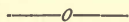


## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.



JOHN CARSWELL seems to have been born at Carnassery Castle, in the parish of Kilmartin, towards the beginning of the 16th century. Carnassery Castle seems to be an erection of the 15th century, and there is an old stone still to be seen amongst the ruins (for it is a ruin since the year 1685) from which we may probably trace its builder. This stone has beautifully carved armorial bearings, beneath which there is an inscription. The inscription is in the Irish character, and seems to be as follows : —“Dia le un’nduimhne,” “God with O’Duine.” The arms are those of Campbell impaled with the Scottish lion within a double tressure. They are the arms that would be borne by Sir Colin Campbell, who married Marjory Stuart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany, brother of Robert III. This Sir Colin is still remembered by Highlanders as “Cailein Iongantach” and “Cailein Maith,” the “wonderful Colin” and the “good Colin,” and some queer stories are current about him (*e.g.*), when he was staying at Inveraray he heard that his friends, the O’Neils of Ireland, were going to pay him a visit. Sir Colin set fire to his castle and burned it to the ground, and received them in a temporary building in which they could only be entertained for a few days. They were, however, sumptuously entertained by him, and he then bade them farewell. “A good journey to them,” ejaculated Sir Colin, after they were out of hearing ; “it is far cheaper for me to build a new castle than to entertain the Clan O’Neil for a whole quarter.” He seems then to have considered building castles a cheap luxury, and may well get credit for building the Castle of Carnassery. We know that every Lord was compelled in the year 1427 to rebuild or repair all the castles beyond the Mounth, and either to reside there himself or procure a friend to take his place. Carnassery, or, as it is properly called, Carnastri (Carn-na-stri), seems to mean the cairn of strife, and seems to have been always a fortalice guarding the passes to Loch-Awe, so that it may have been rebuilt at that time.

The view from the watch-tower is perhaps unsurpassed for grandeur. In the distance may be seen the Dunadd Rock,

which was at one time the capital of the Dalriadic Kingdom. Kilmartin valley, formerly called the district of Ariskeodnish (the dwelling place of the Scots?), stretches beneath, studded with standing stones, circles, and cairns, the hills closing in on either side, till they meet at an angle quite close to the castle—the Knapdale hills, familiar to all who have passed through the Crinan Canal, forming a background to the magnificent panorama of hills and woods and valleys which the watch-tower overlooks. Carswell's father was the Constable, or person in charge, of this castle towards the beginning of the 16th century, and here John Carswell seems to have been born. The lands of Carnassery seem to have been in possession of the family for several generations, for we find Carswells still proprietors in the 17th century. Here Carswell then passed his youth probably, listening to the tales and songs of soldiers who formed the garrison, mingling with the guests and the clansmen as they sat around the great hall fire of Carnassery (for we read of Carnassery being garrisoned with as many as 1000 soldiers at a time); and, no doubt, John Carswell witnessed many strange scenes in those stirring times. But there were other influences that could not fail to have their effect on the youthful mind of Carswell. The whole district abounds in ecclesiastical remains, and the parish churchyard of Kilmartin is full of sculptured stones, recording the prowess or goodness of the great ones who sleep beneath; many of these stones belong to the chieftains of the district, but many also belong to distinguished ecclesiastics whose history and virtues would no doubt be familiar to Carswell, and may have fired his youthful mind to imitate their examples. At any rate we find his name enrolled amongst students attending the University of St Andrews in the year 1541; and here he seems to have got early indoctrinated with Reformation ideas, and, as every enthusiast professed to be a soldier as well as a scholar in those times, we find him joining in the expedition of Lennox, and following Lennox in his flight to England. He may have been employed, indeed, in the negotiations which Lennox, acting on the instigation of Henry the VIII., carried on with Donald, Lord of the Isles, and the Islesmen, in opposition to the Regent of Scotland and his partisans. Carswell reappears in public life again as Rector of his native parish of Kilmartin,

and chaplain to the family of Argyll; and this seems to be a sure proof of his attachment to the Reformation party, for it is well known that the fourth and fifth Earls of Argyll, who lived in Carswell's time, were among the first of quality in Scotland to embrace the Reformation doctrines. Though little mention is made of Carswell in the course of the Reformation struggle, it is pretty evident he was not idle. It is well known that his patron, Archibald, the fifth Earl of Argyll, was most active in establishing the Reformed religion. John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who was also chaplain to the Earl of Argyll, was most active; and everything goes to prove that John Carswell was the most active and distinguished Highland ecclesiastic of his day. He held the office of Chancellor of the Chapel Royal in Stirling, and we find his name amongst five superintendents who were appointed to the charge of overseeing the planting of the Protestant Church, and the people initiated into the doctrines and discipline of the Reformation. The ministers of the Reformed Church were at this time few in number, and if they were all restricted to a particular parish, whole districts would be left without a ministry of any description connected with the Reformed Church. The edict of their appointment says—"Seeing that without the care of superintendents, neither can the church be suddenly erected, neither can they be received in discipline and unity of doctrine." John Spottiswoode was accordingly appointed Superintendent of Edinburgh, John Wynram of St Andrews, John Erskine of Dun of Brechin, John Willock of Glasgow, and John Carswell of Argyle.

Each superintendent was to have his own special church, at which he was to officiate for three or four months of the year; the rest of his time he was to occupy in visiting the churches within his bounds, preaching at least three times a week; examining the doctrine, life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, readers, elders, and deacons, considering the orders of the kirk, the manners of the people, how the poor were provided for, how the youth were instructed, how the discipline and policy of the kirk were maintained, &c. The most cautious regulations were made against superintendents becoming prelates. In the quaint language of the Reformers—"Those men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore." They were

examined and admitted to office like ordinary ministers, they were subject to the censure and correction of the Assembly and of the Synod, and were treated in all respects like ordinary ministers. Carswell simply styles himself "Mr John Carswell, minister of the Church of God, in the bounds of Argyle, whose other name is Bishop of the Isles;" for, later in our narrative, we shall find that he was actually created by Royal Charter Bishop of the Isles. How necessary the office was in the paucity of ministers we may infer from the fact that the first General Assembly of the Church was composed of 41 individuals, six of whom only are styled ministers, and at the third General Assembly we find 35 members, 21 of whom bear ecclesiastical designations.

The diocese assigned to Carswell comprehended Argyle, Cantyre, Lorn, the South Isles, Arran and Bute, and their adjacents with the country of Lochaber. For four centuries this district had been subject more or less to the all-powerful Lords of the Isles, whose kingdom extended along the West Coast from Cowall to Lochbroom, and included the Hebrides. But their kingdom was broken and became all but extinct in 1545; and this district came under the absolute sway of another power, the Campbells of Argyll. They were early distinguished with royal honours, one of them having married Marjory Bruce, Bruce's sister. The fourth and fifth Earls were very powerful in Carswell's time. In his dedication he designates the fifth Earl as "Archibald O'Duine, Earl of Argyll and Lord of Lorn, and Chief-Justiciar of Alban, whose other name is Lieutenant on the bounds of Innseagall (Hebrides), and chief head in the family of the Scottish Kings." He seems to have been a pious, learned personage, and well worthy of the attribute "powerful, right-judging, gentle-speaking nobleman," with which Carswell designates him.

The district was peopled by the Celtic clans, whose simple organisation still survived. The system seems to have been identical with the patriarchal organisation which so long characterised the national history of Israel. Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation, was simply the patriarchal chieftain of a clan, and the great German scholar, Michaelis, compares the organisation of society, that characterised the primitive history of the



Jewish nation, with that of all Arab tribes and of the clans of the Scotch Highlanders. Recently the Duke of Argyll brought some sweeping charges against the system. Speaking of the clan system, more particularly during the middle ages, the Duke says—"It was a rude and barbarous history—a history of almost utter barbarism, and whole tribes smothered—men, women, and children smoked to death in caves, whole districts of the country continually ravaged by civil wars between clan and clan, women exposed to death upon rocks." "These," he says, "were the stock ingredients of the Celtic history of Scotland."

But we should bear in mind that the Duke's remarks were true only of a time when the patriarchal system was thoroughly disorganised. For a period of 300 years the West Coast was continually exposed to the ravages of the Danes. It was a time

When watch-fires burst across the main,  
From Rona and Uist and Skye,  
To tell that the ships of the Dane,  
And the red-haired slayers were nigh.  
Our Islesmen rose from their slumbers,  
And buckled on their arms,  
But few, alas ! were their numbers  
To Lochlinn's mailed swarms.  
And the blade of the bloody Norse,  
Has filled the shores of the Gael,  
With many a floating corse,  
And many a woman's wail.

And through all the centuries following the decay of the Norwegian power, and after Gaelic was discontinued as the language of the Scottish Court, the hearts of the Celtic chiefs were more or less alienated from the Crown, and the dynasty of Celtic Kings or Lords of the Isles, who for nearly four centuries had absolute sway in the West Highlands did all they could to resist the introduction of feudalism, and the overthrow of the patriarchal government of the clans. And this led to a series of insurrections down to the very dawn of the Reformation.

But looking back upon the system in the 6th century, when we find it in all its purity, as the prevailing system of Ireland and Scotland, is it the barbarous history which the Duke takes so severely to task? We find religion and learning flourishing in Ireland at that time; we find its schools frequented by students of distinction from England and the Continent of Europe; we

find art-ornamentation of which Anglo-Saxons could not boast though they tried to imitate it. The Book of Kells, still preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, is believed to be a work of the 6th or 7th centuries, and is pronounced to be the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence. There is in the West of Scotland the finest specimens of beautifully executed crosses, of exquisite sculptured stones, of exquisite ornamentation of all description. Columba and his followers carried the gospel all over Scotland; they founded the Monastery of Lindisfarne in England, of St Gall in Switzerland, and earned for themselves names which shall be held in everlasting remembrance, and we may well say with Dr Johnson, "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." And all this was the outcome of the patriarchal system combined with Christianity.

*(To be Continued.)*

---

THE STEWARTS OF APPIN.—A correspondent writes—"The death is announced, at Edinburgh, on 23d January 1882, of Charles Stewart, Esq., representative of the Stewarts of Lorn, Appin, and Ardsheal, aged 79. The estates, which were all forfeited after the '45, were in part restored to Ardsheal in 1782, and were supposed, until lately, to have been strictly entailed. The Ardsheal estate was, however, sold during the lifetime of the late possessor, and has so passed from the family. By this death the chieftainship of the clan and representation of the family, which united in Ardsheal on the death of Dugald, 10th and last Baron of Appin, pass to John Stewart, Esq., barrister-at-law, of Lincoln's Inn, eldest son of Duncan Stewart, late Attorney-General of Bermuda, and great-grandson of Duncan Stewart, 6th of Ardsheal, to whom the restoration was made in 1782."

THE BARREN ROCKS OF ADEN.—Your correspondent "J. S. B." will find the music of the "Barren Rocks of Aden" in the New Edition of Ross's Collection of Pipe Music, published by Subscription in 1875, No. 46, page 77. I do not know who the author is, or on what occasion and where it was written.

# THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

*Conducted by* ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT,

---

---

No. LXXVIII.

APRIL, 1882.

VOL. VII.

---

---

BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.

—o—  
II.

OPPRESSION makes a people mad under any system, and it is quite true that the clans at times displayed a desperate spirit ; but feudalism had as much to do with the developement of Celtic history, if not more, than the patriarchal organisation. Looking across at Ireland at the present moment, we find the dark veil of division which feudalism first introduced into that unhappy country still perpetuated in scenes of death, and blood, and mutual wrong ; need we wonder that at a time when not merely the Highlands, but even the border and central counties of Scotland, were kept in a perpetual state of civil war by the feuds and factions of powerful Barons, desperate acts should be committed ? It is at least pleasant to reflect that under the patriarchal system the best examples of Celtic Christianity are to be found ; that under it men flourished who carried the torch of truth into distant countries ; and under it we find some of the best of all institutions for cultivating the heart of the people and ruling them in honesty and virtue. Feudalism is, alas ! too often associated in the mind of every patriotic Highlander with the diminution of populations, comfort, and happiness, to awaken any such pleasant reflections. As a system it has been too often characterised by wholesale eviction and expatriation, a system which has turned

our Highland glens into wildernesses, and which has so harassed the freeborn children of the soil, and the brave, generous defenders of their country, that under it they have degenerated into paupers so generally that one looks almost in vain for any redeeming features, and wonders what would have become of the people at all, but for the survival of a pure independent patriotic Church, that has ever contended for the liberties of the people.

It must be admitted, however, that the clan system was thoroughly disorganised in the Highlands at the time of the Reformation, and was quite the barbarous history which the Duke of Argyll describes. Desperate attempts had been made by the Scottish Sovereigns to introduce feudalism, and English Sovereigns, through the medium of Ireland, with which the Highlands held free intercourse, were constantly fomenting conspiracies and keeping up a perpetual ferment amongst the clans. In his Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to his Gaelic Liturgy, Carswell says:—"It has prospered with you, my Lord, in destroying the false faith and false worship, and in burning images and putting down evil example, and in breaking down and levelling altars and places where lying sacrifices were offered, and in uprooting thieves and immoral persons, and robbers, and oppressors, and after that fostering, and protecting, and honouring the Christian Church fully. For this praise is more lasting to you in the sight of God than the world's praise for harrying and destroying neighbours and strangers, and killing and deeply injuring their men."

