West highland notes and queries

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

LECTURE

IN MEMORIAM

QUERIES

REPLIES

REVIEWS

ARTICLES

In Search of Clan MacMillan – Part 2

In the first part of this paper, we discussed how Ronnie and Máire Black had resolved a long-standing question by identifying the fourth name in the MS 1467 MacMillan pedigree as *Cainnigh*, rather than the *Cainn* that William Skene had found in Duald MacFirbis's versions of it. This suggested the *Gilbert Maccoignache* who appears as a baron in Galloway in 1296 with *Macrath ap Molegan* might be the *Gylbycht McMalene* who was deprived of his barony there by Robert Bruce in the early 1300s for supporting the Balliols, and that Gilbert mac Coinneach/Kenneth may have come to Galloway from Perthshire where in 1265 a *Kennauch Makyny*, a *Macbeth MacKenneth*, and a priest called Macrath were to be found as witnesses on Loch Tayside. This aligned with Perthshire traditions saying the MacMillans were once lairds there before being expelled and emigrating to Galloway and Knapdale.

William Buchanan of Auchmar's early 18th-century account of the MacMillans reported Galloway traditions that the progenitor of the clan there came from Argyll during the civil wars after the death of Alexander III. Argyll is usually taken to mean Knapdale, where the late 17th- and early 18th-century chiefs were the lairds of Dunmore. It seems more likely however that their ancient title 'MacMillan of Knap' refers to *An Cnap* in Lorn, just south of which lies Barrichbean, whose 15th-century lairds were recorded with a surname – MacYeill or MacIgheill – which appears to be a garbled version of McIlveil or Mac'illemhaoil; i.e. MacMillan. The Barons of Barrichbean are said to have belonged to the original Clann Dhughaill of Craignish, one of whose leading members in the early 14th century was called Macrath and who included amongst their followers the *Gillean Maola Dubh* or Black MacMillans. *Clandowilcraginche* are also said to have had a branch on Loch Tayside at Ardeonaig, a place later associated with MacMillans from Knapdale.[1]

Ronnie Black is sceptical about the Gillean Maola Dubh being MacMillans; and indeed, as he said in his commentary about the MacMillan pedigree in MS 1467, of the whole idea that people bearing versions of the name MacMhaolain in different parts of Scotland belonged to a single clan. He says the MacMillans started and finished in Argyll, and that Somerled MacMillan 'should have known better' than to try and connect them with other descendants of the 'baldy men' that the spread of monasticism had seeded throughout Scotland. He deplores the fact that Somerled 'constructed a composite picture of a family of MacMillans who appeared in Aberdeenshire in the twelfth century, then moved to Perthshire soon afterwards, and on to Argyllshire in the fourteenth'.

This summary is not quite right in relation to Aberdeenshire – Somerled never said the MacMillans lived there (he merely noted that 'at one time there was a Culdee abbot in Turriff who bore the same name as the Tonsured Servant's father') – and omits both Old Spynie and Loch Arkaigside, where Somerled placed the clan before they settled

in Perthshire (though he does mention, and rightly dismisses, the Old Spynie story elsewhere).[2]

He accepts Somerled's account of the chiefs after those on the MS 1467 pedigree – though there is no hard evidence to show the relationships of the various individuals claimed by Somerled as chiefs until Alexander MacMillan succeeded his father Archibald of Dunmore in 1676 – and he endorses Somerled's assertion that Lachlan Og MacMillan was out with his clan in support of the Douglas and MacDonald rebellion of 1455.

Auchmar does tell us 'The cause of the MacMillans losing the greatest part of their estate in Knapdale, is reported to have been they're joining the Lord MacDonald, their Superior, in aiding James Earl of Douglas in that rebellion'; but, again, I'm not aware of actual evidence to support that story. However, it does look likely, since MacDonald was later charged with 'the treasonable stuffing of Castle Sween with men, victuals, and the arms of war', and Lachlan Og's probable son Alexander MacMillan – after whom MacMillan's Tower at Castle Sween is named – was married to the daughter of MacDonald's constable of the castle, Hector MacNeil.[3]

Ronnie Black also sees no need to dispute Somerled's interpretation of the legend relating to the clan's return to Lochaber, though he has probably dated it a century and a half too early and says it involved a man who was actually not a MacMillan at all (for whom see below). Finally, he goes on to praise Somerled's 'excellent description of the Perthshire MacMillans', before telling us that what he says about their first chief being Malcolm or possibly his son Dougall is 'certainly untrue'.[4]

Certainty in relation to the early history of any clan is dangerous, especially one as old and poorly documented as the MacMillans, and Somerled MacMillan is an easy target for scepticism since he can be shown often to have been wrong. For his successors as historians of Clan MacMillan, the most frustrating thing is Somerled's infrequent use of references, and his common use of the phrase 'we have good reason to believe' without saying what the reason is. However, the fact that he was often wrong does not mean he was always wrong. Indeed, the sad thing is that his many errors and outspoken attacks on those who tried to correct him have destroyed his credibility as a historian who, in at least two instances, came to what were probably the correct conclusions in matters that were of wider significance than just the history of Clan MacMillan. The first of these was the identification of the *Clan Qwhele* / *Clachynnhe Qwhewyl* who fought at 'The Battle of the Clans' in 1396 as the Clann an Mhaoil, and the second was the equation of Cormac mac Airbertaich with Bishop Cormac of Dunkeld.[5]

Somerled's suggestions were all the more remarkable for being made long before the emergence of the evidence which showed that in these cases there were indeed good reasons for supposing that he may have been right. It was fifteen years before Sir Iain Moncrieffe highlighted the document in the Atholl papers that mentioned 'the fellows of Cameron's called *McGilvils* or *Clanklywile*', and it was twenty-five years before John Bannerman established the historicity and probable floruit of Cormac mac Airbertaich (using a Mackinnon inscription on Iona and the clan's pedigree in MS 1467) that showed he could have been the bishop who was on record in 1132 with a

son called Gilchrist. The Leny tree shows Maolan's father to have been called *Gilespic* rather than Cormac but, while *Gilleasbuig* is in theory 'servant of the bishop', it was in practice sometimes taken just as 'bishop'; and if Cormac mac Airbertaich was indeed the Bishop of Dunkeld – at that time the largest diocese in Scotland (encompassing all of mainland Argyll as well as much of Perthshire) – then he was indeed *Gilleasbuig Mór*.[6]

