious customs, dress, manners, and modes of living of the several tribes or clans were, to a great extent, identical; and we are thus enabled, by referring to evidence obtained from other parts of these islands, to indirectly elucidate many obscurities, resulting from the rigorous suppression of everything Highland after the unfortunate affair of the "45."

In speaking of the Gaelic, or rather, in those days, the Keltic language, we merely use the word Gaelic because it may be taken as the representative of all the divisions of the great Keltic race; and in the following pages Keldand has been roughly divided into four great quarters, of which Ireland forms the west, Scotland the north, England and Wales the south, leaving east Keldand on the other side of the Channel.

On the threshold of enquiry we are confronted with the following questions:—Firstly, Who and what were the original inhabitants of this country? Secondly, What country was the cradle of the Keltic race; and if the Keltic inhabitants of these islands? the weight of evidence goes to prove, from remains that have been discovered, that the Keltic were not the aborigines, although the inferior race undoubtedly existed for centuries subject to their more intellectual conquerors.

The early inhabitants of the country appear to have lived (at any rate in some parts) in small stone houses, as numbers of these have been found in England, &c., and have been described as being graves; but their resemblance to Esquimaux huts (b), the traces of fire-places found in the centre, with the inhabitants sitting round them, and also the fact that ruined forts or houses have been found which have been used afterwards as cemeteries, must make us cautious before we jump to that conclusion: and it is highly improbable, except in rare cases, that so much care and trouble should have been taken to build such structures, in order to cover them over again. Be that as it may, a number of them bear traces of continuous habitation; and we do not pretend to enter into a discussion which would take years to finish.

The domestic utensils in this rude age would naturally be scarce, but amongst those found (some of which did not much exceed six or seven inches in height or diameter) (c) were urns with short necks, fitted with two or four handles, which do not allow of more than a string being passed through them; occasionally a rather wide handle is met with, accompanied by a spout, which gives the whole vessel a striking resemblance to a modern teapot; others appear in form like a flower-pot, or like a cup with one large handle, or mayhap four small ones, and others take the form of a flask.

"The greatest number of urns found are, as a rule, formed of a firm well worked yellow clay, homogeneous in the fracture and apparently unmixed with pounded granite, mica, or any other foreign substance. The ornamentation of these urns consist in horizontal, perpendicular, and oblique lines, and a combination of all three." (d) Wavy or circular lines are very rare.

The tools and weapons were made of stone, bone, &c. (e), and from remains that have been found Mr. Kemble is of opinion that the aborigines should be credited with a knowledge of the use of the plough.

Numerous imposing theories have been raised on these poor remains of a long forgotten people; huge discussions have taken place as to the intelligence they possessed; the times in which they were supposed to have lived have been christened the "Stone Period"; and so many notches have been hacked in the scythe of old Father Time, in order to give the said period a respectable antiquity, that the venerable old gentleman must have serious misgivings as to the efficiency of his weapon during the remainder of its earthly career.

With regard to the amount of intelligence possessed by those living during the Stone Period, and with regard to the duration of the Stone Period (if ever there was such a period), we can only say that the enquiry is an admirable whetstone for theories that are

"Like the snowflake on the river,
A moment white then gone for ever."

These discussions may ultimately lead to some one stumbling on to some valuable discovery, and may thus prove useful in their way; but only two facts are at present ascertained,—the first is, that stone implements were used, clay vessels were made, and stone houses were built, although as to the antiquity of many of these, Flint

(b) Nilsson. (c) Kemble, "Horæ Fœderis."

(d) French is of opinion that the articles found were the clay linings of wicker-work, and that the wicker-work having disappeared the ornamentation is the impression of the twigs.

(e) See Plate XXVIII.

Jack (J) may have had his private opinion. 2ndly. That stone implements, clay vessels, and stone houses are still made and built; and if ever Macaulay's New Zealander should lose his way, and if he is at all of a speculative turn of mind, or if he is a member of some Archaeological Society of the day, there will probably be nothing left in this country to disabuse him of the idea that the position which the "Stone Period" occupied in the world's history would have to be determined by the remains of implements used in his (the New Zealander's) own country at the present time.

With regard to the next and most important question, it scarcely comes within the scope of the present work to enter into any lengthened discussion on the subject. The researches of our leading men are continually bringing evidence to light, the tendency of which is to prove the Aryan origin of the race. Step by step, and wave after wave, the progressive spirit of the race has ever ceaselessly impelled the members to fresh conquests, either over effete and decaying races, or else over the hardships and rigours of repelling climates. Speaking of that portion of the wave that spread westward, Max Muller says, "The Kelts seem to have been the first Aryans to arrive in Europe"; and we think that we may safely say, without arrogance, that the original stock were distinguished for their intelligence, skilfulness, and their proud and independent spirit; and that our insular position, by preserving our forefathers from the influence of debasing surroundings, rendered them more susceptible to the pure spirit of the gospel than many of those who lived in more favoured climes. (g)

It is conjectured by some, and probably correctly, that with regard to this country the main influx of the Keltic race took place about 2000 years before the Christian era. (h)

Should this estimate be correct—and we see no reason to doubt it—a few instances will show the marvellous tenacity of purpose and conservatism of the race; the first one is the traces that have been left of that symbol typical of the sun, which has been regarded as the visible emblem of the ever-present God (the Suastika). We find this symbol carefully depicted on the square-shaped Indian coin, more roughly but still distinctly marked on patterns and other articles found in different lands. It is depicted on the brooch found in France (Plate X.), and nearer home the most perfect and beautiful specimens are found in a Keltic shield discovered in the Thames, the age of which cannot be more than 1800 years. (i) (j) For the other instances, we will mention the *Kilt*, the antiquity of which is more fully entered into later on in these pages, and numerous other items of evidence scattered about in the records of this and other lands. We anticipate (as one of the results of the establishment of the Keltic chair) that, by a careful comparison of our valuable Keltic remains with the works of Homer and other ancient historians, aided by the evidence obtained from the labours of Schliemann, Botta, Layard, and others of our own time, that much light will be thrown on incidents in the ancient history of this and other countries which at present are very imperfectly understood and about which it would at present be very rash to hazard an opinion.

Standing, therefore, like a mist-bewildered traveller on the brae side, the historian, struggling through the gloom of ages, at last obtains a glimpse of "tir nam beann, nam gleann's nam breachan"; and about fifty years before the coming of our Lord, with the aid of records left us by Cæsar, Pliny, and others of the most reliable of the early writers, we are enabled to form the first connected idea of this country and its inhabitants; and imperfect as the glimpse may be, we cannot fail to notice how many of the peculiarities of that age are, or were, until lately, handed down from father to son in the Scottish Highlands.

During the early centuries of the Christian era, Keltland, exposed to the genial influence of the gulf stream,

(j) Flint Jack was an erratic genius, who amused and enriched himself by making flint arrow-heads and other antiquities with such skill that many a learned wight has an uneasy suspicion that his treasure may be like fairy gold, and turn to worthless trash on close inspection.

(g) It has always been a subject of regret to the members of the C. T. H. that the labour which their fellow member W. Menzies expended in investigating the origin of the Keltic race should have been love's labour lost. Mr. Menzies, in order to be able to carry his researches to the fountain head, had mastered (as previously mentioned) several of the Indian dialects, and had gradually collected a quantity of notes, which we have reason to believe would have thrown a considerable light on the subject: we are informed, however, that unfortunately at his death the whole of his notes were burnt; probably from the dictates of the same sagacity as that possessed by the girl who "saved the clean paper and only burnt wot was scribbled on."

(h) Keane, in his very able work, endeavours to prove that a race of Cuthic origin inhabited this country before the Kelts; they were called *Tuath de Danaan*, and on the authority of an obscure passage he says they were of the race of *Hem*, that after they were conquered by the Kelts their services were placed at the disposal of their conquerors, that their conquerors held them in great detestation, while they made use of the great skill and learning they undoubtedly possessed. Our doubts as to the correctness of this theory are these: the *Tuath de Danaan* were in existence at the time of our Lord, and were priests of the Phallic worship. So that it seems highly improbable that their influence should have been exercised for 2000 years without leaving a permanent impression on the Keltic race. We venture, therefore, to think that they were not inhabitants of these islands before the Kelts, but were part of the race who were set apart after the manner of the Levites.

(i) A full-size detail is given in Plate IX.

(j) One has been discovered since the above was written in the pavement of a villa in the Isle of Wight.

with glens and hills covered with luxuriant forests, enjoyed a moister climate than that at present; the woods, marshes, and fens, affording ample shelter for game, and the plains being covered with bounteous herbage, ample sustenance was obtained for the flocks and herds of the inhabitants, the majority of whom were naturally hunters or herdsmen, whose occupations rendered them hardy, keen of eye, ready of hand, and prompt at devising means of offence or defence, either against a neighbouring clan or, when united with their neighbours, against a common enemy.

In order to realise the condition of the country in those early days, we will, gentle reader, in imagination, take our stand in some locality before the break of a spring morning; and while we are endeavouring to ascertain the nature of the small heap lying under the lee of yonder craig;—the grey streak of dawn appears, and the feathered choir loudly greeting the morning sun with a burst of song, a figure springs up from his bed of heather, tall and erect—maybe blue-eyed—his yellow hair streaming down behind, his face adorned with a heavy moustache and his body tattooed with figures of the sun, moon, and other symbols, like unto those in which his seafaring descendants take so great a delight at the present time.

For a moment he stands at gaze, in *déshabille*, i. e., with nothing on but a short shirt-like tunic, reaching nearly to the knee, and a pair of brogues formed from the hide of some animal. He speedily, however, gathers up the blanket-like wrap he has been sleeping in, and after securing one corner to his shoulder with a cunningly-carved pin of bone, he deftly pleats the remainder and secures it round his waist with a thong of deerskin: his horn, sword, and arrows are slung from his shoulder, and with bow, and mayhap spear and javelin, in hand, he is equipped for the chase. His dogs (a famous breed much valued in foreign lands, and who have slept one on each side of him during the night), attentively and with evident satisfaction noting his every action, eagerly await the signal for them to proceed in search of that important item, a breakfast. Silently they go on their way, noting every sign and trail, nothing breaking the silence save the whirr of some startled bird, or the faintly echoing "Ai trath là là" (É) from some distant grove, where the Druids and their disciples are commencing the day's duties by chanting a hymn, while marching thrice round the sacred circle.

The object of our hunter's search is the antlered monarch of the forest, and at length a victim yields to his skill; the animal is quickly flayed; four sticks are driven into the ground, so as to form a square; a piece of the skin is stretched from the four points, and a portion of the flesh, with some water, is placed in the hollow formed by the bagging skin; sticks are placed underneath for fuel, and *then* the fire,—to be, or not to be? literally, that's the *rud*; and if fortune is gracious, the weather fine, and if any wood can be found suitable for the purpose, the point of one stick is placed in a small hole made in another piece of wood, and it is made to revolve rapidly until a fire is kindled by friction.

Having kindled a fire, but short time is allowed for cooking; our hero, "Ceannluath," is fond of a savoury mess, but he was unsuccessful the day before; consequently has had nothing to eat for at least twenty-four hours; he has, besides, a long journey to make, in order to take part in the morrow's ceremonies.

Appetite appeased, and his humble friends not forgotten, the remainder of the carcass is safely stowed away out of the reach of wolf and hoodie crow, and hastening along "over bank, brook, and scaur," thinking of the morrow's duties, his thoughts are, for a moment, diverted by his dogs, who draw his attention to the track of a boar; he marks the spot, and is speedily at a river's bank—a plunge, a few vigorous strokes, and he is on the other side, and brought to a stand by a herdsman, armed like himself, and who, until then, had been busily engaged in carving a quaint looking spoon for the kail or porridge pot. (I) The herdsman has been somewhat lazily mounting guard over a herd of cattle, in which he is joined by a number of men, in order to beat off any attack which might be made by the members of another clan, whose towns are not many leagues distant. The cattle (m), small, compact, with shaggy heads and hides, fiercely stare for a moment at the new comer, and then quietly go on with their grazing. A few words spoken, and the hunter plunges, without hesitation, into the neighbouring forest, and speeds on his way until his progress is arrested by a broad expanse of oozy slime; silently as he has approached the reedy margin, his presence has been perceived by the wary sentinel, at whose warning cry countless wild-fowl rise in the air, and the lake at once becomes a scene of noisy and discordant confusion.

(A) Dr. McKay choruses.

(I) Plate XXVIII.

(m) Wild cattle, milk white color, black ears, muzzles and orbits, horns fine and bending out, slender legs, and fleet as deer.—*Lightfoot*.

Regardless of the clamour, he draws from its place of concealment in the reeds, a small basket-shaped canoe (about 4 feet 6 inches in diameter) (*k*); it is formed of skilfully twisted hosiars, covered on the outside with well-greased skins, stitched together with deer sinews, and payed on the outside with a bituminous substance; wading with it until there is sufficient depth of water, he carefully balances himself on the cross rail in the centre, and paddles towards the other side. As he nears the shore, the busy hum of human life breaks on his ear; occasional shrieks of childish laughter, mingled with the lowing of cattle, and the indescribable hundred and one noises of the town, grow louder and louder, until he lands, and answers the eager questioning of those who have been watching his progress across the mere.

He appears to be well known, and as he is required to give an opinion as to the respective merits of some new chariots, we will inspect yonder town while he is busily engaged. Crossing the level greensward bordering the lake, we approach a noisy group, in the midst of which is a youngster, standing up to his middle in a hole, armed with a target made of lath, and a straight stick, burnt at one end, and with which he is endeavouring to ward off the darts that are being thrown at him by his eager and jubilant comrades; carefully avoiding the stones slung, and the darts thrown by the troop of boisterous and more than half-naked urchins, we come to a narrow belt of tilled ground, enclosed by a wattled fence, to keep out hares and such-like small deer; this is being reluctantly worked by a gang of men, whose half-sullen, half-defiant looks are sufficient, without the collars round their necks, to proclaim that they are slaves. Crossing the narrow bridge of movable planks, we enter at the south-east angle. The town (Scottice), we find, is in shape a rough parallelogram, about 40 yards long by 30 yards wide; this is surrounded by a ditch, about eight yards wide, filled by a channel with water from the mere; the earth excavated being thrown up in the inside, and a bank formed; on the top of this bank a number of stakes are driven closely together, to form a palisading; at the north-west corner is a similar entrance to the one we came in by, and at the remaining corners are slightly projecting circular watch-turrets.

On the east side of the enclosure is the Common Hall, a circular building, the wall of which is formed of upright logs, with the interstices filled with clay; the spars or cabers, which meet at the apex, are thatched with branches of trees and bracken, a small hole being left in the roof for the exit of the smoke. On entering by one of the low narrow doorways we find that round the walls are a number of projecting partitions, the posts and heads of which form the trusses which carry the thrust of the roof, and act as stiffening pieces to the wall; the spaces in between the partitions form a series of recesses, in which the bracken or heather is spread at night time. The interior is lighted by a number of small slits fitted with shutters; the floor is formed of beaten clay, in the centre of which is a slightly sunk pit, lined with stone, to hold the fire; scattered around are a number of low stools, while hanging round the walls are the arms, armour, horns, dresses, and other articles of adornment of the inhabitants.

Having satisfied our curiosity (our exit by the other door somewhat accelerated by the suspicious sniffings of several hounds who were lazily enjoying themselves on our entry), we proceed to inspect the remainder of the premises. On the north and south sides, are ranges of low, open sheds, partly used as cattle byres, the remainder forming the various offices occupied by the slaves; the shops where the carts and implements are repaired; stores for meat, milk, &c., and the supplies of grain and fodder for immediate wants; the store places for the winter supplies are not visible to our inexperienced eyes; and having completed the tour of the enclosure, and stared at the busy workmen in that listless manner peculiar to idlers, we next examine the principal building, which stands in the centre of the enclosure.

This building, the last resort of the inhabitants whenever the place is besieged, is the stronghold, containing the most valuable of the stores; it is placed on the top of a steep "dun," which in its turn is surrounded by a ditch, and the only visible approach is by a temporary, and easily removable, trestle bridge. Picking our way, daintily steering clear of the various mud heaps scattered here and there; and having safely toiled up the inclined plane, we are greeted at the entrance by the lord of the town, a burly, sun-burnt good-looking chief, wearing his gold chain as leader of men; he is dressed in the same manner as the hunter, saving that his plaid is laid aside, his kilt is fuller, and is made of a tartan of three colours; his horn is mounted in gold, and his sword and the fastenings of his belts are enriched with enamels, pearls, and coral.

After the first salutation we are presented with a huge horn full of the "barley bree" of the period, and which we (as expected) empty at one draught, our host informing us in the meantime, with beaming countenance, that he

has lately been blessed with another man-child; an announcement rendered almost unnecessary, our ears being saluted at the time by a vigorous squall from one of the compartments. (1) presents us with part of the haunch (the wicker work platter, another gillie holding a platter full of girdle cake for our refreshment.

He then leads us to the *coire antic* (or ever-full cauldron), and held by a gillie, on a portion for a literary doctor), which has been fished out of the cauldron in the meantime and held by a gillie, on a wicker work platter, another gillie holding a platter full of girdle cake for our refreshment. This building having done justice to the chief's hospitality, he first explains the construction of his building. This building being the last resort of the inmates of the Rath, is built with an eye to defence as well as for ordinary use.

The lower wall of the building is of a larger girt, but is built in the same manner as the one already described, saving that it has a foundation of roughly-hewn stone, and the partitions of the compartments carry a gallery above; this gallery also projects over the outside wall, and has a number of slits in the over-hanging part of the floor, from which the inmates can salute any besiegers with a shower of arrows; boiling pitch, lead and other polite attentions; the gallery wall is about six feet high (also well furnished with loop holes) and from this wall spring the rafters of the roof, which meet at the top as before; while surmounting all is a small crow's nest, or gallery from which we obtain an extensive view of the surrounding country; and of the numerous beacons, which although they are emblems of worship, are so placed as to be useful in giving warning of an approaching foe.

Carefully descending from our giddy perch, our attention is next called to the uses which the several compartments are put to; in one he shews us his new set of harness (the ornaments of which are cunningly inlaid with enamel); his spear, inlaid with gold; coat of chain mail; the quaintly carved goblet, and other valuables, befitting a chief of "noble bounty." In this compartment is also the spare store of targets, swords, spears, arrows, and other missiles.

Adjoining are the compartments devoted to the family, the posts of which are distinguished by an elaborately-carved ornamentation, the walls are covered with fine boards carefully fitted together; a certain number, of which, are carved with a species of diaper pattern, and enriched with small bosses of enamel; the boards being placed vertically and equidistant a series of panels are formed, which, when lit up by the lamp, formed a very pleasing background.

On crossing the threshold of the private compartments, we are introduced to the "bantighearna," who, holding a comb and mirror, pauses in her work of adornment to admire the young gentleman, of whose existence we have been for some time too painfully aware.

The little stranger is, it appears, energetically protesting against the attention of an elderly dame and her attendant nymphs, and we having somewhat incautiously praised the youngster; and (with an hypocrisy which, we regret to say, was somewhat prevalent in those days) having also declared that he was the finest boy we had ever seen, we are deservedly punished by a flood of eloquence from the aforesaid dame: the boy is undoubtedly the finest she would not boast of the fact, it is no doubt owing to her skill, and the charms she had used, and to a certain extent to the magic cestus, that the learned and much respected Druid, Cam Sroin, that venerable man, as no doubt we all remembered, who was selected to sit at Brehon in the celebrated case where Con illegally destrained the cattle of Eoghan;—gave her lady to place round her waist; the little dear at present was suffering from wind, it was astonishing how the children did suffer from the wind, they were like their father; but ever since she had given him—of course she was not now alluding to his noble father — but ever since she had given him the butter, (the learned doctor would understand) he had been a sweet little darling; and from the manner in which he had sucked his fist, when not more profitably engaged, and the way he took notice, he was evidently destined to rank as an Ollamh like his uncle, or else he a great leader of men like his father, &c., &c.

The old dame, who; (while thus unburthening her mind, was busily engaged in rolling the infant in numerous bandages, from head to foot.) at length completed her task, and shortness of breath bringing her tale to an end, the child was handed to its mother, for its morning meal, and we respectfully and somewhat hastily withdrew.

Remembering, however, that on our entry we had noticed a bevy of damsels, in the other compartments, busily engaged in spinning, weaving, netting, and grinding corn; we, albeit on the shady side of forty, felt it incumbent on us to shew that we were no rough, uncultivated boor, and after arranging our breachan in its most becoming folds and seeing that our moustache was in correct form, we proceeded towards the door in a manner which did no discredit to the "Siol tuath;" just, however, as we reached the threshold a silvery peel of laughter was too much for our curiosity, and looking back to see

Ancient Keltic Down Qualamun
G. F. E. M. T. A. M. F. I. K. T. P. Z. E. F. I. T. M. I. N.



Pl. VI

Down Qualamun - Keltic Settlement in Ireland

who the fair one was, our foot was inadvertently placed on a caman which was lying alongside of—“hoop, ball, and other toys, which dulness drives from little boys;” (m) endeavouring by an extra display of agility to regain the loss our dignity had sustained, we sprang forward to preserve our equilibrium, alighting however in the centre of the sloping approach before mentioned, our impetus was such that we were unable to check ourselves until we came in contact with a buxom lass laden with the produce of the dairy; the attraction of gravitation, however, acted so powerfully on our bodies that there was no gravity left to preserve our mental equilibrium; and it is not until we had indulged in a hearty burst of laughter that we and our fair *vis-a-vis* are able to rise from our sedentary posture; discovering in the meanwhile that our breachan retained an unnecessary proportion of the spoils, and stooping down to repair damages, we unwittingly presented our back elevation to a young bull, who had been looking with an unfavourable eye on our attack already made on “the favourite of the herd;” and he, accepting our attitude as a direct challenge, lowered his horns, and we were unexpectedly compelled to a second display of agility, which landed us against an unlucky slave who was passing at the time.

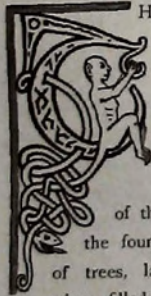
This, however, was too much for our philosophy, but by the time that we had given the slave a well-merited belabouring for presuming to come in the way (and his cur by way of protest had succeeded in tearing a piece out of our breachan, which we valued at a “screpul”), the chief hastened to our assistance, and after ascertaining that we were unhurt, slyly insinuated that if learned professors would look at the lasses, instead of remembering their age and dignity, they had better take the bull by the horns before they attempted to inspect another olderbh (n) of milk. Finding by this time that we were surrounded by an admiring throng, we laughingly replied that his remarks were as pointed as the horns of the bull (inwardly thinking that they were about as pleasant), we bidding adieu to our entertainer, rejoined our hunter, speedily made up for lost time, and reaching our destination after midnight, welcome sleep wiped out all remembrance of the toils and adventures of the day.

CHAPTER II.

“B'ioma slige doll mun cnairt,
‘S dana nua! ga luadh le cheil.”
(*Das Oisain.*)

“For those indeed were merry days,
Those merry days of old.”
(*Old Song.*)

Bailemuir, the investiture of the tanist by the Druids: the review, the sports, the feast.



HE town of Bailemuir was situated in the recesses of a forest, and being the principal strength of the clan everything, of course, was more massive in its construction, and better calculated to withstand an assault than the farm we have already described.

The Rath, or enclosure, was erected on the south side of a broad river, which protected it on one side; the other three sides were girded by an artificial ditch, about eight yards wide, the earth obtained in the excavation being used, as before mentioned, to form a bank on the inner side, and also to form the duns on which the inner defences were erected. The inner banks of the ditches and river were surmounted by a massive wall, built in the following manner (*Plate 6*):—the foundations were framed of massive blocks of unhewn stone, on this were placed five or six layers of trees, laid lengthways and crossways in alternate layers, notched and bonded together, and the interstices filled in with clay, rubble, fern and stubble; on this was laid three or four courses of rough stone, and so on with alternate tiers of trees and stone. The top of the wall was paved with beaten clay and protected by a parapet breast high.

(m) Senchus Mór.

(n) A gallon and a half.

The entrance (if our memory serves us), was protected by a stout circular palisading, about ten feet high and projecting beyond the general line, in the inside of which was the bridge leading to the gate. On each side of the gateway were three stout upright timbers, the middle one of which was about two feet shorter than the others, in order to receive the pivot of the gate. The gates were massive frames of timber, suspended at the top rail from a cross bearer, which, resting at each end on the gate posts, acted as a pivot on which the gate swung up and down.

The framing of the gates was about ten feet by twelve feet, the outer posts or styles of which were about twenty-five feet long, and acted as levers, by which the gate was raised or lowered; it was diagonally braced to prevent racking, and covered on the outside with raw hides, well secured to stout planking. To the ends of the styles large stones were fastened, to act as balance weights; the gate was raised by the aid of rough windlasses and hide ropes, and opened and shut in the same manner as the old fashioned wooden mousetrap.

Entering by the south-east gate, the first object to attract attention was the meeting-place. This was situated about fifty feet distant, and was the sacred circle in which the affairs of the clan were discussed in a manner which foreshadowed our present Parliament (a).

In this centre was the king's seat, a massive block of stone. Around this were circles of stone on which were ranged the various leaders and elders, according to their rank; the whole was surrounded by a circular ditch, the earth from which was thrown up on the outside, distinguishing it as a place of peace, in the same manner as the ditch surrounding the Druid circle, the bank also forming an amphitheatre from which the commons could hear all the speeches and be witnesses to the proceedings.

Adjoining was a group of circular buildings, one of which was the house of shelter or guest-house for travellers or wandering merchants, whose rank or position entitled them to consideration. The guest-house was furnished with the coire ansic, or ever full cauldron, and this was never removed from the hooks; the contents were always kept wet, and consisted of three joints (ox or cow) sufficient for twelve men. In the pantry were three joints ready to replace the ones in the pots, and outside in the adjoining shed were three kinds of live meat ready for slaughter (b).

In each of the surrounding compartments inside the house were tartan rugs for repose, and the necessaries for the toilet in those days, the white cloth, and the nitairic, or mirror.

Returning towards the centre of the Rath, and following the line of the walls, we find ranges of sheds built against the walls, the massive roofs of which, covered with earth, formed a broad platform, upon which in time of danger the defenders swarmed to repel the attack, but on which at that time sundry goats were browsing in peaceful content. In the sheds farthest from the gateways were the chariots of the head men, adjoining were the waggons, and the remainder were used as stables, cattle byres, store houses, living places for the slaves, workshops for repairs, and the thousand and one offices required in a place of importance.

The rows of circular buildings adjoining were used by the different families, according to their rank, and enclosed a large space of ground, on which the manhood of the clan mustered; the two buildings of stone were the shops for the smiths and metal workers, and the one in the far corner, away from all noise and hustle, was the lodgings for the sick (c), a building superior to the others; it had also four doors, so that the sick might not only be seen on every side, but by closing the windward door they would have the benefit of the air without draught. A conduit of water was diverted, so that a continuous stream ran across the middle of the house. In the centre of the space above mentioned was the residence of the king, the walls of which were of stone and timber, so constructed as to stand a heavy siege. This massive structure was raised on a dun, similar in outline, but much larger, than the one described in the previous chapter; immediately adjoining were four smaller duns, on which were buildings of a proportionate size, one of these was the barn of the hostages (d), the interior of which was lined with red yew, carved and emblazoned with gold and bronze, and so thickly set with shining gems that day and night were equally bright within it; the others were occupied by the marshal of the warriors, the bard, the head of the charioteers, the door keeper, butler, henchman, master of the banquets, and other officers forming the suite of the king. These outworks, if we may so call them, were connected by underground passages for use in time of need.

On this particular morning the hum of eager expectancy is heard on all sides; the roads leading to the town

(a) Hibbert on the "Tings of Orkney." Arch. Scot. Vol. III., p. 141. "Not unfrequently the fences of the tings were concentric, the central area was always occupied by the laugman and those who stood with him, "out of whom the duradom was selected, the contending parties, and the compurgatori."

(b) Ancient Laws.

(c) *Ibid*, p. 131.

(d) Bourke, p. 388.

have been properly repaired (*e*), the open space surrounding the market stone has been cleared, arms, accoutrements, and chariots were being cleaned and polished upon all sides. The barbers had reaped a goodly harvest of shaving morsels (*f*); everyone was arrayed in his best and choicest, and appeared eager to do justice to the sports and ceremonies which were to accompany the investiture of their tanist with the privileges and responsibilities of manhood.

Foremost amongst the busy throng is our hunter friend of the day before, his hunter's dress laid aside, and being the officer appointed to receive the Druids, he (resplendent in a tartan of three colours) is busily engaged in marshalling his men at one of the gates, and seeing that each has his proper dress and arms.

Scarcely has the guard been set than the distant sound of music heralds the approach of the Druids, who are to bless the ceremonies of the day; soon the procession is in sight, headed by the marshal, mounted on a spirited horse, the bridle and saddle-cloth being richly ornamented with champlève enamels, corals and pearls, mounted in gold; immediately following is a band of musicians and cornaire on foot, marching in threes.

The first three were playing on golden horns, which were richly ornamented with twisted bands, between which were figures in relief of men hunting animals (*g*), figures of serpents, birds, &c.; the craitire, or harpers, each of a kingly aspect, and arrayed in a crimson cloak, were chanting the praises of their order, accompanying the refrain with the harps they carried.

Then came the skilled men, representing the several grades of the Ollaire Taman, Drisac, Fochluc, Macfuirmidh, Dos, Cana, Cli, Anruth; Ollamh; to these (*h*) were entrusted the preservation of the various records of demolitions, cattle spoils, courtships, battles, killings, combats, elopements, feasts, encampments, adventures, tragedies, plunderings, and the other passing events of the good old times, and their rank was decided according to the number of stories they were enabled to remember; the Ollaire, for instance, could recite seven, and the others with the increasing numbers of 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 80, 175, 350 and upwards respectively, in the order above mentioned. They each wore their respective badges of office, the Ollamh wearing a tartan of six colours.

The Druids of the first order, on foot, with "minda" of silver on their heads, tartan cloaks, and bronze shields, ornamented with copper, immediately preceded the chief Druid of the district, who was seated on a throne fixed in the midst of a magnificently ornamented four-wheeled carriage, the body of which was suspended by numerous thongs of leather to act as springs; the grey hairs and long flowing beard of this venerable man inspired the assembled multitude with awe, and seated on his throne, with one hand frequently raised in benediction on the respectful crowd, one could plainly see in his erect form and proud bearing that, if age had enfeebled his body, his spirit still rejoiced in the knowledge of his unlimited power.

On each side, and surrounding the chief Druid, were the officers of his court; these were followed by a band of cornaire (or hornplayers), with a following of bards, while the rear was brought up by a number of noble youths who, crossing the sea, had come from far distant Gaul in order to benefit by the teaching of the learned Druids.

As the procession entered the Rath the officer of the guard hastened forward, and striking the boss of his shield, a salute was blown by his men with the horns that hung at their sides; the king immediately appeared, and hastening forward assisted the Druid to alight, and conducted him and his attendants to his residence, so that they might recover from the fatigues of the journey, and partake of refreshment before the ceremony of the day commenced.

In the meantime the crowd, with bustling eagerness, grouped themselves on the sloping bank, that surrounded the meeting place and on other places of vantage, amusing themselves with gazing on the tall stripling who (with but a tunic on) was standing alone near the centre stone; the warning trumpets, however, soon distracted their attention, and the procession, augmented by the king and his attendants, slowly marched towards the expectant throng.

As soon as the Druids reached the centre, the youth humbly hastened forward and laid at his feet a golden offering, which being accepted, and he having received the Druid's blessing, the bards raise the voice of praise, and the procession marched three times round the circle from east to west, the whole of those present following their example, joining in the chants of praise and invocations for the prosperity of the tanist; this ceremony over the bards, officers, chiefs and heads of families take their places in the circle according to their respective ranks, and the Druid, standing at the centre stone—with the king on his right hand—proceeded to invest the suppliant with the feile mòr, armour, sword, horn, spear and target of the warrior; the bards in the meantime reciting the exploits of the king.

(*e*) This was the duty of certain of the clan.

(*f*) The shaving morsel was a thin cake, the one-eighth part of a griddle of bread, and the length of a haft of a knife of bacon, and the breadth of its back, with the skin on it (p. 133, etc., *Senchus Mòr*).

(*g*) Richly mounted horn at Copenhagen.

(*h*) *Senchus Mòr*.

The investiture complete, the procession was reformed, and after marching round three times as before, with burning brands in their hands, the parting benediction was given, the Druid was assisted to his carriage, and as the sacred procession set off on its return journey a chant was raised by the bards, each verse of which was followed by a chorus, in which all joined. A respectful silence was observed by the spectators until the last echoes of the sacred chant had died away; the king then gave the signal, vast jars of curmi (or barley bree) (i) were set before the rejoicing multitude, stoppers were put into the horns, which were speedily filled, and as speedily emptied, with loud shouts to the health of the heir apparent; this by no means unimportant ceremony over, the eager crowd of old men, women, children, and slaves poured out of the gate, and ranged themselves round the open parade, in which the sports of the day were to be held.

This space, in which, as before mentioned, the markets were held, was in length equal to the longest side of the Rath, and was about 400 yards wide; the cattle having been driven into the secret enclosures of the adjoining forest, the sun shone on an open space, free of obstructions, the closely cropped herbage of which afforded an admirable foothold for the competitors; surrounding this enclosure, and reaching for some miles, was forest land, the trees of which, vivid with the breath of the approaching summer, were putting on their leafy glories; and hazy in the distance, bathed in a glow of ever-changing light and colour, were the hills, on which dwelt a clan that was on no very friendly footing with the one whose manner we are discussing; of the matter in dispute we received but very indistinct notions; but from what we could make out, the cause of grievance was *very nearly* as trivial as those which occupy the attention of our law courts in the present day, or engage the ardent declamation of our self-laudatory and Boanerges like demagogues.

In the meantime the warriors of the clan had donned their weapons, the charioteers had put the horses to the chariots, and the whole array, headed by the king, marched to take up their position on the south side of the parade—a goodly procession of archers, slingers, charioteers, &c., resplendent with gold, silver, gems, and enamel, and ranged according to the three grades of warriors (j), each section commanded by its officer or chieftain.

The king being seated on a raised platform, the signal for the commencement of the games was given by the marshal, who acted as master of the revels for the day; twenty-four of the most active of the warriors, divested of their plaids and weapons, mustered in the centre of the field in two divisions, each under the command of a leader; the cinn stui, or leaders, taking their position in the centre, the remainder of the men were placed at certain intervals, one party facing towards the east and the other towards the west, until the ground was dotted from one end to the other with pairs of watchful opponents, armed with crooked sticks, while in the centre stood the marshal, with a horsehair ball in his hand.

This official having ascertained that everyone was ready, threw up the ball between the two leaders, and the game was immediately in full swing, the object, apparently, on each side; being to drive the ball in between one of the pairs of flags, which were placed about seven feet apart at each end of the field, and at the same time to guard their own side from the defeat they were endeavouring to inflict on their opponents (k); the game was hotly contested, with varying fortune; at one time the ball would be sent flying, swiftly followed by the players, like gazehounds from the slip, at others it would be the centre of an eager group, which to the outsiders appeared like a confused heap of struggling humanity; while all that was heard was the sound of suppressed breathing, the sharply clashing together of the camacs, or the more subdued sound, which told the knowing ones that a blow (intended for the much belaboured ball) had been received on the legs or arms of some lucky individual; presently the ball is hustled outside, and before the struggling group is aware that the ball is free, one of the outsiders, “supple as a deer and fleet as the wind,” is away to the hale, the ball being kept bounding before by well directed, but short and moderately sharp blows of the camac until the hale is neared; a steady blow is given, the ball is sent between the flags, and the first hale is declared for the younger party, amidst the shouts of the onlookers.

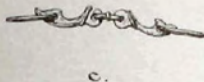
Both sides having warmed to the game, the ball was speedily driven off by the winner of the last game, from the hale just gained; but it was evident that a difficult job was cut out for them; the distance being twice that of the first game (the game being commenced at the end, and not in the middle of the field), there was less chance of the game being forced by a *coup de main*; the skill and coolness of their opponents began to tell, the several players kept well within bounds; steadily and swiftly the ball was stopped and driven forward within reach of a

(i) McPherson, 329. Ancient drink made of barley called curmi to this day (1768). Every great feast is called curme.
 (j) Senchus Már.
 (k) See Plate LXIX.