Many of the chiefs had become to all intents and purposes freebooters. One of these had his headquarters in the old castle of Tarbert on Lochfyne. His name was Ailein-nan-Sop (Allan of the Brand, or Allan of the Wisp). He seems to have been styled thus from the expert way in which he could set fire to people's houses with his wisp of straw. Allan, who flourished in Carswell's day, went out from Tarbert on harrying expeditions, carrying desolation through Cowal, Loch Lomond, Bute, and all the district round. He used even to make raids upon Ireland, where he was as familiarly known as in Scotland. The Macgregor clan, too, seemed to have been always famed for such adventures. One of them, no doubt a worthy ancestor of Rob Roy, is commemorated in a poem by Finlay the Bard, in the Dean of Lismore's collection, as Macgregor the Brave:—



When summer time comes round,  
Peace he never knows.  
He's in the throat of all his fellows,  
When men of him do speak  
As Gregor of the blows.  
'Tis his delight to drive  
Herds and flocks before him.

Evan Dhu Maccombich, in "Waverley," gives, unfortunately for the morality of the Highlands, expression to his thorough approval of such barbarous practices by inventing a system of morality altogether at variance with the Sermon on the Mount. "He that steals a cow from a poor widow," says Evan, "or a stirk from a cottar, is a thief; he that lifts a drove from a Sas-senach laird is a gentleman rover; and besides, to take a tree from the forest, a salmon from the river, a deer from the hill, or a cow from a lowland strath, is what no Highlander need ever think shame upon." And it is sad to think how many would have approved Evan's code of morality in Carswell's day, for the Highlanders were not the only persons given to such barbarous practices. We must put alongside of Ailein-nan-Sop and Macgregor the Brave's, the harrying expeditions of feudal Saxons such as Ratcliffe Earl of Sussex, Deputy Fitzwilliam, Sir William Pelham, &c., in Ireland.

It was no easy matter, then, to bring the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion home to savage clans and roving barbarians, for many of those amongst whom Carswell was sent to preach the Gospel were little better. We find, for instance, in the year 1545, Donald, Lord of the Isles, and the Barons and Council of the Isles—in all eighteen Highland chieftains—addressing a document to the Earl of Lennox, not one of them able to subscribe his own name to the document. And yet it is undeniable not long previous that the arts and manufactures had been carried to a high pitch of excellence amongst the Islesmen, and for long they were famed as hardy sailors and adventurers. There is reason to believe even that they were a polished and enterprising people. Not only were they successful manufacturers of exquisite fabrics both in flax and wool, so successful, indeed, that modern manufacturers of clan tartans acknowledge that they have never in a single instance improved on the original patterns, which can be traced back to very remote

times; not only had they ornaments in gold and silver, but they had their literature and their fine arts. Geraldus Cambrensis in the 12th century gives a glowing description of Irish music, and adds:—"In the opinion of many, however, Scotland has not only attained to the excellence of Ireland, but has in musical science and execution far surpassed her, insomuch that it is to that country they now resort who wish to attain proficiency in music." And it is evident that this has reference more particularly to the music of the clans. We know, too, on the authority of Hector Boece, who wrote in 1526, that there was a famous library in Iona; and the great historian Gibbon says that it was "a classic library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy." We have also a collection of Gaelic poems by Sir James Macgregor, Dean of Lismore, which shows the poetry current in the Highlands between 1512-1526, and it would appear that poetry was still carefully cultivated.

Let us not imagine, therefore, that the Highlands were exceptional in this age in producing chieftains who could not sign their own name; for we find, in the same age, Bishops who could not preach, and who thanked God that they never knew what the Old or New Testament was; and it is pretty certain that all the Barons of Scotland were more or less chargeable with deplorable ignorance, and careless of all liberal education. We find, indeed, towards the close of the 15th century an enactment ordaining all barons and freeholders who were of substance to put their eldest son to the Grammar School from their sixth to their ninth year, and thereafter for three years to be pupils in seminaries of art and law; but this enactment did not much alter the state of matters in the Highlands, where the people about the same time are described as having become altogether savage. James IV. did all he could to humanise them by means of education. His policy was to get into his power the sons of the Highland chiefs and to educate them at Court; he supported Highland scholars at the Universities, and afterwards encouraged them to reside permanently where they might be the means of introducing a knowledge of law and justice. But still we find the Reformers complaining of the backwardness of education, not merely in the Highlands, but all over the country. "The rich and potent," they say, "may not be permitted to suffer their children to spend

their youth in vain idleness as heretofore they have done." Such glimpses as we get of the history of the Highlands at this time is anything but satisfactory. The Act of 1581 describes the clans in the following terms:—"The saids clans of thieves for the most part are companies of wicked men coupled in wickedness by occasion of their surnames or near dwelling together, or through keeping society in theft or receipt of theft not subjected to the ordinar course of justice."

These same gentlemen caterans were not afraid to speak evil of dignitaries in Church or State. For instance, just the century before, Lauder, Bishop of Argyle, offended the Clan Lachlan, and they assaulted the prelate. Lauder was ignorant of the Gaelic language, and they scornfully addressed him and railed at him to their hearts' content in the vernacular of the Clan Lachlan. They dragged from their horses and bound the hands of his clerks, stripping them of their rich copes, hoods, and velvet caps, plundered the church, and forced from the Bishop a pledge that he would never prosecute them for the outrage. And three years afterwards the famous Donald Balloch of the Isles, after a famous creach or predatory expedition along the West Coast, finished up by a visit to the policies of the Lord Bishop at Lismore. He assaulted and slew the greater part of the Bishop's attendants, and the poor Bishop had to take refuge in the church. There were just as great barbarians in Carswell's day—*e.g.*, Allan Maclean of Toirloisk (Allan-nan-Sop). Allan on his deathbed professed great penitence, but his chief grounds of lamentation were not, it is said, his many sins and outrages, but the fact that he had only succeeded in carrying out nineteen harrying expeditions on the true scientific scale, and that he had not completed his score. And it is pretty evident that the man who was held in highest estimation in those days was the man who was cleverest at stealing horses or oxen. Sir James Macgregor also gives in his collection a poem by Finlay the Bard on Allan MacRuarie, whom he describes as a very demon and a man chargeable with every wickedness under the sun, and this Allan seems to have been the chief of the Clan Ranald and flourished towards the beginning of the 16th century. And what these fierce Islanders were before the Reformation they continued to be for a considerable time after the Reformation. The statutes of Icolmkill fifty



years after give a dark picture of the Highlands and Islands. They had only few pastors, and these few pastors were held in contempt; the churches were in ruins; the ministers were half-starved; the Sabbaths were profaned; and the people were in great poverty, partly from ignorance, partly from idleness, partly from the feuds that prevailed among the different clans, but more especially from the inordinate love of strong wine, and *aqua vitæ*.

Such, roughly speaking then, was the state of the diocese when John Carswell entered upon his arduous duties as superintendent to preach the Gospel to the Clan Chailein, and the Clan Donald, and the Clan Ranald, and the Clan Lachlan, and the Clan Chattan, Clan Chameron, Clan Tavish, and Clan Lamont, the Macleans and MacCallums, and Macneils, and Macnees, and Macdougalls, and Macgregors, and Macphees, &c., with their wild and irregular life, their music and their songs, their many superstitions and traditions, their Celtic romance and chivalry. This diocese was most extensive, including all within the bounds of the Sheriffdoms of Argyle and Bute, with a part of Lochaber, and one has only to take a glance at the map and see how extensive the district was. His residence was in his native parish of Kilmartin in Argyle. This diocese was ultimately divided into five Presbyteries, but some parishes were as large as many a Lowland county; for example, the parish of Morven. The minister of Morven, as late as the year 1804, gives the following account of his parish:—"The parish of Morven contains no less than 200 square miles, the population is above 2000, of whom from one thousand two hundred to one thousand three hundred are catechisable persons, and eight hundred communicants. There are two slated places of public worship, one of them four and the other six miles distant from the manse; there are other two places at the distance of nine miles from the manse, in each of which the minister preaches quarterly. When the minister attends the Presbytery or Synod he has four ferries to cross each time; he is obliged to keep two boats, one capable of carrying his horse, and a lesser boat for carrying necessaries. His parish is intersected by ten deep and rapid rivers, besides those lesser streams that are in general of no account, though occasionally sufficient to interrupt all communications betwixt one part of the country and another. It is impossible to convey a just notion of



the expense, of the inconvenience, and of the personal danger to which a clergyman is exposed in performing his duties in such a country. But one might conceive some notion of it when he asserted that on his parochial rounds, he had been so overtaken by storms that he had found it necessary to shelter himself in the side of a hill or under cover of a rock during the night until the waters had subsided and the paths (for roads there are none) had become passable." Most of the ministerial charges within the bounds, at the time of the Reformation, were of the same, some of them even of greater dimensions, and we have to conceive how arduous were Carswell's labours in passing through his bounds and endeavouring to do a duty which is now discharged by close upon eighty parish ministers. We may well believe that Carswell was not idle : in a letter quoted by Dr Maclauchlan in his Notices of the Bishop, he says—"bot becaus I pas presentlie to Kytire and theairefter to the Ilis to veseit som Kirkis I can nocht be at the generall assemblie and thinkis that my travell now in the Ilis may do mair gude to the Kirk nor my presens at the assemblie ; becaus the Ilis can nocht be travellit wele throwch in Wynter quhilk ze sall also remember at the assemblie gif ze be thair." Carswell must have met many a strange adventure in his journeyings. In Roman Catholic times, when the religious services were ended, the remainder of the day was devoted to marketing and games, in which the curate sometimes joined his parishioners, and this practice of turning the day of rest into a day of amusement was pretty universal even after the Reformation. We find in the time of James VI. enactments against playing, gaming, passing to taverns or ale-houses, selling of meat and drink, and wilful remaining from kirk in time of sermon or prayers. We find in Charles the First's time such recreation after divine service as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May-games, whetsonales, Morris dances, and setting up of May-poles, lawful to such as had attended divine service. As late as the year 1727 the first Presbyterian minister settled in Moy, Inverness-shire, found his parishioners amusing themselves near the church putting the heavy stone, and he had to try his hand at it with them ere they would accompany him to church, and as late as 1753 Dugald Buchanan found the people of Rannoch turning the day of rest into a day of amusement, and playing at football.

Mostly every one, too, bore fire-arms in Carswell's day. We all have read the story of Wishart preaching surrounded by mail-clad barons and their retainers, and John Knox carrying the two-handed sword before him, and there are many traditions in the Highlands of ministers preaching with a pistol on either side of the pulpit Bible.

It was well, however, for Carswell that he had the sympathy and support of Archibald O'Duine; this ensured a favourable hearing at the hands of the Clan Chaillein at any rate. The gentlemen caterans would, in that day, no doubt, as in later times, "give their attendance on his doctrine by the special order of MacCailean Mor, and would have done so had the preacher been a Turkish Junaum." But, apart from this, the Protestant religion at once took hold of the Celtic mind in Argyleshire. The Culdees kept alive true religion amongst the people up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and through then, as Skene points out, it came to an end, "leaving no vestiges behind it, save here and there the roofless walls of what had been a church, and the numerous old burying grounds, to the use of which the people still cling with tenacity, and where occasionally an ancient Celtic cross tells of its former state; all else had disappeared; and the only records we have of their history are the names of the saints by whom they were founded, preserved in old calenders, the fountains near the old churches bearing their name, the village fairs of immemorial antiquity held on their day, &c." It is certain at the same time that the Roman Catholic religion got no permanent hold of those amongst whom Carswell began to labour. "The reign of error in these lands," as Dr Smith remarks, "was very short, and the darkness of its night was intermixed with the light of many stars." Take any district of Argyleshire, for a long time even after the Reformation, and it seems with names and surnames, most of which originated in Columban and Culdee times. The names of nearly all the old parishes in Argyleshire, and most of the old ruins of churches, are associated with Columban and Culdee founders, and it is questionable whether the people were ever firmly attached to the Roman Catholic faith. The pious amongst them, therefore, would still cling to the old Culdee faith, which had insisted upon the doctrine of justification by faith alone, irrespective of auricular

confession, holy water, transubstantiation, worship of saints and angels, &c. In his dedication Carswell says of the Earl of Argyll, "for your religious life has proved to us from the time of your childhood that this religious work is agreeable to you;" "it is not in vain that you have laboured from your youth reading the Holy Scriptures." Again, "I was much moved by my hope in your firmness and consistency in the divine way which you chose from your youth, and from the days of your imperfections, my Lord, judging and understanding that you are a faithful, firm patron, and a kind support to the truth, and that you are a friend and protector to the weak and suffering who are in danger and difficulty for the truth, and we understand that you are a father to those children who are persecuted and driven away for the truth's sake; and, further, that servants and messengers and ministers of the truth can find rest and refuge under your wings." As early as the year 1557, ten years before these words were printed, Archibald O'Duine, then Lord of Lorn, had joined several noblemen in signing a bond, promising "that they would labour, according to their power, to have faithful ministers, truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people; that they would maintain, nourish, and defend them, the whole congregation of Christ, and every member, thereof, with their whole power and hazard of their lives; and declare themselves manifest enemies to all superstitions, abominations, and idolatry!" And we may well believe that in this noble resolution the Earl had the entire approval of the most trustworthy of his clansmen and retainers.