Ronnie Black's comment about all the bald men that the spread of monasticism had seeded throughout Scotland is hardly fair, since it suggests there were lots of MacGhillemhaoils or MacMhaolains for Somerled to have misappropriated; but, in fact, forms of the name only occur six or seven times between the mid-12th century and the death of Lochluinn MacGillemhaoil at Harlaw in 1411, and in each case there is some supporting evidence – albeit often circumstantial – to suggest these men could indeed have been descendants of Gilchrist an Gillemaol.

Mal-Coluim mac Molini appears, probably in the mid-12th century, as a witness in the Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer – just as Gilchrist mac Cormaic had with Bishop Cormac in 1132 – and he's accompanied by a *Gillecrist mac Finguni*, who is surely a son of the *Fingon mac Cormaic mhic Airbertaich* of the MS 1467 Mackinnon pedigree. Both the MacMillan pedigree in MS 1467 and the Leny tree show a Malcolm – i.e. Gillecoluim/Colmin – as the son of Gilchrist an Gillemaol/Maolan.[7]

Sythach Macmallon appears in an agreement *c*.1228 between the Bishop of Moray and Walter Comyn, Lord of Badenoch. Sythach or Shaw was the given-name of the leader of the Clann an Mhaoil in 1392 and 1396, and Badenoch & Lochaber is the lordship most associated with the original Clan Chattan, and therefore the early MacMillans.[8]

Gillemor MacMolan is on an inquest jury in Dumbarton in 1263. Gillemuire is synonymous with Maolmuire, and Lochaber tradition tells of a Maolmuire MacMillan who left the district of Buchanan (just north of Dumbarton) to settle at Ballachulish. The Reverend Archibald Clerk, who mentions this man in his 'Notes of Everything' (written *c*.1864), connects him with the *Maol-moire Dubh* who is said in local folklore to have run the last of the Cummings out of Lochaber following their defeat by Bruce in the early 1300s.[9]

Macrath ap Maolagain may have been the only bearer of a form of the name MacMillan who gave homage to Edward of England in 1296, but *Johan de Lany* did so twice: for lands in Perthshire and in Midlothian (important evidence that these descendants of Maolan had lands far from Argyll).[10]

Gylebricht McMalene, who lost his lands in the Glenkens of Galloway *c*.1308, may have been, as we've already seen, the Gilbert mac Coinneach/Cainnigh who also gave homage in 1296.

Thomam McMolyn is listed in 1377 amongst the adherents of Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, and, as previously noted, the traditions of the MacMillans there link them with the Douglases.[11]

Shurach and Clanqwhevil (Shaw and Clann 'ic Mhaoil) were with the Wolf of Badenoch's son Duncan in 'The Great Raid of Angus' in 1392, then battled at Perth four years later where the MacMillans' leader was named by Wyntoun as Shaw Farquharson and by Bower as Shaw Beg.[12]

This last appearance of the MacMillans in the 14th century brings us back to the legend of the clan's return to Lochaber, which is said to have involved a son of MacMillan of Knap who killed a powerful neighbour and had to flee to the clan's old homeland. Somerled dated this to about 1365 and named the refugee as John, apparently on the basis of the patronymic of the man that he thought had led the MacMillans at the battle of the Clans in 1396: i.e. *Cristy Jone sone* (claiming that John was the son of Malcolm Mor 1st of Knap). He said the MacMillans in Lochaber were given the lands of Murlagan in 1431 and that 'the first member of this family to be designated "of Murlagan" was Ewen, son of Gilchrist who led Clan Qwhevil at the Barrier Battle, Perth . . .'[13]

There's no record however of such a Ewen MacMillan of Murlagan – indeed, no record of any MacMillans of Murlagan until the late 16th century – and the Gilchrist mac Iain who fought at Perth in 1396 was actually the leader of the MacMillans' opponents. Christy Johnson appears in the Macintosh-Shaw genealogies as the father of *Shaw Mor* or *Sgorfhiachlach* who they say was their leader in the battle, so he was presumably killed in the conflict, leaving his son Shaw to emerge from it as their chief. The fact that both parties had a leader called Shaw is a clear indication that this was part of a struggle for the captaincy of what was then the same clan, and is one reason why accounts of it over the centuries have become so muddled. That an internal clan struggle should cause so much turmoil in the Highlands that the King had to try and end it in such a dramatic fashion indicates how important Clan Chattan must have been at this time; and thus, by implication, the MacMillans too.[14]

The evidence that the MacMillans were connected with the early lairds of Craignish, before the Campbells hung their gyronny of eight upon the mast of the MacCoul galley, would suggest *Mac Dhùghaill Chreiginnis* may also have belonged to the original Clan Chattan; and the fact that the arms of its later Macintosh 'Captains' in Strathnairn, and their Macpherson rivals in landlocked Badenoch, were also adorned with highland galleys, might support that suggestion. The galley or birlinn was however such a ubiquitous heraldic symbol amongst western clans that this may not be as significant as I'm suggesting; and, of course, the fact that the original lairds of Craignish and the original chiefs of Clan Chattan both had ancestors called Dougal (a name also to be found early in the MacMillan pedigree) may just be a coincidence. There is however more concrete evidence connecting the MacDougalls of Craignish to the original Clan Chattan. This is to be found in an 18th-century history of the Munros, which states that the second marriage of Hugh Munro of Coul was to a daughter of *Dugal **Cattanach** of Craignes* (my emphasis). Hugh of Coul is documented in 1498, and the laird of Craignish who appears on record a number of times in the early 1520s was indeed called Dougal (which by then was not as commonly the case as in earlier centuries, this Dougal's father being Archibald and his son Ronald).[15]