Leathar Comunn nam Siop Tháel.
 (Book of the Club of Cruie [?], Highlanders)

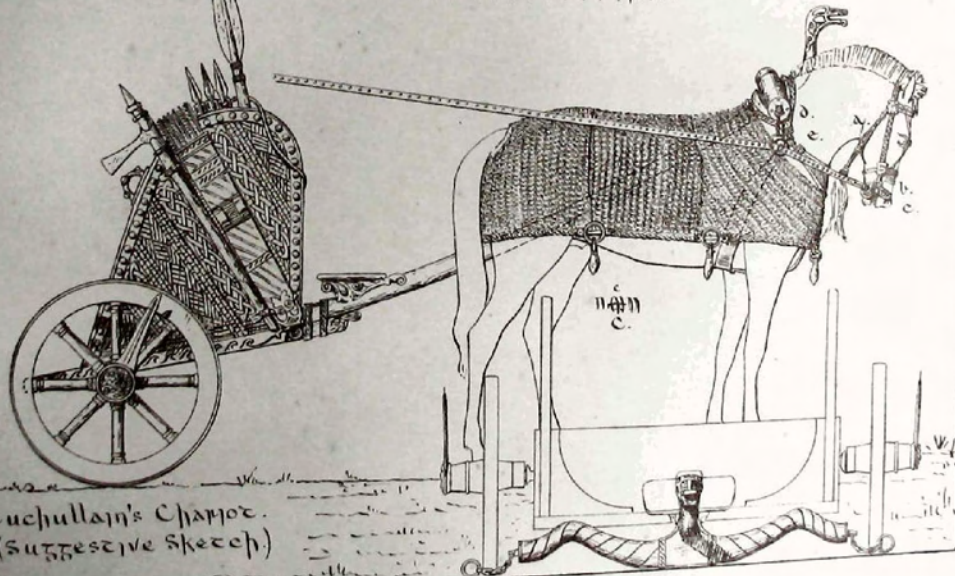


Yusufzai Pishoic
 Artisanian B.O. (Sketch)
 (see Scudder's S.S.S. also.)



cf. British Museum.
 B. & C. Museum R. J. Academy.

1/4" to 1 1/2" inches.



Cuchullain's Chariot.
 (Suggestive Sketch)

Leabhar Comunn nam fìor Shàiel.
Book of the Club of True Highlanders.

Bronze Period:

a. In the British Museum; β do Edinburgh:

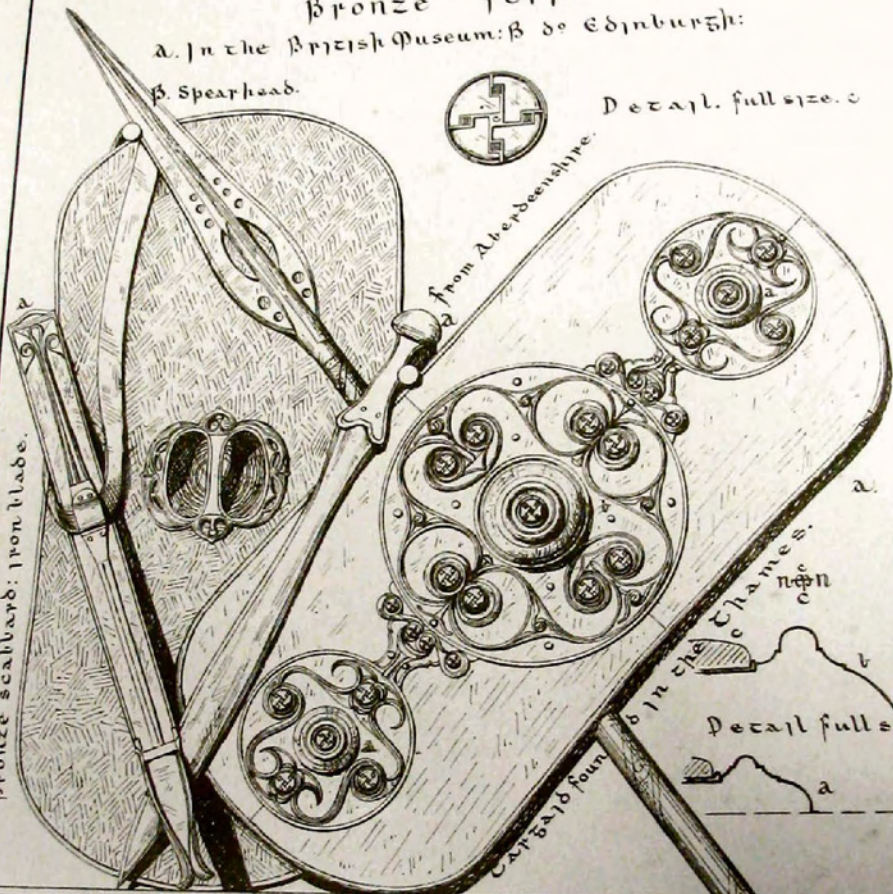
β. Spearhead.



Detail. full size. c

from Aberdeenshire.

Bronze scabbard: iron blade.



In the Thames.

Detail full size

Cap 6-10 four

Section.

1 1/2 10 12 Inches

comrade; not a random or hurried stroke was given, each blow being delivered so that the ball landed well within reach; often the ball was carried forward before it had fairly touched the ground, and after a well and gallantly contested struggle the next two halves were gained by the elder party, who were declared the winners.

The next event was a race of chariots, forty of which were drawn up in line ready for the start; these chariots made a gallant show; the pride of their owners, all that was choice and rare in material, and all that was skillful in workmanship, had been lavished on them; the equipment of the young tanist (who occupied the right of the line) was conspicuous by its beauty. The shield is struck, and at the signal eighty gallant steeds dash forward towards the goal posts; the young tanist is to the front, bringing to one's mind the oft limned picture of the past. (*f*) "The car of battle comes like the flame of death . . . it bends behind like a wave near the rock, like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears, and the bottom is the footstool of heroes. Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse, the high maned, broad breasted, proud, high leaping, strong steed of the hill. Loud and resounding is his hoof; the spreading of his mane above is like that stream of smoke on the heath. Bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulinsifadda. Before the left side of the car is seen the snorting horse; the thin maned, high headed, strong hoofed, fleet bounding son of the hill; his name is Dusronnal among the stormy sons of the sword . . . Hard polished bits shine in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds—the steeds that like wreaths of mist fly over the streamy vales. The wildness of deer is in their course; the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of the snow-headed Gormal. Within the car is seen the chief, the strong stormy son of the sword . . . his red cheek is like my polished yew. The look of his blue rolling eyes is wide beneath the dark arch of his brow; his hair flies from his head like a flame as bending forward he wields the spear." And as each competitor nears his allotted post, he sends the quivering spear deep into its fibre; the chariot is wheeled round outside and close to the post, the charioteer leaps down, draws out the still quivering spear, and is again urging on his steeds without any apparent check to their headlong career; and then; for victory;—urged to their utmost speed by the wild and frantic cries of their drivers, the gallant steeds dash forward like an avalanche threatening destruction to the dense crowd of spectators, but as each arrives at the goal, the horses are brought to a dead stop, the competitor springs along the pole, and stands statue like, spear in hand, in front of his horses, to receive the freely bestowed congratulations of the onlookers.

The races over the ground was divided into sections, in which a series of games were simultaneously carried on; in one part would be seen wrestling and jumping; in others, the heavy hammer and massive stone were being hurled, archers were trying their skill, slingers were endeavouring to knock down a small wicker orb that was placed on a pole about thirty feet high; the tastes of the old and romantic were also gratified by the harpers, who were reciting the praises of the "good old times," in a more secluded part of the arena.

While the competitors were busily engaged, the king strolled amongst the crowd with his queen at his side, "a beautiful, pale, long faced woman with long flowing yellow hair, a crimson cloak fastened with a brooch of gold on her breast, and a straight ridged, 'sleagh,' or light spear, blazing red in her right hand;" and, like the other sight-seers, wandering about from one group to another, sometimes listening to the harpers, at others eagerly criticising the wrestling; or mayhap crowding round some travelling jugglers, whom the merry-making had attracted to the sport, the report of which had reached them in some mysterious manner, as marvellous in its way, and as keen and greedy as the instinct of the vulture.

The sun had well nigh run its course when the numerous sports were concluded, and after the successful competitors had received their rewards the ground was cleared for the grand parade and mimic fight, which were to form the conclusion of the outdoor entertainments.

The general idea regulating the movement of the troops in this the final spectacle appeared to be that an enemy had succeeded in passing the various obstacles placed in his way, and was about to debouch from the surrounding forest on to the open ground, in order to attack the town.

The main body of the defenders were massed in a sort of curved line, their front covered with a cloud of skirmishers, while the flanks were protected by masses of chariots; the command was given by the air tuisi (the

chief who commanded the territorial army); the skirmishers rapidly advanced, sending a hail of stones and arrows, crashing through the underwood. The enemy, however, was supposed to be too powerful. The slingers and archers gradually retreated, keeping up an incessant shower of missiles, until they retired behind the main body, which then prepared to advance to repel the attack.

By this time the enemy was supposed to have reached the open, and the defenders, as a protection against the imaginary storm, formed themselves up in the following manner. The several tribes were formed into groups, in the front ranks of which were the leaders of battles, the gold chains showing that they were the bravest and most distinguished of the clan. These stood upright, and protected their bodies with their long targets. The second rank bowed their bodies, and placed their targets overhead, sloping to the rear, and the remaining rear ranks (each stooping lower than the man in front) held their targets close together overhead, and so formed a complete roof, sloping to the rear. The targets overlapping protected the men underneath, and offered no resistance to the missiles, which simply glanced off, and the whole body presented the smallest possible mark to the enemy (m).

When the formation was completed, the order to advance was given, and the whole line moved steadily forward with loud cries, the men clashing the shields with their swords, vigorously blowing their horns, and gradually working themselves up to a pitch of excitement.

The advance having checked the imaginary foe, a gallant charge of the charioteers from each flank finished his discomfiture, and brought the day's entertainment to a close.

The day's parade over, the several clans were dismissed, and the multitude hastened towards the good things which were provided for their gratification.

During the day troops of slaves had been busily engaged in preparing for their entertainment; pits had been dug, lined with smooth stones, and filled with whins and brushwood. On this were piled more stones. The fuel was then set on fire, and fresh supplies added, until the stones were thoroughly heated. The pits were then cleaned out, and the carcasses of the animals killed, being divided into suitable portions, were placed in the pits between layers of heated stones until the pits were full, and the whole were then covered over with whins and rushes to keep the heat and steam in until such time as the meat was cooked (n).

The night guard having been doubled, and the gates lowered in order to prevent a surprise, our friend the hunter was released from duty, and under his guidance we threaded our way through the throngs which were already attacking all and sundry of the eatables profusely spread out on rough wicker hurdles.

On reaching our destination (the King's house) our companion was greeted with a loud chorus of welcome, interspersed with condolences for being absent on duty during the day, all of which he received with tolerable good-humour, and, having introduced us as a guest, our sword and armour (which, as befitting our rank, we had worn all day) (o), were hung up above the others (p) which already lined the walls, and we were conducted to a seat of honour (q).

As soon as our eyes became accustomed to the glare shed from some dozen bronze cressets we were enabled to take note of the busy scene. In the centre was the king, seated in a chair of oak, the high, projecting back being ornamented with two massive heads in gold (r). The edges of the chair were also ornamented in the same metal, and the legs were fitted with gold paws, each with a projecting claw, which supplied the place of a castor. Under the chair, and seated on the ground (s), was an unhappy little mortal, whose sole charge was to prevent the feet of his mightiness from getting cold, and who appeared to view the approaching festivities with much the same feeling that the turnspit dog must have regarded the meat roasting before the fire—"a very good thing, no doubt, in its way, but in the enjoyment of which he would have no share."

Surrounding the king were the several officers of state, the judge, the aire-tuisi (t), the aire echta, (u) the

(m) Caesar, De Bel. Gal. says they formed themselves into a testudine, a formation similar to the above.

(n) This method was practised within the last two hundred years in the Highlands. It was the method by which the Celtic Militia cooked their food.—O'Curry.

(o) According to the Welsh Triads, the sword, bryan, and harp were indispensable to a gentleman.—Williams.

(p) Keating says:—For the great feasts long halls—probably of wattle—were provided. The tables were placed on each side, and the first blast the shields of the nobles were delivered up to be hung on the walls; at the second, those of the warriors. The shields were then ranged in their proper places by the officials before mentioned. The third blast was then given, and on entering the hall each took the seat shown by the position of the shield.

(r) Plate XIX.

(t) The chief who commanded the army of the territory.

(u) Fig. 19, Plate XXXI.

(v) The champion (Bourke).

Leahap Comunn nam fiop Tháel
 (Book of the Cluif of Ene [Irishlanders])

Full size

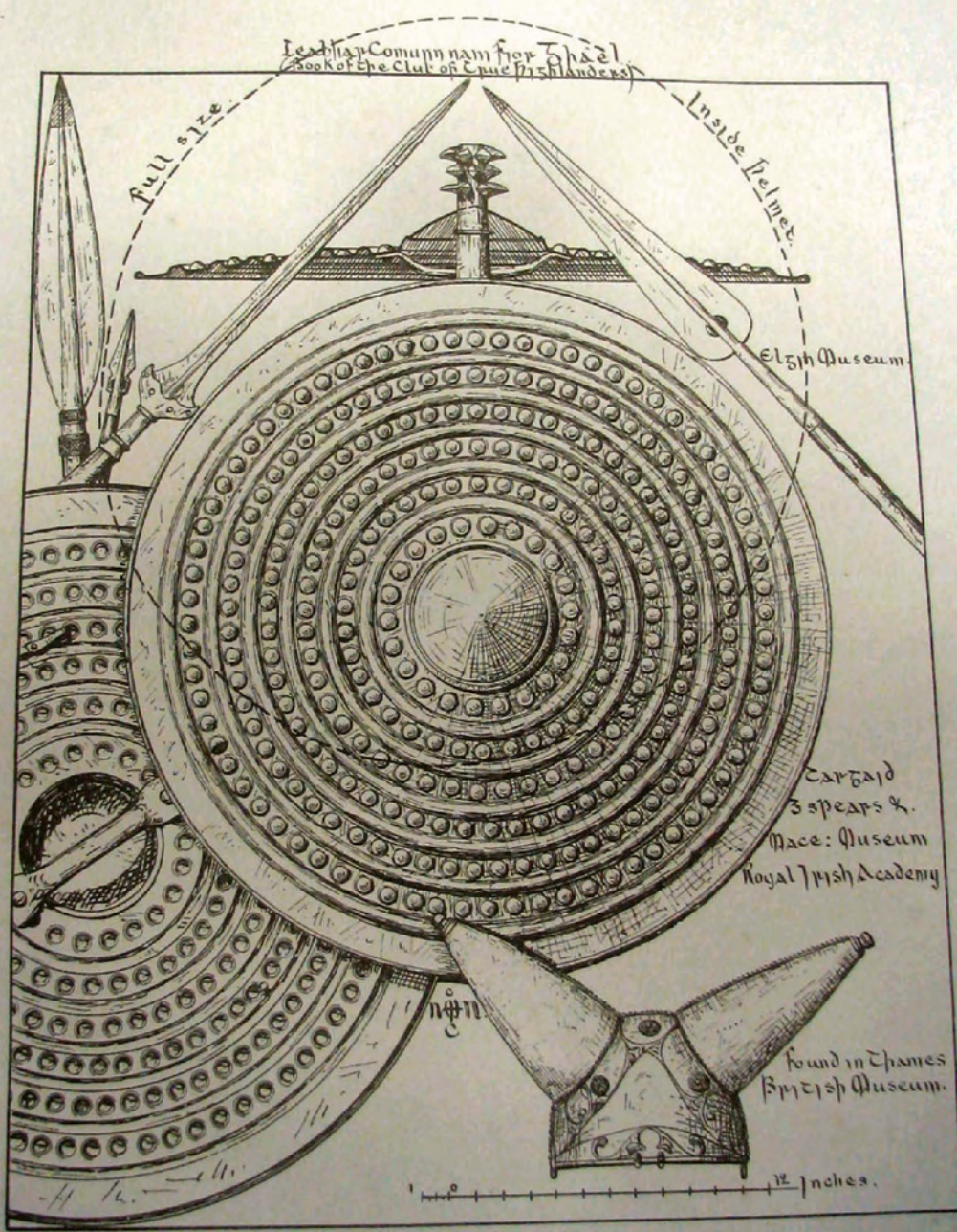
Inside helmet

Elgin Museum

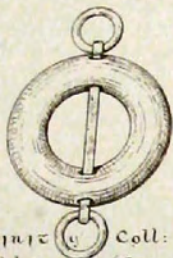
Carraig
 3 spears &
 Mace: Museum
 Royal Irish Academy

found in Charles
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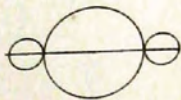
12 inches



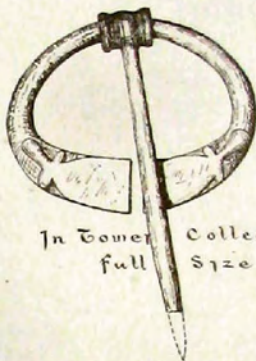
Leabhar Comunn nam Fíor Fháil
 (Book of the Club of True Highlanders)



In Urine Coll: Dublin. (Square)



CLAVE. (Square)



In Tower Collection. full size.



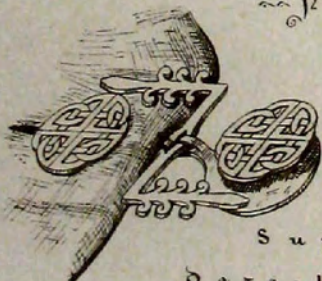
(Blant)



St Vigens (Square)
 No Sealers



(Blant).



Suggested.
 Decast of Fibulae.
 (C.N.M. Intyre North).

marshal of the horse, door-keeper, butler, cul choimed (henchman) (p), master of the banquets, chief herdsman, and keeper of the cups, chessboards, rings, gold and silver; while on his right hand was seated the queen, and on his left the tanist. The circle was made up with the seven tenants (w) of the king, each of whom were endowed by him with stock equal to the number of *sads* that the "Brewry cedach" should have, and the first two grades of warriors, while bard, Ollamh and Druid were seated wherever inclination prompted, or rank entitled them to take their place.

All being seated, at a signal from the master of the banquets, a band of attendants served the meats, with their several savoury seasonings. To the king, Druid and Ollamh were presented the haunch; to the queen a steak; to the tanist a croichet; to the charioteers the head; and so on, according to rank, and until all were served, each person on the presentation of the dish helping himself to a buim sceota (x). These attendants were followed by others, bearing baskets of griddle cake and stoups of liquor for filling the horns and shells, which were ("many's the time and oft") held out towards the "cup bearers" by the drouthy ones. The harpers, who had been reciting the praises of the brave, were not forgotten; and so speeded the night until the queen retired.

This was the signal for clearing away the platters. The harp was handed round for each to exhibit his skill. A fresh supply of curmi was brought in, and as soon as the clamour raised by the dogs who were fighting for the remnants had ceased, the assembled company drew nearer to the fire, which had been merrily blazing away, and the king pledged the tanist, and wished him and his comrades success, and a safe return from the venture they were to make on the following day.

After this, toast followed toast in quick succession.

"W! merry sangs, and friendly cracks
I wot they did na weary;
An' unco' tales, and funny jokes,
Their sport was cheap and cheery."

At last they were unable to discover or remember any fresh toasts on which to spend their enthusiasm, and the company gradually grouped themselves, as chance or inclination dictated. We, who had been compelled to assume an additional amount of gravity in our demeanour and steadiness to our legs, in order to impress on the company the fact that *we* were not so *far gone* as many of the youngsters were, amused ourselves with strolling about from group to group.

The king had retired to one recess, inviting his marshal to a game of chess, and as this was an occasion of ceremony, the usual whalebone chess-board was dispensed with, and the one of state brought forward. This, his mightiness was graciously pleased to allow us to inspect. The board was supported by legs formed from the bones of his enemy McArt, whom he had slain in battle—not the Cormac McArt who, the reader doubtlessly remembers, (the traditional schoolboy undoubtedly remembers), died about the third century (y), but another, equally as celebrated in his day, and in that part of the country, although his name has been lost in the mist of ages. It was altogether a very curious piece of workmanship, which reflected great credit on the maker—a "brewry cedach," whose workshop I intended shortly to visit. The chessmen were half made of gold and half of findruine, the value of each of which, I was informed, was equal to six cumhals (z).

Receiving a gracious permission to withdraw, we joined a group, the centre of which was a venerable seanachie, and we remained listening to the recital of the deeds of our chief's forefathers, until our attention was attracted by the appearance of our friend the hunter, who was eagerly engaged with some comrade in a game of chance. His flushed face and fierce expression clearly shewed that he was losing heavily, and as we approached the spot, a comrade was greedily gathering towards him the gold chain which I had seen lately round our friend's neck. Heedless of our approach, he throws again, and his last remaining possession, his gold shoulder brooch, is parted with. Rendered desperate by the loss of his treasures and the exulting looks of his opponent, he stakes his personal

(p) Customs of Hy Maine.

(w) Brehon Laws, page 61.

(x) Buim sceota, a cube of meat, each side of which was equal to the length of the blade of the knife.

(y) "Cormac, McArt died A.D. 266; Cormac the prudent and good; was a sage, a file, a prince; he was a righteous judge; was a good friend and companion; Cormac gained fifty battles; he compiled 'The Saltair of Tara'; In The Saltair is contained the best summary of history."—*Burke*.

(z) Muircheariach of the leather coats carried off the body of Cearbhall, King of Leinster, and made a pair of tables of his bones, which for a long time after were kept as a monument in the King of Ulster's house. "In our workshop was constructed; chess of the shinbones of Leinster men. Smooth chessmen were on the tables of our ancestors; of the bare bones of Leinster men."—*O'Donovan*.

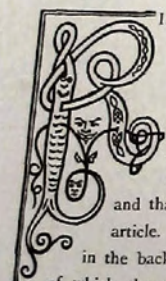
freedom (aa) against the gold chain he has lately lost. A moment more, the die is cast; the fickle goddess is not unkind, however, and the gold chain returns to its former owner. We then endeavour to draw him from the brink of destruction under pretence of wishing to see the outside sports. For a moment he hesitates, but he remembers the sacred duty he owes to his guest, and rises with a flushed face and throbbing head to seek with us the pure air of heaven, a beggar, with nothing save his gold chain of office, his sword, his armour, and the thankful consciousness that he is not a slave. Strolling about for a short time to enjoy the delicious coolness of the night, and with difficulty avoiding the recumbent forms of those whom inclination or forgetfulness had dotted the parade, we retired to our quarters, and after wondering for a short time at the impressive manner in which our friend took his leave, we resigned ourselves to nature's sweet restorer—balmy sleep.

CHAPTER III.

“Mithich domh triall gu tigh Pharaís,
Nuair a ghluin gun e soirbh,
Cosnaim an tigh treun gun choir,
Gun sgeul aig neach 'eil oirnn.”—McVEIGH.

“Slowly and sadly they laid him down
On the field of his fame, fresh and gory.”

The Workshops; the Druid, the College and Students, the Classes, the Initiation; the Feast, the Divinations and Sacrifices; the preparations for War; surprise of the Town; the pitched Battle; Destruction of the Crematorium, Storming the Fort, and Burial of the Hero.



ISING betimes in the morning, we call at our friend's lodging, and, to our surprise, find that he had departed before daybreak with the tanist and a chosen band of followers on some secret expedition, so availing ourselves of the invitation we had received the day before, we called at the works, which were situate in the east end of the city. Our entertainer had evidently expected us, and before we saw the workmen we examined his establishment of 100 beds, and while doing justice to the ever full cauldron, he was careful to inform us that there were upwards of 200 head of cattle in the adjoining woods; that he had an establishment of 200 workmen engaged in the different trades, and that each man received as wages (in addition to his food), one-tenth of the value of the manufactured article. Our first visit was to the smithy. The smith was busy beating out a small piece of iron, while in the background (a) was a kind of crucible, somewhat in the shape of a modern gas retort, into the opening of which the smith's mate was putting, from time to time, small quantities of mineral and charcoal; under the retort was a fire, which he kept in a fierce glow with the aid of bellows. The metal produced, after a great deal of melting and hammering—we were informed that it was very tenacious; was more liable to bend than the bronze when made into sword blades, but it was admirable for tyres of wheels and small articles.

Wishing to see the finer classes of his world-renowned workmanship, we next went to the shops set apart for workers in gold and silver and bronze (b). Here we found the various metals being prepared in much the same manner. In one part were stone moulds for casting bronze axes and chisels; and in one mould (for swords), we noticed a cavity for the circular pommel, one for the hilt, and a long and a short sinking, which we concluded would be joined together, so as to make a long blade (see Vol. II.) The men, however, were at the time of my visit busily engaged on more artistic work; some were engaged on magnificent brooches of silver, in the panels of which delicate enrichments of gold were being formed with thin stripes of metal embossed on the edge, the beauty of which was scarcely discernible with the naked eye; while others were preparing circular settings to be fixed to the borders with delicate rivets, and into some of these, beautiful blue glass beads were fixed, the surfaces of which were enriched

(aa) Cæsar.

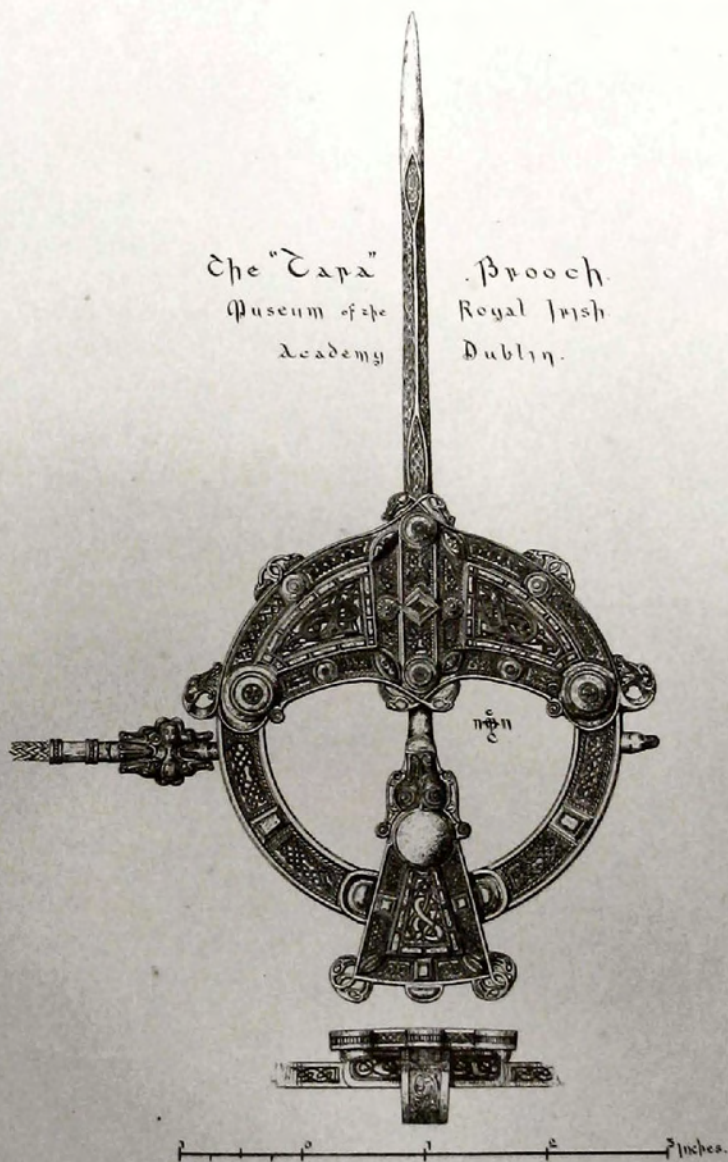
(a) Plates 25 and 26.

(b) Gold, silver, and bronze were forfeited if found in a smith's forge.—Senchus Mor, vol. III. p. 192.

Leabhar Comunn nam Fionn Shíel.
 (Book of the Club of True [?]/[?])

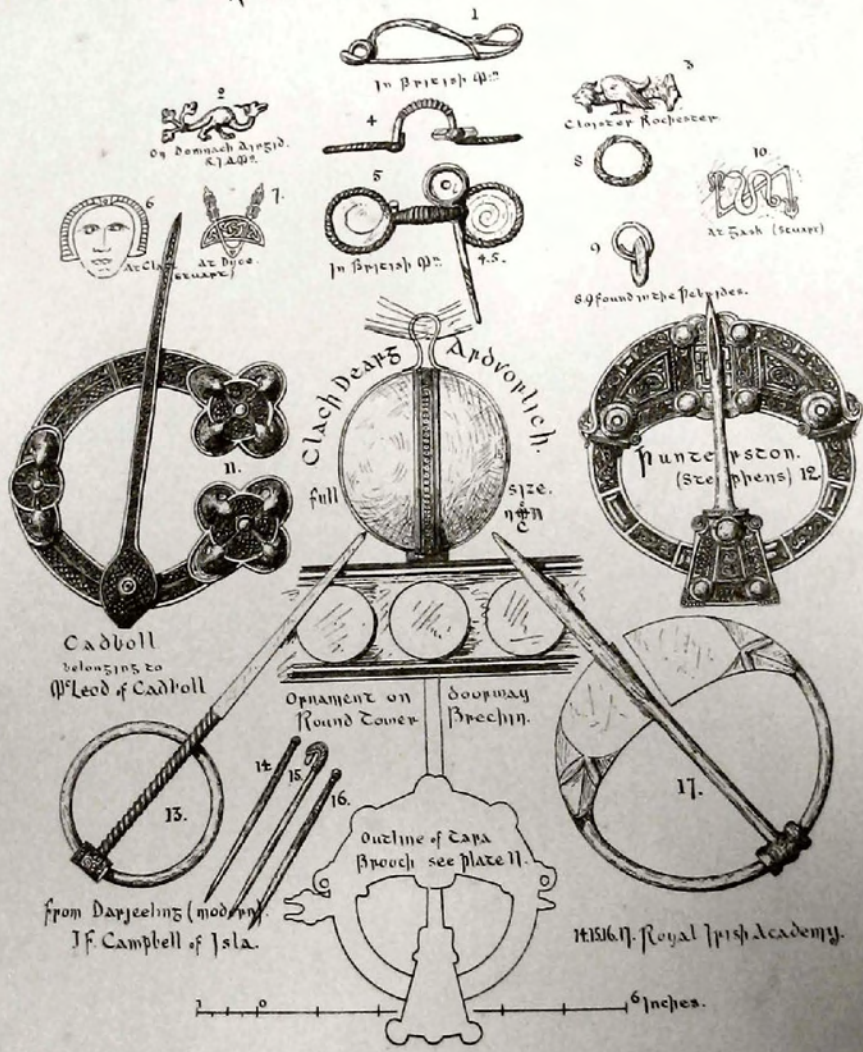
The "Cura"
 Museum of the
 Academy

Brooch.
 Royal Irish
 Dublin.



Leabhar Comunn nam Fionn Shaél
 (Book of the Club of Fine Irishlanders)

Keltic Ornament.



with grooves filled in with a hard white paste or enamel (e); and other mounts were set with gems delicately carved in the likeness of a woman; on all sides was a profusion of articles, all of which bore touches of artistic feeling. In one shop were massive chess boards with squares formed of yellow gold and findruine (white bronze) (d), with the men of the same metal, gold rings, bracelets, anklets, chains, frontlets, wands of office, combs, breast-plates, helmets, &c.; delicately worked bronze shields, razors, pliers, anklets, horse furniture, axes, swords, spears, scabbards, horns, chariot-blades and fittings, fish hooks, mirrors, lamps, jugs, cauldrons, and numerous other articles of everyday wear, which the *barbarians* stupidly thought might be made ornamental as well as useful.

Having spent some hours in admiring the skill of the workmen, we next inspected the remainder of the premises. There were chariots nearly ready for enrichment, waggons for the humbler purposes of everyday life, delicately formed sieves of horsehair—the fine basket-work for which the clan was so famous—(e); stacks of ash for spokes, bones of the whale, &c. Outside the town some men were busily engaged in building a ship about 130 feet long. This was very broad breasted, having much the appearance of a huge long bodied duck—it was a massive clinker-built vessel, and at the time of our visit the men were busily caulking the seams with moss and fern leaves—others were forming canoes from the solid oak, stripping firs for masts and yards, and preparing the hundred and one fittings necessary for the equipment. Having spent the greater part of the morning in these inspections, we took leave of our courteous guide, in order to keep our appointment with the Druid, Fintan (f), who held sway over the surrounding district, and whose closer acquaintance we were most anxious to make. Report described him as a man raised by his abilities to a position of great influence, whose strong will, although kept studiously veiled from the outside world when bearing down outward opposition, was but too plainly exhibited when crushing rebellion in his own household. Strict in the outward service of his religion, his sophistry would, in secular matters, reconcile his conscience to a line of conduct in his own affairs which would receive his most scathing denunciation when exhibited in those of another; while his venerable appearance and amiable looking face did not prevent him (so the Mrs. Grundy of the day said), indulging in bursts of passion which made his household tremble at his approach; it was, therefore, with no small amount of curiosity that we sought his abode in the recesses of the forest.

On our introduction, we at once saw that he was a man of a strong, determined will; tall and erect, he appeared to have been deeply meditating on some unpleasant mystery, the solution of which he was seeking with the aid of a bundle of short twigs of various descriptions; but in an instant the frown disappeared from his brow, he assumed a manner in which benevolence and paternal benignity were admirably blended, and in an oratorical manner, admirably adapted to impose on the ignorant and credulous, he willingly undertook to explain all matters not forbidden by the rules of his sacred calling, and to devote for our edification all the time at his disposal that was not taken up by the numerous duties of his office. Dismissing us with a benediction, he placed an "Ollaire" at our disposal to *shew* the residence reserved for us, to act as guide in inspecting the college, and as attendant during the next week, which was occupied in exploration of the surrounding district, inspecting the classes, or listening to declamations, which were so largely made up of mystical allusions that it was difficult to disentangle the thread of the discourse from the flowers of rhetoric it was smothered in.

The college, if we may so term it, was admirably situate near a river, and consisted of a number of wattle huts, surrounding the more substantial dwelling of the master. These huts were occupied by the scholars, who were allowed certain privileges according to their rank; the well to-do paying certain fees, while the poorer class attended on their more fortunate classmates, in order to earn the wherewithal to pay theirs. In the adjoining grove was the sacred temple, built in the shape of the holy ark (g), in which Hu rode on the great flood, while in the open plain was cenn cruach, with his gold glittering in the sun, surrounded by the twelve, with humble enrichments of bronze (h); nearer to the stream was the sacred tower, its four upper windows evidently (although we were not allowed inside this sacred edifice), commanding extensive views of the Strath (plates, &c.), in which the college was situate; and, lastly, the hill from which the master gave instruction or delivered judgment, and where day by day we found

(e) Composed of silica potash, oxide of iron, alumina (in small quantities), and traces of lime, magnesia, and oxide of copper, and fixed at a very great heat.

(d) O'Cleary says findruine was a metal of brass with silver hammered on it.

(f) Pliny. (g) Not St. Fintan.

(g) We are of opinion that the circle was symbolical of the ark, and in consequence the temples were built in that shape.

(h) Book of Tara. The cenn cruach was a celebrated idol, surrounded by twelve others, the whole of which were destroyed by St. Patrick. Small portable circles of standing stones have a mystical signification at the present time in parts of India.

the students (about 300), of all classes standing in clusters awaiting their turn, or grouped around their master to receive instruction and to repeat the lesson of the day before.

As the guest of the college we were freely admitted within the circle, and as far as the mystical language of the professor, and the obligations we are under will permit, we will endeavour to give a faint idea of the instruction received (*i*). The scholars were ranked according to the time they had been at college (*j*), and the following questions are a sample of those put by the ollamh, to test the recollection of yesterday's lessons.

Q. When were the first three letters formed ?

A. God, in vocalising His name, said / / \, and with a word all words and animations sprang co-instantaneously to being and life from their non-existence; shouting in ecstasy of joy / / \, and thus repeating the name of the Deity immediately with the utterance was light, and in the light the form of the name in three voices 3rd uttered co vocally, co-instantaneously, and in the vision three forms, and they were the figure and form of the light, and together with the utterance, and the figure and form of that utterance, were the three first letters, and from a combination of their three utterances were formed by letter all other utterances whatsoever (*k*).