*(To be Continued.)*

---

## Notes and Queries.

---

THE BARREN ROCKS OF ADEN.—"A. McG.," Birmingham, writes:—"In answer to the query by 'J. S. B.' in the February number, 'The Barren Rocks of Aden' was composed in the year 1851 by Alexander Mackellar, late Pipe-Major, 78th Highlanders, while serving with his Regiment at Aden, Arabia. Mr Mackellar is now residing at 105 Ryland Street, North Birmingham, and is Piper to our Celtic Society. He will be pleased to supply the querist or any one else with the music."

THE QUEEN'S BOOK IN GAELIC.—Archd. Colquhoun, Minnesota, is correct in his assumption. We have no copy in English.



# THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

*Conducted by* ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT.

---

---

NO. LXXIX.

MAY, 1882.

VOL. VII.

---

---

## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.

—o—  
III.

IN order that we may see how eminently fitted Carswell was to be the pioneer of the Gospel amongst his fellow-countrymen let us glance at his previous history. Most of the notices that survive are given by Dr Maclauchlan in the Introduction to the Gaelic Translation of John Knox's Liturgy. We find his name enrolled amongst the alumni of the University of St Andrews as early as 1541 as attending the College of St Salvator, the oldest college of the mother University of Scotland, endowed in 1456 by the good Bishop Kennedy. The masters and students lived within the walls of the College, and John Carswell, says Wodrow, took in that year his degree of B.A. He would, according to the custom of those times, go through a course of dialectics, mathematics, and physics, and form an acquaintance with the fathers and schoolmen of the Christian Church—he became “laureat and graduat in philosophy;” in other words he took his degree of M.A. in 1544. St Andrews was the archiepiscopal See of Scotland, an ancient seat of learning, an important and flourishing city, and from this, the centre of papal jurisdiction in Scotland, the Reformation made its appearance. John Knox was teaching there in 1542, and about that time he seems to have avowed his renunciation of Romanism, and about the same time (1543) the people



got liberty to read the Bible in an approved Scots or English translation, and public proclamation was made of the Act in all the chief towns; and John Knox says that the Bible was read to a great extent in Scotland. George Wishart too had come about this time to proclaim the Gospel fearlessly to his countrymen. "Then might have been seen the Bible," says Knox, "lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands." No doubt Cardinal Beaton, the great enemy of the Reformation, would do all he could to prevent the liberty amongst the students, but the seeds of the Reformation were very generally disseminated amongst them and throughout the whole country. One of John Carswell's abilities and penetration could not fail to catch the spirit of the times. After completing his course at St Andrews, he joined Lennox in his flight to England—and here, of course, he would find the Reformation principles prevailing everywhere. Still he does not seem to have broken with the Romish Church, for we find that he was soon afterwards acting in the capacity of treasurer of his native diocese. This was an important office, giving him the custody of the sacred vessels, vestments, and ornaments of the Cathedral Church, the charge and custody of the various revenues. His next office was that of Rector of his native parish. The old Castle of Kilmartin is said to have been the residence of the Rectors, so that they must have lived in the same style as the powerful barons. Besides the Church of Kilmartin, Carswell, as Rector, had the charge of two old chapels, the Chapel of Kilbride at Lochgair, and the Chapel of Kilmachumaig at Loch Crinan. He was also Chaplain to the Earl of Argyll. In addition to the Parish of Kilmartin, of which we meet with him as Rector as early as 1553, we find that in 1558 Sir George Clapperton, Chancellor of the Chapel Royal, granted the rectory of the parish of Kingarth in Bute, and that of South Wick, to Mr John Carswell, parson of Kilmartin; and a distinguished knight, Sir John MacVurarthie served the cure of Kingarth, as vicar under Carswell, during his life-time. Carswell was afterwards promoted to be Chancellor of the Chapel Royal at Stirling. The Chapel Royal was a richly endowed foundation erected by Pope Alexander VI. in the time of King James the IV. The Dean at this time was Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, known also as Arch-

bishop of Athens. He had been appointed to the See of the Isles in 1553, and transferred from that to the See of Galloway in 1558, and he was one of the few bishops who joined the Reformation party. As Chancellor of the Chapel Royal Carswell would have the oversight of all schools, particularly the school at Stirling attached to the Chapel Royal. Stirling had showed itself zealous in the cause of Reformation, and as we find the Dean and the Chancellor joining the Reformation party, we may well believe that amongst all classes there was an earnest longing for it. Knox's final return to Scotland was in May 1559, and by August 1560 the work of the Reformer was crowned with success, and the Reformation virtually established in Scotland. John Carswell was in 1560 nominated as Superintendent of Argyle by the congregation assembled in the Great Kirk at Edinburgh; but the proviso was added, "unless the countries whereto they (the superintendents) were appointed could, in the meantime, find out men more able and sufficient, or else show such cause as might make them unable for that dignity." The election had to be carried through by the common consent of lords, barons, ministers, elders, and all others common people present for the time, who were all cited to the place of election (the most central church of the diocese) to assist in the election, and by their votes to consent to it, or else to object to the life and doctrine of the person nominated. He must therefore have already given singular proofs of his eminent qualifications to be the overseer of the Reformed Church in his native diocese. It is not too much to say that he was learned and accomplished, in the highest sense of the word. John Row, the Reformer, an alumnus of St Andrew and contemporary of Carswell, who was afterwards appointed Superintendent of Galloway, while minister of Perth, took charge of the education of gentlemen and noblemen's children who were boarded with him—at school and in the fields they spoke nothing but Latin, and nothing was spoken in his house but French. The portions of Scripture read in the family, if out of the Old Testament, was read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English, and the New Testament was read in Greek, Latin, French, and English, and the stipend of this accomplished and learned divine was £16 13s 4d and one chalder of white oats; and when one thinks of the awful picture that Mr

Buckle and Lord Macaulay draw of the unkempt savages that were to be found in our barbarous Highland glens, one would almost incline to the belief that a man of Carswell's attainments must have dropped from the skies instead of having been reared amongst the barbarous Celts. But—

Insolens, andax, facinus nefandum—

it is not too much to say that in spite of Lord Macaulay's well-rounded periods and Mr Buckle's elegant caricatures, the truth must sooner or later prevail. The colouring of all these descriptions is superb and the fancy sublime and the diction faultless. But we should remember that the "Fertile Fancy" of the 19th century can, with equal plausibility, clothe in cartoon the venerable principal of a University, a learned and eloquent divine, with "a tartan kilt and a tartan plaid," and has even ventured to pourtray the premier in the capacity of Hero of the Midlothian campaign, as "ane wild Hielandman," whose brag it was—

All my opponents to grief I bring  
With my oratorical Highland fling ;  
I'd a desperate fight with the bold Buccleuch,  
And tried to teach him a thing or two ;  
For the land of bag-pipes and coarse oatmeal,  
I hailed in my speech as *the land o' the leal* ;  
And there my eloquence was repaid  
By an ounce of snuff and some yards of plaid.

The truth is, though, as Dr Cunningham remarks in the St Giles' Lectures, "our Highland glens were regarded then as Siberia is now among the Russians, or as Botany Bay was lately among ourselves," as the Duke of Argyll says in his "Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, "The intense excitement occasioned by the circulation of new ideas, the desire of knowledge, and the paramount interest of religious movement produced at that time the closest intercourse between the most distant parts of Europe. The communion of mind was quick and powerful, more than we can well conceive, for whom the improvements of physical science have not done more than was effected by those strong incitements," and the excitement was felt even in the Highlands, which must claim no inglorious share in the Reformation.

The commission given to the Superintendents by the Assembly was to plant kirks, preach, visit kirks, schools, and colleges,



to suspend, deprive, transplant ministers, to confer vacant benefices, to procure the eradication of all monuments of idolatry in the provinces or bounds assigned them. They had also to hold a Synod in the province twice a year, and they had to appear to be tried by the General Assembly, and to report their diligence. They had also jurisdiction in all cases of discipline, the civil and spiritual jurisdiction not being very well defined and distinguished from each other at the time. Carswell laboured under a serious disadvantage, inasmuch as the Gaelic was almost exclusively spoken in his province, and there was as yet no Gaelic Bible. The Bible, which was the favourite version of Puritans and Presbyterians, was the Genevan Bible—the translation of the English refugees who had fled to Geneva from persecution. It was printed in 1557, and is better known as the Breeches Bible from its rendering of Genesis iii. 7. “Then the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves *breeches*.” The Church, however, early provided a service book for the guidance of ministers and exhorters and readers; it contained forms of prayer for public worship, for marriage, visitation of the sick, for the administration of the sacraments, and an Act of Assembly ordained that every minister, reader, and exhorter should have one of these books. This Act was passed towards the end of the year 1564, and on the 24th day of April 1567 a Gaelic translation of this prayer-book, commonly called John Knox’s Liturgy, was printed in Edinburgh and put into circulation. The translator was Mr John Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. It is difficult to estimate the merits of this work—the first Gaelic book ever printed—aright. Carswell candidly confesses that he was deficient in his knowledge of the Gaelic language and in his power of writing it. He says—“I never acquired any knowledge of the Gaelic except as one of the people generally.” He says that many would therefore “mock his little work, because that the language wants the polish of the poets, and because the words want force.” He had to contend with a further difficulty—“the printer had not one word of Gaelic, but printed by chance or by guess.” Thus Carswell makes no pretensions to any excellence in his execution of the work, yet let us apply a test which will show the merits of the translation. Carswell translates the Lord’s prayer and the creed, &c. I have by me a translation of the



Confession of Faith by the Synod of Argyll in 1725—the edition in my possession is the third edition of this book, printed in 1757—and annexed to it are the Lord's prayer and the creed, &c. I shall write the Lord's prayer in parallel columns as we find it in Carswell's Liturgy of 1567, and in the edition of the Confession of Faith :—

## LORD'S PRAYER.

*Carswell, 1567.*

Ar Nathairne atá ar neamh  
 Go mo beandaigthe hainm  
 Go dtí-dtí dod ríghé  
 Goma denta do thoil adtalmhuin  
 Mar atá ar neamh  
 Tabhair dhúinn aniu  
 ar naran laitheamhail  
 agus maith dhúinn ar bhíacha  
 anhail mhaithmaoidne  
 dar bfeicheamhnuibh  
 agus na leig a mbuaidhreadh sind  
 acht saór sind ó olc  
 óir is leatsa an ríghé  
 aneart agus a ngloir  
 tré bhióth sior.

*Confession, 1757.*

Ar Nathairne ata air neamh  
 Go ma beannuighthe hainmsa  
 Gu dtígeadh do Ríoghachd  
 Deantar do thoilse air dtalmhuin  
 Mar ata air neamh  
 Tabhair dhuinn a niugh  
 ar naran laetheamhail  
 agus maith dhuinne ar bhíacha  
 anhail mhaithmuid  
 dar bhfeicheamhnuibh  
 agus na leig a mbuaidhreadh sinn  
 Acht saor sinn o olc  
 oir is leatsa an ríoghachd  
 agus an cumhachd agus an ghloir  
 gu siorruidh.

I might institute comparisons in the same way between the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments to show conclusively that the powerful mind of Carswell stereotyped the very expressions of the articles of faith of his fellow-countrymen, and that the generations for 200 years after his time could not improve on the very words, many of which, in the absence of any printed authorities, he had to coin.

Carswell's influence has transmitted itself in another direction. In the absence of Bibles, there was no more effectual method of disseminating religious truth than by means of spiritual songs. Carswell composed several, and his verses were long cherished, and cheered the hearts and supported the drooping spirits of many a weary pilgrim in their seasons of trial and sorrow. One of these, his advice to his son, has come down through oral tradition to our own century. He endeavours in it to wean his son from the vanities of the world and fix his heart on the good of his soul and on the necessity of making provision for the solemn hour of death. It is a piece of great beauty and tenderness, and shows, as Dr Maclauchlan well remarks, that "Carswell

had considerable poetical gifts." He seems, too, to have given an impulse to others. Kennedy in his book gives some specimens of the spiritual poetry of one Mac-an-Leora, or Dewar, who flourished about the middle of the next century, and who composed many hymns, elegies, and laments. Two of his laments, which were composed on Argyll after his martyrdom, were long current in the district, "which," says Kennedy, "I heard sung, when I was very young, before I was taught to read or write; the peculiar tone of the laments with that deep and pathetic melody the tone conveyed caused me to shed tears along with the person who sung them." This Dewar lived at Fionnchairn, at the west end of Lochawe, in the immediate neighbourhood of Kilmartin. And for long after the Reformation there was more of religious poetry to be met with within the bounds of the Synod of Argyle than in any other part of the Highlands.