Though the marriage of a laird in Easter Ross to the daughter of a laird in Lorn looks unlikely, it might make sense in the context of a relationship between these two clans. Skene thought the Munros were, like the MacMillans, part of the Siol O'Cain, telling us that 'The founder of the clan Chattan is also brought from the same part of Ireland as the Monros in the legends of the Sennachies; and the identity of tradition clearly points

out a connection between the two clans.' One of the shennachies he was referring to was Hugh MacDonald, who told how the daughter of O'Cahan came to marry Angus Og MacDonald, bringing with her 'seven score men out of every surname under O'Kain, viz: The Munroes, so-called because they came from the innermost Roe-water in the county of Derry, their names being formerly O'Millans . . .' Since Skene includes the Buchanans as part of this group of clans, he was presumably also referring to Auchmar's account of his clan's descent from the O'Cahans which, though it is now thought to be wrong, had a considerable influence on how the MacMillans were seen in the 18th and 19th centuries. Given the possibility of a connection via Clan Chattan between the Munros and MacMillans, it's interesting to find Munros in the mid-17th century as lairds in the Argyllshire parish of Inveraray, where they lived alongside the MacMillans then inhabiting Glens Shira and Aray who were, according to Auchmar, MacGilveils from Lochaber.[16]

The many MacGhillemhaoils in Inveraray went through one of the most dramatic wholesale name-changes anywhere in the Highlands in the mid-18th century. The OPR (Old Parish Register) records the baptisms of 202 McIlvoils/McIlvoyles between 1653 and 1764, but none after that date; and from 1743 to 1841 it includes the baptism of 352 Bells, but none before that (the first child baptised as a Bell was born to a couple married fourteen years before, both of whom were named then as McIlvoiles). The substitution of Bell/Bhaoil for Voil/Mhaoil was by no means confined to Lochaber and Inveraray. Indeed, in Knapdale, the rock on which was supposed to be carved the MacMillans' ancient charter appears on modern OS maps as *Rubha Mhic Ghille-mhaoil*, but on the first editions of these maps as *Rudha Mhic Ghillebheill*, while the progenitor of the clan appears on the mid-16th-century Leny family tree both as *Maolan Macgilespic* and *Gilibile Macgilespic*.[17]

The fact that MacMillans may often be recorded as Bells complicates our search for the clan; and it was a problem for Somerled MacMillan as well, since he had 'distant cousins in Oban who style themselves Bell in English'. As it happens, Somerled's family are a prime example of the confusion caused by the varying naming practices in different parishes. So, the first two children of Somerled's great-grandfather were baptised in Torosay as McMillans, while their next recorded child was baptised in Oban as a Bell. There's no record of the baptism of Somerled's grandfather who, the censuses tell us, was born in about 1845 in Oban; but he was married there in 1872 as a Bell, and that was the surname by which his eldest son was married in Kirkcaldy in 1920 (though his marriage certificate names his father McMillan). Somerled's father was baptised in Glasgow in 1880 as McMillan, which name he gave in 1909 to his son Samuel (who later changed that to Somerled).[18]

Bell is not the only other name behind which MacMillans might sometimes be hidden. We've already seen probable MacMillans on the Black Isle and in Strathspey who, because they came there with Lochiel's daughters, were considered to be Camerons. In Lochaber itself, Cameron is actually the first surname we find applied to the MacMillan chiefs on Loch Arkaigside. It's not until 1684 that the name McIlveil/ McGilliveille is attached to the John who had been recorded in 1661 as *Jon Cameron alias McEwin in Muirlagan* and before that, in 1642, just as *John vic Ewen vic Wm.*

in Murligan. Further patronymics take the line back through *Williame McCondoquhy Bane in Midlygane* in 1598 to *Duncane Beane McFinlay in Lochaill* in 1546/7 (and it was perhaps he in fact who fled to Lochaber from Knapdale in the dramatic circumstances outlined by Auchmar).[19]

Some of the most notable examples of MacMillans being called Camerons are to be found in Glenurquhart. When a William MacMillan died young there in 1810, a gravestone was erected for him on which were inscribed, with blank spaces for their own eventual dates of death, the names of his parents Margaret MacDonald and Finlay MacMillan. In the end however they died outwith the glen and are commemorated on a stone at Lochend as Margaret MacDonald and Finlay Cameron. This stone was erected by their son Robert, who had been baptised in the glen as Cameron, along with one of his brothers; but the rest of his siblings had all been baptised MacMillan, by which name their father had been married in 1786.[20]

Another Finlay MacMillan from Glenurquhart was at Culloden, where he probably saved the life of the Chevalier Johnstone, who knew him as Finlay Cameron; but he was recorded as *Lieutenant Finlay M'Gilvaile alias Buchanan* when he joined the Buchanan Society in 1745, along with his cousin *Captain Ewen M'Gilvaile alias Buchanan of Murlagan*. A further example of such nominal confusion is the Peter from Perthshire who had seven children baptised as MacMillans (two in Balquhidder, and seven in Ontario), but who was married in 1819 in Killin as a Cameron, and appears on his ship to Canada in 1825 as a Buchanan. It's very striking that, before the leading lights of the Lochaber clan joined the Buchanan Society in 1745, the leaders of the MacMillans in both Knapdale and Galloway had done the same. Clearly, they all believed they belonged to the one clan.[21]

In his account of the clan, Somerled MacMillan did portray a family who moved from one place to another – albeit he didn't have them starting in Aberdeenshire – and in so doing he was indeed wrong; as wrong as all the other histories of great clans that suggest they lived in one place at a time and always had a single line of chiefs. As John Bannerman demonstrated in relation to the MacNeils of Gigha & Taynish, the Celtic tradition of the collateral descent of chiefship survived in parts of the Gaidhealtachd long after it had given way to primogeniture elsewhere. So, successive chiefs may have come from branches settled in different parts of the country, though only one of those branches might have come down to us in the clan histories as chiefly; i.e. that of the man who was chief when the genealogies were first written down and primogeniture was being forced on all by the Crown.[22]