Q. What were the three awful events ?

A. The bursting of the lake of waters and the overwhelming of all lands * * * "the billows of Dylan furiously attacked the shore," "forth impetuously rushed the waves of Ireland, the wave of Manx, the northern wave, and the wave of Britain," so that all mankind were drowned except Hu and Ked (*l*), who escaped in a naked vessel, and of them the Island of Britain was re-peopled. 2ndly. The consternation of the tempestuous fire, when the earth was split asunder to Annwn (the lower region), and the greatest part of all living consumed. 3rdly. The scorching summer when the woods and plants were set on fire by the intense heat of the sun, and multitudes both of men and beasts, and kinds of birds, reptiles, trees, and plants were irrecoverably lost.

Q. What are the three relics to swear by ?

A. The staff of a priest, the name of God, and hand-in-hand with the one sworn to, and these are called hand relics.

Q. When is the sacred plant gathered ?

A. At the new moon, next the winter solistice, they thus gather the sacred plant (*m*). Having made all due preparation for the sacrifice and the banquet beneath the trees, they bring thither two white bulls, the horns of which are bound then for the first time. Clad in a white robe, the priest ascends the tree and cuts the mistletoe with a golden sickle, which is received by others in a white cloak (*n*). The chief Druid then says, "The gift in the golden horn, the golden horn in the hand, the hand on the knife, the knife on the leader of the herd, sincerely I worship thee, *Beli*, giver of good, and *Manhogan*, the king, who preserves the honours of *Bel*, the *Island of Beli*" (*o*). They then immolate the victims, offering up their prayer, that *Beli* will render this gift of His propitious to those to whom He has so granted it.

Q. Name some of the other sacred feasts ?

A. The feast of Belteine, when the faithful offer sacrifices to "Hu and Ked," when the king receives a horse and arms from each lord of the manor or chieftain of lands. The day on which the great fire is kindled (*p*) to summon the priest to consume the offered sacrifice; and every other fire in the country extinguished; so that the faithful use only the sacred fire to rekindle the house fire, and for which each pays a screpall. And the great feast, which is held three days before and three days after Samhain, in every third year, when, if any person commits a crime during this period, the penalty is instant death.

The shadow of the tower giving warning of the progress of Huan, the examination of the youngest students in the Araicecht, or grammar of the pupils, and the delivery of a Ceatal mór, or great oration, by a proficient, brought the convocation to a close, in order that due preparation might be made for the sacred rite of the morrow, which we will call the Ceremony of the Final Acceptance, and while all were earnestly engaged; we, with the privileges of an idler, strolled from place to place, listening first to the muttering of a student, who was laying down full length with

(i) There was the Dian of the Fochlachan; the MacMecnachan of the Fuirmid; the Droncherd of the Dos; the Ardreth of the Cana; the Cinntech of the Cli; the Adbreth of the Anradh; the Bronsacha of the Sai; the Feis Comarcha of the Fliidh; the Fochairech of the Eiges; the Sendata of the Seaghdair; and the Anamain of the Ollamh.—O'Curry, Book of Ballymote.

(j) From one to twelve years.

(k) Williams, quoting Iolo, M.S.

(l) Davies (Celtic Researches, 157), called Dwayvan and Dwyvach.

(m) O'Brien.

(n) Pliny.

(o) Davies, p. 101.

(p) October 31st, O'Curry, quoting Book of Tara.

his dog beside him (*g*), then to the harpers chanting the sacred laoidh (lay or hymn), or mayhap silently wondering final voyage, which to them would end in disgrace, death, or their acceptance into the rank of the favoured few; and although we wandered about until Ked mounted high in the heavens, with a smile for her votaries, the thoughts of the morrow so disturbed our rest that we were glad when the morning hymn echoed in the air.

At the appointed time the aspirants were marshalled to the sound of horn and harp on the bank of the river. The foremost stepped forward, and, when enclosed in the coracle, which were moored alongside; at the word of the living freight was attentively watched;—for a time the voyage was prosperous;—but on nearing the rapids a hidden boulder capsized the frail craft, and its vibration but too clearly indicated the fate of its unhappy occupant. This unfortunate ending appeared to be too much for the next candidate, and, when ordered to the front, his trembling limbs refused to obey his will. Sternly Fintan ordered him to be set apart, and, lifting his hands, he cursed him: "Thy coming without external purity is a pledge that I will not receive thee;—from my territory have I alienated the *reeful steed*—my revenge upon the shoal of earth worms is their hopeless longings;—from the pleasant allotment out of the *receptacle which is thy aversion* did I obtain the rainbow" (*s*);—the horror exhibited by the bystanders showed how terrible was the hidden meaning of the words he slowly and sternly pronounced; Fintan then plucked a tuft of grass, and, muttering a few words over it, threw it into the doomed one's face, and immediately, with a loud scream, the unhappy being threw himself headlong into the river (*l*). The remaining candidates then tried their fortunes with better success; one by one they were launched; the craft passed the dangers on the way, and when, some distance down, an eddy carrying the frail barques near the shore, another Druid, who was stationed there for the purpose, grappled with them, and released each occupant, who on his appearance was hailed with shouts and jubilation as being regenerate and born again to a more exalted sphere of action. Fintan, clothed in a flowered garment, with a two-pointed birreath (*u*) in his head, and the other priests, with their dark-grey, hornless bull's hides, white-speckled, bird-head pieces, and Druidical instruments (*v*), received the accepted ones, who were then invested with the emblems of their order, and admitted to the sacred cell where "the fountain of flame" was cherished.

On their re-appearance, the assembled multitudes chanted the hymns appropriate to the occasion, a procession was formed, and the day's ceremony was closed by a sacred dance round the temple of Hu. The routine of the next few days requires little description. Choruses of priests and priestesses chanted in honour of the god or goddess to whom the day was set apart; the wearisome teaching the young idea to shoot, and regulating of the affairs of the college, left little time to spare to the inferior orders, while the ceremony of Hu was administered by Fintan to those who sought the Tuath de Danann from time to time; and it was with a sense of relief that we were informed of the king's arrival to consult with the Druid on a matter of importance. Fintan, who, in spite of his sanctimoniousness, could ill conceal the annoyance he felt at being interrupted while officiating for a good-looking devotee, at once saw that the king meant business of a serious character. The tanist, as we afterwards learnt of our friend, the hunter, had commanded in the usual experimental foray, and, although acting with great bravery, had been drawn into an ambush by the tribe alluded to in the previous chapter, and a great number of the youths who had accompanied him had been slain. This had greatly exasperated the relations, but before an invasion in force was undertaken in revenge; it had been determined to consult the oracle as to whether the omens were propitious or no.

Fintan, in order to exhibit his power as a priest, raised the strongest objection to the matter, but at last allowed the king to persuade him into looking at it as a *matter of business*;—the spoils would enrich the temple; certain additional contributions were promised, and it was conclusively shown that the priest, who was a favourite of the enemy, materially interfered with Fintan's trade in consecrated emblems of Hu, Ked, and other tokens (*w*); this decided the matter, and it was intimated that the omens might be favourable when the king made his solemn application.

(*g*) Each student had a dog.

(*r*) Davies thinks that the cromleachs were cells for those novices who were devoted to the service of Ked or Hu. Kitt's *Coty House*, near Rochester, would seem to favour this idea.

(*s*) Davies, p. 251.

(*u*) Kennedy.

(*w*) He was a worker in metal.

(*l*) This charm created a sudden madness.—O'Curry.

(*v*) O'Curry, p. 214.

The next day the king appeared in his state robes (x), attended with a numerous retinue, the rear being brought up by about half-a-dozen criminals, under conduct of a strong guard. These unfortunates had been condemned to be burnt by the king (y), and had been preserved for some such occasion when victims were offered up to the gods.

These unhappy wretches were delivered over to the officiating priests. Five of them were enclosed in a huge elephant-shaped wicker-work construction, under which faggots of wood were placed. All being prepared, fire was applied to the faggots, amidst the blowing of horns to drown the cries of the men in the blazing pile (z). The priest then threw the remaining victim down, and striking him with a sharp sword across the loins, carefully noted his expiring agony (aa); and the sacred bull was killed: the flesh prepared, a man was feasted to repletion with the meat and broth (bb); he was lulled to sleep while a true oration was pronounced over him, until he screamed out a few words in his sleep.

These omens being pronounced favourable, and Fintan, having obtained a favourable confirmation by the "Imbas Forasnai" and the "Teimn Laeghda" (cc), he pronounced the object the king had in view to be favoured by Hu and Ked, and that a "Glain Dichinn" (dd) should be pronounced on the enemy. This answer so delighted the assembled multitude that the offerings were proportionately gratifying.

The next week or two was full of bustle and preparation, and as our hero had shown great strategic ability in the last raid, he was appointed Aire echta, or commander-in-chief of the forces. As soon as all was in readiness, the women and valuables were placed in the adjoining strength, a strong guard left for their protection, and all the able-bodied men of the territory set out on their hazardous enterprise.

The town they were bound for was situate on an arm of the sea, about sixty miles to the northward; the strength, or fort, being placed on a ridge a few miles west of the town. In the lake to the south of this fort were some crannogs, to which the valuables of the clan were conveyed in times of danger (plate 13) (ee); the cattle and more bulky spoil were driven, on these occasions, into the recesses of the forest-covered hills to the west and northward (ff).

In accordance with the plan of the campaign, the main body of the foot and horse were sent to fight their way along the coast, in order to avoid the forest as much as possible; and while the enemy were engaged on land, a picked body of men, with the chariots, was sent round the coast in the fleet, with orders to make a sudden descent on the town. This manœuvre was completely successful; the enemy, inferior in number to our troops, offering a desperate resistance, a retreat was ordered on our side to a spot previously prepared, about four miles to the south. The whole of the available forces of the enemy followed in eager pursuit, leaving the town practically undefended.

(x) A red buckle, with stars and animals of gold, and fastenings of silver upon him; a crimson cloak, in wide descending folds upon him, fastened to his breast by a golden brooch, set with precious stones; a neck torque of gold around his neck, a white shirt with a full collar and intertwined with gold threads upon him; a girdle of gold, inlaid with precious stones around him; two wonderful shoes of gold, with runnings of gold upon him; two spears with golden sockets in his hand, and with many rivets of red gold.

(y) Laws of Dymwall.—Three modes of punishment by forfeiture of life: beheading, hanging, and burning; and it is for the king or lord of the territory to order which he willeth to be inflicted.

(z) French is of opinion that the elephants on the crosses represent the wicker images used in sacrifice.

(aa) At this present time we cannot say that the above was the exact order of ceremony; the reader must accept it as a list of ceremonies only.

(bb) O Curry, p. 109.

(cc) Illumination by palms of the hands; Illumination of rhymes.

The *Teimn Laeghda* and *Imbas Forasnai*.—The poet discovers through it whatever he likes or desires to reveal. This is the way in which it is done.—The poet chews a bit of the flesh of the red pig, or of a dog or cat, and he conveys it afterwards to the flag behind the door and pronounces an incantation on it, and offers it to idol gods; and he then invokes his idols, and if he obtains not his desire of the day following, he pronounces incantations over both his palms, and invokes again unto him—his idol god—in order that his sleep might not be interrupted; and he lays his two palms on his two cheeks, and falls asleep. And he is watched in order that no one may interrupt or disturb him until everything about which he is engaged is revealed to him, viz., in a minute, or two, or three, or as long as he is supposed to be at the offering; and therefore it is called "Imbas 'i.e.' di bois uimne," i.e., his two palms upon him, one palm over, and one palm hither, on his cheek.

Another way was by putting a staff on the person's body, or head, and finding out his name, or the name of his father or mother, and all known things that were proposed to him, in a minute, or two, or three. It was supposed to be by poetical inspiration.—*Notes to Saechas Mór*, p. 45.

(dd) Glain Dichinn, or satire from the hill-tops. This was composed by thirty laymen, thirty Druids, and thirty poets. The poet who pronounced it, after fasting on the lands of the king, went, at the rising of the sun, with six others of different degree to a hill-top, situate at the boundary of seven farms (O'Curry). The effect of this satire was so great that everything mentioned in it withered away; and it was so much dreaded that, even after St. Patrick's time, the poet who composed three unjust satires lost all honour price. (Unfortunately for the orators of the present day, this law has been repealed.)

(ee) The crannogs were artificial islands, formed of stakes driven into the bed of the lake, with branches twisted in between, and stones, fern, and other material added to form a solid foundation for the platform on which huts were erected.

(ff) Knock Ferrol and the town of Dingwall are supposed to have been the scene of conflict.

Taking advantage of this fatal error, our men from the fleet made a sudden attack on the town, carried it by storm, and set fire to it. All who resisted were put to the sword, and the remainder were made slaves. The next morning a fierce and sudden outcry told us that our enemies were taken in the rear. The order to advance was then given. Foot by foot the foe were pressed back stubbornly fighting; each fell with his face to the foe; the gold ornaments were scattered unheeded in all parts of the field; and it was not until many a sword was snapped and shield cloven in twain that our gallant foes, at the end of the day, were driven from the field; part of them, retiring in good order, took refuge in the crannogs, part in the fort; and of the remainder, the few who had escaped the darts of our charioteers, found refuge in the caves of the surrounding hills. The pursuit over, the weapons and gold were carefully collected and placed on one side for future division; the wounded were attended to by the Druids and bards who were with the expedition; and at the close of the day, in the words of the poet, thousands sank down to the ground overpowered—the weary to sleep, and the wounded to die.

The positions on which the enemy would make his final stand have already been briefly described; the lake was about 800 yards across, its surface was dotted with the crannogs already mentioned, which at that time were crowded with men, who had destroyed all the coracles in the hope of securing a safe retreat; the hill on which the fort was built was nearly perpendicular on the north side; the south side was steep, but easily surmountable; the west side was connected by a narrow neck, with the adjoining hill; and on the east side, a gradual descent led to the Strath below; the summit was enclosed by a wall, about 10 feet high, formed of a kind of cement concrete, against which were placed rough sheds for shelter of man and beast; in the centre of the enclosure was a shallow reservoir, lined with blue clay, for storing water; the entrances were at the east and west ends; the western approach was protected by a number of semi-circular parapets, and the eastern by parallel walls, within which (the entrance being forced) an attacking force would be at the mercy of the defenders above until they reached the interior of the fort (plates 13 and 15).

Our general having carefully examined the ground for some distance round, speedily decided on his plan of action. The regiments which the actions of the previous day and those during the advance had reduced to 350 rank and file were still retained in their original formation, and the greater part of the cavalry and charioteers were dismounted to act as foot-men.

The troops, when in position, were formed up somewhat in a crescent shape, the horns of which were composed of charioteers and cavalry, whose duty it was to prevent the escape of any fugitives, should the attack be successful, or to incommode the flanks of the enemy in case of a retreat of the centre.

The remainder of the men in the front line were formed up in groups according to their several families. They were armed with heavy spears, swords, &c., and to each group were attached a certain number of slingers and horsemen. The second line was formed up in the rear of the centre, and, partly hidden by the woods, was composed of a picked body of about 1500 men to act as a reserve.

The sun was scarcely two hours above the horizon when an attempt was made to capture the occupants of the crannogs. A number of coracles and canoes were launched, and our men went gallantly into action; but, approaching incautiously, a number of the coracles were pierced by the "Gae bulgæ" (gg), and their unfortunate occupants were seen vainly struggling on the points of the weapons, until they received the *coup de grace* from a spear thrust, or a slashing blow on the head from axe or sword; and after an hour of desperate fighting, by which the enemy suffered greatly, our men retired with a loss of half their number, amidst the exulting shouts of the defenders. In the meantime, our general perceiving that the attack was likely to fail, had ordered another body of men to hold themselves in readiness to relieve the first; a quantity of faggots were cut, then covered with pitch, and piled into a number of coracles, which were launched at a point from which the wind was blowing; the relieving force then set out to the attack, cheered by the stirring strains of the harpers, the crew of each canoe pushing two or three of the coracles before them to act as a screen while they removed some of the impediments to the attack; these screens were gradually pushed closer and closer, in spite of resistance; fire was applied to the faggots, and the defenders being driven back by the dense smoke, the fireboats were pushed in close to the platforms; any attempt to dislodge them was met by a shower of darts and stones. The platforms and huts caught fire, and burning furiously, the defenders were compelled to take to the water; those who escaped the surrounding spears were despatched before or when they reached the shores; not one of them escaped; and before sunset the crannogs were reduced to a heap of

charred and smoking fragments. The hymn of victory was then raised by the exultant soldiery, and after a strong force was posted to prevent the escape of the garrison from the fort, the shell and harp went round until Ked warned her devotees to prepare for the final struggle on the morrow. Our general having determined to deliver the assault before daybreak, our men were aroused from their lairs about an hour before the appointed time; the attack was to be directed by the king, the east by one of the flailists who had distinguished himself the day before; the south attack was entrusted to the tanist, while a body of picked men was held in reserve by the general to use as an occasion might require (hh). Shrouded in the mist the western force crept into position, and surprising the nodding guard, took possession of the first two entrenchments and put their defenders to the sword before the garrison were on the alert; the east attack was equally fortunate in forcing an entrance, and the surrounding echoes were speedily wakened with the shout of heroes, the shrieks of the wounded, the clash of weapons, the dull thud of the club of stone striking down some unfortunate being, and the whistling of missiles hurtling through the air. The south attack was then delivered, the men forming themselves into testudines (ii) at the foot of the wall; the slope of the hill, however, rendered it necessary that the rear rank should be standing instead of the front; these formed a platform with their shields, on which another party perched themselves, and their shields became the platform from which the assailants hoped to scale the walls; this attack, if successful, would have at once placed the garrison at our mercy; but "the best laid schemes of mice and men oft gang a-gley;" one of our men unfortunately slipped in climbing into his place; the edge of his heavy shield came with no small force on the ear of a brave but rather choleric warrior. An ejaculation loud, deep, and the reverse of complimentary, betrayed our design to the defenders, and a volley of rock speedily showed that they appreciated our polite and well-meaning attention at its proper value.

The attack being now fully developed, sharp and fierce was the encounter. The mist rolling away at the rising of the sun, the sight of the enemy was greeted with loud taunts and shouts of defiance from both sides; the bards, mixing with the combatants, cheered the weary and stimulated the ardent with wild chants and exhortations. The attacking parties on the east and west were slowly fighting their way over heaps of slain, while on the south side the attack was frustrated again and again, each attempt leaving the ground more thickly strewn with the slain.

Maddened by these repeated repulses, the tanist, although desperately wounded, again gathers his attenuated columns together for the attack. Again they were foiled. The defenders appear to be doubled as they keep our men at arm's length with loud shouts of victory. Our baffled men sullenly stand with rage in their hearts at the storm of stone and abuse hurled at them, vainly seeking some revenge. Suddenly a loud shout is heard in the interior of the fort; a column of flame shoots up, and the defenders, with a loud cry of dismay, turn to face the new danger.

Our general, finding that the fortune of the day was doubtful, had taken a chosen party of fifty men round to the north side just as its defenders, in their excitement, had deserted their post in order to take part in the fight on the south side, and scaling the wall without opposition, he seized a blazing faggot, applied it to the adjoining thatch, and, with a shout, attacked the defenders in the rear. A moment's hesitation on the part of the startled foe, and his party were surrounded and overwhelmed by a dense crowd of desperate men. The remaining defenders of the south rampart, weakened in numbers and now thoroughly discouraged, were, however, speedily overpowered by the tanist's party. The east and west attacks were pressed with increased vigour, and in spite of blazing huts and maddened cattle (which were slaughtered by both sides in self defence), the interior of the fort was for two hours a scene of stern and bloody slaughter. Some dozen of the defenders escaped by throwing themselves from the walls, but the remainder died without asking or expecting mercy, and a loud shout and blowing of horns announced to the onlookers that the victory was won (jj). The slopes of the hills were soon dotted with men covered with blood and dirt, hastening to quench their thirst at the lake, many of whom, after laying themselves down to reach the water, being unable, from loss of blood, to raise themselves, were overbalanced and at last drowned in the turbid mixture.

The excitement of the battle over, the survivors had to reckon up the cost of their victory—the king and tanist were known to be severely wounded, but the fate of our general was uncertain. The bodies of the slain

(hh) It was to the latter body we attached ourselves, as by this means we were able to pick up many little scraps of intelligence, and to have a good view of the operations from a position of comparative safety.
 (ii) Page 12.
 (jj) In order to obtain a clear view of the action, we had, early in the day (in spite of the anxiety we felt to join in the battle), considered it our duty to withdraw to a most advantageous position in the rear.

Leabhar Comunn nam Fìor Shàel.
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)

Càrri fuasach.



were therefore removed one by one:—those of the enemy, when stripped, were, with the cattle, pitched over the ramparts, on the north side, for the benefit of the wolves;—long and weary was the task; and it was not until late in the day that the body of Ceannluath, our general, was found in the centre of a heap of slain, in which friend and foe were heaped one on the other. Hemmed in by the crowd, our general had evidently been separated from his party when a few feet in advance and after slaying half-a-dozen of his foes, whose bodies were under him, and receiving as many gaping wounds, he had been brought to the ground with a blow of an axe; which, delivered from behind, had nearly cut his shoulder from his body. His men had all fallen in defence of him, and had thus given time for those outside to force an entry and gain the victory. Grief at the loss of a friend whom we had learned to love did not prevent us from attending the last honours paid him. His body, carefully washed and perfumed, was carried to its last (66) resting-place by six "Aire ochta"; these were followed by others leading his chariot, in which was placed his helmet, sword, spear, shield, and coat of chain-mail, while on each side and in front were the bards, and other orders of the druids, druidesses, and devotees, chanting short verses, eulogising his bravery and other good qualities, each verse being responded to by the following warriors, with a deep, subdued, and prolonged repetition of two or three notes or sentences.

"They sang in sweet but melancholy strains,
Such as were warbled by the Delian God
When in the groves of Ida he bewailed
The lovely lost Atymnius."

When the procession arrived at the selected spot, the body was laid on the ground; plastered over with clay; his horses and dogs killed; a pile of prepared brushwood heaped over the remains; a torch applied, and in a short time nothing but ashes remained. These were placed in an urn, his weapons, armour and chariot-wheels were placed around him, a small kist was formed to enclose these remnants of mortality, a huge cairn raised, a stone set up; ochoine!!! och!!! mo through.

"The vision grows dim on my mind,
I behold the chiefs no more,
But oh! ye bards of future times
Remember the fall of Conlath with tears."

CHAPTER IV.

"Seachd slios air a thigh M'Cumbail gon fheadh."—*Oisian.*

"The countrie is divided into ye Highland and ye Lowland; ye inhabitants of ye latter are not soe civilized as ye others."—*HARLEIAN MS.*

The progress of the Keltic race; the leading spirit of the race; the dwellings, forts, round towers, and temples.



WO thousand years B.C. the Kelts came to this country (now called Great Britain and Ireland), that is, according to present authorities; but, supposing we, for the sake of argument, say 1000 years B.C., our first question will be, "Are we to conclude that our forefathers, after having sufficient energy and enterprise to seek a far country (in the same manner that we their descendants do at the present day, in the year of our Lord 1880), are we to conclude; we repeat, that our forefathers for the space of 1000 years made so little progress in the arts and sciences; that, at the time of our Lord, they were nothing better than a horde of rude and uncultivated savages?" (a)

Again, from that time when diverging interests, political accidents, necessities, and other causes laid the foundation for the gradual effacement of the original national characteristics on the one hand, and for intensifying them on the other, say, roughly, A.D. 1000, are we to conclude that the Kelts or Gaidheal of the Highlands, free, as they have been from many of the distractions of the borders, are we to conclude that they remained a set of blood-thirsty savages, and that they have been less civilised, or worse, than their neighbours and kin, the Kelts or Gaidheal of the Lowlands?

(66) Until ruthlessly disturbed by the antiquary.

(a) See ancient authors and their modern followers, *ad nauseum.*

To these questions we have already, in the preceding chapters, given a decided negative; but as we now propose to submit certain evidence by which the reader will be able to trace the progress of the Keltic race, we have considered it advisable to repeat the sum and substance of some of the accusations which, stript of superincumbent padding, have been from time to time trumpeted forth by those whose self-sufficiency has blinded them to the true meaning of the very few facts they were acquainted with. In the following chapters we have considered it necessary to discard, as far as possible, all those technical, and sometimes fanciful names, which have from time to time been bestowed on different subjects, in order that we may present the various facts and inferences to the reader, in as simple and concise a manner as possible.

It is scarcely necessary for us to insist on the hardihood and comeliness of the race. We are all familiar with the stories of how the Kelts could live for days up to their necks in water, and fattened on a diet of roots, &c.; how the ancient chief indignantly kicked that degenerate luxury, a snowball pillow, from under his son's head; and how the half naked Highlander, on being questioned as to his endurance of the cold, answered by enquiring why the questioner did not cover his face, and the reply being that a man's cheek was able to stand the cold, retorted that he was *all cheek* (*b*); and many other anecdotes shewing that the race was always noted for its hardihood.

Logan very aptly says: "Amongst the Keltic nations, military glory was that to which they most ardently aspired, and of their warlike prowess they were excessively vain. To distinguish themselves by deeds of valour and heroism, it was necessary to possess strength of body, and train themselves by a life of activity and enterprise. The peculiar state of society in which they lived was admirably calculated to promote military qualifications, and preserve the advantage which nature had bestowed on the race. Their simple institutions were eminently conducive to the spirit of liberty with which they were animated, and by which their physical strength was assisted, and as they could only hope for distinction from proofs of valour and fortitude, they did not degenerate as nations who *become commercial*, or are enervated by a warm climate . . . the regard which the Highlanders have always paid to the personal appearance and manly qualities of their children has been often marked."

The great disgrace that was attached to any personal blemish is strikingly illustrated in the Irish Annals, where we find that even kings; when a concealed or pretended blemish was discovered; at once retired and hid themselves for years from the public gaze, and although the powerful were not so sensitive in later days, a personal peculiarity or defect was always noted by some nickname.

The training of the children, and allowing them to go barefoot, all tended to the natural and graceful development of the body; and the whole of the occupations of the several nations, partaking more or less of an outdoor character, the people were free from many of the defects and disadvantages inseparable from a more artificial, enervated and confined state of society; and bravery in battle, activity in the chase, and comeliness of person being the characteristics of a high spirited race; the records of the Seanachies must necessarily lay the greatest stress on those actions which were considered most worthy of notice; while the humbler triumphs of the artist or artisan, being but incidentally referred to, the superficial enquirer has jumped to the conclusion that the occupation of the Highlander was a life-long study of the art of destruction (*c*).

Having noticed this perhaps excusable mistake, we will proceed at once with a more interesting subject. Commencing literally at home, we can form a very clear idea of the manner in which our forefathers were housed from the numerous existing examples scattered broadcast over the country (*d*).

In building the houses the first consideration was to make a platform in order to keep the interior dry. This was generally done in low-lying localities by excavating a circular trench; the earth from which, being thrown inside, was levelled to form a platform; the lower story of the building was formed of stone, if possible; but the material with which the houses were built varied according to the locality. (Plates 6, 14.) The commonest huts were formed with

(*b*) A characteristic in which the modern Highlander is sadly deficient.

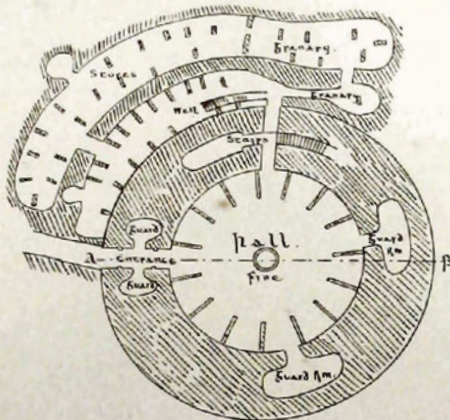
(*c*) We do not agree with those who think that the time *has arrived* when a lengthy essay is necessary to *prove* the courage of the Keltic race, and therefore we prefer dealing with subjects more interesting and debatable, by reason of the obscurity that surrounds them.

(*d*) Although the houses were built of various materials and dimensions, yet we find in all that the predominant form was the circle, which seems to have a mystic reference to a religious idea ever present in the Keltic mind in all the relations of life; the circle with a dot in the centre was a sacred emblem of the Egyptians [Tate]; in India [J. F. Campbell] it is the emblem of Siva to this day; it is found on Etruscan coins [Beale Postle]; it is shown on numerous undoubtedly British coins in conjunction with the horse; the same idea is also shown in the Druids' temple, or sacred place with its centre stone; in the cairns and mounds, and in the house with its fire in the centre. [See note ante re shape of the ark.]

[We must not forget that an inferior race first inhabited this country, and no doubt existed for many ages alongside of the Kelts and that the remains of some buildings must be attributed to their skill. They appear to have been a kindred race to the esquimo.]

Leathan Comunn nam Fior Shiel.
 (Book of the Club of Erice Highlanders)

— Restorations of Celtic Buildings. —



— U15 | U10: Plan. —



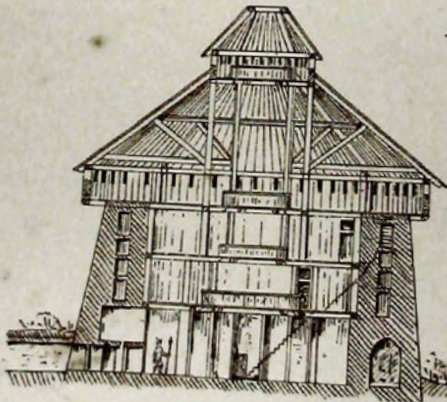
— U18 | U19: Plan. —



— U20 | U21: —



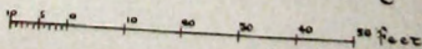
— U22 | U23: —



— Section A-B. — U24 | U25: —



Round Tower
 Brechin: —



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wattle or wickerwork walls (e), daubed with clay, and the spars thatched with straw, fern, heather, &c. In the stone country, stone was frequently used to form the entire dwelling, the roofs being generally covered with turf, as seen in the houses until lately used in Lewis (f). The stone houses were preferred to those formed of timber, lots being drawn as to who should have the stone ones. The large houses were built with a stone foundation and basement, timber upper stories, and the spars covered with shingles (g) or else they were built entirely with stone walls, and roofed as before. On Plate 14 are shown plans, &c., of the various classes of houses drawn to the same scale for comparison; all these show that they have been carefully planned, are admirably adapted for their several purposes, and must be considered as representing various classes of houses, and not as having been built at different epochs in the progress of the race.

In circular dwellings at Uig Lewis, the entrance, it will be seen, is protected by a small ante-room, so that it was impossible to fire into the hut, and the room also served as a protection from the weather. The same precaution was taken on building the hut at Bosprennis Zennor, Cornwall.

The Tigh Mòr is a restoration of the circular building, specimens of the walls of which remain at Broussa, Clickimin, Okstrow, Borrowstone, Glenelg, and other places (h). The timbers, of course, are all perished, or have been removed, and although the restoration is merely suggestive, we are of opinion, from a very careful consideration of the plans of the existing remains, that the buildings were finished in the manner shown in the illustration.

A great deal of skill has been displayed in the erection of these buildings. The walls were built hollow, to keep the inside warm and dry (i); a staircase was contrived in the thickness of the walls, by which the inhabitants reached the several floors or balconies, which were ranged round the interior; the upper floor is shown projecting, so as to enable the inmates to defend the place, and a small gallery is shown on the roof. The various galleries were set apart for sleeping and other purposes; the part occupied by the ladies was distinguished from the rest by various enrichments, as before mentioned. There were also several sleeping apartments on the ground floor, which, formed in the thickness of the walls, were no doubt used by those on guard. A great deal of care and thought was also bestowed on the arrangement of the entrances: it was either masked by an external covered way, as at Yarhouse, or else the defences were formed in the thicknesses of the wall. The entrance (j) was low and narrow; and was sometimes guarded by two gates, between which were placed one or two recesses for the sentries, while over the doorhead a slit was left, through which a spear could be thrust into any assailant, rash enough to attack the strength. The granaries and outbuildings were placed close to the entrance (k)—those shown on the plan are similar to those of Yarhouse—the stone divisions suggest stalls for cattle, while the small recess would be the shelter for the herd. The well was sometimes placed in the centre of the main building, with a flight of stairs down to it, sometimes in a covered way close to the main entrance of the building, and at Bodsbury Hill, Lanark, a cup-like reservoir was discovered by Mr. Irvine. It was nine feet diameter by five feet deep, and it was formed in the Schistose slate; it was lined with four inches of blue clay, trowelled very smoothly, and the ground sloped towards it to collect the rain-fall. The partitions carrying the galleries above; formed recesses which were used for various purposes, and the fire-place was placed in the centre (l).

The remaining foundations of one of the houses at Castor Dartmouth show that it must have been a most imposing structure. The plan shows the basement with stone walls, the outside compartments of which was

(c) Casar.

(f) Commander Thomas says that the stone houses were called bothan, and the timber ones airhts; they were used in summer time, women living in them while they were attending on the cows, making butter, &c.; there was a small hole in the roof, and generally two doors opposite each other, so that the door opposite the wind could be opened.

(g) We have no evidence that slates were used to cover the roofs, but there was an old Celtic word signifying a split stone.

(h) The dimensions for this have been taken from several papers read at meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. These papers display a vast amount of painstaking and careful research, although we cannot agree with very many of the sometimes amusing explanations and conclusions of the several authors.

(i) These hollows are generally about 18 inches wide, and some authorities say they were the sleeping apartments of the inhabitants.

(j) The Senchus Mòr says that a man who enters the door with a boy on his back shall be punished. This, unless we know the size of the doorway, seems a very unmeaning enactment; but, with a low entrance, a boy would stand a very good chance of having his head crushed against the roof; it also shows that the Senchus Mòr was compiled from laws in force when the buildings were occupied.

(k) It has been contended, that because the stonework is of a different description from the main building, that it must be of a different period; but if we look at the plans, the outbuildings form a part of the whole, and were absolutely necessary to make the scheme complete, the difference between the stone walling being much about the same as the difference between the walling of houses and that of the stone dykes in the present day: the one is finished work, the other is rough work for the field.

(l) With the fire in the centre, however strange the idea may be to us, the circular plan is undoubtedly the most perfect means for an equal distribution of heat; the circle is also the best form for the arrangement of an audience, and if we bear in mind that life, except in times of danger, was passed in the open air, it will be at once seen that warmth and shelter were the principal things to be taken into consideration by the builders of those days.

doubtlessly used as stores: the superstructure was probably of wood; a small circle in the plan adjoining the large inner circle is a feature very suggestive of a circular tower (*m*): the central building appears to have been the general living and sleeping-place, while the circular tower would be used as a beacon and place of safety.

The buildings were frequently placed in groups (*n*), protected by ramparts, as described in Chapters 11, and III. (*o*). Sometimes they are merely in the vicinity of forts. Many of the existing remains were doubtless the residences of the chiefs, and only the refuge of the clan in times of danger; the ordinary dwellings situate within convenient distance (*p*), being of a slighter character, all traces of them have disappeared (*q*). Some of the enclosing ramparts have already been described; the only class requiring special notice is that group of examples called *vitrified forts*. Considerable diversity of opinion has existed as to the method by which the vitrification was effected. One theory is that vitrification is the result of the destruction of the place by fiery violence (*r*). Others suggest that two walls of earth were erected before the fort was built; that the materials used for the permanent wall were placed between, and the whole fired.

With regard to the first idea, we must remember that the foundations of the ramparts in many cases were a combination of timber, stone, fern, sea wrack, and other material, with timber breastworks and buildings at top, and when we consider that (in accessible places), the besiegers would pile heaps of brushwood against them in order to set them on fire, we must confess that it is a practical idea, when the forts are not perched on the crags.