The spirit of Carswell seems to have animated his successors. His successor in the diocese of Argyle seems to have been Neil Campbell, who was also parson of Kilmartin, which was his native parish. It is a pity that we have so little authentic information about the state of Argyleshire at that time; but even contemporaries seemed to know little of what was going on there. In 1586 we find the significant entry in the minutes of the General Assembly—"The Bishops of Argyle and Isles to be subject to attend on Assembly, otherwise they are as in another dominion, which is prejudicial both to the King and Kirk." And even as late as 1596 the Assembly had no information as to the state of the Kirks of Argyle and the Isles, there seem to have been no Presbyteries within the bounds, though the rest of Scotland had been divided into Presbyteries. Still in that clever lampoon on the Bishops published in Neil Campbell's time he is honourably mentioned. I shall only give the last verse of the lampoon:—

Arva Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri  
 Rarus adis parochos O Catanaee tuos.  
 Solus in Argadiis praesul meritissimus oris  
 Vera Ministerii symbola solus habet.

Englished thus at the time:—

By chance Dunkel has lighted so  
 That Jacob he would bee;  
 But, O, good Catnes, when comes thow  
 Thy flock to teach or see?

For life and doctrine they may al  
 Resigne it to Argill,  
 So faith has left the Lowland clean,  
 Gone to the hills a while.

Over the doorway of an old roofless caibéal or burying-place in the churchyard of Kilmartin there is a rude inscription which seems to mark the grave of the good Neil Campbell:—

1627.

HEIR . LYIS . MR  
 NEIL . CAMBEL  
 AND . CRISTIANE . C.

And he alone of all the Bishops seems to have retained the confidence of the Presbyterian element in the Church, as another lampoon has it concerning this Bishop in his time,

Unus at hic Christi, caetera pars Satanae.  
 "Of thir one truelie preaches Christ,  
 The rest are divilish seed."

It would thus appear that the labours of Carswell had proved eminently useful and profitable to his native diocese, and the fire which he had kindled continued to burn brightly long after his death.  
*(To be Continued.)*

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS—ELECTION OF HONORARY CHIEFTAINS.—At a recent meeting the Rev. Dr Thomas Maclauchlan, F.S.A. Scot. ; Sheriff Nicolson, LL.D. ; and Mr Colin Chisholm, ex-President of the Gaelic Society of London, were unanimously elected Honorary Chieftains of the Society. This is the highest honour at the disposal of the members, and, under Rule III. of the Constitution, can only be conferred on "distinguished men" in the Celtic cause, "to the number of seven." The honour has been conferred on Drs Maclauchlan and Nicolson in recognition of their valuable literary labours in the Celtic field, and on Mr Chisholm on the more general ground of his many services to the same cause in London and Inverness, which include no inconsiderable amount of good work in our own pages and elsewhere. The other Honorary Chieftains are—Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, Bart. ; Professor John Stuart Blackie ; Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot., M.P. ; and Colonel Cluny Macpherson of Cluny, C.B. At the same meeting a paper by Captain Macra Chisholm of Glassburn, on the Antiquity of Tartan ; and a beautiful elegy on the late Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A., were read to the members, for both of which the authors were cordially thanked. We shall probably publish the Elegy in an early issue.

# THE CELTIC MAGAZINE.

Conducted by ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. SCOT.

---

No. LXXX.

JUNE, 1882.

VOL. VII.

---

## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.

—o—  
IV.

ANY notice of Bishop Carswell would be incomplete without an allusion to his connection with Carnassary Castle, with which his name is traditionally associated. Kennedy says, "The Right Rev. Bishop was exalted far above a Rector, or minister of a parish (as some publishers choose to state), he was *High Bishop of Argyle*, mighty and wealthy above all others, in holy orders, over three districts: he could vie with any *baron or chief* within his diocese, and built the *Castle of Carnasary* so as to compete with his superior *Argyll* himself. This castle is situated on a rising ground at the top of a strath called Strathmore, within less than a mile north from Kilmartin. When the *Earl of Argyll* saw it, he approved much of the elegance of its structure; but disapproved of its situation, which he considered as despicable as if erected on a dung-hill. The Right Rev. prelate may have thought this retired situation more suitable for his studies than any other site on the coast, where beautiful and extensive scenery and the terrific roaring of the *Gulf of Breacan* might interrupt his meditation"; and the "*Origines Parochiales*" assert "that Carnasary Castle was built by Mr John Carswell, Bishop of Argyle, to the use of the Earls of Argyll." The tradition of the district is to the same effect, that there was an old Castle at Carnassary but that Carswell re-built it. The stone with the armorial bearings



and inscription amongst the ruins seems to belong to the new structure. The arms are quarterly—1st and 4th Girony of eight ; 2d and 3d old fashioned ship. Inscription in Irish characters Dia le unnduimhne, and *the arms are impaled with the Scottish lion within a double tressure*. The Scottish lion would imply connection with royalty, and might be the Lord Campbell who died in 1453, and was married to Margaret Stewart, daughter to Robert Duke of Albany, brother to Robert John, the third King of Scotland. But we should remember that the galley is seldom used by the Campbells on their coat of arms before the time of Earl Colin, who was created Baron Lorne in 1470. The lion, on the other hand, came to be used by all who could claim kindred with royalty, however remote. Witness, for instance, the Curate of Kilmartin in the days of Episcopacy. A Mr William Macclauchlane was presented to the parish of Kilmartin by His Majesty on the forfeiture of Archibald Earl of Argyll, 1st August 1682, much to the chagrin of the parishioners. The parishioners of Kilmartin hastened to join Argyll's standard in 1685, and on the failure of the expedition, many of the parishioners were put to death, some banished to the West Indian plantations, and most of the heritors were sentenced to death, and their estates placed under forfeiture. But Mr William profited by all these misfortunes. He got possession of all the tithes, and found himself the happy recipient of a stipend larger than any of his predecessors enjoyed, probably, since the days of Carswell. This gave him an opportunity of cultivating certain artistic tastes, which he seems to have possessed. He made a private entrance for himself to the church (a very judicious proceeding on his part), inscribing over it—

M.  
W. M.  
1686.

(Mr  
William Macclauchlane  
1686.)

and having a shrewd suspicion, no doubt, from the temper in which he found his parishioners (smarting under the calamities which befell them recently in defending their civil and religious liberties) that none of them were disposed to erect a monument to his memory, Mr William resolved, like Absalom of old, to erect a monument to himself "to keep his name in remembrance"—and in the year 1686 he did erect a monument, which still survives.

It is a fearfully and wonderfully designed specimen of Mr William's learning and artistic taste, full of all manner of curious devices, with a Latin inscription, and emblazoned with the coat of arms of Maclachlan, *impaled with the Scottish lion within a double tressure*. We may well believe that Mr William had the faintest connection with Royalty, unless we recognise some affinity in the fact that on the appearance of King William and the Revolution, King James *deserted his kingdom* and Mr William *deserted his parish*. Now, the 5th Earl in Carswell's time was married to Lady Jean Stewart, natural daughter of King James the Fifth, and Carswell dedicates his Book to him—

Do Ghiolla easbuig Vanduibhne Iarrla Erragaidheal—

and in his hymn to this Book he says—

Go húa-nduibhne rig ad réim—

so that tradition may, as usual, be quite correct in connecting Carswell's name with Carnassary, and he must have built it, with the sanction, possibly, at the instigation, of his patron Argyll. The Castle is in the form of an oblong hall, between two square towers, terminating in battlements with a variety of crow-stepped gables, tall chimneys, small bartizans, characteristic of the pristine Scottish baronial residence. It is in the plain perpendicular style, having little ornamentation beyond the moulding on the walls and parapets; but there are remains of some beautiful ornamental tracery above the door and on the mantle-pieces. The walls are exceedingly thick, with circular stairs, sleeping closets, and cells in their thickness—altogether it is the plain, substantial, elegant fabric that we would expect a man of Carswell's calibre to design for his residence. In a military point of view it may be condemned; but for picturesqueness and scenery few would wish a more desirable site for residence. Far as the eye can reach, it commands the most lovely and varied and romantic scenery. From the hills that rise on either side of the Castle, Carswell could gaze on what he himself calls "the fair land of the territory of the beautiful sea-coast of Alban." To the north may be seen in the distance the bold spiral outlines of the mountains of Mull and Appin, the lofty summits of Ben-Cruachan, while beneath lie the innumerable islands that stud Loch Craignish and the *Dorus Mòr*, and wherever the eye chooses

to turn it rests on an intricate, extensive, diversified scene of quiet and awe-inspiring arrangements of nature ; at one time it is the hills of Knapdale, again the peaks of Jura, again

Scarba's isle whose tortured shore  
Still rings to Corrievreckan's roar  
And lonely Colonsay,  
Scenes sung by him who sings no more.

One would fain associate Carswell's name with Carnassary, for it was destined to play no unimportant part in the after struggles of his countrymen for their religious liberties. In 1644-45, when a great body of the Macdonalds, commanded by Coll Macdonald, came to execute their revenge on *the Argyle's* country, the people of Kilmartin seem to have fled for refuge to their strongholds, Duntroon Castle, and Carnassary Castle—many of them taking refuge in dens and caves known only to themselves—and the only thing which seems to have eluded the search of the plunderers “was,” says Kennedy, “one humble dun cow which happened to escape their notice, it being hid in a thicket of birch, in a hollow below Kilmartin. The cow was called by the natives *Bo mhaol odhar Ach-a-bheann*. It appears that the calf of this cow was carried off by the freebooters, which caused its melancholy dam to lament its absence. It is told that *her* bellowing and vehement roaring in this deserted strath (like the pelican's mournful tones in the wilderness), made the forlorn inhabitants feel their loss with greater pain, seeing nothing left them but naked fields.”

The amiable and pious wife of Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, Lady Henrietta Lindsay, whose love was truly

Love that can find  
Christ everywhere embalmed and shrined,  
Aye gathering up memorials sweet  
Where'er she sets her duteous feet,

passed many of her days at Carnassary, then called *Castle Bow-draught*, and here she no doubt followed her usual course of making her house a little sanctuary, where domestics and neighbours assembled to hear the words of eternal life ; “these bounds being then,” to use her own words, “as a heath in the wilderness as to the means of grace.” During these killing times when, as she herself says, “the growing desolation and trouble daily in-

creased to the putting a further restraint on ministers and people, many of whom were imprisoned, harassed, chased to the hazard of their lives, the violating of the consciences of others, and the fearful bloodshed of many; retrenching our liberties, so that it was made a crime to meet or convene to the worship of the living God, except in such a manner as our nation was solemnly sworn against; laying bonds on ministers not to preach, or people to hear, under such and such penalties, fines, hazards as were endless to rehearse; things running to such a height to the introducing of Popery itself, if the Lord had not prevented, that there were almost no thinking persons but were under the dread and fear of this approaching judgment." Here she was visited in the summer of 1685 by what she calls her "desirable sister," Lady Sophia, whose heroic rescue of Argyll from prison will forever embellish the page of history; and here she was attacked, that same summer by high fever, and visited by her mother, the Countess of Argyll. And Lady Henrietta left behind some memorials of her residence here. Over the entrance-gate is the following inscription:—

S.		(Sir
D.	C.	Duncan Campbell.
L.		Lady
H.	L.	Henrietta Lindsay.
1681.		1681.)

And in 1685, when Argyll returned from Holland, to quote his own declaration, "to take up just and necessary arms in the name and fear of the Great God, and the confidence of his mercy and assistance, for our own and our country's relief from the foresaid most grievous and intolerable tyrannies and oppressions, the defence and re-establishment of the true and pure Christian religion commonly called Protestant, in opposition to the Anti-Christian Roman religion commonly called Papistical, and the recovery and re-establishment of all our just rights, liberties, and privileges, according as we stand indispensably engaged thereto before God and man," his son, the Hon. Charles Campbell, placed a garrison in the castle of Carnassary, and Sir Duncan Campbell soon afterwards marched to Tarbert at the head of 1000 men. And Carnassary Castle ultimately perished in the general wreck which followed the failure of Argyll's enterprise. The occasion



is described in a petition which Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck presented to the Estates of Parliament after the Revolution. The petition states "that the petitioner having from his sense of the justice and necessity of the said Earl, his undertaking, and for the defence of the country, caused man and garrison his house of Carnassary; the same was besieged, and a treaty for surrender being in dependence, the deceased Lauchlane McLaine of Torlisk, &c., conjunctly and severally, with their barbarous accomplices, did, in the first place, cause hang Dugald McTavish, fiar of Dunardarie, at the said house of Carnassary; and immediately after the surrendering thereof, did barbarously murder Alexander Campbell of Strondour, the petitioner's uncle, and without any regard to any conditions of faith given, they did fall upon and wound above twenty of the soldiers of the garrison, plunder and carry away out of the said house three-score horse led of goods and plenishing, and after all these cruelties and robberies, the said deceased Lauchlane McLaine of Torlisk, with his above named followers and accomplices, did set fire to the said house of Carnassary and burn it to ashes."