The wide spread of the greatest clans is well enough known: MacKenzies in Ross and Aberdeenshire, Sinclairs in Midlothian and Orkney, Murrays in Perthshire and Sutherland, Gordons in the Borders and Aberdeenshire, Frasers in Stirlingshire and Inverness-shire, Stewarts in Moray and Galloway, Campbells in Argyll and Nairnshire, and MacDonalds in Inverness-shire and Ulster. While it may be a truism that not all 'Mac-Donalds' come from Clan Donald, there's no dispute that it had branches – many of whom became clans in their own right – from the Uists to the Glens of Antrim. Similarly, while it may be that some modern 'Mac-Mhaolains' were just the sons of

bald men, there's no reason to doubt that most of the few who made it into the scarce medieval records were leading members of a once-great kindred that pre-dated Clan Donald by a century, and the MacKenzies by two centuries.

The argument about where the MacMillans or any of these old clans came from, in terms of location, is pointless since, like all the most prominent clans, their progenitors were great men (otherwise they would not have had a clan named for them) belonging to already widespread parental kindreds who acquired, by marriage, conquest, or grant, interests in the many areas where their branches were later to be found. *Clann Somhairle* were one such kindred, and the immediate descendants of Cormac mac Airbertaich would have been another.[23] Since it is never documented as such, *Clann Cormaic* may now just be a nominal kindred – though clearly revealed by the pedigrees of the relevant clans in MS 1467 – and this may be in part because it was written out of history by its victorious rivals in Argyll, Clans Somhairle and Duibhne (just as Kinrara tried to write the MacMillans out of the history of Clan Chattan, and might have succeeded but for the survival of the Ardross MS). Seen in this light, the existence of MacMillan branches in Galloway and Knapdale who came from Lochaber or Perthshire is no different from the widespread branches of the clans mentioned above. Indeed, it could be seen as similar to the Morrisons in Lewis who Ronnie Black suggests may have come from Perthshire, and the Mathesons in Kintail who he suggests may have come from the greater Firth of Clyde.[24]

The question however is not from whence these clans came, but from whom; that is what MS 1467 is meant to tell us. In the case of the MacMillans and those clans shown in it to have shared a common ancestry, what it tells us is that Cormac's father was Airbertach, who settled twelve tribes on Mull and neighbouring islands. He may therefore, at some time, have ruled Lorn from the hill fort opposite Kerrera and Mull that bears his name; perhaps, if we are to believe the MacQuarrie genealogy, as a descendant of Macbeth. Such a pedigree might explain why the clan probably named for Maolan's son Malcolm provoked the wife of MacDougall (of Clan Somhairle) spitefully to proclaim 'a third of Albyn were none too much for MacCallum . . .', and made it worthwhile for incoming Campbells to foster their sons with the MacCallums and their cousins, the old lairds of Craignish.[25]

Looking further afield, the MacMillans' connection with Dunkeld may explain their settlement on Loch Tayside, where the old abbey of Dunkeld had lands (and maybe also the fact some of the earliest Bells on record appear to have had a hereditary connection with the church of Dunkeld); and if Bishop Cormac was descended from a Mormaer or King of Moray, that might be why he ended up, in effect, as a trustee for lands granted to the abbey of Deer which had previously been patronised by the rulers of that kingdom.[26]

Such suggestions must remain largely speculative because of the lack of hard evidence from so far back to prove or disprove them; but if the Gaidhealtachd is short of early written records, its clans have a wealth of myth, legend, and tradition that, if used cautiously – and wherever possible, in conjunction with documentary evidence – can tell us a lot about their possible origins and relationships. The repetition of certain stories within groups of clans may indicate the common origin of those clans – because

they relate to a time when they all belonged to the one clan (or parental kindred) – and the common demeaning of an ancient clan name by those whose names have supplanted it as the powers that be in places it once ruled, may tell us a lot more.

Our search has, I hope, shown that the history of any clan can only be understood in the context of its cousins, neighbours, and indeed descendants with other names (septs or separate clans to whom they gave birth), and how important it is to keep the history of any clan open to revision in the light of new information and fresh interpretations, such as that provided and provoked by Máire and Ronnie Black's invaluable work on MS 1467.

<div align="right">**Graeme Mackenzie**</div>

ABBREVIATIONS

CDS	*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*
GROS	General Register Office Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
RMS	*Registrum Magni Sigilli*
RPC	*Register of the Privy Council*
RPS	*Register of the Privy Seal*
RRS	*Regesta Regum Scotorum*
TGSI	*Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*
TSG	*The Scottish Genealogist*

NOTES

1 *West Highland Notes & Queries* [*WHNQ*], Ser. 5, No. 14 (July 2055), 1–10.
2 Somerled MacMillan, *The MacMillans and their Septs* (Glasgow, 1952), 16.
3 William Buchanan of Auchmar, 'An Account of the Macmillans' in *A Historical and Genealogical Essay upon the Family and Surname of Buchanan* (1723), 126–7; MacMillan, *The MacMillans*, 35–6; Kenneth Steer and John Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (1977), 152.
4 No dates are given in the traditional account of the incident that caused MacMillan of Knap's son to flee to Lochaber (Buchanan, *Historical and Genealogical Essay*, 127–8), but it looks most likely to have occurred after the Earl of Argyll's takeover of Knapdale in the early 1500s which caused murderous turmoil within the MacMillans, as some came to terms with their new feudal overlords and others joined the MacDonald resistance to the Campbells: Graeme Mackenzie, *Clan MacMillan: A Complete History* (Inverness, 2024), 64–69.
5 These issues are addressed at length in Graeme M. Mackenzie, 'The Rarest Decision Recorded in History – The Battle of the Clans in 1396'*, TGSI*, Vol. LIX, 1994–96 (Inverness, 1997), 420–487. See also Graeme M. Mackenzie, 'Who was Cormac mac Airbertach?' in *The Scottish Genealogist*, Vol. LV, No. 2 (June 2008), 81–89; No. 3 (September 2008), 143–150; and No. 4 (Dec. 2008), 188–195.
6 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 105; Sir Iain Moncrieffe, *The Highland Clans* (London, 1982), 175; George Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), 500; Edward MacLysaght, *The Surnames of Ireland* (Dublin, 1985), 18 and 124.
7 *Book of Deer* (Edinburgh, 1869), 94. The appearance in this entry of a son of Finguin,

whose clan were in the west, and of Cormac who was Bishop of Dunkeld in the 1132 entry, shows no suggestion that Gilchrist Maolan or his son Malcolm lived in Aberdeenshire.