With regard to the second suggestion, even taking it for granted that a long-headed race would take the immense trouble to build two parallel walls simply to form a mould for another one, and then to clear away both of the outer walls afterwards, we do not think that the material would become vitrified owing to the want of draught. If the walls were not vitrified in the manner first described, we think that the only other method would be the one adopted in burning clay. Certain proportions of brushwood, stones, ferns, and sea wrack would be built up and fired. When the mass became thoroughly heated, additional material would be added from time to time (it would then probably be covered with brushwood to increase the heat), and the whole, instead of forming a kind of ballast, like the burnt clay, would gradually be formed by the action of the kelp into a semi-vitrified mass of the required shape. In Plates 13, 15 is shown the ancient fort on Knoe Ferral, which by authorities is reckoned one of the finest specimens. Masses of the wall still remain; but, with regard to the manner in which they have been formed, if we had not been told they were vitrified, we should have concluded that they had been formed with some kind of cement, and that the so-called vitrified appearance was the result of a gradual change in the nature of the material.

Plate 14 shows the round tower of Brechin (*s*). This tower, for workmanship and preservation, will bear favourable comparison with any existing specimens, and may be taken as a type of the whole. The architrave of the circular-headed doorway (which is formed at a considerable height above the ground level) is enriched with an ornament, shown on Plate 12. On the key-stone is a figure, with drooping arms, the head of which has had something roughly chipped from it. On each side, nearer the springing of the arch, square blocks are left rough for carving, and at the lower corners of the doorway are figures which very much resemble the winged bull and elephant carved on the west front of Rochester Cathedral (Plate 30). The interior shows oversailing courses at unequal heights to carry the timber of the floors (*t*).

The present roof of Brechin tower is not the original, the roof and foundation shown in the sketch being taken

(*m*) We think that a careful inspection and study of the circular buildings of this country would be of considerable service to translators of Homer, in supplying them with correct definitions of many portions of the buildings referred to in his poems.

(*n*) *Arch. J.*, p. 16. The town of Castor, Dartmouth, contains 15 circular houses.

(*o*) Rath, Dun and Lis, made of earth. The caiseal was nothing more than a stone rath, or enclosure, in which stood the dwelling-house. The Cathair was in like manner a stone dun, with loftier and stronger walls.—*Bourke*.

(*p*) Craig Phadrig is near to Inverness, and Knoe Ferral to Dingwall.

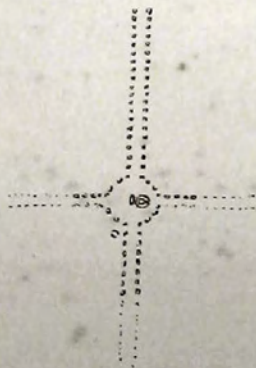
(*q*) The Rath was 900 feet. Cormac's house was 700 feet. Seven bronze candles in the middle of it; nine mounds around the house. There were three times fifty compartments in it, and three times fifty men in each, and three times fifty continuations of compartments, and fifty men in each of these continuations. Long buildings were also erected for feasting and other purposes.—*Bourke*.

(*r*) Dr. Schliemann mentions that he discovered a vitreous substance resulting from the destruction of Troy by fire.

(*s*) This example of circular buildings should perhaps be classed with temples. Plate 14 shows another class of building, all traces of which will soon be lost. In it we see that the circular idea has entirely disappeared. In the entrance is shown a fixed table for the quern; then the principal apartment, 31 feet by 14 feet, the larger portion of which was used as a byre, while the other half was used for living in, the hearth being placed nearly in the centre of the apartment. Beyond that was an additional room, which was used as a store, and for sleeping. The walls of this building were formed of rough ashlar, filled in between with rubbish, and the roof was formed with spars and thatch, the said thatch being in many places protected from the wind and kept in place by ropes, and heavy stones attached.—*Captain Thomas*.

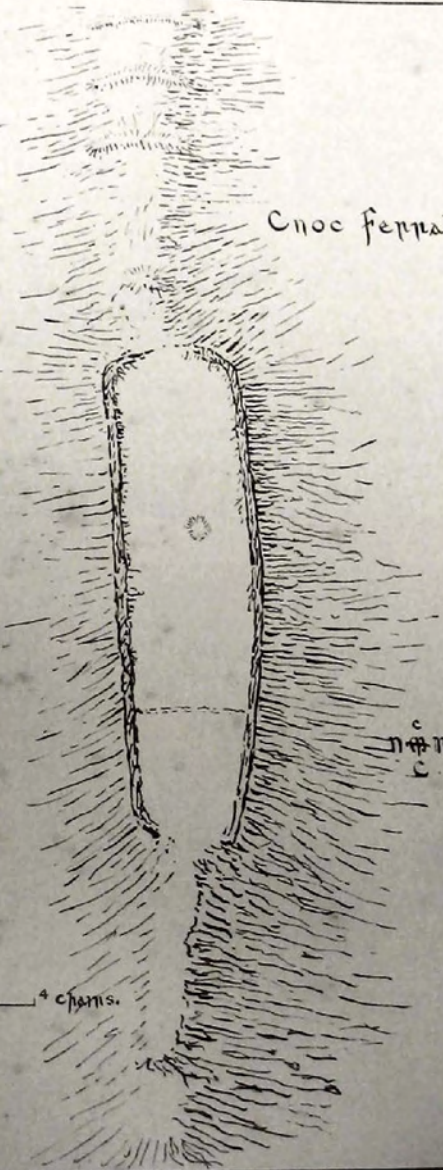
(*t*) Another peculiarity of the Celtic doorways is that the majority of the jambs incline to each other; exactly in the same way as shown by the carving from the Monastery (Plate 5).

Leabhar Comunn nam fionn Thael
 (Book of the Club of Fionn Thael)



Callernis
 (Sketch plan)
 according to
 Wise Coland
 P. J. Wilson
 41st Coluch & Co. etc.

Cnoc fernal.



100 50 0 1 2 3 4 chams.

from Irish examples to show the probable actual construction of the original. The dimensions of the Brechin tower are followed from the ground line to the heads of the four windows on the top storey. The roof is taken from Clondalkin, and the foundation from Cloynce. Some of the towers are finished with a roof nearly flat, with a low parapet round, as at Kilkenny; and one at Kilmallock has a conical roof, with a battlemented parapet (u).

The question as to the origin and use of the round towers has caused me may say an *extra* amount of heated discussion. The consequence is, each combatant has proved too much and overshoot the mark. With regard to age, Petrie is inclined to make them too young; while Keane will insist that they were built by the Tuath de Danaan, before the immigration of the Celtic race (say 1900 B.C.); that the reason of their preservation was that the Kelts held the buildings of their predecessors in the utmost contempt; and that the Kelts were not able to erect stone dwellings, because, *Parker says*, there were no stone dwellings in Ireland before the time of Henry II. (v).

This sweeping deduction is also applied by Keane to the stone-vaulted chapels, without sufficient consideration (probably also to his looking only at home). In plate 14 we can see the most primitive forms of the circular and square stone buildings, which, if the form and material had been so repugnant to the Celtic mind, would have utterly disappeared in the course of 3000 years; but we submit that it must have been a favourite mode of construction, handed down by our Celtic forefathers, as numerous examples of it exist, not only in West, but in the whole of Keltland; the form was also preserved in the tings of Orkney (w); in British architecture, in the elevations and sections of so-called Norman (partly, at least, East Celtic) architecture; on the plans, elevations, and sections of a number of churches of later date; in the Temple church; in the crypt of St. Giles, Edinburgh; the so-called Arthur's oven, described by Pennant; that most beautiful specimen, the roof of Rosslyn Chapel, and in the numerous round turrets and towers which are scattered broadcast over Scotland.

The ornaments shown on plate 30 are from the west front of Rochester Cathedral, and are identical in character with those of Brechin doorway, on the Clach dearg of Ardvorlich, on the cross of Kells and Clonmacnoise, and other Celtic works. The temples or sacred places of the Druids were also circular, and generally had avenues extending from the outside of the circle, so that the plan was identical with the elevation of the stone crosses; the whole country is dotted with their remains and the plans are so simple and similar that they need little description. Stonehenge has a world-wide fame. The circle at Avebury is 1080 feet in diameter, with two inner circles, each 310 feet in diameter (x). Little Salkeld, 360 feet in diameter, east and west, and 305 feet north and south (y).

Plate 15 shows the plan of the oft-described temple of Callernish. O'Brien, speaking of the temples generally, says:—"A cell to protect the sacred fire was placed in the centre of the circle;" and according to the Iolo MS. the circles should be formed so that a man can stand between each stone except opposite the eastern sun, where the space must be equal to three men, this is called the entrance; in front of which, at a distance of three fathoms, or three times three fathoms, a stone called the station should be so placed as to indicate the eastern cardinal point; to the north of this another stone should be placed so as to face the eye of the rising sun at the longest summer day (z); to the south of it another stone pointing to the position of the rising sun at the shortest day; and in the centre of the circle is a large stone from which the sight lines are taken (aa).

(u) See Keane, Petrie, &c.

(v) With regard to the use of the towers, the same difference of opinion exists. O'Brien's trenchant and not altogether satisfactory work on the subject should be examined by those of the curious whose age and learning will enable them to dispassionately consider the subject under its various aspects.

(w) Hibbert says, "Not unfrequently the tings were concentric; the central area was always occupied by the laugman and those who stood with him, out of whom the duradom was selected, the contending parties, and the computators."

(x) Sir J. G. Wilkinson.

(y) C. W. Dymond.

(z) Mr. W. Beck, writing to the *Times*, 22nd June, 1872, says:—"It is no slight inducement that will take a person into so exposed a situation as Salisbury Plain at the chilling hour of three o'clock in the morning; but unless bad weather prevails, a group of visitors more or less numerous is sure to assemble at that hour of dawn on every 21st of June, there to watch for the rising sun. As the hour approaches they gather to the circles of Stonehenge, from the centre of which, looking north-east, a block of stone set at some distance from the ruin, is so seen as that its top coincides with the line of the horizon, and if no cloud or mist prevent, the sun as it rises on this the longest day in the year will be seen coming up exactly over the centre of the stone known from this circumstance as the "Pointer." Our group of watchers yesterday morning numbered some thirty-five, assembled chiefly from the neighbouring towns; four of them, however, from London, who had walked from Salisbury through the night for the chance of seeing this interesting proof of the solar arrangement of the circles of Stonehenge. As one who has now on several occasions been present, and seen the sun thus come up over the Pointer, and strike its first rays through the central entrance to the so-called altar stone of the ruin, I commend this obvious proof of solar worship in its constructors to those recent theorists who see in Stonehenge only a memorial of a battle or a victory.

(aa) Williams. A gorsedd of the Bards of the Isle of Britain must be held in a conspicuous place; in full view and hearing of country and aristocracy and in the face of the sun, and in the eye of the light; it being unlawful to hold such meetings either under cover at night, or under any circumstances other than while the sun shall be visible in the sky.

CHAPTER V.

"Agus thug iad air an macaibh, agus air an nighneamh dol troimh'n teine : agus ghriathaich iad fosach agus Druideachd" (1 Rion, caib. 17).

The creed of the Celtic race; Phallic worship; serpent worship; Arkite ceremonies; the Druid priests and priestesses; the Jewish nation and the Druids; groves, fountains, crosses, sacred stones; divination; Erval's egg; trial by ordeal; Highland honours; the Callens, and the Celtic system of government; their doctrine and teaching.



searching for the outlines of the ancient religion of Keltland, the most valuable and unprejudiced source of information should be undoubtedly sought for in the MS. of Wales. In England, Scotland, and Ireland the zeal of the churches was directed not so much to the extirpation of the original religion as to its absorption and disguise, so that it is difficult now to recognise any of its original features in the records of those countries (a); but Wales was always the stronghold of Druidism, and a place of refuge for those who disdained the new religion, the old traditions being treasured up and believed in until a very recent period.

The original creed of the Keltic race was undoubtedly pure, and a careful and unprejudiced consideration must lead us to the conclusion that the blessings of God were freely made known to all from the commencement, and were not confined to a particular people, until the wilful blindness of human nature led the greater part of mankind farther and farther into that mental darkness where scientific reasoning and casuistical speculation degenerate into subtle excuses for the unbridled sway of human passion: the great Creator was gradually forgotten, His blessings ascribed to numerous animate and inanimate objects, and His glory and attributes distributed amongst an almost innumerable number of gods and goddesses.

The round towers, as emblems of Phallic (b) worship, are amongst the earliest indications of the departure from the true road; some authors (c), as already mentioned, think that they were built by a race which inhabited Keltland before the Kelts, and that these towers were not destroyed because the Kelts held them in the greatest contempt.

This feeling scarcely seems possible when we consider what theological charity is: the evidence seems to show that the Kelts, amongst many others, were attracted by these doctrines before their migration; that they brought over with them the "tuath de danaan," a tribe of men who were thoroughly versed in all its mysteries (d); so that instead of the doctrines being held in contempt, they had such a lasting hold on the mind of our nation, that traces of the rites and ceremonies are perceptible at the present day (e).

Another form of worship was adoration of the serpent, traces of the mounds erected by the worshippers being still visible near Oban and other places (f), but this was overshadowed by the worship of Noah and the ark; and, imagination running wild, the sun and moon were selected as emblems, the daily manifestation of God's bounty being

(a) Keane gives a numerous lot of transmogrified heathens, the "vera dei himself" being turned into a saint.

(b) This system is still in existence in the Himalaya Mountains; it is the antipodes of, and shines in highly favourable contrast with the Malthusian theory, which is so unblushingly avowed and advocated by many creatures that crawl on the face of the earth at the present day.

(c) Keane, &c.

(d) Hesychius says: The priests of Ceres were of a particular family, called the Shepherd race (Bryant).

(e) Marriage was decided to be the most important rite of the human race; but before the happy couple were united, they had to submit to certain ceremonies and pay certain fees, which added immensely to the power and wealth of the priests; and when the power of the priesthood became weakened, the kings and nobles considered this to be too good a thing to be laid aside.

One of the earliest records of this is in the Psalter of Tara, which states that an annual assembly was held at Tailtean, to which the inhabitants brought their children, when of age, and treated with one another about their marriage, the King of Ulster demanding an ounce of silver from every couple married here (O'Curry). In later times this was known as the Mercheta Mulierum. In the manner of Thurgarton and Horsepool in Co. Nottingham ("Blount's Ancient Tenure," by Beckwith), every naif, or she villain, that took a husband &c., paid merchett for the redemption of her blood, five shillings and four pence, and the daughter of a cottager paid half merchett. Certain lands in the county of Flint are held of the king by services and by ammobrægium, which extended to five shillings when it happened.

Ammobrægium was a pecuniary acknowledgment paid to the king by the tenants or vassals of their lords for liberty of marrying or not marrying.

The "Amobyr" of the Welsh, or "Gwabr merched," signifies the price of a virgin, and was a fine for violence or marriage (Trans. S. A. S., vol. 3).

This fine was imposed, until a late date, in the highlands. Dancing round the maypole is also a relic of Phallic worship.

(f) Iphicrates says, that in Mauritania there were dragons of such extent that grass grew on their backs. Strabo mentions one 80 cubits long and another 140; this clearly referred to the earth serpents.

ascribed to their interference, and an endeavour being made to comprehend the infinite with the finite, the unaided reasoning faculties of our forefathers could only do so by creating numerous emblems, each of which were supposed to influence particular events. These gods, goddesses, and emblems were male and female (*g*), and with regard to the division into sexes surviving testimony seems to indicate that from the earliest to the present time there existed in the Keltic theological mind a fluctuating opinion as to the superiority of the masculine or feminine gender (*h*); but by the survival of the words *Mona* and *Iona* (*i*) it is evident that the feminine goddess of the Arktic mysteries was paramount in the last age of Druidism. A rough sketch has been already given of some of the ceremonies and doctrines of the Keltic priesthood, and later on mention is made of several customs which are clearly relics of the forgotten worship. The ministers of this worship, generally known as Druids, were divided into three classes: the Bards, Druids proper, and Ovates, Vates or Fiadhs; these orders were distinguished by armlets of blue, white, or green, worn over the vestments (*j*), and placed just below the shoulder joint, each member in time of ceremony carrying in his hand a branch made of gold, silver, or bronze, according to the order he belonged to (*k*), the uninitiated students being distinguished by a mixture of three colours: Which of the orders held the highest rank cannot at this time be decided; the Bards were those to whom the dispensation of justice and administration of the laws were entrusted (they were the heralds and historians of their times); the Druids were the officiating priests; and the Fiadhs were the sacred musicians, religious poets and prophets.

The officiating priests were three in number (*l*), the chief priest, carrying a baculus and key as emblems of his rank (*m*), having the supreme direction of the ceremonies. How many of the Fiadhs assisted is uncertain, but from a passage in Ezekiel the number was probably one and twenty (*n*). The vestments worn were of different kinds, each description being appropriated for certain of the seasons and ceremonies of their religion. Those shown on plate 5 are copied from the cross at Clonmacnoise. The nimbus (*o*) shown is the well-known head ornament (probably fastened behind the ears), and may represent the distinguishing badge of a high priest. The hair was shaved off the front part of the head, but allowed to hang down behind in the same manner as that of the Culdees (*p*).

Besides the priests, there were a certain number of priestesses, or sisters, divided into classes like the Druids. Logan says that those who tended the sacred fire (the Inghean an Daghá, daughters of fire; Breochuidh, or fire-keepers) were virgins (*q*), the *élite* of the order. The other classes wove the hangings of the groves (*r*)—no doubt made the vestments—took part in certain ceremonies, and performed the ordinary duties of the household. Henry says that they assisted in the offices, and shared in the honours and emoluments of the priesthood. When Suetonius invaded the island of Anglesea his soldiers were struck with terror at the strange appearance of a great number of these consecrated females, who ran up and down among the ranks of the British army like enraged furies, with their hair dishevelled, and flaming torches in their hands, imprecating the wrath of heaven on the invaders of their country. The Druidesses of Gaul and Britain are said to have been divided into three ranks or classes. Those of

(*g*) *The Sun*: Dwyvan, Hu, Noe, Beli, Bodd, Apollo, Bull, Lion, Serpent, Eagle, Boar, Horse, Graine. *The Moon*: Iona, Dwyvach, Ked, Eeje, Ceridwen, Llad, Awen, Cow, Ceres, Arianrod, Isis, Sow, Mermaid, Fish, Ana, Mare, Andate, Andraste, Neman, Macha, Morrigan, &c.

(*h*) O'Brien says, that a bitter contest between rival factions on this point was the cause of a desperate war, and that the ladies' champion being triumphant a remnant of the defeated were compelled to take refuge in these islands. Welsh tradition (quoted by Davies), however, seems to point out that the superiority of the lady was an innovation which was introduced into these countries some time after the Keltic invasion, and that the doctrine being established, in spite of energetic opposition, or, to use a homely simile, the good man having for the sake of peace and quietness acknowledged the superiority of the good wife (a thing unheard of now-a-days), a subordinate position was assigned to him. Christianity at first reversed this position, for we find St. Anthony expressing strong opinions on the subject; then Mariolatry gradually waxed strong until the revanche brought about the Reformation, and this in its turn, thanks to woman's rights, and ecclesiastical progress may again have to bow to the usurping faction.

(*i*) It is remarkable that this last named island should be called Hu, Hy, or Iona, and that Columba (or dove) should be the name of the first Christian saint connected with it.

(*j*) Williams.

(*k*) O'Curry.

(*l*) They were sometimes called the three lofty cranes.

(*m*) On the sculpture shown in Montfaucon's work, one Druid is shown with a sickle in hand, and a wreath of oak leaves on his head; the other has the nimbus or crescent in his hand. The Indian sculpture (plate 5) shows a garment of the same character as shown in Montfaucon.

(*n*) "Between the porch and the altar were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. (Ezekiel viii. 16.)

(*o*) The nimbus is shown on ancient sculpture in the British Museum. This emblem, we believe, was supposed to possess extraordinary virtue, as it represented the moon and sacred ark in profile.

(*p*) They would also appear to have trimmed their beards in a peculiar manner. "Ye shall not round the corners of your beards. They shall not make baldness upon their heads." (Leviticus xxi. 5.)

(*q*) Some of these were held in such veneration that we find them incorporated with the Roman Church of Ireland; and the sacred fire was kept up until the time of the Reformation.

(*r*) 2 Kings xxiii.

the first class had vowed perpetual virginity, and lived together in sisterhoods, very much sequestered from the world. They were great pretenders of divination, prophecy, and miracles, were highly admired by the people, who consulted them on all important occasions as infallible oracles, and gave them the honourable appellation of senæ—*i. e.*, venerable women. Mela gives a curious description of one of these Druidical nunneries; it was situated on an island in the British sea, and contained nine of these venerable vestals, who pretended that they could raise storms and tempests by their incantations, could cure the most incurable diseases, could transform themselves into all kinds of animals, and foresee future events. But it seems they were not very forward in publishing the things they foresaw, but chose to make some advantage of so valuable a gift; for, it is added, they disclosed the things which they had discovered to none but those who came into their island on set purpose to consult their oracles, and none of these we may suppose would come empty-handed. The second class consisted of certain female devotees, who were, indeed, married, but spent the far greatest part of their time in the company of the Druids, and in the offices of religion, and conversed only occasionally with their husbands, who perhaps thought themselves very happy in having such pious wives.

The third class of Druidesses was the lowest, and consisted of such as performed the most servile offices about the temples, the sacrifices, and the persons of the Druids.

In addition to the temples and towers already mentioned, the charge of the groves, arks, and chariots of the sun, and the preservation of the fountains, sacred stones and crosses were the especial duty of the Druids.

We have already noticed the statement of Diodorus Siculus in reference to the migration of part of the Tuath de Danaan to the province of Judea; we find a remarkable confirmation of this in several passages of scripture; and there is no doubt that the religion therein condemned was the same; several of the ceremonies and customs mentioned agree in a remarkable manner with the little that is known of Druidism, and with regard to the groves we find that the chosen nation "left all the commandments of the Lord their God, and made them molten images, even two calves, and made a grove, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served Baal" (u), "and one of the kings set up a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house," and Josiah, in his zeal against idolatry, "brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, and brake down the houses . . . where the women wove hangings for the grove." These remarkable passages seem to imply that the word grove must mean something more than a row of trees; the hangings clearly point to a piece of furniture or decoration, and the question arises as to whether the grove in the house was a model of the temples or towers, whether it was a kind of tabernacle, and whether the actual temples were ever hung round with drapery (v).

We find also that Josiah "brake down the high places of the gate . . . and he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun . . . and he burned the chariots of the sun with fire." (w). Davies quotes an obscure passage which clearly points to a ceremony much the same as that used by the Egyptians when they discover Osiris; and Tacitus says that the Aviones, &c., had a similar ceremony in honour of Herthum (x).

In the Welsh poem, referred to as being quoted by Davies, the ark, which is drawn out of the waters, was yoked to the yellow ox of the spring which stopped the channel and the bridled ox with the thick head-band; several difficulties had to be overcome; accidents are mysteriously hinted at in the poem, and this legend of the drawing of the ark by the ox from the waters may have been gradually transformed into belief in the existence of the water-horse, water-bull, kelpie, &c., of the present day.

The veneration for fountains (which the Kelts regarded as the emblem of everlasting life) was so strongly grounded in the national belief that they were christianized with the people, were placed under saintly protection, and many retain to this day the reputation they earned two thousand years ago.

(u) 2 Kings.

(v) 2 Kings xxiii.

(w) Logan says the Germans drew presages from the movements of horses . . . they were milk white, and were yoked in a holy chariot and attended by the priest and chief, who carefully marked their actions and neighings.

(x) Plutarch says the Egyptians constructed the ark in the shape of a crescent or new moon . . . Upon the 19th of the month the Egyptians go down at night to the sea, at which time the priests and supporters carry the sacred vehicle; in this is a golden vessel in the form of a ship or boat, into which they take and pour some of the river water; upon this being performed a shout of joy is raised, and Osiris is supposed to be found (Bryant 13. 179). In an island of the ocean was the wood Castum, where there was a chariot dedicated to the goddess, covered with a curtain, and not permitted to be touched but by the priest who watched the time when she entered the car, which was always drawn by cows, and with profound veneration attended its motions. In all places where she deigned to visit were great feasts and rejoicings, and every warlike instrument was then carefully put out of the way, and peace and repose were then proclaimed. When tired of conversation with mortals the same priest re-conducted her to the temple, then the chariot and the curtains, and even the deity herself, if you believe it, adds the historian, were washed and purified in a secret lake. In this office slaves officiated, who were doomed to be afterwards swallowed up in the same lake; hence all men were possessed with a very mysterious terror, as well as with a holy ignorance, what that must be, which none can see, but such as are immediately to perish (Logan).

Of the crosses, there are some remarkably fine specimens still in existence, and a student, by a careful study of the details of those in Ireland, may be able to discover the key to the hitherto hidden Druidical mysteries. The cross at Clonmacnois shows on one side of the intersection a figure, with a baculus in one hand, and something like a key in the other (very much like the Janus or Noah mentioned by Bryant), while on the reverse side is a figure suspended by the armpits, with the arms hanging down (w). The figure with the sceptre may represent the supreme power; but with regard to the suspended figure on the other side, the question as to whether it has reference to Melchisedek, Noah while in the ark, or whether it is a dim foreshadowing of the great sacrifice to come, the present state of our knowledge will not allow us to enter into, but a thorough detailed comparison of these figures, and a diligent search amongst existing MS., may in course of time throw light on the hidden mystery. All that we may at present fairly say is, that the crosses, the figures of which have their arms in a drooping position, and with *mutilated heads*, are pre-Christian; the mutilations are probably of the 9th or 10th century, and they can easily by these tokens be distinguished from the crosses of a later date.

The manner in which these crosses have been preserved shows how powerful a hold the veneration for Druidism had on the popular mind, and the relics of customs, the meaning of which is unknown to those who practise them, will help us to form additional notions as to the religious belief and practices of the Druids.

The use of the cromleachs, and other stones which dot the country, has not yet been decided, and the mystical meaning of the stones with holes in them (probably emblems of Ked), and their use, is still as uncertain. All we know is, that children were passed through them at baptism, and, in later years, lads and lasses would place their arms through and clasp hands in a sort of betrothal, probably symbolical of entering into a new course of life. The stone on which our kings and queens were seated at the coronation is doubtlessly a Druidical relic, the legends connected with it being modified by time.

The most prominent and profitable of the Druidical practices was that of divination and forecast for the superstitious; the ordeal for the detection of the guilty; the religious feasts, at which libations were poured out (and poured in) to attract those who paid attention to the creature comforts; and music and poetry (which were largely used and cultivated) to foster the religious fervour of the impressionable. One of the insignia used by the Druids in divination was the magical stone (x), an admirable specimen of which is the "Clach dearg" of Ardvorlich (plate 12). This stone derives its name from a reddish tinge which appears when it is placed in water, and was celebrated for the wonderful cures that were effected by its means. It has been pronounced by authorities (on account of the ornamentation) to be of Eastern origin; but as it formerly belonged to James Stewart of Baldorran (who came from Ireland about the year 1459), as the enrichment is undoubtedly Keltic, and as there are several specimens of the same character in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, there is no doubt of its Keltic origin.

Our first quotations (Leviticus xix. and xxi.) give us an idea of some of the marks distinguishing the worshippers of Baal from others: "Neither shall ye use enchantments nor observe times; ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard; ye shall not make any *cuttings in your flesh* for the dead, nor print any marks upon you . . . ; they shall not *make baldness upon their head*"; then Josiah "put down the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places"; while this quotation, "them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun and moon, and to the (twelve signs) planets, and to all the host of heaven" (y), reminds one of the Cenn Cruaich and the twelve surrounding stones already referred to as being destroyed by St. Patrick.

Kissing is another ceremony but too briefly referred to, although it is still happily associated with the worship of the mistletoe (z), and is a ceremony from which, we think, safer auguries can be drawn; than from the method of divination practised until lately in the Highlands. In this ceremony the seer was wrapped in the warm hide of a freshly killed cow; he was then laid at full length in the wildest recess of some waterfall, and, after a time, whatever

(w) The attitude and character of these figures, together with the defacement of the heads, were, we believe, first pointed out by Keane.

(x) Sometimes called "gloine nau Druidh," or the Druid's glass or egg.

(y) Josiah also—"burnt the bones of the priests upon their altars, with their mattocks (or mauls) around them." (2 Chron. xxxiv.)

(z) "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness; and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand." (Job xxxi.) "They say of them, let the men who sacrifice (or the sacrifices of men) kiss the calves."

notion came into his head was believed to be communicated by the "daoine sith" (22). Another method was practised on *Hallo'een*. Numerous bonfires were lighted, and the ashes of each collected in a *circular* heap, in which a stone was put near the edge for each person in the hamlet, and the individual whose stone happened to be displaced by the following morning was regarded as *fey*—i.e., one whose days were numbered, and not expected to survive twelve months (23).

The gift of second sight, or "Taibsearachd," is a well-known kind of foresight, or prophetic instinct, which can scarcely be classed as a method of divination. It is of questionable use to its owner; its very existence has been denied, but numerous well-authenticated accounts confirm the fact that "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our modern philosophy."

The trial by ordeal was another kind of divination. The person accused had to rub his or her tongue on a red-hot adze of bronze, or to melted lead, the metal being first heated on a fire of *blackthorn* or *rowan*.

Two other forms of ordeal are referred to in the "Banquet of Dun n'Gedh." The first must refer to the use of the logan stone.

"A stone which is at Dun da Iacha
Is worth its weight of bright gold;
It moves not at falsehood without betraying it,
And a murderer cannot move it."

The second is some test with horses, the nature of which is not explained. "My steeds, too, of beautiful appearance, never will move at falsehood, but they move with fair truth; their movement is quick and agile."

Brief notice has already been taken of the feasts and drinking customs of the Druids; and the ceremony which at the present time is called "Highland Honours" may possibly be a relic of the time when the devotee, placing his foot or springing on to the sacred stone, raised the "cuach" on high, and consecrated a toast to the honour of his patron god or goddess. The favourite was *Mona* (*Ioua*, *Iona*). Scripture shows that most of these feasts seem to have been held in her honour. *Jeremiah* says: "The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough to make cakes to the *queen of heaven*, and pour out *drink offerings* unto other gods;" and at another time the women of *Judah* reproachfully exclaim, "When we burned incense to the *queen of heaven*, and poured out *drink offerings* to her, did we make her cakes to worship her, and pour out *drink offerings* to her without our men?"

In the earliest ages of Christianity the customs arising from the ancient religion were so universal that we find no notice taken of them, and it is only in comparatively modern times when the various customs were confined to remote localities that this deviation from the ordinary use and wont attracted the attention of the curious stranger.

In 1636 *Warde* says healths were drunk "on bare knees"; and *Frank Buckland* mentions that an ancestor of a friend of his assisted in distributing cheese, bread, and beer to the Highlanders after the retreat from *Derby* in 1745, and that they thanked her in Gaelic, "on their knees, when leaving." *Armstrong* says another custom was to "drink over the left thumb;" and, at a jovial meeting, if any man retired even for a short time, on his return he was obliged, before he resumed his seat, to apologise in rhyme. If he could or did not, he had to pay such portion of the reckoning as the company might decide on; it was called the *beannachd* a *bhàird*. *McPherson* says (1768) when the *Hebridian* chiefs and captains returned home after a successful expedition they summoned their friends to a grand entertainment; bards and *seanachies* flocked in from every quarter; *pipers* and *harpers* had a right to appear.

These entertainments were wild and cheerful, nor were they unattended with the pleasures of the sentiments

(22) We need scarcely say that the "daoine sith" exercised great influence in Highland affairs, and brought good or ill fortune to those who were respectful or otherwise to the good people.

"Gin ye ca' me fairey,
I'll work ye muckle tarry;
Gin ye ca' me imp or elf,
I rede ye well look to yourself.

"Gin gude neighbour ye ca' me,
Then gude neighbour I will be;
But, gin ye ca' me *seelie* wight,
I'll be your friend baith day and night."

The *Banshee* was a spirit, whose thrice-repeated scream warned mortals of their approaching end.

(23) *Armstrong*, speaking of a custom of his time, says:—"A fire was lighted, a sort of custard of eggs and milk was dressed, and an oatmeal cake prepared. When the former was discussed, the cake was divided into pieces corresponding to the number of persons present, and one bit being blackened, the whole were put into a cap, and each individual drew one. The one who had the misfortune to fall upon the black piece was the victim to be sacrificed to *Baal* to propitiate his genial influence for a productive season (the unfortunate wight having to jump three times over the fire). This clearly points to a time when the ceremony was of a different character." "And they caused their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire, and used divination and enchantments." (2 Kings xvi.; 1 Kings xviii. 26-28; *Jeremiah* xlv. 19.) In *Derbyshire* on *New Year's Eve* they had a cold posset of milk, ale, currants, eggs, and spice, and the gude wife's wedding ring is placed in it, and each tries to fish it up, to see who will be married first.

and unrefined taste of the times. The barrels sang and the young women danced; the trunks of trees, covered with moss, were laid in the order of a table from one end of the hall to the other; whole deer and beeves were roasted and laid before them on rough boards, or hurdles of rods wove together. Their pipers played while they sat at table, and silence was observed by all. After the feast was over they had *ludicrous entertainments, of which some are still acted in the Highlands*. Then the females retired, and the old and young warriors sat down in order from the chieftain according to their proximity in blood to him. The harp was then touched, the song was raised, and the *sliga crèchin*, or the drinking shell, went round. Brande says (1793) in Edinburgh they drank immoderately to save the ladies (a very gallant and delicate attention, no doubt).

The earliest mention we have been able to find of these customs as Highland honours is in 1821, when Sir Walter Scott took the chair at a meeting of the Keltic Society:—one of the toasts, singularly enough, being "Gleggarry, and the Society of True Highlanders" (*cc*), and as the report brings up memories of *auld lang syne* we give the following extracts:—"On Friday, the 19th ult., the third general meeting of the Keltic Society was held, Sir W. Scott in the chair, supported by McDonald of Gleggarry, McLeod of McLeod, Lord Rollo, General Leslie Cumming, Lieut-General Graham Stirling, Campbell of Melford, McKenzie of Strathgarve, McDonald of Boisdale, Captain Barclay, R.N., Captain Davidson of Hatton, &c."

The report, which contains a spirited speech by the chairman in favour of the Highland dress, concludes as follows:—"There is something so graceful and novel in the costume, so animating and elevating in the topics with which it is connected, and something so hearty and rapturous in the *Highland honours* which follow the toast, that the natural buoyancy and cheerfulness of the character, so opposite to notions of it entertained by strangers, triumphantly burst forth in a perfect jubilee of loud and innocent joyousness" (*Edinburgh Star*, 1821). The exact words used on that occasion are not mentioned, but the manner of giving the toast at the Club of True Highlanders is this:—The warden and piper stand at attention, the toast is given, the liquor is tasted, and the glass replaced on the table; the chief and members then place one foot on the chair and the other on the table, and pronounce the following:—

"*Suas e, Suas e, Suas e! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!*
West with it, west with it, west with it! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Sios e, Sios e, Sios e! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
East with it, east with it, east with it! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Nis, nis, nis! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Now, now, now! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!"

the piper striking in at the last with a bar or two of music. The glasses are not smashed; the members originally, we believe, used the cuach of yew and the drinking shell. Now, in carefully analysing the arrangement of the words, we find that there are three expressions, repeated three times; with three hurrahs after each expression has been repeated three times (*dd*).

(*cc*) Sir Walter Scott, in 1829, thus describes a festival of the Keltic Society at which he presided:—"In the evening I presided at the annual festival of the Keltic Club. I like this society, and willingly give myself to be excited by the sight of handsome young men with plaids and claymores, and all the alertness and spirit of Highlanders in their native garb. There was the usual degree of excitement, excellent dancing, capital songs—a general inclination to please and be pleased. . . . We had many guests, some of whom—English officers—seemed both amused and surprised at our wild ways, especially at the dancing without ladies, and the mode of drinking favourite toasts by springing up with one foot on the bench and one on the table." In a letter written some years before the above he says:—"Besides all this, I have before my eyes the terrors of a certain Highland association who dine bonneted and killed in the old fashion."

(*dd*) At the meeting of the Highland Society of London the honours are thus mentioned in the *Illustrated London News* of 1871:—"The foot is placed on the table; the words given are:

"*Suas e, Suas e, Suas e! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!*
Up with it, up with it, up with it! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Sios e, Sios e, Sios e! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Down with it, down with it, down with it! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Sho a dhuibh, Sho dhuibh, Sho dhuibh! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Here's to you, here's to you, here's to you! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
S'ud a dhuibh, S'ud a dhuibh, S'ud a dhuibh! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
There's to you, there's to you, there's to you! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
A'nis, A'nis, A'nis! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Now then, now then, now then! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
A'riste, A'riste, A'riste! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Again, again, again! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Sguab as e, Sguab as e, Sguab as e! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!
Quaff it off, Quaff it off, Quaff it off! Hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!"