But while Carnassary fell a prey to such fierce masters, and such ravenous plunderers, what hallowed memories cluster around that ivy-mantled ruin. A solemn stilness and a hushed repose seem to mantle it round, broken only by the sighing of the wind or the flight of the jackdaw from its recesses; yet from this spot, no doubt, winged prayers ascended to the throne of God, which were answered in due time. "Far from me," says Dr Johnson, "and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue." And this ground has been dignified by the wisdom, and bravery, and virtue of those; but for whose sacrifices, and prayers, and efforts on behalf of our Freedom and our Religion,

The stars that blazed in Albion's hemisphere,  
And long dispensed unclouded radiance there,  
No more were suffered to indulge their light,  
Torn from their orbs and sunk in endless night.

That man is truly little to be envied who can gaze unmoved at the sad memorials of those whose hard lot it was to mingle in scenes of strife and bloody conflict in order that they might

transmit to posterity the peace and plenty and security of our happy days,

Where pure Religion o'er the blissful plains  
Pours her eternal beam, and endless Freedom reigns.

In this sacred spot, it may be, he, who is said to have been a conventual brother of the Abbey of Iona, and whom God commissioned anew to go in the spirit and power of St Columba to confer "the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion" upon his countrymen, penned his memorable salutation—"Unto every Christian throughout the whole earth, and especially to the men of Alban (Scotland) and of Eireand (Ireland), to such of them as desire to receive the faithful words of God, in their hearts and minds, John Carswell sends his blessing, and prays for the Holy Spirit for them from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

But while we can view this ruin and its precincts with all the borrowed charms that sacred romance can lead to its blessing or its woes now that

The sounds of population fail,  
No cheerful murmurs fluctuate in the gale,  
No busy steps the grass-grown footway tread,  
But all the bloomy flush of life is fled, .

the folks of that distant era could regard it with very different feelings. It would appear that the strictest discipline was maintained in the castle, and any one who missed a meal had to content himself till the next came round. One of the gillies happened to return from a long journey, possibly having eaten nothing since daybreak, and had reached a ford immediately below the castle, and was no doubt "interested," like Captain Dalgetty, "by the smoke which ascended from the castle chimneys and the expectation which this seemed to warrant of his encountering an abundant stock of provant." He was just in the act of crossing the water when he was roused out of his musings by the sound of the dinner-bell. Eager to secure his repast, and desperate at the thought that he might have to wait till the next came round, he pitched a load of meal which he had in front of him into the water, and applying his spurs to his Bucephalus rod furiously up the steep, and it is to be hoped reached the hall

in good time: in any case, it is said that the discipline was somewhat relaxed after this ludicrous incident. The good wives of the Strathmore of Ariskeodnish would appear to have had their own musings about the stern discipline in another direction. Looking at this giant edifice which lifts its lofty head at the top of the strath and is visible for miles all round, and reflecting on the enormous quantities of butter, eggs, fat hens, and other small brocks that were rigorously exacted from them in the shape of tithes to sustain its giant occupant and his numerous train, they muttered their wrathful lampoon in the words in which it still survives amongst them:—

*An Carsalach mòr tha'n Carnasrie,\**  
 Tha na coig cairt 'n a osain,  
 Tha 'dhroll mar dhruinnin na corra,  
 'S a sgròban lom gionach farsuing.

*(The Big Carswell in Camassary,*  
 There are five quarters (45 inches) in his hose,  
 His rump is like the back of a crane,  
 His stomach empty, greedy, capacious.)

*(To be continued.)*

THE REV. THOMAS FRASER, known as "Parson Thomas," of Inverness, was preaching on one occasion on a very hot Sunday in the month of July. An unusually large number of the congregation fell asleep during the discourse. Whether this was the result of the heat of the day or the dryness of the sermon is not recorded. The preacher was naturally annoyed, and, addressing them, he exclaimed loudly, in Gaelic, "Are you all asleep, you wicked sinners, but that poor fool?" referring to an idiot called "Ali-na-Pairc," who sat opposite to him in the front gallery. "Yes," answered Ali in Gaelic, at the same time starting from his seat and walking out of the church, "and, if I were not such a great idiot, I would have been asleep too!"

\* Carnasrie is undoubtedly the proper way of writing the word, and comes nearest the pronunciation of the natives of the district. The tradition of the district is that Carswell only built the *East Tower*, and that the wages of the masons was 4d, and of the labourers 1d per day; and that the *Hall* and *West Tower* were added by the Auchinbreck family. The workmanship of the East Tower is very much more substantial and tradesmanlike.

## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.

—o—

## V.

WE have already hinted that John Carswell was created by Royal charter Bishop of the Isles. At the Reformation none of the Bishops were legally dispossessed of the emoluments of their Sees—but the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts was abolished, and no bishop or prelate was to exercise jurisdiction. Churchmen derived all their authority from the Pope, and they were not subject to the same laws or tried by the same judges as ordinary subjects. All the high offices of state at the time were filled with ecclesiastics—the President and one-half of the Senators of the Court of Session were churchmen, and all matrimonial and testamentary causes were tried in spiritual courts. The office of Bishop, therefore, in Roman Catholic times, carried with it immense dignity and authority. They had, moreover, one-half of the national property in their own hands. But now the causes which used to be determined by the spiritual courts were transferred to commissaries or civil judges, who were appointed to hear and determine them. The Reformed clergy tried hard to recover the patrimony of the Church for the maintenance of the ministers, the education of youth, and the support of the poor, but the spoils of the Church went to enrich nobles and ecclesiastics, who seized or continued in the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical revenues, the merest pittance being assigned to the Reformed Church. About 25,000 pounds Scots, or about £2000 sterling, was, for a long time after the Reformation, all that was allotted for the maintenance of the National Church. Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who turned Protestant, retained his benefice till the day of his death, and at his death alienated the revenues to his son, who was afterwards confirmed in the possession of them by a charter under the Great Seal.

John Campbell, a son of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, second son of the Earl of Argyll, seems to have been Bishop of the Isles at the time of the Reformation between 1558-1560. But he is always designed *Electus Sodorensis* and Prior de Ardchattan. It is alleged of him that he dilapidated the greater



part of the benefice in favour of his relations, and that he conveyed some heritable jurisdictions to his own family of Cawdor. A Mr Patrick M'Clane had been presented by Queen Mary to the temporality of the Bishopric and Abbey of Icolmkill, and on account of his inability resigned them in 1565 in favour of Mr John Carswell, who became bound to pay him a yearly pension, and to pay the stipends of the ministers planted within the bounds, and on the 24th March 1566 John Carswell was formally presented by Queen Mary to the Bishopric of the Isles and to the Abbey of Icolmkill. The Episcopal revenues of this See, at the time of the Reformation, must have been very considerable, consisting of what we know to have been large and wealthy domains as well as tithes. Even as late as the Revolution settlement the revenue, after a series of plunderings, dilapidations, appropriations, &c., formed a respectable item of the "remnant saved" from spoliation. The seat of the Cathedral of the Bishopric of the Isles was Iona, and the Bishop seems to have had a residence at Lismore and also in Bute. The words of Carswell's presentation, as given by Bishop Keith, bear that it was "in the same manner and as freely in all respects, causes, and conditions as if the said Mr John had been preferred to the said diocese and abbey in the Roman Court" and Keith's inference is "that all this provision was, no doubt, made with a view that he might dilapidate the temporality to the family of Argyll." In the same year (1566) Alexander Campbell, a son of Campbell of Ardkinglass, got a grant of the Bishopric of Brechin while yet a mere boy, and he afterwards alienated most part of the lands and tithes to the Earl of Argyll, by whose recommendation he was appointed, retaining, says Keith, for his successor scarce so much as would be a moderate competency for a minister in Brechin, and Tytler well remarks—"that many zealous supporters of the Reformation loved its plunder better than its principles." It is truly inconceivable that the Bishopric of Argyll and the Isles had only a revenue originally of £140 yearly, which is now the amount that has been saved out of the melancholy wreck.

Still, it is questionable whether Carswell is to be held responsible for dilapidations of the Episcopal revenues of the See. John Campbell, prior of Ardchattan, was, as we noticed, Bishop-Elect of the Isles as early as 1558-1560, and he was re-elected

and installed into the office of Bishop of the Isles in the room of Carswell in 1572, and he seems to have been more guilty of dilapidating of churches and confiscation of Church property than Carswell. No doubt the Earl of Argyll came in for his share of the spoils; but the property belonging to the Church seems to have been pretty equally divided amongst the powerful barons; for we find the Macleans of Duart in possession of the lands belonging to the Abbey of Icolmkill as early as 1587—and in the next century, when the Marquis of Argyll conceived a very liberal scheme for diffusing the gospel in Argyleshire, and for utilising the surplus teinds, we find that the powerful Barons had gripped greedily to the kirk rents, and would not let go. In accepting the presentation, however, Carswell exposed himself to the frown of the leaders of the Reformation. But it is quite possible he could not well help himself; as early as 1561 an Act was passed ordaining the third part of all the ecclesiastical benefices in the realm to be applied to the maintenance of the Reformed preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the Crown. And what the opinions of the Reformed ministers were regarding this provision may be inferred from Knox's remark—"I see two parts free lie given to the devill, and the third part must be divided betwixt God and the devill. Weill, ere it be long, the devill sall have three parts of the third; judge, then, what God's portion sall be." And from the significant words in a supplication presented to the Queen in the following year (1562)—"And as for the ministers their livings are so appointed that the most part sall live a beggar's life." The ministers were soon reduced to the greatest straits. "It is but poverty that is yet threatened us," says Knox in a pastoral letter addressed to the Church in 1565, "which if we be not able to contemn, how shall we abide the fury and terror of death which many thousands before us have suffered for the testimony of the same truth which we profess and teach, and despised all worldly redemption, as the Apostle speaketh? This is but a gentle trial which our Father taketh of our obedience, which, if we willingly offer to him, the bowels of his Fatherly compassion will rather cause the heavens, yea, the rocks and rivers to minister unto us things necessary to the body, than that he will suffer us to perish if we dedicate our lives unto

him." It is evident that, for seven years after the Reformation, the Protestant clergy were in the greatest indigence, and performed their duties under the greatest discouragements, and had to commit their bodies to the care of Him, who feedeth the fowls of the heavens. The same parsimonious spirit prevailed in Carswell's diocese. In the letter which Carswell addressed to Mr Campbell of Kinzeancleuch, and dated off Dunoon, the 29th May 1564, quoted by Dr Maclauchlan, Carswell says—"For this standis the mater in this cuntrie; gif we craif our stipendis, and remitt tham nocht at thair plesouris, than our preching is on-profitable; and gif we remitt tham, than the travell can nocht be sustenit for falt of sustentatioun of the travellaris; and of sum our travell nocht the better allowit, altho we became beggaris." It seemed almost a necessity then for Carswell to be put in a position to enforce payment of the ecclesiastical revenues if he were to continue his labours in Argyleshire; and the presentation to the Bishopric put him in possession of the revenues of the See. But it would appear that it did more; that it revived the old papal jurisdiction, gave him a seat in Parliament, and made him, so to speak, the head of the commissariat of the Isles—in short from being a simple presbyter he became a Diocesan Lordly Prelate. The Reformers in all countries were opposed to the revival of this power in the Church. The followers of Luther and the Church of England at the Reformation preserved more or less of the Episcopal government, and established subordination among the clergy; but all the Reformers in England and Germany maintained that Christ set all ministers on an equality as to power, dignity, and authority; and that all lawful authority of one over another was to be given to them by the consent or ordinance and positive laws of man, and not by any ordinance of God in Holy Scripture. In Germany, consequently they did not continue the old name of Archbishop and Bishop but converted the words into their Latin equivalents, "General Superintendent" and "Superintendent." The followers of Calvin in Switzerland and Holland established perfect equality among the clergy. The Church of Geneva was the model which Knox set before himself for Scotland, and the Reformers followed the principle of parity among ministers. They proposed at the same time to appoint ten or twelve superintendents in the infancy of

the Church, till the Church should be properly constituted: as to election examination, powers of ordination, subordination to the Judicatories of the Church, and ministerial duties, superintendents were placed on the same footing as ordinary ministers, their jurisdiction extended to sacred things only; they claimed no seat in Parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity or revenues of the former Bishops. The office was only temporary, and, to use the words of an old writer, "The superintendents did, with much difficulty and much urging, embrace the office wherein was to be seen nothing but onus, not honos, poverty, and pains, no preferment and riches." No wonder, then, though we read in the 19th Assembly, in July 1569—"Mr John Kersewell, Superintendent of Argyle, was rebooked for accepting the Bishoprick of the Ilis, not making the assemblie forseene, and for ryding at and assisting of parliament holdin by the Queen after the murther of the King." He exposed himself to the censure contained in a squib of later date:—

What shall we say now when we see  
 The preachers of humilitie  
 With pompe practise the papall pride,  
 With potentats to sit and ryde,  
 And strive for state in Parliament,  
 Lyke Lords in their abulziement,  
 They blew against the Bishops lang,  
 And doctrine in the people dang,  
 That ministers should not be Lords,  
 But now their words and works discords.  
 Their braverie breaks their own Kirke acts,  
 Such changes mal-contentment makes.  
 Fy on that faith that turns with tyme,  
 Turne home and I shall turne my ryme.