8   *Registrum Episcopatus Moraviensis* (Edinburgh, 1887), No. 76, pp. 82–4; Mackenzie, 'The Rarest Decision', 426.

9   *CDS*, i, 461; Archibald Clerk, *Notes of Everything* (Kilmallie, 1987), 33. The Maolmuire who came to Lochaber from Dunbartonshire is said originally to have been a Buchanan – probably on the basis that he came from the district of Buchanan – though the descendant who gave Clerk the story was a MacMillan.

10 *CDS*, ii, 193–214.

11 *Rotuli Scotiae*, ed. D. Macpherson (London, 1819), Vol. II, No. 2.

12 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 volumes, Edinburgh, 1886–90), Vol. III, 308–10; Mackenzie, 'Rarest Decision', 426.

13 Buchanan, *Historical and Genealogical Essay*, 127; Somerled MacMillan, *Bygone Lochaber* (Paisley, 1971), 55–8.

14 Jean Munro (ed.), *A Chronicle of the Family of Mackintosh* (Clan Chattan Association, 2009), 15. Somerled compounded his mistake by claiming as a younger son of Ewen of Murlagan, the Charles mac Ewan Vic Volan whom he found in MacFarlane's *Genealogical Collections* associating himself and 'Clan Tearlach' with Macintosh in 1457. He should have known that the Clann Tearlaich associated with Clan Chattan were Macleans; and though this was pointed out to him by the late Donald Maclean of Dochgarroch, he refused to accept that he was mistaken about this, as Donald ruefully told me one day when we were passing his old ancestral lands just south of Inverness.

15 *The Munro Tree* (1734), ed. R. W. Munro (Edinburgh, 1978), 9; John Tweed, publisher, *The House of Argyll* (Glasgow, 1871), 103–4. The compiler of the Munro Tree probably had access to Munro of Dochcarty's 16th-century account of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan.

16 William F. Skene, *Highlanders of Scotland* (Stirling, 1902), 313; 'History of Macdonalds' in *Highland Papers I*, ed. J. R. N. Macphail (Edinburgh, 1914), 20; Buchanan, *Historical and Genealogical Essay*, 128. Two versions of how the first 'Munro from the north' got the tenancy of Stuckghoy in Glen Shira are given in Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1885), 56–7 and 72–3, but without dates. The Munros or MacInroichs are on record there from 1676, and as lairds of Stuckoay from 1693: NRS, SC54/17/3/5/31 and SC54/17/2/6/3.

17 The Inveraray register is OPR 513; Rubha Mhic Ghille-mhaoil is to be found at Ordnance Survey Landranger No. 62, coordinates 735595.

18 For Somerled's family see OPR 550/2, 12 and 16; OPR 523/2, 47; Census 1861, 523/2/13; GROS Marriage 1872-523-14; GROS Marriage 1920-442-185; GROS Birth 1880-644/10-41; GROS Birth 1909-440-29.

19 *RPC*, 3rd Ser., ix, 132; NRS GD.80/168; *RPC*, 3rd Ser., i, 412; *Celtic Magazine*, Vol. XIII (Glasgow, 1905), 469; *RPC*, v, 498; *RPS*, iii, 353, No. 2204; Mackenzie, *Clan MacMillan*, 66–9.

20 Highland Family History Society Monumental Inscriptions: *Old Kilmore* (2007), p. 45, No. 440; *Lochend* (*c*.2004), p. 5, No. 36. OPR 107.

21 Chevalier James Johnstone, *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 & 1746* (London, 1970), 138–40; Robert M. Buchanan, *Notes on the Members of the Buchanan Society* (Glasgow, 1931), 34, 37, 41–2, 56. OPR 331/3, 4 & 8; OPR 361/1, 344; Garnet McDiarmid, 'The Original Emigrants to McNab Township, Upper Canada, 1825' in *TSG*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Sept. 1981), 109–121.

22 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 146–8.

23 Clann Somhairle does not appear as such in contemporary Scottish records; it's merely referred to in historic accounts like that of Dean Monro who says '. . . Donald wes the sone of Raynald McSomerle or Somerledi, fra quhome they were for a quhile named and called Clan Somerle'. Somerled's grandson however appears in Irish annals in 1247 as 'MacSomhairle' (the style accorded to the chief of such a clan), and his great-grandson appears, again in Irish annals, as 'Ailin MacSomhairle' (i.e. with a surname indicative of such a clan): R. Andrew McDonald, *Kingdom of the Isles* (East Linton, 1997), 94 and 155. While there's no contemporary evidence of MacCormaic being used as a surname by anybody linked to the son of Airbertach, it's a striking coincidence (if that it be) that the two places associated with kindreds bearing that surname were also onetime seats of clans shown in MS 1467 to have been descended from Cormac mac Airbertaich: Mull, where MacCormick is listed as a sept of Maclaine of Lochbuie (Frank Adam, *Clans, Septs, and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands* [Edinburgh, 1908], 330) and the Glenkens of Galloway, home to the McCormacks of Strangassel (*RRS*, vi, No. 349). The proximity to each other of territories originally associated with clans shown in MS 1467 to be descended from Cormac mac Airbertaich – or at least those said by the late David Sellar to be the most reliable in relation to that descent – point to the fact that before MacQuarries, Mackinnons, MacMillans, and Macphies emerged as separate clans, they belonged to a parental kindred such as Clann Cormaic: W. D. H. Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, ed. Loraine Maclean (Inverness, 1981), 102–115; Graeme Mackenzie, 'Who was Cormac . . .', 80–1.