With this last exclamation, having drained his glass, each jovial Highlander throws it behind him over the left shoulder, and there is a glorious smash on the floor all round the table." We are of opinion that the words "Sho dhuibh," "S'ud a dhuibh," "A'riste," "Sguab as e," and the custom of breaking glasses are additions to the primitive manner.

The words *suas* and *sios* are generally supposed to mean up and down, but if we take the other and correct meaning of the words in this case, we at once see the meaning of the formula. "To the west with it," then "To the east with it," *i.e.*, the toast is to go *Deis-iuil*, or the prosperous way—*i.e.*, the way of the sun; each man, while pronouncing the words, uncovering and waving his bonaid sunways. And what then? The Druids, when they wished prosperity to anything, marched three times round their temple sunways, from east to the west, and from west to the east. A person, to express thanks for favours received, would walk round the benefactor three times sunways; the fisherman before commencing his voyage would row round three times sunways. The custom was observed round the new-born babe, round houses with a burning brand as a protection from fire, and round the grave at "the last scene of all." So that the whole resolves itself into a solemn invocation after the Druidical fashion.

Of the Druidical theory as to a future state we know very little; but we may assume, with some, that they believed in the transmigration of the soul, or, as we are inclined to believe, that they looked for a resurrection of the spirit. The Keltic hell (*Ifrinn*) was a cold, dark place, abounding in venomous reptiles, wolves, and other wild animals, but whether this was the early notion or was the imagining of a later theology we leave to the decision of the reader.

The gentle reader will be enabled to see by the foregoing extracts that the various rites and ceremonies, which in the earliest ages were so attractive as to seduce the Jewish nation from their allegiance from time to time, have to this day left their imprint on the amusements of the people of this country; and without further ado we will proceed to the consideration of a purer dispensation.

We have indirect evidence that the Druidical influence was greatly weakened by a revolt against the great power they possessed, and the unscrupulous manner in which they used it, and thus the way was prepared for an assault on their theology. One of the first to attack the Druidical superstition of North Keltland was Columba (*ce*), who, aided by a staff as energetic as himself, succeeded in planting ministers in various parts of the country, and these (afterwards known as the Culdees) carried on the good work that he started.

The church of Iona was—partly owing to the sanctity of Columba, and partly owing to reverence for the old holy places—looked upon as the leading church; but the others were planted on the Keltic system, each group of ministers being attached to a clan, and generally taking possession of the lands of their predecessors. Dr. Reeves (*ff*) says that, besides the colleges in west and south, records show that in the north they had establishments at St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, Brechin, Rosemarkie, Dunblane, Iona, Argyle, Lochleven, Abernethy, Monymusk, Muthill, Monieth, Dornoch, and Lismore, most of them previously well known as seats of Druidical learning.

The *Senchus Mór*, although tinged with the later religious culture, clearly points out the manner in which the lands were held (*gg*); and the manner in which the succession to the head of the church was regulated was this: Firstly, if the land was granted to one who was not a member of the clan, the clan of the founder shall succeed to the church as long as there shall be a person fit to be an abbot of the *said* clan of the founder, even though this should be but a psalm singer of them—it is they that will obtain the abbacy.

Whenever there is not one of that clan fit to be an abbot, it is to be given to the clan to whom the land belongs until a person fit to be an abbot of the clan of the founder shall be qualified, and when he is, it is to be given to him, if he be better than the abbot of the clan to whom the land belongs, and who has taken it. If he is not better, it is only in his turn he shall succeed. If a person fit to be an abbot has not come of the clan of the founder, nor of the clan to whom the land belongs, the abbacy is to be given to one of the "fine manach" (*hh*) until a person fit to be an abbot of the clan of the founder, or of the clan to whom the land belongs, should be qualified; and when there is such a person, the abbacy is to be given to him, in case he is better (*i.e.*, the better man).

Should the foregoing not be qualified, the annoit church (*ii*) shall receive it; then the *dalta* church (*jj*); then a *comparche* (*kk*); then a cill church; lastly, a pilgrim or hermit would be entitled to the office, the community failing to obtain any qualified person from the others. If the clan of the founder, and the clan which grants the land, is the same, the following is the succession: the founder, the land, the mild monk, the annoit church, the *dalta* of fine vigour, the *comparche*, and the pilgrim or hermit.

(*ce*) He doubtless adopted this name as being the title of the Druid he supplanted.

(*ff*) Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, Volume III.

(*gg*) And this was evidently the ancient custom, even in those days.


















(*hh*) Monkish clan.

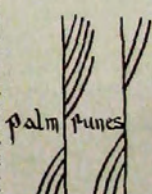
(*ii*) Mother church.

(*jj*) A church dedicated to the same founder.

(*kk*) A church under the same discipline.—*Senchus Mór*.

Leabhar Comunn nam Fíor Shíel.
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)

Pines.				Gaelic Letter	English Letter	Letter names in Highlands	Contractions in Irish Gaelic: (Eiginnna Muadh 1816)
Aithdeat Ogham: (O'DONOVAN)	Baird: (DAVIES)	Early Br. (STEPHENS)	Early Br. (STEPHENS)				
	Y	†		Z			z = cpd; c = cp; p = ph
	V		P	Y			ad = adp; g = ea; r = rr
	U		P	X			q = apr; ead = eadp; r = sh
	T		P	W			z = au; f = fh; n = si
	S		P	V			z = am; s = sh; e = sh
	R		P	U	U	Heather	z = agur; j = idp; n = nn
	Q		P	T	T	Whin	q = ar; i = ish
	P		P	S	S	Willow	v = bh; m = mh
	O		P	R	R	Elder	bf represents sounds . . . bh
	N		P	Q			ae . . . é . . . cc . . . g . . . df . . . d
	M		P	P	P	Little B	de . . . d . . . go . . . g . . . ln . . . ll
	L		P	O	O	Broom	mb . . . m . . . mf . . . m . . . pd . . . n
	K		P	N	N	Ash	pb . . . b . . . ep . . . e . . . ee . . . d
	J		P	M	M	Vine	fr . . . j . . . fd . . . f . . . fde . . . je
	I		P	L	L	Wildash	~~~~~: úr; . . . j . . . ~~~~~
	H		P	K			~~~~~
	G		P	J			~~~~~
	F		P	I	I	Jew	
	E		P	H	H	Whitehorn	
	D		P	G	G	Ivy	
	C		P	F	F	Alder	
	B		P	E	E	Aspen	
	A		P	D	D	Oak	
	Y		P	C	C	Hazle	
	T		P	B	B	Birch	
	S		P	A	A	Elm	
	R		P				
	Q		P				
	P		P				
	O		P				
	N		P				
	M		P				
	L		P				
	K		P				
	J		P				
	I		P				
	H		P				
	G		P				
	F		P				
	E		P				
	D		P				
	C		P				
	B		P				
	A		P				



Miss Howe: aow.
 P A P A R Y
 F U T H O R K
 * H I A I
 H N I A S T
 B A T A A T
 B M L Y E E

Berch-lus-nun-or: Bitch-lusean-an.
 B.L.N.S.F.P.D.T.C.W.S.P.A.O.U.E.I.

NG
 EA
 OI
 IA
 AO

VARIATIONS BY DEGRAVES
 ST
 ORY
 ORP
 C.O.R.X.,
 CH,ACH,UCH.

X NG: F E:
 A Ü: P TH
 Y YO: Y EA:
 X E P ME

The superior was first called "cenn" (head) (*H*); the corporation consisted of a prior and five brethren; the celebration of divine offices was discharged by them; skill in music and eloquence in preaching were considered necessary qualifications for the office of prior, which, subject to these conditions, was in their election. They repaired the church, relieved the poor, and under license could hear confession.

The doctrines preached by these men, we have every reason to believe, were much the same as those of the Protestant faith, but the semi-independent position they held under the Celtic system of government was directly antagonistic to the pretensions of the Church of Rome; and it is evident that the principal reason for their effacement in the north and south was their sturdy resistance to the discipline and domination of the foreign church (*mm*). The inhabitants of the west, however (strangely enough), quietly submitted to the Sasunnach religion, which has since obtained so powerful a hold on the affections of the people that it is regarded by them as the original Simon Pure. All traces of the Culdees, as a separate organization, were lost in the 11th century in England, in the 13th in Wales, in the 14th in Scotland, and in the 16th in Ireland; the clannish feeling of the Celtic race no doubt exercised a somewhat softening influence on the strictness of the Romish rule, but the ecclesiastical history of the Highlands after that date presents no noteworthy departure from the doctrines paramount from time to time in the other parts of the empire.

Of the established Church of Scotland, broadening out from its Kirk sessions of elders and deacons to the Presbytery, with its clergy and representative elders; the Synod of the combined Presbyteries, and the General Assembly with its representative of the Sovereign, its moderator and representatives; we can only hope that it may long withstand the assaults of the advocates of the so-called religious equality (*nn*); and we cannot do better than close this chapter with the words of the late Norman McLeod:—"The manse and glebe of that Highland parish were a colony which ever preached sermons, on week-days as well as Sundays, of industry, frugality, of a courteous hospitality, and a bountiful charity; and the domestic peace, contentment, and cheerfulness of a holy Christian home"; words which, although referring to the spot he loved so well, can be applied to an overwhelming majority of the homes of those who, whether Established, Episcopalian, or Free; form, at the present day, whenever they lay aside the failings and jealousies of frail humanity, an army of Christian soldiers worthy of any nation.

(*H*) The annals of Ulster relate (about 1164) that a deputation of the chiefs of the family of Ia, consisting of Austin, the archpriest; Dubhsidhe, the lecturer; McGilladuff, the recluse; Mac Forcellaigh, *head* of the Ceib-né, and such as were of eminence in the island, waited on the Abbot of Derry, and invited him to accept the abbacy of their church.—*Rever.*

(*mm*) David I. (1124—53) was an energetic *improver* of the Culdees; some few were pensioned off, but the majority were stamped out—the Culdees at Lockleven, for example, were bundled out, and the confiscators took possession of a Pastorale or Ritual; or Gradual or Antiphonary; a Missal or liturgy book; an origo or origine; the Sentencie of St. Bernard; a treatise on the sacrament in three staves; a portion of the vulgate Bible; Lectionarium; or book of epistles and gospels; the Acts of the Apostles; the four gospels; Prospero; three books of Solomon; Glosses of Solomon's Song; *Dictionary*; Exposition of Genesis and excerpts of Ecclesiastical Rules.

(*nn*) Religious equality has, in the present day, become with some a "fetiche" to which they would—Judas-like—sacrifice even the honour and name of God.

CHAPTER VI.

"Philleamaid le's seilig tra-nón.
 Gu Teamhra' cheimhor man teud.
 An bu lionmhor croit is clar.
 'Sioma' bard a sheinneadh sgeol."
 (*Bar Ostaín.*)

"Drinking horns with handsome handles; curved drinking horns; inclining drinking horns; horns for carousing; drinking horns for the banquet; drinking horns for distribution; fully prepared drinking horns for quaffing mead; variegated drinking horns with their peaks."—
 (*Book of Rights.*)

The ancient musical instruments of the Kelts—the horn, the *carnyx gaulois*, the *stuc*, the *charter horn*, the *bugle horn*, the *powder and drinking horn*; the *harp*, its various names and shapes; the *Queen Mary*, *Lamont*, *O'Brien*, *O'Neil*, *Carolan*, *Fitzgerald*, and other harps. Harpers and tuning.

ANCIENT writers lay particular stress on the musical skill of the Keltic priesthood, the members of which were described as possessing extraordinary skill as harpers; and, as the musicians took a most active and prominent part in the religious ceremonies of the Kelts, we will next consider the various types of instruments in use in early times, and endeavour to trace the connection between the ancient instruments and the remains of those which have been preserved to the present day.

Giraldus Cambrensis mentions the *cithara timpan* and *chorus* as being the musical instruments of north Keltland; but whether the word *chorus* referred to the bagpipes or to the instrument depicted on the cross of Clonmacnois (fig. 4, plate 17) we are not certain. On the ancient sculpture already mentioned, the kilted men are playing on the harp (fig. 7, plate 19), the tom-tom, and the two pipes; and on the cross of Clonmacnois (in addition to the harper and the pipe-player already mentioned), there is another figure, which, as far as we are able to judge, is represented as playing on a tom-tom in the same manner as on the sculpture already referred to.

We will not enter into a discussion as to the antiquity of the horn, as numerous references to its uses—religious and secular (a)—have been made in all ages. The horn was used in Keltland for numerous purposes; was made of wood, the natural horn, and of various metals; the commonest was the natural horn, which was used as a signal of danger (b), for attracting the attention of the herd, and for the numerous occasions when sound had to be conveyed to a considerable distance (c), a matter of great importance in a densely-wooded country.

Plate 18 shows a very fine specimen of a drinking horn; the legend sets forth that it belonged to a McDonald, and the drawing was made from the original (or from an admirable copy), which is now in the possession of Messrs. Glen, of Edinburgh.

Williams says there were three trumpet processions: the gathering of a country, according to the heads of families and chiefs of clans, the horn of harvest, and the horn of war. In plate 17 are a number of horns, but whether they were used indiscriminately for peace or war we cannot say. Fig. 1 is an admirable specimen of workmanship, made of thin bronze, riveted together with fine rivets down the centre of the inside curve; it only weighs 1½ pounds. The circular end A is beautifully hammered and embossed. Fig. 2 has an oval mouth-piece at the side; it would appear to have been carried by a strap passing over the shoulder, and may have been used as an accompaniment to others; this is supposed to be the "Stuc." Figs. 3 and 5 are depicted on several coins, and in consequence of being different in shape to those of surrounding nations they have been called the *carnyx gaulois* (d). The

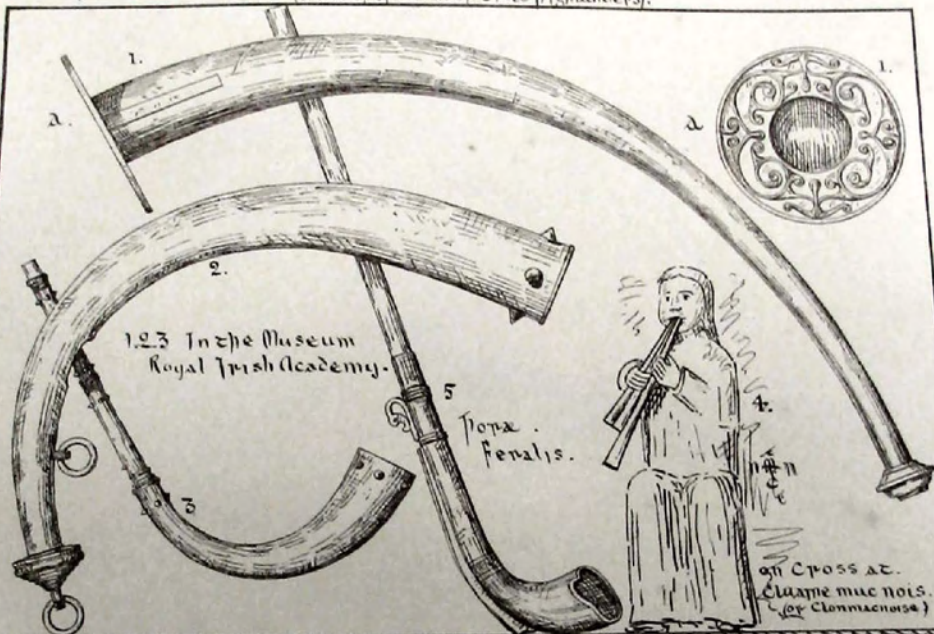
(a) Hezekiah "set the Levites in the house of the Lord with cymbals, with psalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David . . . and the Levites stood with the instruments of David, and the priests with the trumpets . . . and when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also with the trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by David King of Israel. And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded: and all this continued until the burnt offering was finished. And when they had made an end of offering, the king and all that were present with him bowed themselves and worshipped."—2 Chron. 29.

(b) The horn given thee by Urien with the wreath of gold around its rim, blow in it if thou art in danger. . . . Around are heard the curved horns.—*Book of Anurán.*

(c) It was used in the Highlands to signal the approach of the gauger to those who made a wee drappie on the sly.

(d) Lagoy.

Leathar Comunn nam fíor Sháel
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)



B.



C.



C.



B.



B.B.B.

Snuff horns ac

CC. Snuff horn belongs to the Duc of York

Ar dverlich:

Inches.



The "Mrs Gregor Horn"
Belongs to Lady Helen Mrs Gregor of Mrs Gregor.



Horn belonging to Capt. Colin McKenzie.

Leabhar Comunn nam fìor Shìel.
Book of the Club of True Highlanders.

H O R N S

Horn formerly belonging to a M^d Donald.
Inscription on edge "AL.MYTRIST.IS.IN.YE.LORD"



Detail A.C.A.



Section B.B.



Reverse Panel: Full Size.
Horn C



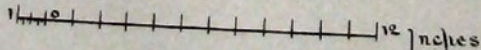
b:



a:



powderhorn in Cover.



sacred horns (*e*) were often made of gold and silver. A very valuable specimen, richly decorated with figures of animals, was formerly in the museum at Copenhagen.

When the power of the Druids was broken, the use of the sacred horn was discontinued, and those only survived which were retained for the amusement of the people, for use in the chase, and for purposes of war (*f*). They were slung by a strap, or two or three plies of chain, and, being decorated according to the rank of the owner, were frequently given in the place of a charter, or as an authority to hold land or office.

Plate 29 shows a natural horn, which was used at Drummond Castle until the middle of the 16th century to signal the service of dinner to the inmates; others were used for sounding, and also as drinking cups. A fine specimen of this class, with a stopper for screwing in, when the horn is used for drinking (plate 17), is in the possession of Captain Colin McKenzie; the silver mounting is modern, but the date carved on the horn is 1587. Another of an unmistakable convivial character is called the whistle-horn; this was tapering with a whistle at the taper end, and each person drinking had to drain it dry (*g*), so that the whistle would sound clearly. A specimen of this class is in the possession of Mr. Davie, but we had no time to make a drawing of it during our visit. The Kavanagh Charter Horn (plate 29) is mounted for use at the table, and is very much like the Pusey Horn. The legs are fitted into sockets, so that when removed the horn could be used for sounding. It is mounted in brass, and has for inscription, "Tigernanus O'Lavan me fecit I.H.S.", and is at present in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. When, in consequence of the invention of firearms, a store of powder had to be carried, the horns in many cases were converted for the use of the "villainous saltpetre," a number of which were especially made in the 17th century. The celebrated McGregor horn is shown on plate 17, and on plate 18 is a small flask made of deer horn, one end being for coarse powder, and the other for fine (*h*). It was slung by a cord, and had also a slide to slip inside the belt. Owing to the introduction of cartridges, the horn has returned to its duty as a drinking flask, and the modern ones being generally imitations of ancient specimens, no further description is required.

Sketches were made of the specimens at Drummond Castle, at the museum of Mr. Isles, Blairgowrie, &c. One sketch of a horn, formerly belonging to the McLeans, of Coll, was kindly forwarded by Mr. Carmichael, and the largest we have seen is with Mr. Davie, of St. Fillans; and those illustrated were selected as representatives of the art of the period, in order to avoid crowding the book with an unmeaning repetition of otherwise admirable specimens of artistic handiwork.

The harp in point of antiquity is the next for consideration, and is the instrument which undoubtedly held the place of honour in "cottage and ha'" in former days; but, probably owing to the so-called progress in musical science, the simple, inexpensive, and portable harp, which was admirably fitted for, and probably gave rise to, the ancient scale of music, had to give place to other instruments, which necessarily were larger, heavier, and more costly. These in their generation had to give place to the harpsichord, pianoforte, &c., until at last all knowledge of the position that the harp undoubtedly held in the estimation of our ancestors was nearly blotted out. The researches of Burney, Gunn, Walker, Bunting, and others, preserved the leading features of the instrument, but the greatest doubt still exists as to its original form and capacity, owing to the words crot, cruit, clar, clarsichoe, clarsheach, Keirmine, cionar,—cruit, creamhtine cruit, Teylin, &c., being generally translated harp. The harp in its present shape is essentially a Celtic instrument—it is undoubtedly of high antiquity (*i*). Another stringed instrument was in use in ancient times, but whether the term "cruit" refers to the same instrument as that described as harp, and whether

(*e*) The Helstone Ferry and the chants sung in the church tower of Magdalene College were accompanied by horn blowing; and although the origin of the custom is lost, it is doubtless an echo of Druidical worship.

(*f*) The translator of "Froissart," speaking of the Scots, in the quaint old language of the time, says:—"They made a merueilus great bruit wth blowing of hornes all at ones."

(*g*) When a guest was placed in his seat he was obliged by the fashion of the land to drain off a draught of the water of life out of a large family cup, or shell. He had no sooner finished that potion than he was presented with a crooked horn (holding about an English quart of ale). If he drank that off at a time he had great praise.—*McPherson* (1768).

A. Baron, "The shrill blower of Cadgryn, the ample mead horns," Llyw Ben Twrch (1450)—*Williams*.
The sentry had to deliver all he had to communicate in extempore rhymes. A large horn full of spirituous liquor stood always beside him to strengthen his voice and keep up his spirits. It is little more than half a century since this custom was last observed in an old tower belonging to a chieftain, whose estate lay in one of the remotest Western Islands.—*McPherson* (1768).

(*h*) In an inventory taken in the first year of Edward VI.'s reign—"One horne for goone powder, garnished with silver; three grete flasks, covered with velvet, and three lytle touche boxes; a grete flask, varnished and paynted; and a touche box, graven and gilded" (*i.e.*, a small box for fine powder).

(*i*) The earliest delineation in this country is possibly that on the cross at Monifieth (fig. 8). Gerbert gives a drawing of an English harp from a MS. of the 9th century. Another form shown is from an old MS. (fig. 1). Harp pins, exactly the same as those used in the Q.M. harp, have been found in the crannogs.

the harp is the instrument described as "clarsichoe" in later days, is still an undecided question. O'Curry, who had deeply studied the subject, says that in the earliest MS. in which reference to the cruit or croit is made it is called "coirethairchuir"—i.e., the instrument of four beaks or points. Soon after, in the same MS., the mouths of croit, and bellies, and pipes are mentioned (j) in connection with the same instrument. Another MS. says that "a croit" without a "ceis" is like a croit without a "gles" (or tuning). This word, "ceis," fairly staggers O'Curry. It was evidently out of date at the time when the copies of the legend were made, and none of the transcribers can explain the meaning of the word (k). In endeavouring to explain the word, they call it the little pin; a small croit played with the large one; a nail on which the strings, called lethrind, were fastened; and another and most likely definition was "cebhla," or movable. Diodorus Siculus says that the ancient harps were like lyres, and we think that the croit mentioned was not a harp at all, but was like that shown on plate 19, figs. 3 and 4 (l), an instrument with four beaks or points, held with one hand, and played with the other. The lower part would be the sounding-board, and the strings at the comb or neck would pass in front of the sounding-board, and be secured at the bottom to a movable "ceis," which by tightening or loosening the strings produced the different scales or descriptions of music before mentioned. It will be seen that this "ceis" stands in front of the sounding-board in much the same manner as the tail-piece of a violin, and, being movable, would answer the last definition. The instrument from the cross at Clonmacnoise (fig. 3) clearly shows that the lower part projected in front of the other part, but this appears to have had a much smaller number of strings. This, however, is no guide, as the difference of the material in which the instrument is represented would account for this discrepancy. Fig. 5 is enlarged from a photograph, kindly forwarded by Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen. The upper part is in shadow, so that the detail is not very clear; but if the instrument is (as we imagine) upside down, there was probably a ceis to it like those of figs. 3 and 4.

The figure in the MS. represents King David, and the other figure on the cross undoubtedly represents some priest of the old religion; but we leave abler heads to decide whether this instrument was the one used by ecclesiastics, or whether it was the forerunner of the "crowd" (m).

On the cover of an Irish missal in the library of Stowe two instruments are shown (n); two are mentioned in the quotation at the commencement of this chapter, and this distinction in name was maintained until a late period (o), but we cannot, as before mentioned, say whether the cruit and the clarsichoe are the same, or whether the clarsichoe and the harp differ only in the nature of the strings (p), or whether the clarsichoe was a long harp like the Carolan or O'Neil harps (plates 20 and 22), strung with brass wires, and the harp an instrument like the Queen Mary's, the Lamont, and the O'Brien (plates 20, 21, and 22).

Several other stringed instruments are mentioned in the various manuscripts, but it is a matter of doubt whether their precise form will ever be determined. O'Curry's translation of an Irish MS. gives an idea of the almost incredible wealth bestowed by the Kelts on the decoration of the cruit: "Cruits of gold and silver and Findruine, with figures of serpents and birds and greyhounds upon them, according as the strings vibrated, ran around them."

The Kelts, in addition to ornamenting the harp, decorated the harp bags. "This was the condition of these (cruits): there were cruit bags of the skins of otters about them, ornamented with coral (partaing), with an ornamentation of gold and silver over that, lined inside with snow-white roebuck skins, and these again overlaid with black-grey stripes, and linen cloths, as white as the swans coat, wrapped round the strings."

The form of the Highland harp, as far as we have been able to trace it, has always been the same. One

(j) A croit had been carried away by the enemy, and it was discovered hanging in the hall of the foe. The Daghdha (or chief Druid) then called the croit from the walls, saying, "Come, Dardabla; come, Coirethairchuir; come, Samh; come, Gamb; from the mouths of harps, and bellies, and pipes."

(k) The legend was transcribed from time to time.

(l) Fac-simile of a MS. in the British Museum.

(m) O'Curry, if we mistake not, thought that the timpan was the forerunner of the crowd.

(n) Fergusson. The harp shown on the sculpture already mentioned (plate 19) differs little in shape from the harp proper.

(o) 1502, April 4th. Pasch tisday.

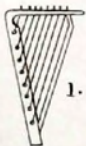
"To Pate harper on the harp	- - - -	XIIIjs.
To Pate harper on the clarscha	- - - -	XIIIjs.
To James Mylson, harper	- - - -	XIIIjs.
To the Ireland clarscha	- - - -	XIIIjs.
To the English harper	- - - -	XIIIjs."

The Ersch clarscha was distinguished from the Ireland clarscha, for we find that in 1597 42s. were paid for a case to an Ersch clarscharis harp. (p) Unknown MS., 1597: "The strings of the clarsichoe are of brass wyar, and the strings of the harpe of sinewes, which strings they strike either with their nayles, growing long, or else with an instrument appointed for that use."

Leabhar Comunn namhfor Shíael
(Book of the Cluth of Erue Highlanders)

Cruid is Claz

Harps: etc.



1.

M. S. B. Museum.
Claudius: B. 4.



2.

at Keil.
(Stuart)



4.



5.

Hillesstad Portal
Romania: 1150



6.

On Cross at
Clonmacnois.



6.

M. S. B. 13th Cent.
1423.

Irish M. S. Restored full size
original: figure original.



7.

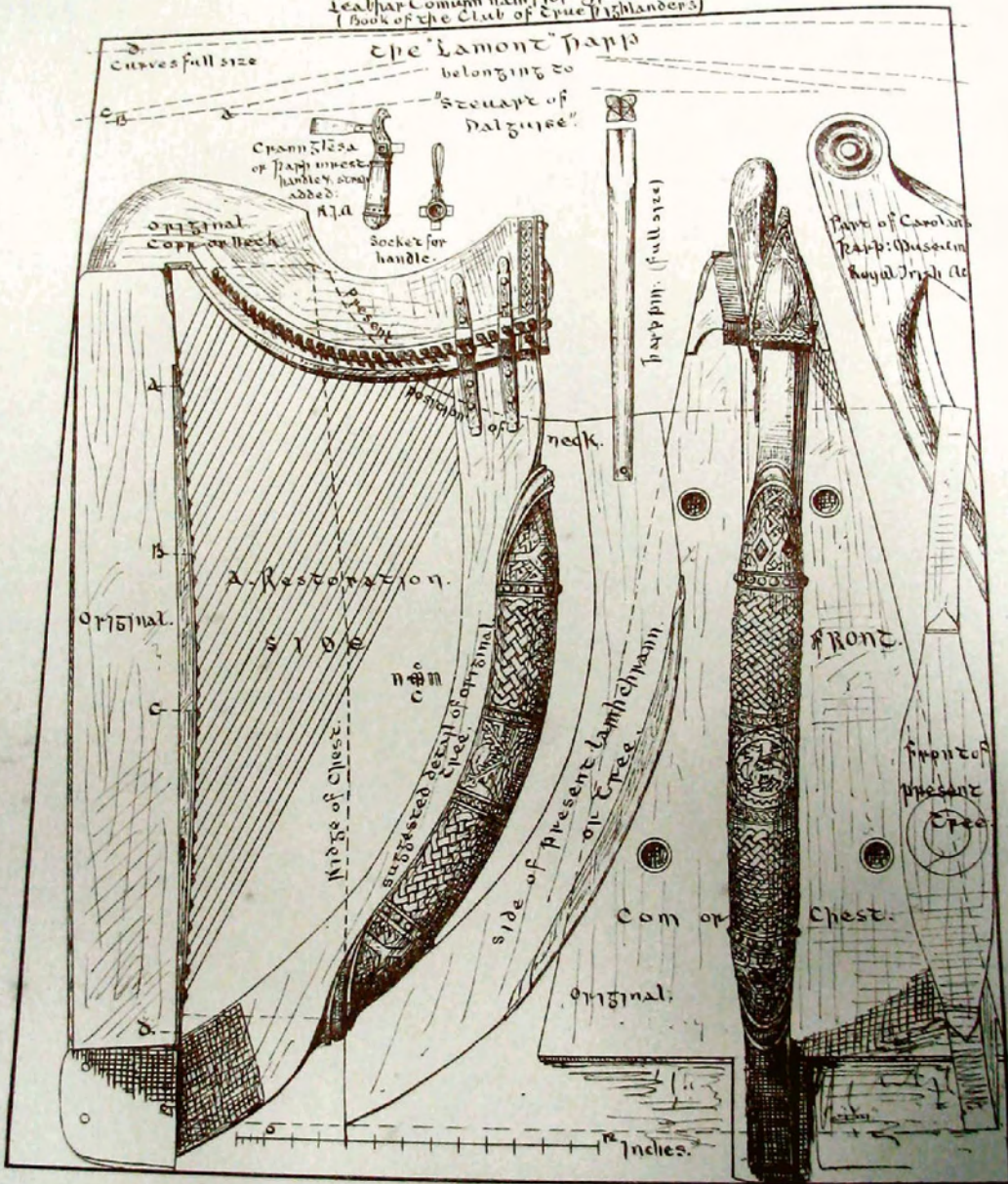
from Buddhist Monastery.
India in B. Museum.



8.

at Donifreeh.
(Stuart)

Leather Comum nam for Spael
(Book of the Club of Epue Fishlanders)

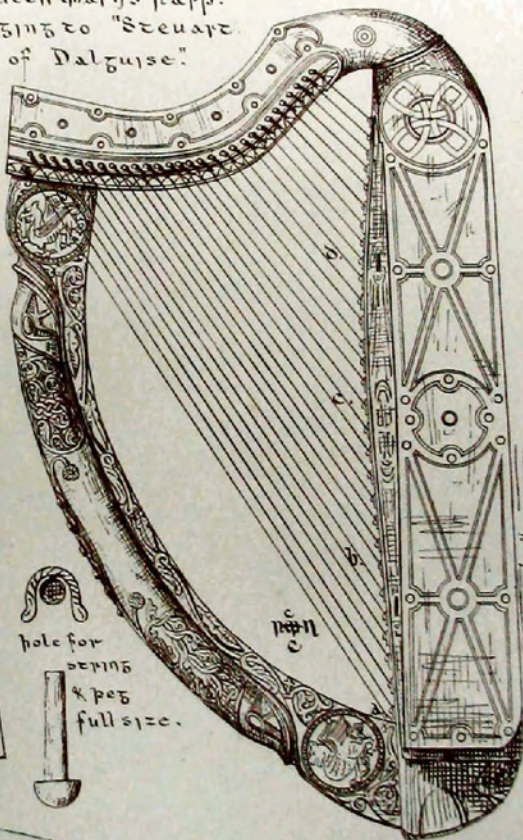
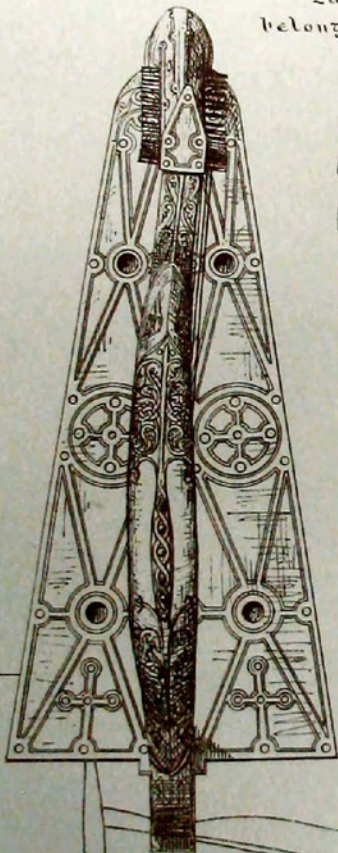


Leathar Comunn nam fionn Shiel.
(Book of the Clad of Cruic) [Shanderson].

Cupre
full size.

a
b
c
d

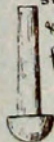
Queen Mary's Harp.
belonging to "Stewart
of Dalguise".



12 inches.



hole for
string
x peg
full size.



Harp on side
showing bias in setting out.

Seathar Connunn nam Fíor Sháel.
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders).

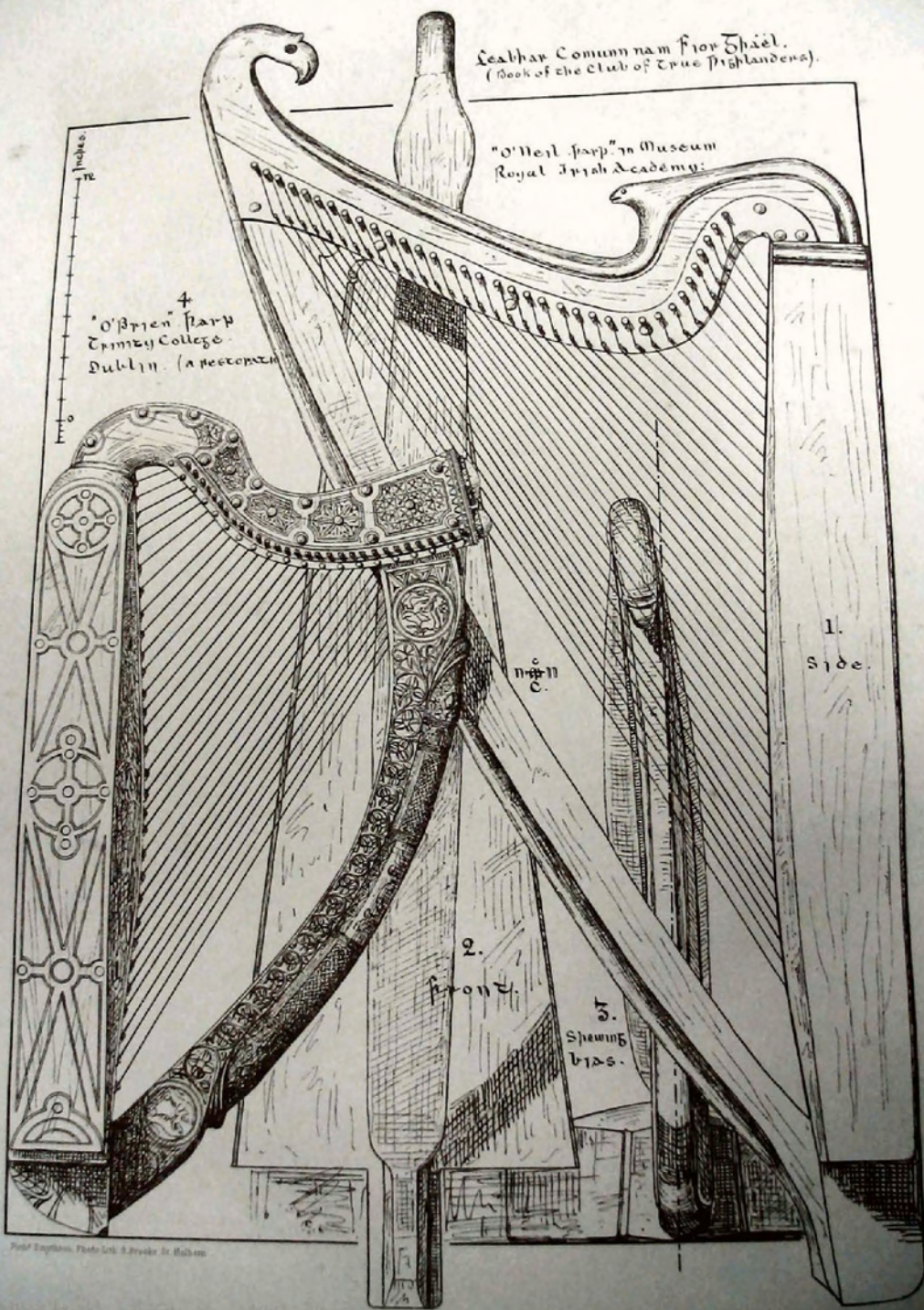
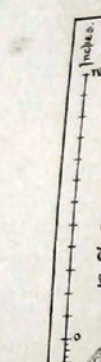
"O'Neil Harp" in Museum
Royal Irish Academy.