Old John Row in his history has the following story, which shows the holy horror entertained towards Bishops:—"This man got many warnings: he dreamed (he was full of apprehensions and groundless imaginations all his life) that he was a lame pig,\* and that a golden hammer lighted on him and broke him all to peeces. This was when he was standing for trueth. Haveing communicated his dream to a brother, he expounds to him his dream, saying, 'Brother, bewar that the golden hammer of a Bishoprick break not you and your profession in shivers; for if it fall out so, it will be said—

\* Lame = earthen; Pig = pitcher.



Malleus en fragilem confregerat aureus urnam.”

Englished thus at the time—

The golden hammer broke the brittle kan,  
The bishoprick in peeces dash't the man.

Let us see, then, how it fared with Carswell and the golden hammer. Kennedy, who speaks of Carswell as “this powerful prelate,” speaking of his diocese and the different persuasions of which it was composed, goes on—“Among such a mixture of religious classes, it cannot be supposed that the reverend Bishop could feel very happy, especially when obliged to use harsh measures to enforce payment of his tithe, being chiefly paid in grain, which in those days was not very plenty. These measures being frequently resorted to, caused the people to dislike him and his whole train of priors, rectors, &c., who officiated under him. This reverend and mighty prelate is said to have had his temper often ruffled by his flock, who to mortify his pride, lampooned him with personalities and practical jokes. One of these I heard repeated when very young. It runs thus:—

*An Carsalach mor tha'n Carnasarie,  
A tha na coig cairt na chasan,  
Tha dhroll mar dhruinnein na curra,  
'Sa sgroban lom, gionach, farsaing.*

*The great Carswell* of Canasary, whose legs are five quarters (45 inches) in length; his rump as hard as the back of a crane; his stomach capacious, greedy and empty, and very ill to satisfy.”

There is no doubt that the new title added largely to the dignity and authority of Carswell. The northern Isles of Skye and Lewis, with other adjacents, formed part of the Diocese of the Isles, but they were included within the bounds of the Superintendent of Ross. But, while Carswell could lay claim to the revenues, there is no charge brought against him of either neglecting or exceeding his duties as a superintendent; and there is a shrewd suspicion that no great objection would be taken to his conduct were it not that like his patron, the Earl of Argyll, he stood by Queen Mary in her troubles. With some this will be esteemed a meritorious action, and with others the reverse. It is quite true that with the exception of Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who warmly espoused her cause, and the Bishop of Orkney, who solemnised her marriage with Bothwell, and perhaps Bishop

Carswell, the rest of the reformers violently opposed the Queen's faction. It is difficult to decide between the two factions, for on the Queen's party we find some who were professors of the true and reformed religion; and, as Sir Walter Scott has it, "'God and the Queen' resounded from the one party, 'God and the King' thundered from the other party, while, in the name of their sovereign, fellow-subjects on both sides shed each other's blood, and in the name of their Creator defaced his image." "Fellow-citizens," says Principal Robertson, "friends, brothers, took different sides and ranged themselves under the standards of the contending factions. In every county, and almost in every town and village, 'King's men' and 'Queen's men' were names of distinction. Political hatred dissolved all natural ties and extinguished the reciprocal goodwill and confidence which hold mankind together in society. Religious zeal mingled itself with these civil dissensions and contributed not a little to heighten and inflame them." It is true that Carswell's name is attached to that bond of the nobles, in which they recommended Bothwell as a suitable husband for the Queen; but, then, we know that the company were taken by surprise, the house in which they were assembled surrounded by 200 armed men, and many affixed their signatures over-awed by terror and force. That bond proved one of the bitterest ingredients that was yet added to the unfortunate Mary's cup of sorrow and suffering; but we should be slow to condemn Carswell, when, as the Duke of Argyll remarks on this tragical period, "amidst a continued series of the most heinous crimes, we are led almost to doubt the existence of one leading man in Scotland who was free from more or less participation in the guilt of their commission." We tremble for Carswell as we think of him having to do with Court intrigues, and fear lest the golden hammer of a Bishoprick should break him and his profession in shivers. "I have, considering my sphere," says Burnet, "seen a great deal of all that is most tempting and shining in this world; the pleasures of sense I did soon nauseate, intrigues of state and the conduct of affairs have something in them that is more specious; and I was for some years deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world and of making mankind wiser and better; but I have found that which is crooked cannot be made straight,"

Possibly Carswell, like Bishop Burnet, found "that which is crooked cannot be made straight," and after incurring the censure of his brethren in the General Assembly, he withdrew, it would seem, from Court and from cabals and parties, and perhaps bitter experience found its echo in the lines with which he closes his translation of Knox's Liturgy :—

Woe to them with whom the world is prosperous !

Woe to them who obtain its favour !

If our tie be to the world,

There is danger that the will of God is not done.

(*To be continued.*)

*THE MEMORANDUM BOOK OF SIR KENNETH MACKENZIE OF SCATWELL, created a Baronet 1703. Edited by CHARLES FRASER-MACKINTOSH, M.P., F.S.A. Scot.*

THE inner lives, thoughts, and observations of our ancestors are ever matters of interest, and no works are of such lasting repute as those relating to those matters. There are thousands of names prominent in history, in regard to whose private views and lives we know nothing. Not long since we had occasion to examine the rich and valuable collection of family papers belonging to Mr Allan Maclean, formerly of the Imperial Fire Office, unhappily all that remain to him in heritage, as representative of the ancient and honourable house of Clan Tearlaich, first settled in Urquhart, afterwards at Castle Spioradail, and latterly for three hundred years at Dochgarroch. How the interesting Memorandum Book of Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, first Baronet of Scatwell, came to be among the Dochgarroch papers is a mystery. It is a small volume, strongly bound in vellum, with lock, and extends over the period from 1694 to 1729, the entries not being consecutive as regards dates. On an early page is written, "Ken. McKenzie 1694."

Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigach, immediate younger brother of the first Lord Kintail, had issue male—first, Sir John Mackenzie, first of the family of Cromarty; and second, Kenneth, to whom his father gave the lands of Scatwell. Kenneth, first of Scatwell, married, as his second wife, Janet Ross of Invercarron, and was succeeded by Kenneth, son of this second marriage,

## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.

—o—

### VI.

IT would no doubt interest us to know what was the social state of Kilmartin during Carswell's incumbency. Unfortunately no records of so early a date survive. A sub-valuation of the year 1629-30 enables us to give a brief analysis of the proprietors, &c. Three-fourths of the parish was in the hands of proprietors of the name of Campbell, most of them cadets of the House of Argyll. There were 13 proprietors of the name of Campbell; we give the rest in alphabetical order—1 Carswell, 1 Dewar, 1 Macarthur, 1 Malcolm, 1 Maclauchlan, 2 Macneills, 2 Mactavishes. The population was distributed over 63 hamlets or townships, and they seem to have been descendants of Dalriadic Scots who had settled in the district as early as the sixth century. The name of the district, *Airdskeotinnish*, seems to prove this, and abounds in Celtic remains, crosses and sculptured stones, and the patronymics of the people prove that they had come under Christian influences largely; the district, moreover, abounds in the ruins of old churches, most of them named after Columban and Culdee saints. But it would appear that traditions of their old Pagan religion still survived amongst them. "It appears," says Kennedy, "that a tribe of the Druids made choice of this *Strathsgeodinnis*, frequently called Strathmore, for their place of worship and interment. I remember seeing at the bottom of this strath edging an extensive moss (perhaps 25 miles in circumference) more than a score of circular cairns of different magnitudes and nearly the same form, with small open circles (which might be used as altars), proving them beyond a doubt to have been the works of Druids. There have been also at certain distances from these cairns large pillars of stone standing erect from 9 to 12 ft. in height, most of which have been in later times removed to make room for the plough. The natives time after time within the last century demolished the greater part of these relics or *cairns* (which their forefathers considered to have been sacred to the memory of some holy man), and carried away the stones to build their dykes or out-houses. Some long time since



on removing the rubbish from one of these cairns to the bottom, 10 feet deep, an Urn or Tunga was turned up of a superior structure, apparently of brass, supposed to contain the ashes of a dignified Druid."

Some of the urns that have been recovered from cairns which survive are now in the possession of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, and are wonderful specimens of Celtic art and design. The Druids, too, seem to have given names to two places at either extremity of the strath, Crynan or Crinan, and Gouroch (modern, Euroch), which reminds one of Greenock (Gaelic, Grianraig) and Gouroch on the Clyde. "Great," says Carswell, "is the blindness and darkness of sin and ignorance and of understanding among composers and writers and supporters of the Gaelic, in that they prefer and practice the framing of vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories, about the Tuath de Dhanond, and about the sons of Milesius, and about the heroes and Fionn MacCumhail with his giants, and about many others whom I shall not number or tell of here in detail, &c." It would appear, then that such stories were rooted in the very soil of the strath of Kilmartin, and probably we have fragments of them in the Dean of Lismore's Book, in Ossian, in Keating's History of Ireland, and in Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands, where we find Tuath de Dhanond, sons of Milesius, Druids and Fionn MacCumhail intertwined with Celtic mythology. It would seem as if the Highlanders had almost "gane wild" over the exploits of Fionn MacCumhail, if we may judge from Sir David Lindsay's satires, published in Carswell's time, where we find a pardoner producing for sale some relics; amongst others—

Heir is ane relict lang and braid  
Of Fyn MacCoall the richt chaft blaid,  
With teith and al togidder.  
Of Collin's cow heir is ane home,  
For eating of Mak Connal's corne  
Was slane into Balquihidder.

We are left to infer the rest from the tombstones supposed to belong to this period. There we see warriors with helmets and tippets evidently of one piece, underneath which is a close-fitting shirt or slashed waist-coat, and truis reaching to a little above the knee, terminating in close-fitting hose; but oftener with the

helmet and tippet and a loose tunic. The warrior invariably holds a long spear in his right hand, while with his left he grasps the hilt of a sword hanging from his belt, or occasionally holds in his hand a shield. We find on these stones all manner of interlaced work, rude representations of dogs in combat with deer, horses, or buffaloes; we see griffins, dogs with their ears pricked, an occasional hawk and wolf, &c. On one of these stones there is the representation of what seems a stag and hind grazing, while above are two youthful heroes with hair on end in loose tunics barely reaching the middle of the thigh; one of them has both his arms raised above his head, and the other his shoulders shrugged up like the wings of an angel evidently in ecstasy at the scene. No doubt these represent the little Highland savages (as Lord Macaulay would call them) of Ariskeodnish on a clandestine visit to the hunting grounds, and bring us back to a time in the history of our Highlands when the glens were resonant with the sound of the horn and the yell of the staghound and the excitement of the chase. We would fain re-people our glens with these, and recall their appearance at the social gatherings, at the fairs, in the sanctuary, at the time when chiefs and clansmen

Brought to the fane their offering,  
And fought the holy day.

We would fain recall the giant form of Carswell upholding the banner of the Cross

To plaided warriors arm'd for strife.

We would fain listen to him as he recommended to them "the old, old story," in preference to the "vain, hurtful, lying, earthly stories of their own bards." Multitudes must have listened to his burning words of eloquence; for his power as a preacher seems to have been no less than his piety and learning, his wealth and official power; and the eye of the old Highlander in his native glen will still kindle at the mention of "The Great Carswell."

But though we are left to conjecture the state of the parish during Carswell's incumbency, we have the records which survive and show the social state little more than a century after his death. After the Revolution a Mr Dugall Campbell was appointed minister, and seems to have commenced his labours in

January 1690. He seems to have been a pious and learned man, having acted in the capacity of tutor to the family of Lord Breadalbane before his appointment. His brethren in the Synod of Argyle give their estimate of him in a letter sent him during a severe illness, dated Inveraray, 24th March 1707 :—" They (the Synod) pray the Lord to spare you to be serviceable to the Lord as you are, and that he would send forth to this pairt of his vineyard many such faithful and diligent labourers. We had at our October meeting a most satisfying and savoury account of yourself and discipline, and all other parts of your work there, from the Committee of Synod that visited your parish, and it is earnestly desyred that you may encourage yourself in the Lord, who will erelong sufficiently reward you for your serving him so faithfully in your generation." He seems to have extended his labours beyond his own parish, for they add—" As for the Confession of Faith, Mr McLaurin is to meet with you about it to finish it; but being now to go to the Synod of Glasgow, and next to the Assembly, your meeting must be delayed; however, it is recommended to you to go through the versions that you have, and amend here and there what you think fit, that our work may be easier when you meet. . . . The Synod recommends to you and Mr Daniel Campbell, senior, to see what you can do as to ane Irish paraphrase upon all the Scriptural songs ere the next Synod."