24 *WHNQ*, Ser. 4, No. 11 (Nov. 2019), 3–30; *WHNQ*, Ser. 4, No. 10 (July 2019), 2–8.

25 I'm grateful to David Sellar for drawing my attention to the location of *Dun Uabairtich* (OS Landranger, Sheet 49, Ref. 834282); Katharine W. Grant, *Myth, Tradition and Story from Western Argyll* (Oban, 1925), 41; *House of Argyll*, 25–6; Archibald Campbell, *Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition* (London, 1889), 14–5; Graeme M. Mackenzie, 'Clann Challuim in Lorn' in *TSG*, Vol. LI, No. 3 (Sept. 2004), 87–97.

26 Black, *Surnames*, 67; Dauvit Broun, while implicitly recognising that Bishop Cormac is fulfilling some such role for the abbey, suggests that it may be 'in his capacity as "head", is some sense, of Columban churches in Scotland': 'The Property Records in the Book of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. Katherine Forsyth (Dublin, 2008), 344.

Ewen MacDougall's 'Reall MacDougalls' and their 'Dependants' (2)

Ewen MacDougall's lists of 'Reall MacDougalls' and their 'Dependants' were introduced in the July issue of *WHN&Q*, pp. 17–29. We now begin an analysis of the names in lists A and B, in alphabetical order. List A, in Dunollie Castle Archives, Box DG, Bundle 22, is the source of the one printed by R. C. Maclagan in *The Clan of the Bell of St. Fillan* (see July issue, p. 19). List B, in the same Dunollie bundle, is a late

18th-century document. List C, in Argyll Estates Archives (Inveraray) ARG4/3/53/164, is of persons murdered at Dunaverty in 1647.

MacAviaichs 'improperly calling themselves MacNeils', dependants, A32, B18. This appears to be a variant *Mac a' Bhiadhthaich* of the surname *Mac a' Bhiadhtaich* 'the Son of the Food-Provider' – anglicised as MacVitie, of which George F. Black (GFB) alleges: "Woulfe says the name is from Ir. *Mac an bhiadhthaigh*, 'son of the hospitaller,' but this does not seem likely."[1] This raises two issues. One is that GFB has cited precisely the form (with *th* rather than *t*) implied by 'MacAviaich', despite the fact that Woulfe's spelling, in the only edition of his work seen by the present writer, is *Mac an Bhiadhtaigh*.[2] Where did GFB get *Mac an bhiadhthaigh* from? The other issue is his scepticism about the origin of the name, which is surely unjustified.

One Irish dictionary gives for *biadhtach* 'a public victualler, a hospitaller; a grocer (*rec*.); a generous man; a host'.[3] Dwelly, quoting Robert Armstrong's dictionary, gives a meaning for *biadhtach* (among much else) of an 'Order of Irish tenants who procured provisions for the nobles'.[4] Professor Watson defined *biatach* as a 'hospitaller, purveyor; later it denotes a small farmer, or even "villein"'. This was in his notes to a poem of 1631 in which Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy's court at Bealach (Taymouth) is described:

> Dob iomdha um nóin a m-brugh Bhealaich
> > brudhaidh, biatach, barún ríogh;
> ag feitheamh ar feidhm thríath Tatha:
> > seinm 'na íath, flatha agus fíon.

("Many at eve in the mansion of Bealach were the farmer, yeoman and king's baron, waiting on the service of the lord of Tay; in his land were the playing of music, noblemen, and wine.")[5] Watson chooses the word 'yeoman', but there is no need to abandon the fundamental concept that the responsibility of a *biadhtach* was to secure the food that was placed on the great man's table. Wherever the role of *biadht(h)ach* to a Gaelic magnate became hereditary, it was more than likely that *Mac a' Bhiadht(h)aich* would become a surname, in precisely the same way as, for example, *Mac a' Bhacastair* for hereditary bakers.[6] GFB's examples of MacVitie appear to originate in Galloway and Carrick, so there is every reason to assume that the lords of Galloway, the earls of Carrick and their successors had hereditary food-providers in exactly the same way as in Ireland and the Highlands.

Here we are being told that the lord of Lorn's hereditary food-providers 'improperly' called themselves MacNeil. Presumably the first of them was called Niall. Perhaps what is meant is that they had nothing to do with the principal MacNeil(l) families of Barra, Taynish, Ugadale, Carskey etc.

MacCallums of Colgine, dependants, A33, B20. The beginning of John Dewar's definitive account of the MacCallums of Col(a)gin(e) has been summed up as follows: "MacDougall of Lorn had ten sons and gave land to each at various places. To one

called Malcolm or Callum he gave land at Colagin, just south of Oban. His descendants became known as MacCallums."[7] In fact, Dewar sometimes refers to this man as *Mac Callum Cholgainn*, sometimes as *Callum Cholgainn*. In any case, he has twelve fine sons. Lady MacDougall, seeing them at church one day, asks who their father is, and on being told, remarks: "In that case Callum Cholgainn should have a third of Scotland for himself." Perhaps as a consequence of this remark, ten of them die. MacCallum is advised that the remaining two will not prosper at Colagin, so one goes to Glen Etive, the other to Glassary. They both do well, and many years later, thirty of each of their two tribes set off to visit their cousins. They get in each others' way, and a fight takes place at a spot called Achamheannt, on Sliabh an Tuim, between Kilmelfort and Craignish. Just two men are left alive. After much argument one of them commits suicide, so only one survives. He goes to Glen Falloch, and his descendants are the MacCallums of Glen Falloch, the Tribe of the Three Score Blockheads – *Sliochd nan Trì Fichead Ùmaidh* (or *Burraidh*).[8]