4
"O'Brien" Harp
Trinity College
Dublin. (a specimen)

1.
Side

2.
Front

of
strings



of the earliest representations being that shown in plate 19, figs. 7 and 8; and another (fig. 2), remarkably like the Queen Mary harp, is taken from Stuart's splendid work on the sculptured stones of Scotland.

The oldest harp that we know of is the "Clarsach Lumanach," or Lamont harp (plate 20); the present battered and twisted condition of which has unfortunately led people to suppose that the form shown in Gunn's work is its true shape, and consequently several interesting theories are like the "baseless fabric of a vision."

All the harps that we have examined exhibit a tendency to give at the shoulder of the neck next the back. The Lamont harp must have been a favourite one; as great pains have been taken to preserve it. The neck appears to have cracked first, and small plates were put on; then the shoulder gave way, and was wedged; then the tree, or lamhchraon (*g*) gave way or was broken, and was replaced with a new one shorter than, and inferior to, the original; then the new tree cracked, and was strengthened with two plates; then that gave way until the harp took the form it has at present, in spite of the straps, &c., that have been added to it.

Plate 20 shows the "Lamont harp" restored to its proper shape, with the curves of the com or chest, and pins full size. The neck is mounted in brass, and has thirty pins; it is difficult to say of what material it was made, it being covered with numerous coats of varnish to preserve it; the weight is about 21 lbs. In the restoration the tree is made similar in character to that of the O'Brien, and the neck being placed in its original position the angle formed by it and the chest is exactly the same as that of the Queen Mary harp. The front and side of the present tree are shown, and the detail at once explains the reason of the cramped appearance the harp has at present, and which, through the ignorance of those who have never seen the original, has been accepted as the correct form of this venerable relic.

The neck of the "Highland harp" is set with a bias to the left and with a twist downwards, so that the string end of the pin is lower than the square end. The effect of this is (the pin being tapering) that the tension of the string draws the pin tighter into the hole, and prevents it slipping back in tuning.

The rear end of the neck (*i.e.*, next the chest) is furnished with a tenon, which is secured to one of the chest blocks by two pins, while the fore end has a mortice to receive the tree; the neck is strengthened by a plate on each side, through which the pins are passed, and, in addition to this; in two instances we have seen: (*r*) metal straps were placed on the right side to counteract the drag of the strings.

The tree had a tenon at each end, which was secured by pins, as before, to the chest and neck.

The chest was formed of wood, about three-eighths thick, with thick blocks at top and bottom for the mortices holding the tenons of the neck and tree; the back was nearly flat, the sides quite flat, while the chest was formed with nicely adjusted curves, in the centre of which was a ridge to receive the holes for the strings; and in the chest on each side of the ridge are two holes for improving the tone.

When in use, the harp was placed on the left knee (as shown in title page), and rested in the hollow between the breast and shoulder; the left hand was used in playing the upper strings, and the right the lower ones.

Our next plate (21) shows the Queen Mary harp (*s*). This and the Lamont harp belong to Stewart of Dalguise, and formerly belonged to General Robertson of Lude, in whose family they had been for generations; they were carefully preserved in the shooting lodge above Dalguise, when the drawings were made.

The Queen Mary harp is undoubtedly the most perfect, beautiful, and artistic Keltic harp in existence, and must have been made when the art was in the highest state of perfection. Some small portion of the ornament of the tree and a part where a plate has been fixed at the side are slightly damaged, but the harp is otherwise in a perfect condition.

The plate requires little explanation; it will be seen that the neck of the harp is much the same shape as that of the Lamont, the tree is strengthened and improved by the front part being boldly rounded; the forearm is enriched on the sides with medallions sculptured in outline only, the subjects of which are decidedly Keltic, one of them on the reverse having a representation of the horse, salmon, and dragon, or monster of the deep (*t*). The

(*g*) Crann is an obsolete word for tree; the word craobh was afterwards substituted, as in the peebroch, "Cumha chraobh nan teud," *i.e.*, Lament for the tree "of the strings."

(*r*) The Lamont harp, and with the mountings of a harp in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

(*s*) Tradition says that it was presented by Queen Mary to Beatrix Gordon (daughter of the Laird of Banchoory), and thus came into the possession of Robertson of Lude. The Lamont harp was brought from Argyll by the daughter of Lamont, who married into the same family about 1480.

(*t*) The subject of the medallion on the reverse was pointed out by Charles D. Bell, Esq., late Surveyor-General Cape of Good Hope, who not only compared the proof drawing with the original, but also forwarded me a full-size drawing of this medallion. Bryant, quoting Eusebius, says that Venus, when she fled from Typhon, took the form of a fish, and, again, that the fish styled Notius saved Isis in some great extremity.

remainder of the carving on the forearm is in bold relief, the ornamentation on the neck, side, and front of the chest being formed by incised lines. The holes made in the ridge of the chest for the strings are protected by small metal guards of various patterns, a detail of the oldest of which is shown; the outline drawing at the bottom shows the harp as laid on its side, so that the bias of the neck may be seen. The pins for strings are thirty in number, the pins for the bass strings being placed one over the other (*u*); the longest string is secured by a loop, and is not placed in a hole and secured with a pin like the others; the weight is about 12 lbs. (*v*).

The remains of a harp, almost identical in size and shape to the "Queen Mary," are preserved in Trinity College, Dublin (plate 22). The case in which it is placed was fixed, so that it was impossible to open it at the time of our visit; the harp, however, being close to the glass, the dimensions were taken by means of sight-lines, and we think may be relied on to within an eighth of an inch.

The probable age of this harp has given rise to a great deal of heated discussion. The Chevalier O'Gorman stated that it belonged to Brian Boru, and he gives a long description of its fortunes and wanderings; Dr. Petrie says, "This statement exhibits the *Antiquarian ignorance and daring mendacity of the writer*," and says that it belonged to the early part of the 15th century, because of the armorial bearings on the forearm.

O'Curry disputes this statement; but they both (in the heat of the discussion) appear either to have forgotten to examine the subject in dispute, or else did not understand what they were talking about.

We think that the original harp was made about the same time as the Lamont harp; the neck is undoubtedly ancient; the silver mounting, which we think of the same age, closely resembles in style the workmanship of the Lorne Brooch (plate 38, Vol. II.), which is said to have been worn by Bruce at Dalree; it also resembles in character the mounting of the Lamont harp.

The tree, the enrichment of which gave rise to the dispute, is, however, undoubtedly a comparatively modern one. The carver had not the skill, and could not imitate the vigour of the first artist, and it appears to be either a rough copy of the original (with the heraldic detail added), or else to have been an imitation of one which closely resembled the Queen Mary harp. The back is rougher in shape, the incised ornament of the sides and chest is greatly inferior (*w*), and we think that, if the statement of the chevalier is ever to be disputed, it must be on other grounds than those brought forward by his assailants. The tree of the harp is shown in the plate as being restored to the same shape as that of the Queen Mary. It, at present, has a sort of curly end in deal and plaster, but from the drawing in Bunting it was evidently the same shape as shown in the plate, the lower part being merely broken off or rotted away.

The next class of harp we have to consider is that which is undoubtedly Irish or Welsh, and would seem to have been the same shape as the English (plate 19). The one shown (plate 22) is in the Royal Irish Academy, and has a very Danish air about it. It has pins for strings, but the plates and the small fixed pins to take the bearing of the strings are of a later date; the tree is slight, the chest is simply rounded, the sound-holes are large, and at the back, and the workmanship is of a very ordinary kind. When played, it was placed between the knees, and rested on the ground. It is called the O'Neil harp. Another harp, called Carolan's harp (the head of which is shown), has the original plates for the pins, but some ordinary screws have been screwed into the wood to take the bearings of the strings. The sound-holes of this are large, and at the back; the pins are thirty-seven in number; the longest string being 38 inches, the shortest 2½ inches.

The remains—*i.e.*, the tree and neck—of another harp (the Fitzgerald) are also in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and are very richly carved. The neck has a number of animals carved in relief, with names on labels. One, with a man's head, is called "lamia." It has two rows of pins for the strings. The lowest row has forty-five pins, and above this are seven more—the first is placed over the twenty-second pin from the chest—making, with the bottom row, fifty-two pins in all.

The remaining harps (plate 19) have already been referred to. Fig. 6 shows the manner of holding the harp when the performer is standing; and Fig. 5 represents the original Mark Tapley enjoying harmony under difficulties. He is in the worm pit (*x*), with his arms bound, and he is obliged to play his harp with his toes.

(*u*) This is the same in the Lamont harp.

(*v*) Gunn's description of the material of which it is made is, no doubt, correct, but the harp is so thickly coated that at present it is difficult to give a decided opinion; his general description is, however, of the loosest character.

(*w*) O'Curry mentions that an O'Brien sent a number of sheep to Scotland to pay for his harp, but they would not send it back. Was this the O'Brien harp? Was it broken, and sent over to be repaired? or did an inferior workman take a rough idea for his restoration from a harp like Queen Mary's?

(*x*) Ifrinn, the Celtic hell.

The harp was preserved in many families as a heirloom (*y*), and was anciently held in great estimation by the bards. The clergy also, of later date, in the whole of the empire, excelled as musicians. The harp was the instrument for the gentleman; it was handed round at feasts, when each one was expected to play in his turn (*z*). The nails of the player were trimmed in a special way, and the harp was either played with the nails or by a plectrum (*aa*). In course of time, however, the harpers were so much honoured, and received so many presents and privileges (*bb*), that their pride eventually led to their extinction. This pride was so offensive that in all ages they were punished for it in a simple manner. The *Senchus Mór* says, "If a harper's nail is cut off, a wing nail must be given in compensation"; and we find that O'Kane, the Irish harper, when he exceeded the bounds of good breeding, was punished by the young sparks, cutting off his nails; this, of course, preventing him from playing until they grew again.

Mention has several times been made of harpers during the progress of this work, and the community of taste and feeling that really exists between the inhabitants of these islands is clearly shown by the regard they all had for the harper (*cc*).

Harie M'Gra, harper, from Largs, is the last harper recorded as being attached to a Highland troop (17th century), and the last harper who occupied an official position in the retinue of a chief was Murdoch McDonald, who remained with the McLeans of Coll until about 1734.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the cruit, harp, &c., had a varying number of strings at different periods, but thirty appears to have been the number for our best harps, and thirty is the number which Bunting says was on the harps he examined when he noted his scale (*dd*) (plate 23), and we see no reason why he should not be correct. By this scale the lowest string was C; the first F was omitted, making G the eleventh string; the twelfth being also called G; they were named the sisters, and were both tuned to tenor G on the violin. Plate 20 shows an ancient bronze wrest, "crann glesa," (*ee*), or tuning hammer. It has three square sockets to receive the heads of the pins; the projection at the rear held the strap for hanging to the girdle; and a small handle, fitted in and riveted to the large socket, gave the necessary leverage for tuning. The harper, having screwed up the strings to the necessary pitch, would play a tuning prelude, in order to see if the instrument was in perfect tune; the arpeggios being played the reverse way to the modern style (*ff*) (plate 23), and the instrument having successfully passed this test, would melodiously respond to the touch of its master.

(*y*) A harp being detained at one time, a law suit instituted, and the decision was—"The said Walter was ordered to deliver ane harp als gude as it was at the tyme it was taken fra the said Isabell Dalryell."

(*z*) Kirke, in 1691, says:—"Irishmen, and Northern Scottish and Atholmen, are much addicted to and delighted with harps and music."

(*aa*) J. Good, in 1566, says:—"They love music mightily, and, of all instruments, are particularly taken with the harp, which, being strung up with brass wires, and beaten with crooked nails, is very melodious."

(*bb*) Lord McDonald gave O'Kane, the Irish harper, a harp key, finely ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones. It is said to have been worth one hundred guineas.

(*cc*) Henry III. in the thirty-sixth year of his reign gave 40s. and a pipe of wine to his harper, and another pipe of wine to Beatrice, his wife. "Augustine Priory, Oxfordshire, 1431. Given to the harper on St. Jerome's Day, VIIIth."—*Burney*, Vol. II.

(*dd*) Gunn, who re-strung the Queen Mary harp, says that the strings were tuned from C to C.

(*ee*) This is described in the catalogue as the top of a chieftain's banner.

(*ff*) Bunting.

CHAPTER VII.

"Togamh fonn air Iusthadh a chlòlain,
Gabhaidh ceol us orain mhaitha." (Oran Iusthadh.)

"Mar bhinn-ghuth eala an guin blis
No mar cheòlan chaic mìn caoir dhì." (Dan an Deirg.)

"A chief of Morven's bards of old
Then gan his harp essay;
In Gaelic numbers darkly trolled
The wild heroic lay."

Saga.

The ancient scale; the Golltraidheacht; the Geanntraidheacht; the Suantraidheacht; ancient musical notation; the song; the Iorran; oran brìth, &c.; Collegate studies of the Druids, the different styles of versification and composition; the Barli, the learning of the Druids; Oghams, &c.; Keltic artists and their handiwork.



HE service of song was so intimately connected with Druidical worship that it follows as a matter of course that we should next consider the music, melody, and poetry (a) which is inseparably connected with the Druids' instrument, the harp; premising that the capabilities of that instrument had a great deal to do with preserving the features and peculiarities which give so much grace to our national melodies. We may safely assume that the music of the Keltic people was originally the same in all parts—north, south, east, and west; and was, as a rule, constructed on that which Sullivan calls a "gapped quinquegrade scale, obtained from a circle of fifths," as shown in the diagram in plate 23, and this is undoubtedly the most ancient scale in use in this country of which we have any knowledge (b).

The west and north retained the original simplicity of the national melodies for a long time after foreign influences had modified the character of the eastern and southern portions, although the latter still retains an individuality which is very refreshing after the laboured eccentricities of the modern school.

In the earliest Irish MS., mention is made of three different kinds of music—the Golltraidheacht, a festive and martial measure; the Geanntraidheacht, or sorrowful measure; and the Suantraidheacht, or soothing measure, the power of which was so great that the hearers were often sent to sleep (c) for a day or two. Whether these variations consisted of a change in the tone of the strings, caused by a screw which tightened or slackened the moveable "ceis" as before suggested; or whether, the names were descriptive of several classes of music in which certain keys predominated; we cannot at the present time determine. This uncertainty is owing to the jealous care with which the bards concealed all knowledge from the vulgar eye; the science of the "joyeuse art" being as carefully hidden as that of the more martial pipers; and it was not until later times that an attempt was made to reduce the system to writing. The specimens given require little explanation. In one, each note is distinguished by a mark, and its length determined by dashes, a minim by three; a semibreve by two; a crotchet by one; and a quaver by a dash with one end turned up like an L; the quicker notes are not shown in the specimen. This notation is very similar to that shown by Gerbert. In the other example, which was copied by Burney from W. Penlynn's Book (*temp.* Queen Elizabeth), the marks are not so easily deciphered, and letters are used; the crotchet is distinguished by the same mark as before; but the semibreve is marked by an upright dash instead of two horizontal ones.

The next illustrations are specimens of music set for the harp in the modern notation; one is an ancient air, formerly sung in Caithness, and preserved by Sir John Sinclair (d), and the other is the Spaidsearch Camanachd, or

(a) In consulting our authorities, we find that Bunting abuses Moore and Stevenson for tampering with the ancient melodies; Petrie scolded Bunting; O'Curry scolds Petrie, Walker, and Sedwick, while Sullivan condemns the whole of them, or damns them with faint praise.

(b) To avoid confusion, the scales shown have no sharps or flats, and merely show the intervals; but this peculiarity of the intervals have caused many people to jump to the conclusion that Highland music should be written for the black keys of the pianoforte. The church services were the means of introducing variations from time to time in the simpler scale, and gradually created a sacred as well as a secular style; Sullivan's treatise on the subject deserves careful consideration.

(c) In the poem of Cath Loda is an invocation to the harp of Cona, with its three voices.—Logan.

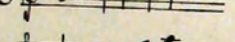
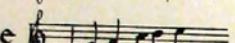
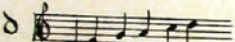
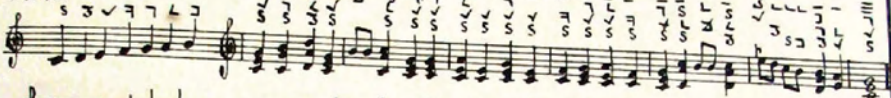
(d) Bunting.

(e) Bunting.

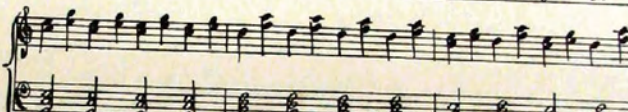
Leabhar Comunn nam Fionn Thael
(Book of the Club of Cruel Highlanders)

Quaver -
Crotchet -
Minim -

Piano Music.



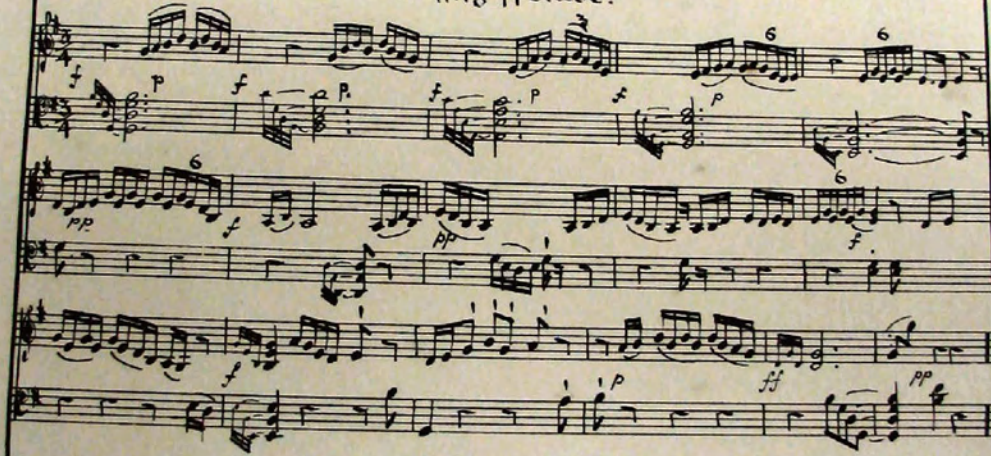
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
g	f	e	d	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c	b
g	f	e	d	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c	b



W Penlynn's Book comp R Elizabeth (Burney)

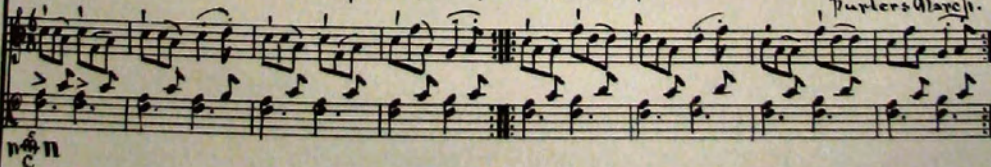
2 (Sullivan)

Tuning Prelude.



Spraidreachd Camanachd.

Pipers March.



non

Sealhar Comunn nam Fìor Shìel. (Book of the Club of True Fishlanders)

Do nighin donn bhòrdheach.

lively.

a nighin donn nam bhòrdheach. Hi-rò mo nighin donn bhòrdheach. a thug me gradh dhuibh. Tha d'iamhaidh shàrl'is chànais laghad.

Callachd A phàrthaidh riom' uilidh. D.C.
bhòrdheach Co Mhàisinn ach thus 2.

quiet
nam
mor
bheann

Am Muil-e nam crath, tha inhaighdean bheann. Dain
Chorus O'n ihe mi gun sunad, 's gur aith dhomh ruidel. Cha

p

a thug mi mo shùid ri fàin' am bhòrd. 'S me chaid e fu' sgarid 's nach fad mi fàin' uim' Guir d'ath mi caidagan Chomh aill
D.C.
O'n mi mo shùid ri 's guradh callachd. Cha aith mi a' mionn. gur aith nam armaney 's me ruim am Muil-e nam mor bheann

Monaidhean
Shìnn
Uachairidh

Sostenuto

ff

{ When playing this for the pipe music the sharps are not wanted. }

{ - - - piano music the grace notes - - - }

Hurlers March. The remaining examples (e) shew the condition in which some of the melodies have been handed down to the present time (f), and critical readers will be able to judge how far they have departed from their original simplicity.

The song has always been the vehicle by which Highlanders express the emotion or enlivened the labour of the passing hour; the Iorran is sung while labouring at the oar; the lively "oran luadhaidh" formerly sustained the exertions of the lasses when engaged in waulking the cloth; or the oran bràth cheered those that laboured at the quern; while at the festive board the voice of Cona is still heard, and time kept by the company joining plaids or handkerchiefs, and gently moving them backwards and forwards;—in all the thread of the discourse is preserved by a leader, who is relieved at certain frequent intervals by a chorus in which all heartily join. Other melodies are of a more plaintive character, like the milking song of which Crodh Chailean is a good example; the cumha or lament, such as Gaoir nam Ban Muileach, and the "caoine;" this is a peculiarly wild dirge sung by the followers at a funeral, and was performed by one or two while an accompaniment was hummed by the remainder of those present.

We have first referred to the simpler forms of melody, because they appeal more directly to the heart, while the more scientific—or, perhaps, we may say the more monotonous chant, Laidh, or Marbhrann—was particularly devoted to the recital of great deeds, to preserving the genealogy, or recording the possessions of the nobility. This class of composition was in great request in early days, for we find that a title to land was only good when it had been sung for three generations; and as many of the records were very lengthy, a simple melody was used to assist the voice in its laborious undertaking.

Specimens of these poems have luckily been handed down to us, one of the most celebrated of which, the Laidh Dhiarmaid, is supposed by some to have had a mythological origin. As to who the author of some of the well-known poems was, we dare not venture to express an opinion, as the consequences of the inevitable "glain dichinn" would be too terrible to endure. All that we will venture to say is, that the much-belaboured McPherson has thoroughly earned his resting-place in Westminster Abbey, for had he not called attention to these poems the bucolic placidity (or stupidity) of Johnson would not have been disturbed, we should have lost the valuable discussions that have since arisen on the subject, and all the precious relics of a long-forgotten civilisation would have been lost and forgotten in the eager scramble of modern life.

The importance of the poem (g) in early days was such, that the greater part of the time spent in Druidical colleges (h) was taken up in learning poems of various characters. The book of the Ollamhs gives the following as the course of study:—

First year's study.—Fifty oghams, the Araicecht, or grammar of the pupils, twenty tales, and some poems.

Second.—Fifty more oghams, six minor lessons in philosophy, thirty tales, and some poems.

Third.—Learning the correct diphthongal combinations, the six minor lessons of philosophy, forty tales, and various poems.

Fourth.—Fifty tales, Brèthà Nemidh, or law of privileges; twenty poems, called "Enan."

Fifth.—Sixty tales, and critical learning of adverbs, articles, and other niceties of grammar.

Sixth.—Twenty-four great Naths, twenty-four small ditto (certain kinds of poems), the *secret language* of the poets, and seventy tales.

Seventh.—The Brosnacha of the Sai (professor), and the Bardesy of the Bards; for these the poet is obliged to know, and so they are the study of the seventh year.

Eighth.—Prosody or versification of the poets, meaning of obscure words (or glosses), the various kinds of poetry; the Druidical or incantatory compositions, called Teim Laeghdha, Imbas Forosnai, Dichetal di chennaibh; the knowledge of Dinneanchus, or topography, and all the chief historical tales of Ireland, such as were to be recited in the presence of kings, chiefs, and good men.

Ninth and Tenth.—Forty Sennats, fifteen Luascas, seven Nenas; an Eochraid of sixty words, with their appropriate verses; seven Sruths, and six Duili Fedha.

(e) These are set for the pianoforte (plate 24).

(f) The airs are given in the same key as that lately published in the "Keltic Magazine."

(g) Nennius says: Necromancy, idolatry, Druidism in a fair and well walled house, plundering in ships—*bright poems*—by them were taught; the honouring of "Sredha" and omens, choice of weather, lucky times, the watching the voice of birds; they practised without disguise.

(h) The Druids were evidently the founders of the collegiate system, and their centres of learning attracted students from all parts of Keltland. We find that the tutor was to bestow instruction without reservation, and correction without violence; he sometimes supplied food and clothing; he was entitled to all profits from the works of the pupils, and also for the pupils' first fee earned after quitting school.

Eleventh.—Fifty great Anamains; fifty minor ditto. The great Anamain was a species of poem which contained four different measures of composition—namely, the Nath, the Anair, Laidh, Eman, and was composed by an Ollamh only.

Twelfth.—Six-score great Centals (measured addresses or orations), and the four arts of poetry, viz., Laidcun Mac Barceda's art, Ua Crotta's art, O'Brice's art, and Beg's art (f).

The mention of different measures of composition in the foregoing would seem to imply that the Druids had well-defined rules on the art of composition, although Logan says, "The ancient bards do not appear to have composed under any fixed laws of versification, yet the wildest effusions were not without a certain rule, . . ." and "it is a difficult task to convey a clear idea of that which is so much *sui generis*, and constructed on principles, in many cases, at entire variance with the laws which govern in other languages."

A celebrated rule was narrow to narrow, and broad to broad (caol re caol, agus leathan re leathan), but a few examples will be sufficient to prove that in later times the character of the composition was greatly influenced by the temperament of the composer, or the nature of the emotion he was labouring under at the time, and we must consider them rather as the outcome of vivacious genius, acting on an intelligence already strongly imbued with traditions, than as the result of any scientific reasoning or rule in the modern sense of the word.

The following is a specimen, which Logan considered was a near approach to the versification of the Druids:—

Bha gael-lamh air clarsach thall,
Chunnaic mi a gorm-shuil mall.

Mar ghlan thaibhs an iomairt a' triall,
Le cheithe an cearb nan dubh niall,

Duncan McIntyre composed some pieces to be sung to a peebroch, imitating the ular, siubhal, and crunluath. Another class of music approaching somewhat in character to pipe music is the Brosnachadh Catha, or battle song (Rosga Cath in Irish and Arymes pry dain in Welsh). One of the following is marked by Armstrong, and the other is highly suggestive of the tune called Gille Challum, which we are inclined to believe is a corruption of the original title.

BROSACHADH CATHA.

À mhac | ain cheann,
Nan cur | sann strann,
Àrd leum | nach rìgh | nan sléagh.

Lamh threum 's gach cas
Cridhe ard, gun sgath
Ceann airm, nan roinn, geur goirt.

CLAIDHEAMH CUTHULLIN (f)

Chuir e an claidheamh fada fìorchruidh
Fulanac, tean, tainic geur.
'S a chean air a chur ann gu socair
Mar chuis, mholta gan dochair lein
'S e gu dirach, diasdach, dubbghorm
'Se cultuidh, cumtadh, conalach
Gu leathan, liobhadh, liobharadh
Gu socair sasdadh, so bhualte, &c., &c.

The favourite songs of the Highlands are those which are sung with a chorus, and we give a verse or two of several of our favourites to show the variety of style and composition. McKenzie, in his beauties of Gaelic poetry, has the following:—

IORRAM DO SHEMUS BEATON.

He ho la! ò
He ho rò hó mailibh
He ho la! ò
Se mo runsa Seumus
He ho la! ò
He ho rò hó mailibh
He ho la! ò
Fear a bheus a b'ail 'leam

He ho la! ò
He ho rò hó mailibh
He ho la! ò
Beatonach gun amharus
He ho la! ò
He ho rò hó mailibh
He ho la! ò
Leanach cha'n àicheam, &c., &c.

ORAN LUATHAIDH.

Togamid fonn air luathadh a chloilain
Gabbamid ceol us orain mhatha.

Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid
Horo i io man d'theid mi laidhidh
Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid.

B' fhearrd 'an clo bhith choir nan grugach
Dheanadh an luathadh le'n lamhan.

Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid
Horo i io man d'theid mi laidhidh
Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid.

Nuair thionduichas iad air cleath e
Chluintadh fuaim gach te òhu labhairt

Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid
Horo i io man d'theid mi laidhidh
Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid

Orain ghrinne, bhinne, mhiseach
Aig na riobhnan 'g an gabhal.

Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid
Horo i io man d'theid mi laidhidh
Horo g'u'n togin air shugan fhathaid.

MO NIGH'N DONN BHOIDHEACH.

A nìgean donn nam blath-shùil
Gur og a thug mi gradh dhut
Tha d'iamhaidh ghaol a's d'aileachd
A ghnath tigh'n'n fo m' uidh.

*Here mo nigh'n donn bhoideach
Hì ri mo nigh'n donn bhoideach
Mo chaitag laghach bhoideach
Co phòsain ach thu.*

Cha cheil mi air a-t-saoghal
Gu bheil mo mhian'n mo ghaol ort
'S ged chaidh mi uait air faodrath
Gha chaochail mo run.

*Here mo nigh'n donn bhoideach
Hì ri mo nigh'n donn bhoideach
Mo chaitag laghach bhoideach
Co phòsain ach thu.*

MUILLE NAM MOR BHEANN.

Am Muile nan craobh tha 'mhaighdean bhanail
Da 'n d'fhug mi mo ghaol 's mi faoin am bbar-aill
'Sma chaidh e fo sgaoil 'snach faod mi 'faigh-inn
Gu'n taobh mi cailceagan chomb-aill.

*On thu mi gu'n sunnd 's gur duth dhomb mulad
Cho tog mi mo shuil ri sugradh tuilleadh
Cha teid mi le muirn, gu cuis nan cruinneag
'S mo ruin am Muile nan mor bheann*

Tha maise a's uaisle, suaireas a's ceanail
A' d'eadh a suas an gruidh mo leannain
Ma bheir thu dhomb fuath 's nach buan do ghealladh
Nì saigh a's anart mo chombdach.

*On thu mi gu'n sunnd 's gur duth dhomb mulad
Cho tog mi mo shuil ri sugradh tuilleadh
Cha teid mi le muirn gu cuis nan cruinneag
'S mo ruin am Muile nan mor bheann.*

The consideration which led to the retention of the bards after the extinction of Druidism was also the ultimate cause of their extinction; their calling was held in such esteem that they were maintained at the expense of the state, but their pride became so overbearing and extortionate, and the order became so numerous that they thoroughly earned the mistrust and indifference of their friends. Their enemies knowing the power they still held over the minds and imaginations of the Kelts, on several occasions put them ruthlessly to the sword: and the order being thus reduced, the remaining professors (shorn of their pride, but retaining their skill) contentedly occupied a honourable position in the retinues of their chiefs.

The emoluments and privileges of the bards are now things of the past, but the old fire still remains, and were it not that we might unwittingly omit some worthy disciple of the muse, we could produce a most creditable list of Highland bards and bardesses of the present day. The merit of these ancient compositions is now universally recognised with enthusiasm; and efforts, more or less successful, have been made from time to time to preserve them. Unfortunately, however, the very popularity of the melodies places them in great danger whenever some enthusiastic composer (as happened some time ago), in order to make them fit to English translations, considers it "necessary to lengthen, shorten, and omit notes, which *interfere* with the musical accents and expressions to an injurious degree."

All we can say to these enthusiasts is that Highland melodies (like others) must stand or fall on their merits (*we can confidently await the issue*), and if they are to be preserved *they must* be left in their native purity, and *we cannot do better* than lay to heart Sullivan's rule: "The musical archæologist should give the air *exactly as he finds it, scrupulously rendering every peculiarity of scale, tonality and rhyme, not making them perfect* according to the major or minor modes, or polishing them to remove their *barbarism*, in order to fit them for modern harmony; and especially not *adding anything to them* under the name of harmonies."

We must remember this of the songs of a nation, that those which display the fleeting humour of the moment are as evanescent as the sunbeam; but those which have been handed down to us from age to age are priceless rhymes, in which are enclosed those subtle influences that have gradually impregnated the nation's life blood; and that the melodies, which have been the solace of the best and bravest of our race, *must not* suffer from the careless hand in transcribing, or from the well meaning but pedantic conceit of the modern composer.

We can have no doubt (after reading the previous quotations) that the Druids had a marvellous system by which they committed to memory the numerous poems, in which the mysteries of their religion and religious worship were preserved; their laws and all regulations by which they were governed were preserved in the same way; but that they committed some of them to carefully guarded records is proved by the fact that St. Patrick destroyed a great number of their books when the chiefs were converted to Christianity.

When they first made use of written characters is not so certain; it is a curious fact, however, that foreign traditions say, first, that Cadmus and Danaus headed the western emigration; and, secondly, that *Cadmus invented letters*. It seems, therefore, highly probable that both Cadmus and Danaus (if not myths) were acquainted with the use of letters, and that this knowledge existed in Keltland from the earliest period.

Then another difficult question arises; were the existing oghams and other characters secret writings when they were written? We venture to think they were not; they were placed on the stones for the instruction of the

ordinary learned. The Keltic alphabet appears to have arisen from the simplest materials, and oghams, runes, and the symbols of the later bards are most likely a gradual development of native learning, and not foreign introductions from time to time.

The Druids undoubtedly had a method of combining and knotting twigs by which they conveyed secret intelligence for ordinary purposes, or for use in their arts of divination; and as they would use twigs of the different trees, these became the representatives of the old characters, and in a contracted or distorted shape the names of the majority of the letters of our modern alphabet.

The old alphabet was called *Beith Iuis nuin*, from the three first letters (*bé*), and the names of the plants and trees representing the letters were ranged in the following order:—Beith, Luis, Nuin, Suil, Fearan (Aspirate Uath), Duir, Teine, Coll, Muin, Gort, Ruis, Ailm, Oir, Ur, Eubb, Iubhar (sixteen without the aspirate) (*U*). Plate 16 gives samples of oghams (*m*), bard, early British, and other runes; the letters in English and Gaelic, &c., &c. We will only point out the similarity existing between the oghams and the (as yet) undeciphered palm runes, and that between the characters used by the Welsh bards and early Keltic, and those at Ruthwell and Maés Howe. The contractions used in writing the Irish Gaelic are also inserted for the use, and are submitted to the judgment, of the reader. At the dawn of Christianity the artists of the Keltic race were gifted with a skill and taste which has never been surpassed. A great number of their works were undoubtedly destroyed in the early centuries, but the skill they and their descendants possessed was exerted on behalf of the new faith, and the influence of their art was powerful in many places until the end of the 10th century. Amongst the most celebrated specimens surviving to the present day are the Gospels of Lindisfarne in the British Museum; the Gospels of St. Chad in the Litchfield Library; the Gospels of Mac Regol at Oxford; the Gospels of McDuran at Lambeth Palace; the Book of Kells, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; the Leabhar na huirde, in the Royal Irish Academy; the Book of Deer, written in the 11th and 12th centuries; the Lament of Deirdre (*n*) (*Dán chloinne Uisneachain*); the Albanic Duan; the Book of the Dean of Lismore, &c., &c. Besides these, O'Curry, in his "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," gives a list of a great number of MS., now lost, but which are referred to and quoted in existing manuscripts of a venerable age; and there are numerous others in the different libraries (and many more may be hidden away in forgotten corners). Of the specimens mentioned, the designs in the Book of Kells are simply marvellous, and the Leabhar na huirde is, we believe, the purest in its diction. In later specimens the decadence of the methodical intricacy of the ornament can be traced, but the examples are most valuable for the information they contain. Of the books consulted for this work, the Black Book of Caermerthen, according to the best authorities, was written about 1154; the Book of Aneurin in the latter part of the 13th century; the Book of Taliesin in the beginning of the 14th century; and the Book of Hergest in the 14th or 15th centuries. These are evidently but transcripts of earlier MSS., and Davies conclusively proves (although attempts have been made to cast doubts on his accuracy) that in their somewhat enigmatical expressions is to be found the key to the Druidical mysteries.