The stipend of Kilmartin during his incumbency was  $4\frac{1}{2}$  chalders meal, and £157 6s 8d Scots money, and as I find the meal in 1702 sold at £4 13s 4d Scots per boll, the stipend in that year would amount to £41 2s  $2\frac{8}{12}$ d sterling; and considering the fluctuations in the price of grain, he would answer to the letter Goldsmith's description—

A man he was to all the country dear,  
And passing rich with forty pounds a year;  
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,  
Nor e'er had changed, nor wish'd to change his place.

He seems to have lived in a "modest mansion," with regard to which we read in 1701 :—" The minister did represent unto the Session and heritors present that the west end of the manse was in a very ruinous condition, and that the couple was broken, so that there was apparent danger to lye in it when there was any

storme, and that his judgment was that there would be a necessity for repairing it in the coming in of the year." And they did repair the west end of the minister's manse, at an expense of £32 10s Scots, equal to £2 14s 2d sterling. The church, too, seems to have been equally modest, but it was slated and had glass windows, and had the rare luxury of a bell and bell-house, as we may conclude from "a sum of one pound sixteen shillings Scots money that was paid to John Robertstone, mason, for affixing the tongue to the bell of the church, and for setting up of the bell in the bell-house." This happy community, too, had a schoolmaster "for training and educating of young ones in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and good literature." As early as 1692 the heritors of the parish stented themselves in seven shillings Scots the merkland for his maintenance and encouragement, and Mr Dugall Campbell, minister, besides his proportion of the stent, obliged himself to pay to the schoolmaster yearly one boll of meal. A year later they appointed and ordained a schoolhouse to be built for the use of the school and schoolmaster, with "two couples and two gavels;" one heritor mortifying a stance for the schoolhouse and kailyaird; another heritor condescending to give all timber materials necessary "except cabbers;" the rest agreeing to pay a quarrier to "winn and dig stones;" and the whole dividing the rest of the work and charges amongst them proportionate to their respective interests.

There in his noisy mansion skill'd to rule,  
The village master taught his little school.

The elders of the parish, including the minister, were 24 in number, composed of nearly all the heritors of the parish, and others, all described as "men prudent and discreet, and fearing God." One of the elders was invested by the Right Honourable the Sheriff-Principal of Argyle with power as a civil magistrate to punish delinquents, impose and exact mulcts for the elders forming the Kirk-Session, according to the Acts of Parliament. This Kirk-Session was the body in the parish to whom it appertained to take heed that the Word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the discipline rightly maintained, the ecclesiastical goods uncorruptly distributed, and the sacraments rightly administered.



The parish had undergone a process of dismemberment since Carswell's day, and was not now so extensive: the population, as nearly as can be estimated, must have been somewhere between 1500 and 2000, distributed over 53 hamlets or townships; and the parish was divided into 24 districts for "the elders' more easy vigilance in their function and the people's convenience to meet together the time of examination," and stringent rules were laid down for the discharge of their office. We find in the Records a number of delinquents summoned before the Kirk-Session and doing penance for immorality, profanation of the Sabbath, and other little scandals—there are breaches of promise, and run-away marriages—debates and scoldings amongst the women, and "idle tattles and vain clashes" circulating amongst the gossips—but generally speaking they are a peaceful, moral, and Bible-loving community.\* Before the end of 1693 twenty Irish Bibles and six New Testaments are distributed by the Session amongst them, and in 1696 they are put in possession of upwards of thirty Psalm Books and upwards of twelve Bibles and New Testaments, and the eagerness with which these were read by the community may be gathered from the following extract recording a gift of a Psalm Book—

To Malcolm McArthur, miller in Carnasrymore—this man began to learn to read from his son, a school-boy.

The poor and the sick were attended to, and their wants supplied out of the funds of the Church: such of them as stood in need of shoes were supplied with them, so that they might have

\* This is no fancy picture, but the result of a careful study of the Records. As to the morality of the parish, the number of delinquents between Jany. 1690 and Jany. 1703 was 44, or an average of 3·38 yearly. The population could not be less than 1500, was probably nearer 2000, yet an anonymous writer on the state of the Highlands and Isles, who, when it suits his purpose, refers to "the beautiful parish of Kilmartin, which contains the grave of many a nameless king and chief," says of this time, "The marriage tie was not always held sacred; and purity of life was rather the exception." Till the anonymous author of "The Social State of the Hebrides Two Centuries Ago" produces his evidence this must be treated as a piece of gratuitous and coarse slander, quite in keeping, however, with the rest of the paper. We have it, not on the authority of an anonymous contributor to the *Cornhill Magazine*, but on the authority of Bishop Burnet, about the year 1692, that in England "the nation was falling under such a general corruption as to morals and principles, and that was so much spread among all sorts of people that it gave us great apprehensions of heavy judgments from Heaven."

no excuse for absence from the ordinances when their health and infirmity allowed them; and they were licensed to go once in the month to every family for a supply to their distressed condition. Nor was the poor school-boy overlooked, as the history of John McCallum abundantly proves—

- 1696. To John McCallum, a poor orphan and a school-boy, to buy him ane New Testament and shoes, twenty-one shillings Scots.
- „ To John McCallum, a poor school-boy, one pound fourteen shillings.
- „ To John McCallum, orphan, to buy paper, five shillings Scots.
- 1697. To John McCallum, a poor school-boy, to buy paper, two shillings.
- 1700. To John McCallum, a poor school-boy, fourteen shillings Scots.
- „ To John McCallum, a young boy going to Ila to be a schoolmaster there, ten shillings.

### We give specimens of the charities of the Session—

- To Jean Beeth, for two grave-cloaths, one to Katra McKenrick and another for McCarmick, a Craignish man who died in Raschuilly, two pounds twelve shillings Scots.
- To John Campbell, to pay for a grave-cloath to his mother-in-law, Bessy Tamson, one pound sixteen shillings.
- To John McMartin, in Lorn, a very old man, who had the Synod of Argyle's recommendation, twenty-five shillings ten pennies Scots.
- To Donald McVicar, a poor indigent disease gentlemen, who of late was herd in Lergicrach, that day's collection extending to twelve shillings ten pennies Scots money.
- To a poor Braidalbin man, a stranger, three shillings Scots.
- To a poor Ila man.
- To John Campbell, a poor gentleman of ——'s family.
- To Thomas McNeill, an Irishman, having alongst with him his wife and three or four young babbyes, his testificate bearing that he was of reputation once where he lived, and that he was depredated, and having recovered some small stock all was consumed with fyre again, given to him twenty-eight shillings Scots.
- To Archibald McGlaissen, a deaf and lame souldier, ten shillings Scots.
- Also, four shillings Scots to Donald McPhaill, a lame souldier.

### Truly of Mr Dugall Campbell it might be said of the village preacher—

His house was known to all the vagrant train,  
 He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain;  
 The long-remembered beggar was his guest,  
 Whose beard, descending, swept his aged breast;  
 The ruin'd spendthrift, now no longer proud,  
 Claim'd kindred there, and had his claims allow'd;  
 The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,  
 Sat by his fire and talked the night away,  
 Wept o'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,  
 Shoulder'd his crutch and show'd how fields were won.

The reader will perhaps smile at some of the above entries, but perhaps some hearts will warm, some eyes fill, at the sight of this entry—

25th February 1694. To — McNeill, lying sick of a fever in Upper Leargy, to buy drink, four shillings Scots. *Nota.*—Lady Sophia took special notice of this poor girl.

Dear guardian angel of the noble Argyll! long may thy name be as ointment poured forth in this favoured parish, in which that name was once a household word!

This community, like every Highland community, is seen to better advantage when celebrating the holy Communion.

It was in the spring of 1699. "It being consulted in the Session whether or no the Lord's Supper would be celebrated in this parish this year. It was unanimously *nemine contradicente* acquiesced unto that it should, in the strength of the Lord, be administrated, and that all due previous preparation thereto should be looked to in time that that sacred work might proceed with all decency and order." At the next meeting "The minister gave account that he thought a table of six and thirty foot would be requisit, and if it could be longer it would be better, and that the table and formes on both sydes would require thirteen or fourteen deals," which was "acquiesced to," and the wrights set to work. The necessary funds were speedily raised, and it was finally determined to celebrate the Lord's Supper on Sabbath, the 6th of August 1699; and the elders are exhorted to be circumspect and watchful, and to be present at the circular examinations in their several precincts; and then "it is recommended to the minister to informe himself by Mr Daniell Campbell, minister of Kilmichael, who lately had that work in his hands, what quantity of wine and flower will be requisit to be written for, and that he send ane expresse to John Brown, in Inveraray, merchand, who has been spoken to on the generall already, that he cause bake the quantity of flower requisit, and cask the wine in good tight casks, and have all the elements in readiness to be transported hither on Tuesday, the 1st of August insuing precisely." Meantime circular examinations are held in the several districts of the parish previous to the admission of communicants, in order that the elders may be the better able to pass judgment of the people's competence of knowledge as well

as of their manners and deportment. Jean Beeth (mentioned already) is supplied with eighteen ells of linnen for two table-cloths and three servitts, which she is to hem; she is supplied with black silk to mark them, and white thread to sew them, and with fourteen ells of knittins to keep the table-cloth on the table—chalices, flagons, plates for the element of bread and for the offering are provided. An express is sent to John Brown to have so many gallons of claret wine, and so many pecks of flower baked against Tuesday, the first of August, the wine to be casked carefully “in two little barrells or bungells.” Jean Beeth finishes her stitching, and three wrights finish the tables and forms, and on Monday, the last of July, John Campbell, the church officer, and another careful man, with two horses, go to Inveraray for the elements. The people assemble in church on Thursday, the 3d of August, which they observe as a day of humiliation. After the service “the list of those that had been catechised, and had enrolled themselves spontaneously in order to communicate, is read, *vicatim et oppidatim*, from one end of the parish to the other, and the opinion of the Eldership being asked if they had any ground to object against all or any in such and such a town, especially the judgment and opinion of such elders in whose precincts they respectively did reside, such as anything was objected against, were desired to be admonished privately; and their tickets appointed to be given to the rest, particularly and personally promising, in the strength of the Lord Jesus, to serve God with a sincere heart and a willing mind, and their engagement was to be the Lord’s.” The people reassembled in the Sanctuary, and observe Saturday as a day of preparation—and on Sabbath the community assemble to the sound of the church bell: they seat themselves on the graves of their ancestors and amongst the old warriors in the kirk-yard, and listen to a sermon in their own vernacular: the church bell tolls again at the close of this sermon, and company after company enter the church and take their place at the table, and after a suitable exhortation they partake of the Supper—each company in their course retiring and mingling with the congregation still assembled without, till the close of the service. Monday they spend once more in the Sanctuary as a day of thanksgiving.

Such was a solemn communion season in the Strath of Aris-



keodnish about a century and a quarter after the death of Bishop Carswell—such the pleasing picture presented to us in this Highland glen at a time when chiefs and clansmen were content to worship in the same church, and to communicate at the same table ; when land agitators were unknown, and eviction unheard of, before the clearing of the glens—when

The wrinkled hoary sire,  
Of fourscore years and ten,  
And the baby at the breast,  
Were ejected from the glen.  
And rustics in their prime,  
Bereft of home and hearth,  
Had to bid a long farewell  
To the spot which gave them birth.  
*(To be continued.)*

---

#### SONNET:

ON READING THE LIFE OF THE LATE REV. DR NORMAN MACLEOD.

---

As when a man, a weary-footed wight,  
Tramping long leagues of waste and wintry road,  
Sudden uplooks, and recreates his sight  
With novel prospect, bursting bright and broad,  
Of yellow field, and green soft-gleaming glen,  
And rolling stream, and wide rich-waving wood,  
And purple brae, and blue embosomed Ben,  
And shining crest of laughter-loving flood :  
So I, lean traveller, through grey land of books,  
Where weeds are rank, and foodful fruits are few,  
With ampler thought uprose and brighter looks,  
When thy brave life, great teacher, flashed in view;  
And launched my skiff, and caught a gale from thee,  
Like a young sailor on a broad blue sea !

The above sonnet, written some years ago, I stumbled on the other day, when ranging through a domain of my paper world, in which unprinted verses lie stored. Though somewhat out of season now, it seemed to me that it might not inappropriately find a place in a Magazine where any tribute, however slight, to the memory of one of the greatest of the Macleods, will be sure to find a patriotic appreciation.

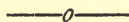
JOHN S. BLACKIE.

---

ALTAVONA.—The second notice of this remarkable book is unavoidably held over for a month,

## BISHOP CARSWELL AND HIS TIMES.

By the Rev. JOHN DEWAR, B.D., Kilmartin.