Dewar also left a rough draft which differs from the above in some details: Glassary becomes Knapdale, Achamheannt becomes Achabheann, and Glen Falloch becomes *Bail'-a-ghioragain*, clearly Bargirgaig by Poltalloch. The same is true of a later version in which J. G. McKay appears to have fused this draft with two shorter accounts by other hands, all taken from J. F. Campbell's papers.[9]

The story is also told by Lord Archibald Campbell. The twelve are, quite definitely, the sons of MacCallum of Colagin. Their only connection with the MacDougalls is Lady MacDougall's unfortunate remark. This time all die except three. One stays at Colagin, the others settle in Glen Etive and Kilmartin. The Glen Etive and Kilmartin MacCallums set out *en masse* to visit each other. The two tribes get in each other's way, but fail to recognise each other. They fight on Sliabh an Tuim, and only one of each tribe survives. That is why they are called the Three Score Blockheads.[10]

In addition, there are two versions told by Katherine Whyte Grant, who admitted that she herself was a descendant of the blockheads. In the earlier one, the two boys are foster-sons of MacCallum of Colagin. One is the son of MacDougall of Dunollie, the other is the son of MacMillan of Knap. Otherwise it is the usual story, told briefly. One settles in Glenorchy, the other in Kintyre.[11] In her later and longer version, Mrs Grant says that three of the twelve sons remain. Then she tells a long story about fosterage and murder, the upshot of which is that MacDougall of Dunollie, whose son has been fostered by MacCallum, gets possession of Colagin. The rest of the story is similar to Dewar's and Lord Archie's, except that the three brothers, having lost Colagin, settle at Cleigh (*Cladh* in Kilbride, near Oban), Glenorchy and Kintyre. The fight on Sliabh an Tuim seems to be between the combined tribes from Lorn (Cleigh and Glenorchy?) and Kintyre.[12]

Two other versions are perhaps worth noting, in both of which the story had migrated and lost some of its bite. One is related by the Kintyre historian Peter McIntosh. He begins: "A tenant of the name of Calum, and from whom sprang the clan Chalums, lived north somewhere." MacDougall simply becomes 'the proprietor', unnamed. The three surviving sons settle in Kilmartin, Clachan and Southend, and the fight takes place 'somewhere north of Tarbert'.[13] Then in the Canadian newspaper *Mac-Talla*

there is a version which contains hardly any detail at all, except that the protagonists appear to be MacCallums, and that the place where they fight is *Sliabh-an-tuim, ann an Creignis*.[14]

To sum up: according to Dewar, the MacCallums of Col(a)gin(e) are real MacDougalls. According to Lord Archie they are mere dependants. According to Mrs Grant they are something in between, for there is a fosterage relationship, Colagin's twelve sons being young MacDougall's foster-brothers. And in the 'migrated' versions the MacDougalls are out of sight. The fact that the MacCallums of Colagin are described as dependants as early as the eighteenth century (B20) suggests that Lord Archie's and Mrs Grant's versions are more authentic than Dewar's. Given the MacCallums' reputation as blockheads, perhaps the MacDougall tradition-bearers were only too glad to dismiss them as mere 'dependants'.

MacC(h)ruims, real MacDougalls A16, dependants B22. This is an unusual example of a family being promoted, as it were, from 'dependants' in the eighteenth century to 'real MacDougalls' in the nineteenth. The evidence is certainly ambiguous. On the face of it *MacC(h)ruim* represents 'the Son of Crom', in which case Crom is a personal name. But as it is a very rare personal name in Scotland, otherwise unknown, we cannot exclude the possibility that *MacC(h)ruim* represents *Mac a' Chruim* 'the Son of the Hunchback' (a surname derived from a nickname), or even on occasion *Mac a' Ghille Chruim*, from a given name *an Gille Crom* 'the Crooked Lad'. In his entry on MacCrom, GFB defined *crom* as 'swarthy', but he must have been getting mixed up with his following entry, on MacCrone, from *cròn* 'swarthy'. MacCrom will be the same as MacCrum, though GFB treats them separately. It may have been principally a Perthshire name, as the 'Black Book of Taymouth' offers several very interesting examples. There was a 'Donald Beg M'Acrom' in the brae of Weem in 1552 who, along with his brothers, gave his bond of manrent 'to Collin Campbell of Glenurchquay and his heirs, taking them for his chiefs in place of the Laird M'Gregour'.[15] And in a bond of manrent of 1573, a large number of men of the name offered their allegiance to the selfsame Colin: 'Donald M'Crome alias M'Lauren' with his son and brothers, 'Duncan M'Crom alias M'Lauren' with his son and brother, 'William V'Crome alias M'Lauren' with his son,[16] and 'Jhone M'Anevoir V'Crome' (*Iain mac Iain Mhóir mhic Cruim*, or *mhic a' Chruim*) with his brother.[17] There was also apparently a 'M'Chruimb' in Glen Etive in 1610,[18] and 'Mc a chruimb' is on record from the parish of Lismore and Appin.[19] It would seem, all in all, that the given name Crom, or the nickname *an Crom* 'the Hunchback', was used by MacGregors and MacLarens, at least.

All this adds substantially to the body of evidence about the name itself. No source tells us that the given name Crom was in use in medieval Scotland, yet here is a surname derived from something like it within two different Perthshire clans and in Glen Etive, not to mention amongst the MacDougalls of Lorn. This diversity strengthens the case for a derivation from *an Crom* 'the Hunchback'. There were hunchbacks in every clan, including the MacDougalls, so we may see *Mac a' Chruim* as one of those names, like *Mac an t-Saoir* ('the Son of the Carpenter', Macintyre) or *Mac a' Ghobhainn* ('the Son of the Smith', Smith) which were likely to pop up anywhere. Perhaps this helps

explain the uncertainty as to whether our MacC(h)ruims were real MacDougalls or dependants.