The first printed Gaelic book was Bishop Carsewell's Liturgy of John Knox, published in 1567; in 1659 the first fifty of the Psalms of David appeared; and in 1751 McDonald's poems were issued, a copy of which is in the possession of Dr. Masson.

These memoranda taken indiscriminately from north and west, conclusively show that learning and education were warmly appreciated in all times by the Keltic. When the seats of learning were far apart, the Highland gentry frequently engaged an accomplished tutor to superintend the education of their children (*o*). The tutor resided by turns with the different families, the pupils coming daily to the residence (for the time being) of the tutor. The tutor went to the college during term with his pupils, and thus was created a community of tastes and interests which formed a stout protection to those who in after-life had to encounter the temptations of the world. The people generally were thoroughly educated; (*p*) their memories were strengthened by the recitals of the old tales which they

(k) Or, as others contend, Bithluisceanan, or the life of plants.

(l) The aspirate must be looked upon as the tyrant which exercises almost unlimited sway over the very existence of those which are considered as members of the alphabet.

(m) Ogmios, the learned Keltic Hercules, is said to have dragged all men after him by the power of his tongue. This idea is much more natural than that of the ancient Greeks. It is true that Samson was represented as a man of great physical strength, but his deeds seem like a prophetic foreshadowing, when we consider the thousands of gallant lives that have in our times been uselessly sacrificed through the jaw-bone of an ass.

(n) *Gach dán gu dán an Deirg.*

(o) They also sent them to the English and Scotch courts.

(p) In a manner which is difficult to realise in this age of learning and cramming, on the pop-gun principle.

Leabhar Coimunn nam Fior Shliach.
 Book of the Club of True Highlanders.

Ivory Box in British Museum:
 front view... full size.

F I 4 R F F M N
 f i s c f l o d u

F N F F F M R X
 f o f o n f e r s

M
N
R
F
F
M
R
X



M
N
R
F
F
M
R
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heard when gathered round the fire. They listened with respect to the experiences of their elders, and thus, without the aid of books, they insensibly acquired that courteous carriage, practical moral stability, and manly self-reliance which distinguishes the educated gentleman from the learned prig.

Of the schoolmasters in later days, who so manfully did their duty in the old parish schools, we can only say, in the words of Norman McCleod, "Scotland owes to them a debt of gratitude that never can be repaid, and many a successful minister, lawyer, and physician is able to recall some one of these old teachers as his earliest and best friend who first kindled in him the love of learning, and helped him in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties."

With the specimens in the accompanying plates before the reader we need scarcely say much as to the artistic skill of the Keltic race in working metals and carving. Some people have thoughtlessly argued that the simplest and roughest form of art or construction must be the most ancient; but the history of nations, and especially that of our own country, shows that a people, after reaching a high pitch of civilization, with its attendant effeminacy and luxury, is often overwhelmed by purifying misfortune, and artistic skill becomes a degeneration of the past, or else is entirely obliterated. No better illustration of this can be found than in the existing Keltic remains. On closely examining the Tara brooch (plate 11), we find that the enrichment consists of filigree tracery, formed of beaded or twisted wire, of so beautiful and intricate a character that one requires a powerful glass for a thorough examination of its design (p). These enrichments are enclosed in panels, the frames of which are decorated with enamels, or are divided by circular or oval settings containing the faces of men or women cut in bold relief. The remainder of the enrichment is also highly suggestive—of the lotus on the upper edge, of the crocodile and hippopotamus on the left hand, and of the ibis at the bottom of the pin. The drawing is an attempt to show this unique specimen in its perfect state, so that the reader can at once see the leading idea, and that nothing can be more appropriate than the way in which the artist treated the subject in hand. The Hunterston brooch (fig. 12, plate 12) is also an exquisite specimen of the same character of workmanship (p). Later examples, however, show more of the imitative spirit; the enrichments partake more of the character of engraving and carving (plates 39 and 40). The stone crosses were enlarged copies of ancient metal work, with its filigree enrichment and its jewelled bosses imitated in stone, and the metal work of later times shows that the artists had lost that refined perception of the proper use of the material they were working with (which so distinguished their predecessors).

That they still retained a deep veneration for its peculiar style, without perfectly understanding the meaning of it, there is abundant proof, and on comparing the enrichment on the round towers of Ireland, on the doorway at Brechin, on the Domnach Airgid, and other Keltic relics, &c., with the details of the so-called Norman work at Rochester (see plates 12 and 30) and other places, we must acknowledge that the Norman style is to be distinctly traced from the Keltic; and we have as good reason for denying that it came over with the Conquest as we have for denying that the founders of the Highland clans came over from the same locality. Plates 25, 31, 52, show a fine specimen of carving, which Professor Stephens says must be as old as the sixth or seventh century. This fine specimen was discovered by Mr. Franks, and presented to the British Museum.

Plate 25, the small piece on the right hand, as shown by the hatching, is wanting, but the reading in Stephens is thus, commencing at the left-hand bottom corner:—Hronces ban, fise; flodu, a-hof on fergen berg, warth gasric, grom thor he on greut iswom, *i.e.*, of the whale, the bones from the fishes flood (the sea). I above (lifted) on Fergen berg warth (was he) gasrich (playing) grom (killed); there he on the greut (shingle) swam. This is supposed to be a description of where the material was obtained from which the box was made. The subjects are partly heathen and partly Christian. The one on the left is supposed to be Weland receiving a love potion from a lady; the other, the offerings of the Maji to our Lord.

Plate 31 shows the back. The inscription is: Her fegtath Titus end giutheasu; hic fugiant Hierusalim afitatores (here fight Titus and the Jews, here fly Jerusalem inhabitants). At the bottom are the words dom (doom) and gisl (hostage). Plate 52 shows the top, and represents an attack on a dwelling, the only clue to the meaning being the word \mathcal{E} gili.

(p) Are we to conclude from this that the ancient Kelts had more powerful eyesight than we of the present day, or that they were in possession of magnifying glasses as well as the telescope, which some authorities consider they possessed? It is evident that the worship of the sun implied a strict system of astronomy; the temple, the zodiac, and the ark were inseparable. The Druids believed that their god visited the island every nineteen years, when great ceremonies were prepared from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades, and we have already seen the evident uses of the temples, and that all their festivals were regulated by astronomical observations.

(r) The drawing is taken by permission of Professor Stephens, from his magnificent work on the Runes.

This curious work of art has been pronounced to be undoubtedly British, from the style of rune, and shows that the cunning of hand and traditional style had not (at that time) entirely departed from the southern race, although the language had changed, and from this it would appear (and it was more strikingly exhibited in later days) that the traditional excellence of the workmanship and the style of art was maintained as long as and only so long as the native language remained uncontaminated by alien influences. The examples of the art workmanship of later days are frequently referred to in these pages; the details clearly witness to the skill, industry, and artistic taste of the Highlander, and the style of design and workmanship being utterly foreign to the taste or capacity of the surrounding people, it is a conclusive proof that there must have been a numerous class of highly-educated craftsmen in "Tir nam beann" until the middle of the last century.

CHAPTER VIII.

Finn flath in tloey,
Sothran er a loe
Re nyn wlic aig.

Ossian M'Finn (old spelling, 1512).

Fionn flath an-t sluagh,
Sothran air a luaidh,
Righ nan uile àigh.

(a) (Modern spelling, 1880.)

Our Keltic fathers built a bridge,
With piers and arches massive,
Which now has stood for many an age
To foe and flood impassive.

(after Story.)

The Keltic form of Government; the King, nobles, tradesmen, farmers, &c.; the Maeror, Toisach, &c.; bonds of manrent; orthodox method of civilizing the Highlanders; the Cain and Urrathas laws of the Brehons; the honour price regulated; atgabhall, or distress; repayment in kind; a man's word his contract; fosterage, marriage, weddings, wakes, and funerals; medicines; ancient standards of weight and capacity; food and drinks; drinking cups, flasks, and bowls; general furniture; querns; walking; the plough; the ríostal; the cas chron; the cas díreach, the old Scot's plough, &c.; the relations between landlords and tenants; land measure, farms, &c.; conclusion.

A GREAT deal of nonsense has been written about the land belonging to the people, the writers meaning by this term the lowest class of the community; but the Keltic race (unless when an ignorant strata is worked upon by agitators) has always been too sensible not to know that the people are not confined to that particular class; which (leaving out of the question those who ably work and maintain themselves to the best of their ability) is largely recruited from individuals whose want of energy, innate weakness of principle, or misfortune (and the unfortunate workers are always a heavy percentage of the population), render them unfitted for any position of importance; that the people must necessarily be composed of workers of all classes amongst whom the man of ability or industry must take a rank proportioned to his wealth and talents, and that his descendants must retain the position that their father placed them in, until that position is forfeited by their degeneracy or misfortune, when they in their turn give way to those who, by their ability, have risen to take the forfeited place. We admit that Adam, because he said "Cia mar tha thu" to Eve was the first Kelt, and that being the people, all the land belonged to him at that period; but this was only until Eve, obtaining knowledge, in the manner we are all so familiar with, made him play second fiddle; and ever since that time, unless when brute violence has over-ridden all sense of cothrom na feinne, (b) every community with any pretence to civilization has recognised the necessity of placing the direction of affairs in the hands of those whose position, ability, and integrity were guarantees that the interest of the community would be looked after in a satisfactory manner. We accordingly find that the Kelts, being possessed with an average amount of intelligence, were governed on principles essentially the same as those regulating Highland society in later times. The King, or "Ard Righ," although theoretically elected by the chieftains, was the most powerful noble

(a) Dr. Maclauchlan.

(b) Fair play.

of the day, and was generally the brother, son, or nephew of the preceding King; his power remained unchallenged unless flagrant tyranny or incompetency determined the chieftains or elders to depose him (c), or the ambition of noble overthrew his authority. The King was allowed certain taxes and service from his people; his principal officers were the marshal of the forces, the marshal of the house, doorkeeper, butler, henchman, master of the banquet, and chief herdsman, and he was attended by the chief judge (d), Druid, doctors, poet, historian, musician, and three servants.

The other noble ranks were well defined: there was the territorial King or Rígh (e), the brewer, poet, Bishop, or Druid, heremach, ollamh, and every superior generally, but the poorest freeman was able by his energy to rise in the social scale; thus the Bó airé, holding hands for three generations, became a faith, and a freehold was created if the estate had been held unchallenged for six generations, and if the holder had walled and trenched. The nobles (faiths) were the airé desá, airé echaí, airé ard, airé tuisc, airé forgaill, "Tanaisé Rígh," and Rígh. The right of electing the King or Rígh was generally vested in certain families, and the nobles formed a council to assist and advise in the interests of the people. This council in later days was called a mold (f), and in a small islet, close to Island Finlagan, are still to be seen the ruins of the council house, where a council consisting of fourteen councillors sat daily to administer the affairs of the isles (g). The yegomen, if we may so call them, were the tenants who held land of their chief either in Sacraith or Deraeth, and formed the backbone of the armies. The goldsmith, smith, and builder were noble traders; the airíck comáide was the chief of the guild, and the airé fine the responsible head of the family.

There were four ranks of the Bó airé. The lowest class must have sixty acres of land (a Baille bó), the lowest quantity on which to keep a family, and a certain quantity of forest, and sufficient meadow land to provide winter forage. The lowest class in the community was the labourer or servant. He was not qualified to make a contract or to suffer for a distrait; when liable for debt he was imprisoned, a chain put round his leg or neck, and a certain allowance (a boctan) only of food given him, but he who had lived long enough to serve four lords became a senéich, and could not be removed from the land. It will be seen that the provincial community consisted of the King and his tenants, the nobles and their tenants, the noble trades and professions, the freehold farmers, the yeomanry, tradesmen, and the labourer and bondsman: the man of each rank exercising certain carefully-defined powers over the those placed under him, exactly in the same manner as the people of the Highlands acted until a late period. The chief also retained the cumhal senórbá, a portion of land set apart for indigent members.

The fabric of society was the same in South Keltland (or England) and in North Keltland (or Scotland) as long as they remained Keltic kingdoms, the territorial Rights or Kings of Scotland being called Macmoros, who governed the country with the aid of the Toiseachs: the Toiseachdóic, or coroner, and the Toiseachadhacht acting as legal lieutenants, if we may use the term (h), in much the same manner as the Rígh was assisted by the airé tuisc, airé echaí, &c., of the Irish annals. The political changes of the 10th and 11th centuries, however, undermined the authority of the Macmoros, the last Macmoros of Moray being slain in David I's time. The quarrel of Bruce and Baliol helped still more to disturb the old order of things, but when it was expected that feudal authority had triumphed, it was found that the clans or families had grown so powerful that their chiefs were *de facto* territorial Kings, each exercising more power (because concentrated) than the Macmoros had been able to exercise over a more extended domain; in fact, the clan was a faithful representation of Keltic society, the chief was the Rígh, the Tanist succeeded him, the dún-neasail was the faith, and the Toiseach was the airé echaí, leader

(c) In the early part of the 16th century, Lachlan Cathmach McLean proved himself to be such a black sheep that on his returning to Mull after some affairs, a mold or council of chieftains and gentlemen of the McLeans was held, and the propriety of totally excluding him from the succession was mooted. His advocates, however, carried the day in his favour, alleging his youth as some palliative for his wicked and ungovernable conduct, and that at a more mature age there was hope of his being less objectionable.—Communicated by Miss McLean.

(d) The judge of the palace claims, on entering office, an entering office, a chessboard of waldbone from the King, a gold ring from the Queen, and another of the domestic bard, and he ought neither to give them away nor sell them.

(e) The Rígh governed a district or province.

(f) The ancient Parliament which was held by the Britons: the Saxons evidently were obliged to use the institutions ready to their hand, and did not invent them ready cut and dried.

(g) Hector McLean.

(h) The seeming difference in the titles, &c., has arisen from the diversity of spelling used from age to age, and even at the present day the names are spelt *anyhow*, to suit the fancy of the writer.

of the army. Many of these chiefs, like the Lord of the Isles, the McLeans, &c., entered into alliance with the Kings of England from time to time (f), or entered into bonds of manrent with their equals or with smaller clans for mutual aid and protection. The chiefs, like the Ríghs of old, had a retinue suitable to their pretensions, and were attended by the henchman, the sword-bearer, the bard, the piper and his gillie, the orator, fool, or jester, and sundry stout carles, whose duty it was to carry him over the fords, to act as guides, and to carry his baggage. His successor was the Tanist, but the most powerful subordinate member of the clan was the head of the eldest branch of the family, who had the title of Toiseach; and although the clan proper consisted of the duine-usaills and those who claimed relationship of blood with the chief, numbers of men—either natives of the territory, members of small clans, or broken men—were reckoned on the fighting strength, and were bound to support the chief in all his quarrels, for which they received protection in return.

The following will serve to show the nature of the obligations contracted between equals, the contracts between the superior and one of lower rank being of a similar nature.

"Bond of Maintenance by Angus Macdonald, of Dunyveg and the Glens, to Ninian Bannatyne, of Kames,

"with obligation of man-rent by Bannatyne in return (1577).

"Be it kend, till all men be thir lettreis, me, Angus McConaill, of Dunavaig, and Glennis Bindis, and obliissis me
 "and my airis to fortefe, manteyne, supple, and defend Niniane Bannachtyne, of Kames, Hector Bannachtyne, his
 "son and appearand air, and thair airis, in all and sindrie thair just, honest, and lauchfull actionis, causis, querrellis,
 "and debaittis quhatsumever, thai sall happin to haif to do in all tyme cuming contrar all leving, the auctoritie and
 "my lord Erle of Ergyle only except: For the quhilkis causis and utheris respectis the saidis Niniane and Hector,
 "for themselffis and thair airis Bindis, and obliissis thame and thair airis in the stratest maner that can be devysit
 "to serve, obey, and tak ane afauld pairt with the said Angus McConaill and his airis in all and sundrie thair
 "actionis, &c., contrar all leving, the auctorite and the Erle of Ergyle only except.

"Dated at the Kames, 16th May, 1577, before these witnesses, Donald Camrone, of Lochabir, John dow
 "McRannald Moir V^e Allester in Kilchummaig, with others, and subscribed by Angus Macdonald and Hector
 "Bannatyne, the latter subscribing also for his father, who cannot write" (j).

This state of affairs was peculiarly distasteful to the reigning family; the chiefs were independent, and payment of taxes was forgotten (?) or evaded; therefore, in order to break the power of the chiefs, a system of forfeiture was adopted, dissensions were fomented, clan set against clan, and powerful nobles, like Argyle and Huntly, were offered a royal grant of all lands they might conquer by the total extirpation of the existing proprietors within a given period, provided they agreed to pay for the lands granted such rent as the King might demand for his share of the expected acquisition (k). This system bore fruits, in the massacre of Glencoe, and the burning at Kilchrist, and much of the fighting and quarrelling with which Highlanders are credited, and many of the desperate deeds committed by men who, like the McGregors, were hunted like wild beasts, and were driven to bay, must be laid at the door of those who conceived and carried out this questionable policy.

We have already seen that Keltland, before the Christian era, was apportioned out to a numerous body of men holding rank according to their wealth or ability, the land being covered with groups or communities, the members of which, unless checked and guarded by well-defined and well-understood laws, would always be at loggerheads. The restraining power of the Druids provided the necessary check, and the laws which were promulgated from time to time by the Brehons, or judges, were accepted by all as their guide. The laws consisted of the Cain laws, of universal application, and the "Urradhuis," or local laws. Those of West Keltland, in St. Patrick's time, were submitted to his inspection, and, after striking out and destroying all reference to the ancient religion, the remainder, with slight modification, was approved and reinstated as the Senchus Mór, &c. (l). We may, therefore, accept them, with the Heptiads, and other laws previously referred to, as a faithful—albeit somewhat slightly tinged—picture of Keltic life.

(f) Lachlan Mor McLean (1591) entered into an engagement with Queen Elizabeth, through her ambassador in Scotland, to aid her against O'Rourke and other Irish barons, at this time in rebellion against her authority, and, at the head of 1800 of his followers, assisted the Queen's deputy in the suppression of the insurrection.

(j) Communicated per favour of Hector McLean, Isla.

(k) Now the judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin, from the first occupation of the island down to the reception of the faith, were all exhibited by Dubhthach (a Druid) to Patrick. What did not clash with the word of God in the written law and the New Testament, and with the consciences of the believers, was confirmed in the laws of the Brehons by Patrick, and by the ecclesiastics and the chieftains of Erin, for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith and its obligations, and the harmony of the church and people, and this is the "senchus."

The earliest rule between man and man was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; but as this could only be obtained by the stronger, a regular scale of compensation was laid down for injury done to all worthy persons—*i.e.*, according to his rank, was entitled to a certain honour price for damage done, but this was conditional on his being a worthy member of society, and for every departure from rectitude an abatement was made in his value. Honour chieftain: "Dire fine—is not due to a false-judging king, a stumbling bishop, a fraudulent poet, or an unworthy and secret murder, was forfeiture of honour price at once (*m*). "Refusing food, burning, betraying, violating, wounding, excessive reward, or solo composes unlawful satire, loses half honour price until the third time! A man was not fined a friend, who would have been otherwise killed, he was to have full body price for him; he was also entitled to take away the "seds" of his dead comrades when they were defeated, and the enemy would have taken them.

Again, this would be a beautiful test of the value your relations might put on you. If a man was in custody for debt, and his keeper killed him, the keeper was to pay body fine and honour price to his friends; if they paid the debt, or if they preferred to get nothing and pay nothing, they had their choice. The penalties, except in the case of the labourer or bondsmen, were recovered under the law of distress, with few exceptions. The king was not to be distrained, the steward bailiff answering in his stead. The physician was also to a certain extent free if he had not a sufficient number of probes or whips for distress. The law says, "Let a thread be tied about his finger, next the little finger, and if he does not cede justice, it is the same as absconding on his part." For distress (*athgabhal*) was a general name for every security, by which everyone recovered his right—"athgabhal" was that which rendered good to the good—which rendered evil to the evil—which took the guilty for his guilt. The man who was attacked obtained eric fine. Five days' notice (*n*) was served before a distress on a defendant that he might have his property in readiness for a pledge for judgment, for consultation, for adjustment, for contracts. Notices served on a tribe to be before witnesses, and the nearest kinsman (*o*) of his tribe was sued for his liabilities. The distress was levied in this wise on a commoner: The plaintiff first gave notice, then distrained; but if the defendant was a chieftain, the plaintiff, after giving notice, had to fast on him (*i.e.*, on the premises). No definite description is given as to the manner and time of fasting, but Elphinstone says that, according to the Hindoo law (*p*), which resembled the Celtic law in some respects, when the plaintiff fasted the defendant was obliged to fast also. Then, if the plaintiff did not obtain redress, he (accompanied by a legal agent, witnesses, and others) seized his distress, subject to the landlord being first satisfied. The goods seized in certain cases remained in possession of the defendant for a certain time, after which, if the debt was not paid or disproved, the property was placed in a pound, to be retained there for a further time, at the expiration of which the forfeiting time began to run, during which time the distress became forfeited at the rate of three sids per day until the whole was lost.

In carrying off cattle taken in distress, if the distress was of greater value than the honour price of the plaintiff, half was to be put in the plaintiff's pound; the other half in one of the seven pounds—*i.e.*, the pound belonging to the Ollamh, Brehon, Aire-itir-da-aire, Aire-desa, Aire tuise, Aire ard, or Aire forgaill. If the debtor acknowledged the justice of the proceedings taken, payment was generally made in kind, as follows:—One kind of goods for repayment of half cumhal in value; two kinds for one cumhal; three for more than one cumhal—*i.e.*, one-third cows, one-third horses, and one-third silver, of which one-third to be in oxen, one-third mares, one-third of anfolam mixture in the one-third of silver—*i.e.*, copper in them.

One of the brightest traits in the Celtic character was the value that was placed on a man's word. All that

(*m*) The offender could be killed, and no one could claim compensation.

(*n*) Why is the distress of five days always more usual than any other distress? On account of the combat fought between two in Magh-inis. When they had all things ready for plying their arms, except a witness alone; they met a woman at the place of combat, and she requested of them to delay, saying, "If it were my husband that was here I would compel you to delay." "I would delay," said one of them, "but it would be prejudicial to the man that sees me; it is his cause that would be delayed." "I will delay," said the other. The combat was therefore put off, but they did not know to what time until Conchubar and Sencha passed judgment respecting it, and Sencha asked, "What is the name of this woman?" "Cuicthi" said she, "is my name." "Let the combat be delayed," said Sencha, "in the name of the woman, for five days." From which is derived, "the truth of the men of the Feinne would have perished had it not been for Cuicthi."—*Senchus Mór*.

(*o*) Latterly the law of Kincogish.

(*p*) Introduction, "Senchus Mór"

were able to make a contract (*g*) were bound by a verbal contract, "for the world would be in a state of confusion if verbal contracts were not binding." This trust in a man's word was for ages unshaken. General Stewart says a gentleman of the name of Stewart agreed to lend a considerable sum of money to a neighbour. When they met, and the money was already counted down upon the table, the borrower offered a receipt; immediately the lender and the money was gathered up the money; placed it in his sporran, and after remarking, "That a man who could not heard this he gathered up the money; placed it in his sporran, and after remarking, "That a man who could not trust his own word without a bond should not be trusted by him, and should have none of his money," at once started home with his treasure. Insolvency was also considered disgraceful; the bankrupt had to surrender all, and submit to the *Toncruidh*. The unfortunate wight was clad in conspicuous garments, brought into the presence of the people, and was then seized by four men, and bumped against a stone (*r*).

Another mode of punishment for offenders was the ballan stiallach (*s*). This was a kind of frame, erected on a pillar; the culprit was tightly bound with a rope about the shoulders, by which he hung.

In addition to a number of minute regulations on almost every subject, except that of religion, the *Senchus Mór* devotes a considerable space to the laws on fosterage, and by this we find that the Highland fashion of fosterage is a relic of early times.

There are two kinds or degrees—i.e., the fosterage of affection and fosterage for payment, the foster father receiving a fee proportionate to the rank of the child's parents; the ancient scale was three seds for the son (*t*) of the *og aire*, five for the *bo-aire*, ten for the *aire desa*, thirty for the *rioh* or king. Later on, when the ranks were more numerous, the fees were—three cows up to *bo-aire* chief; four ditto for the *aire desa*; six = *aire echta*; nine = *aire ard*; twelve = *aire foragill*; eighteen = king. When the foster father returned the child, he presented it with a parting gift (*séd gertha*), and the validity of the foster father's claim to be maintained by the foster son in his old age depended upon whether at the end of the fosterage he had given the prescribed number of "seds." Less was expected from the girls, and a larger fee was paid in consequence. An ounce of silver was the lawful value of seds of maintenance of the son or daughter of the *aire-itir-da-aire* (*u*) chief, &c.; three and a half for the son of a king; twelve screpalls for the son of a *bo-aire* chief, downwards.

The minimum course of instruction was the herding of lambs, calves, kids, and young pigs; kiln drying, combing, and wood-cutting for boys; the use of the quern, kneading trough, and sieve for girls, the foster father undertaking to teach the son of the *aire desa* horsemanship, branni playing, shooting, chess-playing, and swimming, and the daughter sewing, cutting out, and embroidery; the son of the king was also to be provided with a horse at the time of the races.

The relation of the foster father and children in the Highlands was, as a rule, fosterage for affection, the most passionate devotion being shown for the young chief or child by the foster father and his children (*v*); and, apart from the influence gained, and the necessary amount of stock received for the maintenance of the child, the office was eagerly sought for, solely as a trust of honour, unsullied by selfish or mercenary considerations.

We have little evidence as to the nature of the marriage rite in early days: the fathers and brothers received a share of the daughters and sisters' wedding gifts, but whether it was merely a hand-fasting or a more permanent engagement is uncertain, but we know that a divorce was obtained, granted, or insisted on in certain circumstances.

In the married state, the man and woman shared equally, and if divorced the man gave the woman the sack and a certain portion of the household gear, the quantity of which was regulated according to the time of year, and also in accordance with the proportion of labor bestowed on it at the time of separation; she was to have one-eighth of the wool after shearing, one-sixth if in locks, one-third when first combed or the grease put in, and half the prepared cloth; in the same manner she is to have one-ninth of the glaislin when gathered, one-sixth if made into cakes, and so on. From this it will be seen that the tie, as long as it lasted, must have been of the closest description. In later days the wedding was made a joyous festival, for which preparations had been made for weeks before; the invitations were scattered broadcast, and the invited responded with presents in kind to assist in the merry-making, and to set the happy couple going; the early part of the wedding day was occupied

(*g*) The following contracts were not legal:—The labourer without his chief, the monk without his abbot, the son of a living father without his father, the fool or madman, and the woman without her man.

(*r*) Stewart.

(*s*) Armstrong.

(*t*) The father had to pay one sed extra for the daughter because of the extra trouble. The fosterage by boys lasted seventeen years, and for the girls fourteen.—*Senchus Mór*.

(*u*) Or *aire-itir*.

(*v*) This affection was proverbial. Affectionate to a man is a friend, but a foster brother is the life-blood of his heart; kindred to twenty degrees, fosterage to one hundred; woe to the father of a foster son who is unfaithful to his trust.

by the aspirants for matrimony in collecting their friends; and after a dinner, or rather after the two dinners (w), the bridegroom's party and the bride's party joined forces and marched to the manse, amidst the liveliest expression of approval and good-will; the important ceremony over, the fun was kept up until a late hour.

Property, on the death of the owner, was divided thus: The cattle and land were divided equally amongst the sons, but the *eldest son* had, in addition, the pots, brewing vats, and other vessels and implements, with the house and offices.

We have already described one of the earliest of the funeral rites, but these varied according to fashion (plate 28 shows two fine specimens of urns at present in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy). In later time the body was wrapped in woollen cloths, and enclosed in a wicker coffin; and when fashions changed an attempt was made to compel the people to continue the use of the woollens, and several Acts were passed for that purpose.

A vivid description of the customs in later times is given in the subjoined communication we received from Hamilton, of Leny:—

"Some thirty years ago, an old gentleman (a bank agent, a native of the district, and who died in 1854 at the age of sixty-nine) told me that he remembered the existence of wakes on the occasions of deaths (x); he had witnessed one of these in his boyhood, which, probably owing to what he then saw, made a vivid impression on his mind. He had gone to the house or cottage where the wake was in progress. (These lasted, more or less, from the time the death occurred till the body was interred. The deceased was apparently washed, and dressed in its best clothes, and visited by all comers, who were entertained at all hours with food and drink, according to the means and dignity of the deceased). It had lasted for a day or two prior to his visit, which occurred in the evening. The house was lit up, and the company, apparently excited with drink, were playing at Blind Man's Buff, or Blind Harry, as the game was then called in this locality, having the corpse stuck up in the bed as a spectator of the sport; he remembered seeing one of the drunken revellers jump into the bed to avoid being caught by Blind Harry, and knock over the corpse. This caused the game to cease, but the eating and drinking continued to be indulged in, probably more or less till the funeral took place. The use of the coffin, or kist, as it was called, for the dead body was most probably of comparative recent introduction; at least, he remembered having as a child seen one funeral where the corpse, dressed in its best tartan and kilt, was carried on a bier, which was lashed to a long pole, borne aloft on the shoulders of men of the clan or district, four or five men at either side; when all was ready, the bearers started and ran with the body to where it was to be interred, and as one tired at the pole, and fell out, his place was occupied by any other of the persons present. He was regarded with honour who could run longest at the pole, for he was evidently lithe of limb and sound in lung—a young man full of active vigour. It was winter on the occasion referred to, and as the snow lay heavily on the flat roadway they made for the hill-side; he remembered hearing one of the pole-bearers shout to the others, 'Let us take to the hill,' and seeing them whirl past him and disappear, with the snow thrown up in a sort of misty cloud about them. He was then but a child, and probably his childish wonder and imagination may have unconsciously somewhat coloured the picture, but when he told me the story he was an old and staid man of business. When the bier thus carried reached the burying-ground, it was taken off the pole, and with the body on it lowered into the grave and buried."

"The burying-grounds of the Kelts were not in connection with existing parishes, but were close to where the cells or chapels of the Culdees or other early teachers of acceptable forms of religious worship had existed, and where its priest could be found to perform such rites as were deemed advisable or respectable on such an occasion. They like their dust to associate with that of their peculiar predecessors, or kinsfolk, and hence these grounds were, and still are, used more specially by people of the same name than the more modern parish kirk yards and the more euphonic cemeteries."

(w) A braithel where the broth was fat,
In ancient times a token sure,
The bridegroom was na' reckoned poor;
A vast o' fouk a' round about
Came to the feast they dined thereout;
Twa pair o' pipers playing gade
About the table as they fed. (*Piper of Pindia*).

(x) Lord Lovat, in speaking of his approaching end, said, "Then there will be crying and clapping of hands, for I am one of the greatest chiefs of the Highlands."

Having described some of the most important forms and ceremonies regulating Keltic society, we will briefly enumerate some of the domestic occupations of the race.

We have already seen that the medical profession was held in great honour. The researches of O'Longan and others prove that the early Keltic MS. contain the outline of a very creditable system of medicine—mixed, no doubt, with certain religious observances—and in later times we find the Beaton's carefully preserving the honours of the profession. This subject, however, would require greater space than we have at our disposal, and of the simpler treatment for which the Highlanders were celebrated, mention has already been made of the "clach dearg," and its use in curing cattle, &c. Another cure, the teine eigin, is mentioned by Dr. Martin. All the fires in the parish were extinguished, and 81 married men (being deemed the proper number of men for effecting this purpose) took two planks of wood, or rather nine of them took two planks of wood and rubbed them together; the squads of nine relieving each other until the fire was forced from the friction. When the fire was kindled, a pot full of water was put on, and this water was afterwards sprinkled on people who had the plague, and was reckoned as an antidote for murrain and all diseases of cattle.

Lightfoot has noted the following:—Bilberries (*Lus nan deare*) or a decoction of heather roots in milk were given for diarrhoea and dysentery; wood sorrel (*Biadh-eunain*) made into a tea for fevers; a spirituous extract of heather roots was given for sea scurvy; an infusion of Sweet William (*Roid*) for worms; lycopodium (*garbhag-an-t-sleibh*) in small doses was used as an emetic; an infusion of bog bean (an *tri bhileach*) leaves was used to strengthen the stomach; an infusion of a kind of garlic was used for the gravel; and Mountain Laver (*Duilliosg nam beann*), when reduced to a pulp, was used as a purgative for calves. For outward application, the leaves of the lesser spear-wort acted as a blister after being well bruised in a mortar and applied in limpet shells.

At birth, the nurse put the end of a green stick of ash in the fire, and received in a spoon the sap as it oozed out from the other end, and gave it as the first spoonful of liquor to the new-born babe.

Sheep and lambs were passed through a hoop of Rowan on the 1st of May.

The broth made of flesh of young seals was an astringent used in diarrhoea, and a girdle of sealskin was good for sciatica or chincough.

According to the best authorities, we find that in the measure of weight one *screpal* was about equal to one *scruple* modern apothecaries' weight.

1 pinginn	=	=	6½ grains.
3 pingins (<i>orsical</i>)	=	1 <i>screpal</i>	=	1 <i>scruple</i> . (s)
4 <i>screpals</i>	=	1 <i>dairt</i>	=	1½ dram.
6 <i>dairts</i>	=	1 <i>bo</i>	=	1 oz.

3 <i>bo</i>	=	1 <i>cumhal</i>	=	3 oz.
7 <i>cumhals</i>	=	1 <i>bo aireach febhsa</i>	=	1¼ lbs.
3 <i>bo aireach febhsa</i>	=	1 <i>bruigh fer</i>	=	3¼ lbs.

MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

3 <i>selanns</i>	=	1 <i>boctan</i> (s).....	=	1 pint.
12 <i>boctan</i> or <i>meisrin</i>	=	1 <i>oldderbh</i> measure.....	=	1½ gallons.

6 <i>oldderbh</i> measures.....	=	1 <i>olfeine</i> measure.....	=	9 gallons.
2 <i>olfeine</i> measures.....	=	1 <i>oilmedhach</i> or <i>olptraic</i>	=	18 gallons.

Space will not permit us to enter fully into the gastronomical weaknesses of the Kelt, but we give a sufficient number of bones, from which the reader can construct his own skeleton. One of the best accounts of a good feed is that of one enjoyed by Scanlan, who, "after he had drank enough for three and ate his meal, to wit, seven joints of old bacon and ten wheaten cakes, laid down, and was three days and three nights in one sleep. (aa)

"May good digestion wait an appetite."

We have already noticed the laws of fosterage in the *Senchus Mór*, and, in addition to the extracts already given, we find that even the ingredients of the food were specified for the foster children, mention being made of oatmeal porridge, barley meal, new milk, salt and fresh butter, wheaten meal, new milk, and honey. All were to have porridge, with salt butter for inferior grades, fresh butter for sons of chieftains, and honey for sons of kings.

The Keltic militia were obliged to subsist on the spoils of the chase from May to November; they dug pits, in which to cook their food, as already described, and their beds were made of a foundation of brushwood, on which

(s) It is said that a *screpal* was equal to 24 grains of wheat grown in prime land, and by carefully weighing samples of grain, we estimate that the average 24 grains of wheat are equal to one *scruple* apothecaries' weight.

(s) Twelve times the full of a hen's egg is equal to one *meisrin* measure, and taking the contents of the egg at 13 and one-third fluid drachms, we have one *meisrin* measure equal to one imperial pint.

(aa) *Life of Columba*.

Leathar Comunn nam Fionn Sháel,
(Book of the Club of True Irishlanders)



spinning.



spinning wheel.



Weaving



spindle & whorl.



Woolen.



wool comb.



Fyllestad: 1150.



spinning.