## VII. AND LAST.

TWO names deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance in connection with the preaching of the Gospel in Argyleshire—John Douglas who had laboured in word and doctrine before and at the Reformation, and John Carswell who was nominated to the office and charge of superintendent in July 1560, and who continued his labours in Argyleshire for twelve years, both of them chaplains to the Earls of Argyll. We have John Knox's testimony to the sincerity and zeal displayed by the 4th and 5th Earls in the work of Reformation, and to this must be added the testimony of Bishop Carswell. There is every reason to believe that the seeds of Reformation speedily overspread all the district of Argyleshire that came under the immediate jurisdiction of the family of Argyll, though the tree did not bud and blossom and bring forth much fruit there for long afterwards. Wodrow says, "I doubt if there was any great change to the better in that remote part of the nation till after the 1638, when, by the care of our Assemblys and the assistance of the excellent Marquis of Argyll, a very great Reformation was brought about in Argyleshire and the Isles." We have to bear in mind the difficulties with which Bishop Carswell had to contend. The country was in a lawless condition, without wholesome laws, learning, or suitable church maintenance to help him forward with the work. Above all, labourers were few. Owing to the scarcity of Protestant ministers, one minister was appointed to take charge of four or five parishes, and could do little more than preach and administer the sacraments, and the Church had to make use of a temporary class of labourers called readers and exhorters, who read the common prayers and the scriptures in churches in which there was no settled minister. Many of the churches too were annexed to Abbeys, or Religious Houses, so that their revenues were not available. The Reformation in this way had overturned the old Church, suppressed the monasteries, and unsettled men's minds, while for a long period it was powerless to administer to the spiritual wants of the community. Many churches in Argyle-

shire consequently must have been in the position of the Church of Beath, in Fifeshire, of which we read—"This kirk in some sort myght be compared to Gideon's fleece, which was dry when all the earth was watered. When all the congregations of Fife were planted, this poor kirk was neglected and overlooked, and lay desolate there fourteene years—after the Reformation eighty years—the poore parochiners being always like wandering sheep without a shepherd, and, whereas they should have convened to hear a pastoure preiche the principal cause of the people's meetings was to hear a pyper play upon the Lord's daye, which was the daye of their profane mirth, not being in the works of their calling: which was the cause that Sathan had a most fair name amongst them, stirring many of them up to dancing, playing at football, and excessive drinking, falling out and wounding one another, which was the exercise of the younger sort; and the older sort played at gems (games) and the workes of their calling without any distinction of the weeke-day from the day of the Lord." Carswell, too, seems to have met with considerable opposition from many quarters. This is only what we might reasonably expect—as Dr Miles Smith remarks in that quaint production, the Translator's preface to the authorised Translation of the Bible—"Whosoever attempteth anything for the public (especially if it pertain to religion), the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by every evil eye, yea, he casteth himself headlong upon pikes to be gored by every sharp tongue. For he that meddleth with men's religion in any part meddleth with their custom, nay, with their freehold; and though they find no content in that which they have yet they cannot bear to hear of altering." The bards were the organs of public opinion in those days, and their sharp tongues were ever ready to expose any opponent to the scorn of the whole community in some clever squib, or satire, or lampoon. Dr Leyden says of Carswell—"The bards, whom he affected to despise, made him the subject of their satirical verses and invectives, some of which are still preserved. Many proverbs expressive of his rapacity and niggardliness are still current in that country." If the echoes of the past, however, speak true, it would appear that Carswell had enough of the wild, rollicking, Celtic humour to hold his own even with the insolent bards. Kennedy again says—"The chief



charges complained of were his severity in collecting the Tythe and suppressing immorality and violent quarrels, which frequently arose through inebriety at markets and public meetings." We have already remarked the parsimonious spirit that prevailed in the diocese—and no wonder, for the income of proprietors at that time was very scanty. We find, for instance, in the year 1542 that the rental of Macdonald, Lord of Kintyre, including Islay and Rheinds, amounted to £1663 4s 8d Scots, equal to about £138 12s sterling. Carswell had the interests of the Church at heart, and he could not further these without a provision of some kind for the maintenance of the ministry, so that all these charges of rapacity and niggardliness may be referred to his own explanation—"Howbeit I can nocht forgif to do my sobir diligens in furdurance of the Kirk."

It is well known that the Reformers held strict views as to the maintenance of Church discipline; but so far from being too severe, it would appear that he was regarded as too lenient. In his letter to Mr Campbell of Kuzeancleuch, as given by Wodrow and quoted above, Carswell says—"I communed with our brother Georg at lenth and giff he had informed you, as I informed him, and for my part offered him occasion, I believe he would have declared unto my part, for let them say what they list, my conscience will not let me use vigour but against the stubborn." As he himself says, he knew full well that there were those in the community who would "vomit scandal" against him, and that his reward for his work would be "defamation and reproach;" but none of these things moved him, and he persevered in his work. He was excused time after time for absence from the General Assembly: he seems to have preferred labouring in a quiet and unostentatious manner in his own diocese to mingling in the stirring scenes that were enacted at Court and in the General Assembly. He did take a public and prominent part in the tragical events which mark the latter end of Queen Mary's reign. He was elected one of the Lords of the Articles at the Parliament of April 16th, 1567, and signed the bond at Ainslie's: he signed the bond for her defence, on her escape from Lochleven, at Hamilton, on May 8th, 1568; and perhaps few of his countrymen would blame him for doing what he could for the daughter of the line of their ancient kings. In their eyes, as in his, she



was "the most powerful Queen Marie, Queen of Alban." He may have met her within the bounds of his own diocese, for she is said to have indulged in the pleasures of the hunt in Argyleshire, and he may have witnessed with grief the defeat of her royal forces at Langside; but though his countrymen were defeated on that memorable day, his loyalty did not waver, to one who has been eulogised as—

The noblest of the Stuart race, the fairest earth has seen,

for we find him present once more at the Convention of Estates, held at Perth, in July 1569, to consider proposals in favour of Queen Mary.

Carswell's claim to the Bishopric of the Isles and the Abbey of Icolmkill seems to have been disputed, for we find a Mr Lauchlane Makclane promising, on the 21st May 1567, that "he sall nevir vex nor molest the said Maistir Johnne on the peciable brouking and possiding of the said Bishopric and utheris his benefices." Though it was his lot thus to meet with much opposition, and to have his name tossed upon men's tongues, it redounds to his credit that his name became a household word in the West Highlands, and he was not unknown in the more distant Islands of Skye and Lewis. In an age of exceptionally tall men, and amongst a race who have been always remarkable for height—for J. F. Campbell says that "a London drawing-room is the only place in Europe where a race of men better grown than West Highland gentlemen is to be met"—Carswell's height was proverbial, and his frame seems to have been equal to any amount of physical endurance. He is said to have lived to an advanced age, and to have died at his residence of Carnassary, in the summer or early autumn of 1572. The day of interment is still memorable, and there is a saying current about it, "Cha d' thainig a leithid bho latha adhlaic a Charsalaich" (There has not been the like since Carswell's funeral day). His remains, according to his own express desire, were taken to the Priory of *Ardchattan*, about forty miles distant. Such was the weight of the corpse, and the violence of the storm that prevailed, that the vast assemblage who attended his funeral had occasion to remember it ever afterwards. In that quiet retreat, then, under the shadow of the lofty Ben Cruachan, by the gleaming waters of

Loch Etive, his countrymen, who had borne his bier on their shoulders, consigned to his last resting-place John Carswell. He may have received part of his education from the Cistercian Monks (of the rule of St Benedict, as it was followed in the parent institution of Burgundy, Vallis Caulium), whose quiet cloister at Ardchattan served as a retreat to all who loved mediæval civilisation and monastic repose in those dark, unsettled times, and whose fraternity vied with their brethren of the Priories of Beaully and Pluscardine, all of them founded about the year 1230, in doing what they could to keep alive religion and civilisation and truth amongst their wild neighbours. In this secluded but picturesque spot, then, where mix the ashes of many a labourer of unquestioned piety, who did what he could to dispel the gloom of the night, rests John Carswell.

Bishop Carswell is said to have been twice married; first, to a daughter of Hamilton of Hall Craig, and second, to a Margaret Campbell. His son Archibald was Laird of Carnassary; and we read of a Christian, sister of Archibald Carswell of Carnassary, and John Campbell, her son. Though there is no positive evidence, she seems to be the CRISTIANE .C., wife of Bishop Neil Campbell, whose son, John Campbell, succeeded his father as Bishop of Argyle. The lands of Carnassary continued for some time the inheritance of the family. Archibald was succeeded by his son Neil, but by 1671 the property seems to have changed hands, as John, the son of Neil Carswell, is no longer styled of Carnassary. There is a tradition of a son of Bishop Carswell, "who," says Kennedy, "it appears had caught the prevailing vices of the age, *i.e.*, idleness, arrogance, quarrelling, and drunkenness." His father composed many hymns to him, embodying counsels and advices likely to wean him from his profligate ways, but his son refused to listen to the voice of the charmer charming never so wisely in that strain; and his father then composed several humorous pieces, fragments of which still survive; and it is said that the play of his father's wit and irony, and pungent sarcasm, did more to cure him of his vices than all his good counsels. In the year 1572 we find a Master Donald Carswell resigning the Rectory of Kilmartin into the hands of Archibald, the patron. He afterwards re-appears as Vicar of Kilmartin and Vicar of Inishail. He was a student of St Leonard's, St Andrews,

in 1554, and took his degree of B.A. in 1558, and seems to have been a brother of Bishop Carswell. There was another brother, Malcolm, Bailie of Craignish.

John Carswell's name does not appear as a link in the "unbroken chain of apostolic succession;" he was only a nominal and titular Bishop, having never been canonically consecrated. Be that as it may, he was recognised in his day as the apostle of the West Highlands. The violent storm which marked the day of his interment was the precursor of the stormy ordeal through which Scotland had to pass for more than a century after his death. Much of his good work perished, but there is every reason to believe that his translation of Knox's Liturgy, and the translation of Calvin's Catechism, also attributed to him, prepared the way for the great Reformation which was effected in Argyleshire in 1638. The student of ecclesiastical history knows the name of several worthy of an honourable mention in reforming and planting the Church in Argyleshire, but the name of Carswell has been cherished in the traditions of his countrymen; and though the breath of calumny has attempted to mar his fair name, a grateful posterity can form a truer estimate of his character and worth. He was the first to let in the light of the Truth into the surrounding darkness, the first to introduce his countrymen to the Gospel in their mother tongue. He made his appeal not merely to the Celts in Scotland, but also to the Celts of Ireland, and both owe Carswell a debt of remembrance and thankfulness for a patriotic effort to minister to their spiritual wants; and it is certain that if those who succeeded him had exercised the same judgment, had displayed the same industry and faithfulness, and been animated by the same spirit as Carswell, the atmosphere of both countries would have been long ago purified from every breath of feeling alien to civilisation and Christianity. But it is a sad evidence of the want of learning or zeal on the part of those who were at the time of the Reformation entrusted with the message of the Gospel to our Celtic countrymen in Scotland and Ireland, that Carswell alone showed a spirit worthy of the times, when

Peace to their shades! the pure Culdees  
 Were Albyn's earliest priests of God  
 Ere yet an island of the seas  
 By foot of Saxon monk was trod;

and that he alone felt that the most powerful weapon towards the conversion and reformation of his countrymen was to give them the Scriptures in their mother tongue. As he says, "A large amount of the want of knowledge and the ignorance of those of whom I have already spoken arise from a want of faithful teaching among us, and of a good book which men could understand generally in their own tongue and in their own native Gaelic language." Much as we may grieve, however, that those who came after him were so slow to build upon the foundation which he laid, and to perfect the work which he commenced, the Celts of Scotland and Ireland cannot fail to revere and hold in everlasting remembrance the author of the first Gaelic book ever printed—the GREAT CARSWELL.

---

### CONTRACT OF FOSTERAGE

*Between George Campbell of Airds on the one part, and Donald Dow M'Ewin and Rose, his spouse, on the other part, 1665.*

---

AT Keilchallumkill, the aucht day of December 1665 years, it is condiscendid and aggreit upon betwix George Campbell of Airds, on the one part, and Donald Dow M'Ewin, in Ardmastill, and Roiss N'Odochardie, his spouse, on the other part, as follows:—To witt, forsamekle as the said George Campbell gives in fostering to the said Donald and his said spouse, Isobell Campbell, his lawful dochter, for the space of seavin yeiris from Beltane nixt; lykas the said George Campbell gives, grants, and dispones to the said Issabell, as *M'heliff*, tua new calfit kyne, with ane calf and ane stirk of ane yeir old, with ane tua yeir old quey, and that at Beltane next, with ane uther tua yeir old quey at Beltane, 1667 yeiris: Lykeas the said Donald and his said spous gives, grants, and dispones to their said foster tua farrow kyne, with ane stirk and ane tua yeir old quey, at the said term of Beltane nixt, and ane uther tua yeir old quey at Beltane, 1667 years. Quhilkis haill kyne, with thair incres salbe in the custodie of the said Donald and his said spous during the said space of seavin yeiris; the milk of the said kyne to belong to the foster father, and the incres of the cattell to the said Issobell, being ane calf betwix tua new calfit kyne: Item, the said George Campbell is