Fyllestad:

was placed—first, moss, and then rushes. Again, "twenty-four clerics sit down about it (the meal), and twelve laymen. The food is equally divided, but the laymen have double share of ale, in order that they (the clerics) *may not be drunk.*"

Froissart says:—"The Scottysche men are right hardy, and sore traveling in barneys and in warres. They take with them no purveyance of brede nor wyne for their usage, and their sobreness is such in time of warre that they will pass in iouney a great long time wi' flesshe halfe soden, without brede, and drink of the ryver water, without wyne, and they nother care for pottis nor pannis, for they sethe beastis in their owne skynnes; between the saddyll and the pommel they trusse a brode plate of metal, and behind the saddyll they will have a litle sack full of oatmeale, to ye intent that, when they have eaten of the sodden flesshe, then they lay this plate on the fyre, and temper a lytle of the oatmeale, and when the plate is hote they cast of the thyn paste thereon, and so make a lytle cake, in manner of a crakenell or bysket, and they eate to comfort withall their stomakis.

"Iohan of the Isles, who gouerned the wyld Scottes, . . . he came with a thre thousand of the most outrageous people in all that country."

Sims of Kinclaven thus describes the frugal meal of later days:—

"When I set down to morning meal,
Potatoes, porridge, brose or kail,
Or barley bread and trackle ale."

In 1786-87 (*cc*), when Sir Walter Scott visited one of his Highland friends, he found him and his sons, with, perhaps, half a dozen gillies, lying half-asleep on their tartans upon the heath, with their guns by their side, and surrounded by game, and the women folk were in the distance leading a cart of manure; and at dinner, we are told that the principal article of the laird's first course was a gigantic haggis, borne into the hall in a wicker basket by two half-naked Kelts, while the piper strutted fiercely behind them.

Jamieson (*dd*) relates that when a young man he was travelling on foot over the mountains of Lochaber, and came to a cottage, where he asked for something to eat. There was only a middle-aged woman in the house, and she told him she had nothing that could be eaten except cheese, a little sour cream, and some whiskey. There was, however, she said, plenty of meal in the croft, pointing to some unreaped barley that stood dead ripe and dry before the door; and if he could wait half an hour he should have brose and butter, bread and cheese, bread and milk, or anything he chose. He consented, and the dame set with all possible expedition about her arduous undertaking; she first of all brought him some cream in a bottle, telling him—he that will not work, neither shall he eat; if he wished for butter he must shake that bottle with all his might, and *sing to it, like a mavis, all the while, for unless he sung to it no butter would come.* She then went to the croft, cut down some barley, burnt the straw to dry the grain between her hand, and threw it before the wind to separate it from the ashes; ground it upon a quern or handmill, sifted it, made a bannock of the meal, set it up to bake before the fire, and lastly went to milk the cow, singing like a lark all the time. In the meantime, a hen cackled under the eaves of the cottage; two new laid eggs were immediately plunged into the boiling kail pot; and in less than half an hour the poor, starving, faint, and wayworn minstrel, with wonder and delight, sat down to a repast that, under such circumstances, would have been a feast for a prince. In the early part of this century, another bard, speaking of the land he was living in, says:—

"Tis true their country fouk, as those wi' you,
Have not their pantries panged sae bien an fu;
They nae cramm'd melder in their girdles keep,
And hae nae guid fat marts o' kye and sheep;
Nae beef, nor bacon hams, hang round their wa's,
Nor winsome sweet milk kebbucks swung in raws.
They've nae rich butter kitts for winter stored,
Nae curds, nor cream, nor whey in pails well scoured;
Nae yellow broze, their blythe yule morning boasts,
Nor stoups o' nappy yill nor dads o' toast.
An when at dinner a' the friends are met,
Nae rounds o' guid fat beef before them set;
Nae dainty haggis made to prie fu' nice,
Wi' ingans, plucks, and fat weel shorn wi' spice" (*cc*).

(*cc*) Lockhart's "Life of Scott."

(*dd*) As quoted by A. Ross, Esq., at a meeting of the Field Club.

(*ee*) He was living in Spain, and was contrasting the mode of living in that country with that of Scotland.

At Dunrosness, salted mutton was placed in little houses called skies, built of dry stones without mortar, so that the wind may blow through, and when dried was called blown meat; Braxy was the flesh of sheep killed by frost or exposure to the cold. Mir mòr was collops mixed with marrow and herb seeds.

Of the animals, we need only mention those that are rare in the present day. Of these, Lightfoot mentions the wild cattle were milk white in colour, with black ears, muzzles, and orbits, horns fine and bending out, slender legs, and they could fly like deer; the great horned sheep of St. Kilda, and the wild hogs; these were detested by the Highlanders generally, but were considered sacred in Caithness. They were a small, fierce race, with long, pricked ears, high backs, long bristles, and slender noses. Caledonian bears (which were exported to Rome on account of their superior fierceness) existed until 1057, and the last wolf until about 1680. Gordon carries three bears' heads for killing one.

Of the vegetable kingdom, the roots of the wild tansy (bar a' bhrislean) when boiled were much esteemed in Tiree and Coll as a substitute for bread.

Laver was gathered on the Western Isles in March, and after pounding and stewing with a little water, was eaten with pepper, vinegar, and butter; others stewed it with leeks and onions. Lovage (Siunas) was eaten in Skye, raw, as a salad; the common brook lime, fine blue flower, used as an antiscorbutic, eaten in the spring as a salad. Highlanders dried the Cairmeille (wood pea) and chewed the roots to give a better relish to their liquor; it was also used for disorders of the thorax; it repels hunger and thirst for a long time, and when bruised and steeped in water they made a fermented drink of it. The roots have a sweet taste, something like liquorice.

The berries of the Mountain ash (Craobh Chaorain), and the berries of the blackberry heath, preas nam smear, the berries of the hawthorn (Sgìtheach) were eaten, and Cloud berries (Lus nan eithreag) were used as a dessert; and the roots of the wild carrot (Curran) were eaten.

The potency of the Keltic drink has attracted attention from early days; that which was called curmi was prepared from barley, which is frequently made use of as a beverage instead of wine; "it produces pain in the head and base humour, and is injurious to the nerves. Such drinks were also made from wheat, as in Iberia and Britain, towards the west" (ff).

Ale was to be brewed in "lawful houses," and was sometimes made of heather tops. Raspberry (preas subhag) juice was used in making punch, and when distilled with water made a very pleasing drink. The sap of maple was made into wine. Three pints of decoction of Fearntag (nettle) was added to one quart of salt and then bottled; a spoonful acted as a runnet. The wines drank during a progress of James V. of Scotland in 1538 were claret, Romayne, Malmesey, Rhenish, Allegaunt, and white wine of Anjou.

McCulloch says:—"Whisky is so rare and expensive that it rarely enters a cottage." (This was in uncivilized times.)

In Shetland (gg), some men contented themselves with water, milk, and their drink made of it called blend. The food of the commons is milk and fish; they milk thrice a day, churn once a day, their drink made of milk and water called *bland*.

Blend is made of milk after the butter is taken out of it, clarified, and barrelled for winter (hh).

Blende, when it is kept till winter, is in colour like white wine. They say it warms the stomach, which must be from the acrimony of it. They are accustomed to drink it without prejudice, but they that are not will quickly find damage by it, for it is the most astringent liquor that I ever tasted, *experto crede* (ii).

On plate 29 is shown the various styles of drinking cups. Figs. 2 and 5 show the manner of holding the horn cup. Figs. 1 and 3 are four-handed methers. Fig. 4 is a drinking horn with modern mounts. Fig. 6 belongs to Mr. Davie, of St. Fillans, and was made for standing on the table or to be slung at the side. Fig. 7 is an old turned cup. Fig. 11, a stone cup. Fig. 9 is the celebrated Bannachtyn Bowl (jj). It is handsomely mounted in silver. The legend engraved is, "Ninian Bannachtyn, ye Lard of ye Camis." A portion of the ancient lid is at present fixed in the bottom; the couchant lion is surmounted by enamelled shields, blazoned with the arms of families in alliance with or related to the Bannachtyn Clan. The present lid is a curiously carved piece of whalebone. Fig. 16, plate 28, shows a fine specimen of ancient bronze, (remarkably like a coffee-pot) belonging to McPherson of

(ff) In 1768 a big feast was called curme.

(gg) Menteith, 1633.

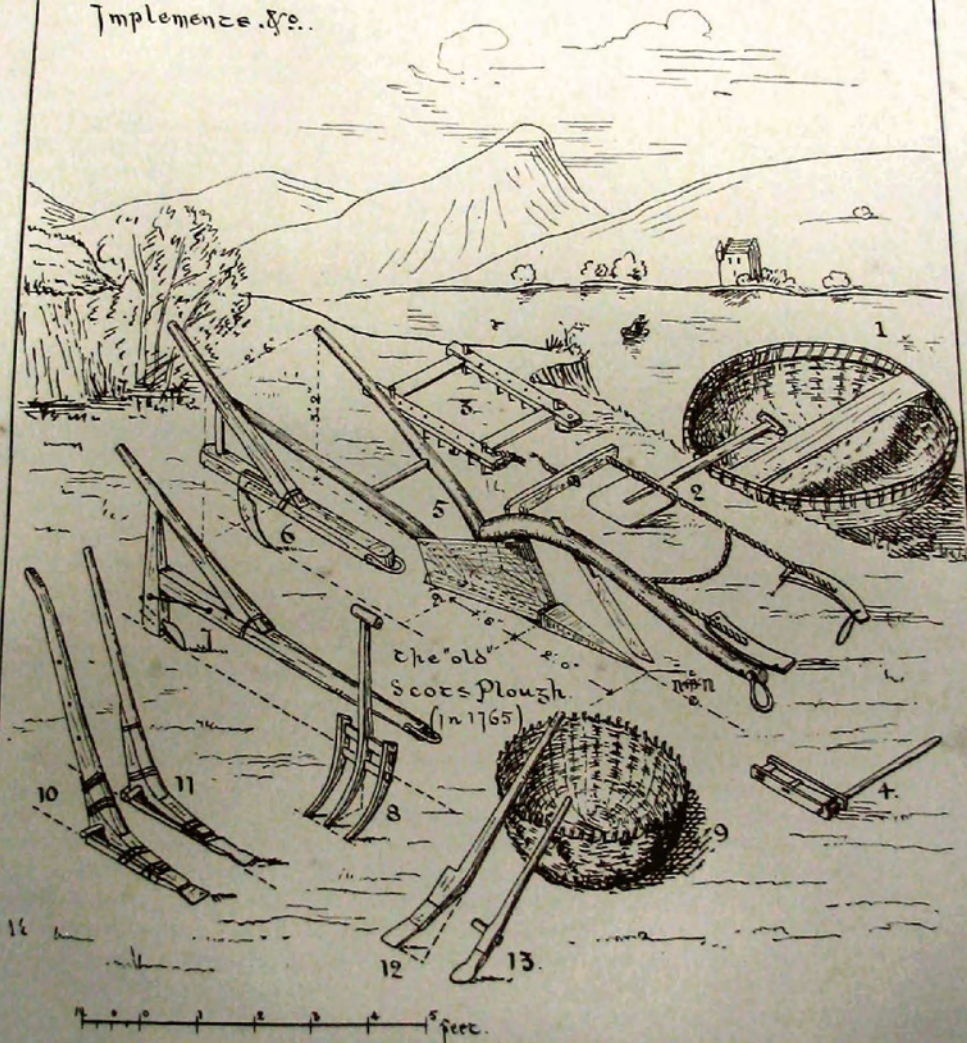
(hh) Sir R. Sibbald. (Menteith)

(ii) Sir R. Sibbald. (Menteith)

(jj) It is held by Lady Helen McGregor on behalf of her son, who is the head of the Bannachtyn Clan.

Leathar Comunn nam Fìor Shàel.
(Book of the Club of True Highlanders)

Agricultural
Implements, &c.



Bogangore. Several specimens are also in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Fig. 14 is a rough kail pot of bronze, probably of the latter part of the 16th or the commencement of the 17th century, from the collection of Mr. Isles, of Blairgowrie. Several specimens of the cuach are shown in plates 30-70. The haddish, or ha'dish, containing about half a peck, was used for measuring out meal.

For general domestic purposes or for farm use mountain ash was used for milkwork screws, for presses, spokes for wheels (*léé*). Heather was used for thatch ropes, and beds were made of the same, the roots being skilfully twisted together so that the tops were uppermost, and they thus formed an admirable bed (*ll*). Birch (*Beithe*) bark for tanning and ropes; the outer rind (*meilleg*) was used for candles; the wood used for arrows, ploughs, carts, trenchers, bowls, hurdles, and fences; chairs were made of alder. Plate 28 shows some of the ancient bronze tools used. The axes and chisels were fixed with thongs to wooden handles, and were doubtless as skilfully used as the axe is by the Russian at the present day. Pine bark was also used for ropes; the bark of the willow (*seileach*) was used for tanning; the common brake (*Raineach*), mown green, burnt to ashes, and made up into balls with a little water was used for soap.

Kelp was made of common sea wrack (*Feamainn*); the plant was collected in small heaps and dried, a pit dug on sandy ground about 7 feet by 3 feet, lined with stones, a fire was kindled with small sticks, and the wrack laid on by degrees. When it is sufficiently burnt it looks like red hot ashes; it is then stirred up with a rake to mix it, until it congeals and vitrifies. Price of kelp in Jura was £3 10s. per ton.

The querns were two stones, one on the other (fig. 18, plate 28); the upper stone had a hole through which the grain was poured, and generally had holes in which pegs were placed for handles. It was usually worked by two women, seated opposite one another on the ground; the grain was poured into the centre hole, the upper stone was whirled rapidly round, and the meal, working out at the sides, was received by a cloth placed under the stones for that purpose. We find mention made in the *Senchus Mór* of the damsel that tended the mill (*mm*), but whether it was the quern or no we are uncertain. The use of the quern was discouraged by the legislature, as being awkward and prejudicial to the landlords who built mills; the lairds ordered all the querns to be smashed in 1248, and the people were not allowed to use them unless on account of stormy weather, or there being a scarcity of mills (*temp.* Alex. II.) (*nn*).

Menteith speaking of querns, says, "There are few milnes here save hand milnes called quairns; their hooks or sickles have no teeth; plough socks and culters slender; their labouring is by four oxen all going in broad band, with a man going backward in front of them, and the ploughman holding his plough by his side (plate 27.)"

"There are no walke milnes here, it is done either by their feet or hands, or by the sea, called Tuvacuthoes; thus in a place betwixt a rock and the land, through which the sea ebbeh and floweth; they fasten a web of cloth, the one end upon the rock and the other upon the land, and the sea by its motion to and fro walkes the cloth very thick, which cloth they call yelt or wadmeal." The usual method of waulking cloth was for a number of women, say twelve or fourteen, sitting down on each side of a long ribbed board, placing the cloth on it, and rubbing it backwards and forwards with their feet or hands, increasing the time as they sing the "oraín luathaidh." Plate 27 shows some of the agricultural implements until lately used in the Highlands; three kinds of ploughs are shown; fig. 7 (*oo*) was drawn by two or four oxen, according to the nature of the ground, the *riostal* (fig. 6) being often drawn before it to clear the ground of stones; and the *cas chrom* (figs. 10 and 11), or foot plough, this is pushed along the ground by the foot pressing on a peg at the side (*pp*). An implement similar to the *cas chrom* (we are informed by Campbell of Isla) is used in Japan in much the same manner as it is used in the Highlands. Fig 5 shows the plough which in 1765 was called the Old Scot's Plough; this had the two stilts; the soc and coulter were iron, but the mould board was of wood, and in all; the quantity of iron used is of the smallest, and is placed to protect those parts coming in contact with the ground. The ploughs used in Aberdeenshire were called the

(ll) Found near Druid circles, a small piece guards against wiches; the dairymaid drives the cattle with a branch; it is laid over the door; and in Strathspey the sheep and lambs pass through a hoop of it on the 1st of May, morning and evening.

(ll) The most comfortable bed we have ever slept on was formed of heather laid together on the hill-side.

(mm) That part of the mill that stirs the grain as it enters between the stones is still called the damsel in some parts.

(nn) Pennant.

(oo) A plough of this description, we are informed by Mr. Chalmers (one of our trustees), is still used in Hertfordshire, a long-handled scraper, when not used to clear the soc, is fixed in a socket and forms the second stilt. Fig. 7 was copied from a model only.

(pp) Fig. 10 belongs to J. F. Campbell, of Isla, fig. 11 to A. Carmichael Scolpaig, of Lismore; the *Riostal* is also the property of the same gentleman, but it is deposited in the Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh.

twelve ousen ten ousen and four ousen, according to the number of oxen required to draw them (99); of the remaining articles shown on plate the graip (fig. 8), the harrow (rr) (fig. 3), formerly in use with its harness in Shetland, and the muck basket (fig. 6), one of a pair, that used to be slung on a pony, are from the Elgin Museum; the cas direach is driven into the ground by the foot being placed on a peg at the side (fig. 13), or else on a notch (fig. 12); these specimens are deposited in the Science and Art Department, Edinburgh, and are from the Highland Societies collection.

The cas direach is still used in Hertfordshire, and it is amusing to note the compassionate approval bestowed on the rough implements of the Highlander by those who little know that the same instrument is still in use, or was until lately, in use within twenty miles of London (sx). On plate 28 is the detail of an oak spade; the age of this is uncertain, but it is believed by its owner, Mr. J. S. Findlater, to have been dug out of a moss; it is similar in shape to those used at the present day in Wales. The "Scarecrow" belongs to Mr. McPherson, Bogangore (tt). The other articles shown on plate 27 are the coracle (fig. 1) and the paddle (fig. 2).

As we have already stated, the chief was the wealthiest and most experienced man of the tribe; he supplied stock to his tenants, and his claim for rent was in proportion to the amount of stock advanced, payment being in kind, a certain quantity was apportioned for repayment according to the amount of stock received; thus, if three cows were given for stock the chief was entitled to a wether and accompaniments as rent. For six cows he claimed a calf value three sacks of wheat and one salted pig, three sacks of malt, half sack of wheat, and a handful of rush candles all of a certain size and condition. For twenty-four cows he claimed one cow, one salted pig, eight sacks of malt, one sack of wheat, three handfuls of rush candles, all of a certain size and condition.

The tenants held in Saerrath, or Daerrath; (uu) saer tenure was given on consideration of receiving for seven years one-third of the value of the stock given (vv); it might be labour in building, reaping, military service, and homage at time of paying rent (ww); a man, however, was not obliged to take this tenancy of his chief, but he was of his king.

A *Duer* stock tenancy was entered by choice, and the tenant was required to give security for stock received. If the tenant gave up his tenancy with the consent of the chief he had to give up the stock and the "seds with double," and the double food rent for the year. If the chief terminated the tenancy, the tenant retained one-third of the stock and seds, and was not required to pay food rent for that year. *If the tenant refused to pay, he was charged double and dire fine, but if through poverty he must return the stock just as he received it.*

According to the ancient custom sixty Irish acres of land, with its forest and meadow land, were reckoned to be the quantity required to support a family, but as the extent of the acre varied according to the fruitfulness of the soil, we cannot determine the exact measurement according to the modern system; and it would appear that the difference in areas of the English, Scotch, and Irish acres (xx), and other little variations in the practice of land surveying in different parts of the country, arises from the custom of reckoning according to the value as well as the extent of the acre; the same rule was also observed in estimating the extent of the town lands.

We give two tables showing the ancient lineal and square measures—the thumb and one inch being taken at the one inch standard measure of the present day, so that the reader may have an idea of the *relative proportion* of the ancient standard measures.

Scaichs Mor.		MEASURES OF LENGTH.		O'Curry.	
		English.			English.
3 grains.....	= 1 inch	= 0 ft. 1 in.	3 barleycorns	= 1 thumb	= 0 ft. 1 in.
4 inches	= 1 palm	= 0 ft. 4 in.	4 thumbs	= 1 palm	= 0 ft. 4 in.
3 palms.....	= 1 foot	= 1 ft. 0 in.	4 palms.....	= 1 foot	= 1 ft. 4 in.
12 feet.....	= 1 rod	= 12 ft. 0 in.	12 feet.....	= 1 perch	= 16 ft. 0 in.
12 rods	= 1 forrach	= 144 ft. 0 in.	(This would be nearly the English perch or pole.)		
			12 perches	= 1 forrach	= 192 ft. 0 in.

(99) Communicated by the Earl of Aberdeen.

(rr) A racan, or small harrow, was made of a block of wood with a few teeth; it was dragged by boys.

(ss) In Hertfordshire, and in some parts adjoining, they still claim a time for the "biathadh fhit," or beever.

(tt) From a sketch made by Master McIntyre North.

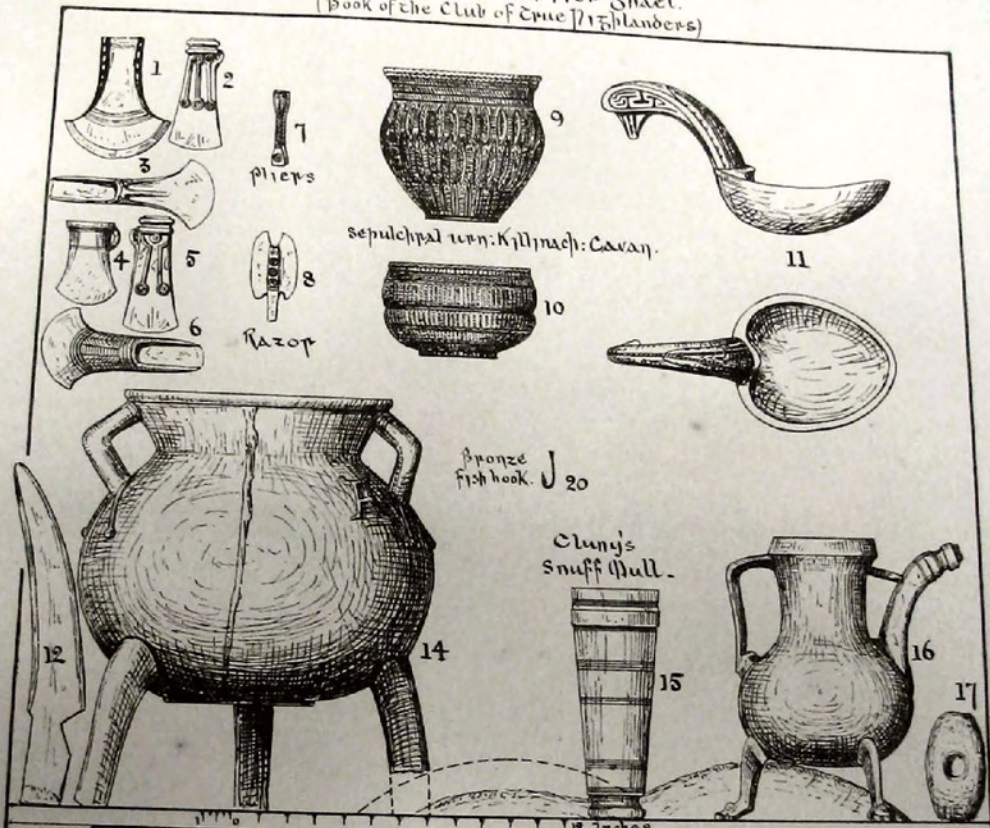
(uu) O'Curry says he stocked the land himself, and paid for it a rent in kind, the value of the occupation or use of the land.

(vv) A satisfactory explanation of these terms has not yet been given.

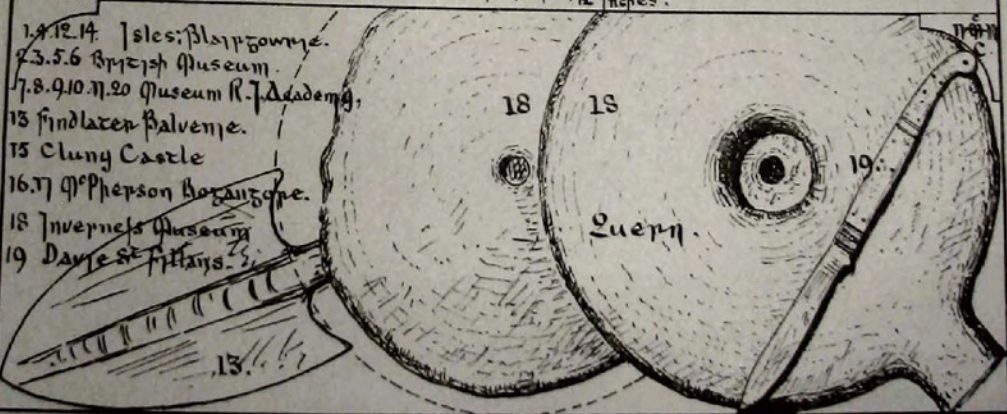
(ww) Every king of 30,000 of land must produce seven hundred warriors.

(xx) 4840 square yards to the English standard acre; 7840 to the Irish acre; 6084 to the Scotch acre; Devonshire or Somersetshire, 4000 square yards; Cornwall 5760; Lancashire, 7840; Cheshire or Staffordshire, 10,240; Wiltshire, 3630 square yards to an acre. A feeding space for bees is equal to a magh space, that is as far as a bell or a crowing cock can be heard.

Leabhar Comunn nam Fionn Thael.
 (Book of the Club of Fine [?]-landers)



1, 2, 12, 14 Isles; Blairgowrie.
 3, 4, 5, 6 British Museum.
 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 20 Museum R. J. Adams,
 13 Findlaxen Balvenie.
 15 Clunij Castle
 16, 17 Mr. Pherson Glasgow.
 18 Inverness Museum
 19 Dame St. Pittar's.



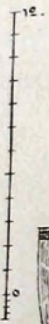
Leabhar Comunn nam fíor Shíol
Book of the Club of True Highlanders.

C u a c h a n .

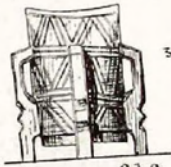


at Monifieth (Stuart).

Inches.



1. Meithep. R.I.A. Wood



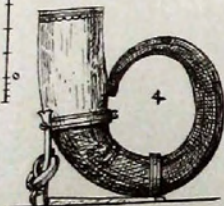
3. Meithep R.I.A. Wood



5. Claudius P.N. MS. B. Museum.



6. Hunting flask. Wood belonging to A. Davie SE Pillans.



4. Horn with modern Whorl Iron. Mount: belonging to the Auction.



8. Y e R a n n a c h e y n B o w l
belonging to Lady Helen of Grebov of Grebov
L.I.D.



7. Dinner Horn Drummond Castle.



9. Wood cup remounced the Karamah Horn.



10. Chinty College Dublin



11. Stone cup belonging to the person of Bogarow

LAND MEASURE.

12 farrachs	} = 1 tir cumhail	Irish.	English.
6 farrachs		A. R. P.	A. R. P.
		34 1 4	60 3 29
		(nearly)	(full)

1 baile bo ... = 60 0 0 = 97 0 30

2 baile bo ... = 1 seirrach	} = 120 0 0 = 194 1 2	Irish.	English.
3 seirrach		A. R. P.	A. R. P.
4 quarters		360 0 0	573 0 20
30 baile biatach		1440 0 0	2181 1 0
		43200 0 0	68475 0 0

The farms occupied in later days by the Goodmen, or tacksmen, consisted of certain well defined proportions of arable land, meadow, home pasture, wood, muirland, and grazing, each being entitled to grazing on the common land, in proportion to the quantity of land held (in the same manner that the Baile Bo was) (page 47); and before departing for the summer quarters, before referred to (page 23), a careful inspection was made, so that none should send more cattle than they were entitled to. The same rule applied to the denominations of later days. The Dabhoch was reckoned as being equal to a pasturage of 300 head of cattle; the Peighinn, or penny land, and the cota bàn, or groat land, were about one twentieth part of the Dabhoch; and further south the ox gang (as much as an ox can gang over in a day) was equal to 13 Scotch, or 15 English acres. This system remained practically unchanged until the end of the 15th century. The people being isolated from the temptations of civilized life, lived contentedly together; their wants being of the simplest character, and their rent being paid in *kind*, they were not troubled by the fluctuations of the markets. The disastrous results of a minute distribution of the land were prevented by the losses sustained by the numerous fights they were engaged in, or by the more adventurous seeking their fortunes in a foreign land, and the chief had always a devoted band of adherents, who lived (sometimes starved with) or cheerfully died for him.

Soon, however, this devotion was to be rudely disturbed. We have already seen that a commercial spirit had already manifested itself (page 48), but it was not until the "45" that the reformers were able to deal a crushing blow to the old state of things. The old rugging and reiving, with its personal risks and excitements, passed away, and the delicious days of *pickings and cribbings* dawned, with all their excitements and without the *risk* of olden times. Those of the chiefs who clung to the memories of "Auld Lang Syne," were hunted down and crushed, or else were allowed to drag out a weary, half-ruined existence; the *stupid party*, who were the scoff of those priding themselves on their modern ideas. The old style of barter was *inconvenient*; *money must be had*; the true value of a *thing* was what it would fetch, said the apostles of progress; the men who clung to their homesteads were *things* of an uncertain value; it did not *pay* to allow them to remain; they would be more useful working their heart's blood away in the pestilent air of the factory, or laying down their lives in a foreign land for the *benefit of trade*. Sheep *are* wanted; Faigh a beallach, those of you that are left have a glorious chance of making a fortune. We cannot obtain kelp from abroad, and kelp is wanted. The seaside is the place for you. "Thugad! and fear nam beann" is driven to the seaside; time passes; the *sinful* war is over, and a *cheaper* substitute for the kelp is obtained. Kelp is not wanted; "*beannachd* ? leat," we would *advise* you to start some manufactories, and so help the Glorious *Trade of Great Britain*. In this age of progress you must move with the times, &c., &c.

The stupid people, instead of accepting this *cheap* advice, starve out of spite by hundreds, until, what with evictions, emigration, and death, there are but few left to enjoy the inestimable satisfaction of knowing that they can vote for whom they like; whenever they have any money they can *pay* for luxuries that their fathers never dreamt of; they can obtain their meal or (beg pardon) daily bread for a farthing or so less than they could have done a hundred years ago; they have a glorious constitution, that has been so tinkered that it takes half-a-dozen Acts of Parliament to explain the meaning of one; and they have the satisfaction of knowing that, thanks to our Gods (so-called *Free Trade* and *Political Economy*), our merchant and manufacturing princes are so over-gorged with—ahem! *lawful profit*, that a wild uninhabited glen in which they, the said princes, can recruit their exhausted natures, has become and is undoubtedly (according to our modern creed) more valuable than when dotted with a number of cottages, the construction of which is (phew!) totally opposed to all sanitary science or architectural propriety. This is practically the doctrine (stripped of its meretricious adornments) which has logically been applied to the Highlands, the result of which is but only too apparent to those who have still some regard for their country.

An uneasy feeling has, however, been gaining strength, that something is "rotten in the state of Denmark," and that the leaps and bounds which our prosperity was taking may, after all, be but the prodigality of the spendthrift, who is squandering the wealth which his ancestors amassed with so much trouble. This, however, must never be

admitted; so, luckily, we have been able to discover that (like in the fairy tale) it is all owing to the doings of those wicked lords (yy).

We have tried to give a slight sketch of the *blessings* enjoyed by those who live (?) by the land in this year of our Lord 1880, and it would scarcely be within the scope of this work to enter into any controversy; had not the time passed when the depopulation of the Highlands can be regarded as a *local* matter; railway communication has so knitted county and county together, that we are a reunited Keltic nation, and the cause must be sought in the history of the Empire as a whole. The question will be raised, why should we interfere with supply and demand, and all those other trifling details, which all come right of themselves, according to the *logic* of Political Economy. Our answer is, "*jaw is no remedy*;" and we cannot shut our eyes to the *fact* that the life or death of the nation has been staked on the question of Free Trade and Political Economy, and that those who venture to doubt the utterance of the fetiches are assailed with the truculent abuse of the high priests. But granting that these worthies are perfectly right (?) in their views, we ask, is it absolutely necessary that the policy of nagging should be continued with its virulence of abuse? We who have never fawned on, or "booded" to any one, ask, is it absolutely necessary that we should continue the system of insult and abuse of a particular class of men, men of our own flesh and blood (zz), who will bear comparison with any class in the world? And what is it done for? Is it in order that we may create that *kindly* feeling between man and man which is essential for the well-being of the nation? or is it that we may fasten on *them* the responsibility for a state of things which they can no more help than they can prevent the sun shining overhead.

But what are the real facts of the case? When the tillers of the soil first felt the grinding effect of the nation's idol they were told that drainage was wanted, their small farms were useless—*capital and large farms* were necessary to compete with foreign growers—but now that the land is flooded, and the holders of large farms are bankrupt, theorists are crying out for small holdings, and madly striking out at everybody who doubts their infallibility; while the ugly fact remains, that, even if the rents were the same as they are in the backwoods of America, the produce cannot be raised and brought into the markets under present conditions at a paying price. The farmer has to find cash for stock, and, if unfortunate, loses all—he therefore cannot compete with, or live at the rate of, the middle man, who, with *cheek* for his capital, trades on the produce of others, extracts his twenty per cent. from his transactions, until financial irregularities (?) necessitate an application at the bankruptcy court, from which he emerges with his *original capital*, and a trifle in hard cash besides to enable him to play the same old game over again; and when we talk of adding to the farming class, without considering whether a *living* can be made by a farmer in this country, we only propose adding to the long list of victims sacrificed to the greed of speculators.

We have two courses before us: we must either sacrifice the farmer and landholder—*i.e.*, the main-stay and back-bone of at least half the industries of the empire—or we must acknowledge that the fetiche (*our so-called "Free Trade and Political Economy"*), under all its aspects (and none more thoroughly carry out its precepts to a logical conclusion than its advocates), "*means mere selfishness—means money—deals with purely material considerations, not only divorced from, but not seldom altogether opposed to what is moral—means buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest—means taking every possible advantage of a weak and ignorant neighbour for your own gain—and means spoiling the whole world, without regard to the happiness, comfort, or wellbeing of your fellow creatures, provided you enrich yourself*" (a). Dare we acknowledge the worthlessness of our idol? Have we the courage to denounce the nightmare and its ministering ghouls? or are we so cowed that we have only heart enough left to submit, without groaning, to the tyranny of our *friends* (!) at home? or to run away from, or purchase the forbearance of our enemies abroad?

If we are to remain a powerful nation we must denounce this nightmare in no measured terms; if we think that the inheritance of 3000 years' growth is worth preserving, or that our "country's pride" is worthy of a better fate than emigration or starvation, collectively we must insist that a duty be placed on imports; that the amount of commission or profit charged by our merchants and others shall be regulated like the tythe—by the rate of interest or profit obtained from the land; and that the greed of our railway companies shall be so curbed that transit

(yy) Dare we insinuate that it may be (like in the fable) that the *useless* are determined to know why the lambs are troubling the waters of our national prosperity?

(zz) Men whose patriotism makes them take a kindly interest in their fellow men, in spite of the doctrine, for not believing in which they are at times most roundly abused.

(a) Professor Blackie on the "Commercial System."

dues (*b*) on agricultural produce shall not swallow up all the profit. Individually, we must remember that we are but particles (if we may so term it) of the life-blood of a nation, whose heart is mighty London, and that when the blood does not freely return from the heart the extremities languish while the heart is congested.

Let us, therefore, be collectively selfish instead of *individually* selfish, and, instead of wasting money abroad, let us more frequently return to those scenes with which we were once familiar, whether it be north, or south, or east, or west, drawing closer the bonds of fellowship, uniting us with those whose inclination, patriotism, or home ties have kept under the roof-tree of their fathers, and thus give that quickening impulse to the community which will enable us to bear the assaults of adversity with impunity. When abuses have to be remedied, we must not forget that destruction is no proof of wisdom.

"Time weareth all; a rift may claim a wise examination;
A stone replaced may be decayed, not touched the old foundation."

And when we hear the diatribes of those who would hound class against class, sooner than that *they* should be forgotten we trust that the glorious old song (which in its Biblical simplicity stands far above the maxims of economists or philosophers) will bring to mind—

"What a happy bit hame this auld world wad be
If men when they're here wad mak shift to agree,
An' ilk said to his neebour, in cottage an' ha',
'Come, gie me your han', man, for we are brethren a'!"

(*b*) We are of opinion that a moderate and fixed rate should be charged for the transit of all food stuff, irrespective of distance travelled, in the same manner as the postal rate is fixed.