It should be added that there is no evidence that Crom was ever in general use as a given name in Ireland either. There was a pagan god Crom Cruaich and a saga character called Crom Deróil.[20] The god was distantly remembered in Scotland in the form of *Di-Domhnaich Crom Dubh* (a name for Easter Sunday) and the children's game *Crom an Fhàsaich*.[21] Our editor informs me that his late father-in-law, a native of Co. Tipperary, when very angry, used to swear by the ancient god: "I n-ainm Chruim!" But that is about as far as it goes.

The 'alias M'Lauren' MacCroms were inhabitants of Balquhidder. This helps cast light on a mystery raised recently in these pages – who is the 'Malcolm piper Macchruiney' in Craigroy who, like the MacLarens, promised Colin Campbell of Glenorchy his manrent and calps in 1574?[22] Well, Craigroy is certainly Craigruie by Loch Voil in Balquhidder. There need be no doubt, then, but that he is another MacCrom. Non-Gaelic scribes frequently confused *m* and *n*, and for the meaningless -*ey* one need look no further than the three cases of meaningless -*ie* in the next paragraph.

Finally then it is necessary to recognise the existence of a surname *Mac a' Ghille Chruim* and the possibility that in some cases it may be what underlies MacC(h)ruim. It was remarked long ago that 'M'Ghille-chruim is Englished as Crum'.[23] GFB claimed that Alexander Macbain had called *Mac Gille chruim* 'an unidiomatic expression'.[24] If Macbain ever said such a thing, he must have meant that *Mac Gille chruim* is a slight corruption of *Mac a' Ghille Chruim*. There was a family of MacDonalds in Benderloch known apparently as *Clann a' Chruim* who are however on record as McIlchrum and McIlchrumie as well as McCrumie and McCrum. There was a M'Ilchrom in Menteith in 1612, a Malcolm M'Ilchrum in Ledaig, Benderloch, in 1677, and a Dugald M'Ilchrumie in Culcharan, Benderloch, in 1695.[25] It may be that no more than one or two individuals ever existed who bore the given name *an Gille Crom*, and this evidence suggests that they were more likely to be MacDonalds than MacDougalls. But if *an Gille Crom* is a baptismal name for a child with a particular kind of disability, it could occur anywhere.

MacCillichans/MacCithchans/Cithicans in Tyree, real MacDougalls, A10, B26. What looks like 'Cithicans' is added by an unknown hand at A10, suggesting a link with B26 'The Mac Cithchans in Tyree, MacDougalls'. It is probably best to take 'MacCillichan' at face value, which points to MacQuilkan. For MacCithchans see MacK(e)ichans.

MacUilcin, son of Wilkin, a diminutive of William, can be found in Kintyre, Knapdale and Islay.[26] GFB notes that a John Dow McWilkane had a precept of remission in 1542.[27] The fact that they are described as 'real MacDougalls', i.e. direct descendants of the MacDougalls of Lorn, is of interest. The leading MacDougalls do not, in general, appear to have used the name William. There is however 'William, a son of Colla, son of Alexander, son of Ewen, son of Gille-Peadair, son of Ewen Mor, son of Duncan, son of Dugald, son of Ranald, son of Somerled' mentioned in *An Leabhar Donn* in relation to a MacDougall gallowglass family.[28]

MacCillichan might possibly represent MacKilligan, *Mac Gill' Fhaolagain*, 'son of the servant of Faolagan', Faolagan being a diminutive of Faolan.[29] This surname is normally associated with Inverness/Lochaber. The Tyree MacCillichans seem more likely to have been been MacQuilkans. As for Finlay McGillegrum, tenant of Kinvara, Tiree, in 1541, GFB bravely assigns him to Clann 'ic 'ille Chruim, but he could equally be a MacQuilcan, a MacKilligan, or something else – 'McGillegrum' surely belongs to a class of names so garbled by a scribe as to be forever incomprehensible, at least in the absence of further evidence.[30]

MacCoans, dependants, A26, B9. A reduced form of MacIllichoan (see Part 3), MacCowan is presently recognised as a sept name by the Clan MacDougall Society (http://www.macdougall.org/). 'Mc Coan' is on record from Killespickerrill in Benderloch.[31]

MacDougalls of Lorn, real MacDougalls, A1. Perhaps the distinction Ewen MacDougall was making here is between the MacDougalls of Lorn, subsequently of Dunollie, descendants of Somerled, and the MacDougall Campbells of Craignish, descendants of a quite different Dugald. No one has ever claimed that the Craignish family were MacDougalls of Lorn. What is very much in dispute, however, is their relationship to the Campbells. Alexander Campbell, advocate, an eighteenth-century figure, made Dugald of Craignish a descendant of the Campbell progenitor Cailean Maol Math;[32] a later authority claimed that he was 'second son of Macrath, son of Ectigern'.[33] This Ectigern may be the grandson of Gille Ainndrias, son of Eichthighearna(?), son of Aodh.[34] If so, this would link him to the MacEacherns of Craignish, subsequently of Kintyre.

MacEwens of Achomer and Dungarthill (MacEwens in Perthshire), real MacDougalls, A4, B30. These persons may be descendants of Ewan de Ergadia, King in the Isles and Lord of Lorn 1247– 65/66, or of a later chief such as Eoin de Ergadia, known as Sir John of Lorn (fl. 1310–17), of Ewan de Ergadia (b. *c*. 1300, d. 1335/55) or of John Gallda, Lord of Lorn (*c*.1320–*c*.1375). According to legend the first of the Achomer family was 'John Dubh Mor, brother to Duncan McDougall, Lord of Lorn', known in Glen Lyon tradition as John of Lorn; he may be identical with the Glen Lyon hero Iain Dubh nan Lann, who has however also been claimed as a MacGregor and a Stewart (see Part 1, pp. 20–21). In 1621 half of the thirty-shilling lands of 'Easter Twllich, lying in Ardtollonycht' on the south side of Loch Tay were occupied by Donald Rioch McEwin. In 1795 an Allan MacDougall was ground officer of Ardtalnaig, while in 1797 a Hugh MacDougall was ground officer for Ardeonaig.[35] These men appear to have been MacEwen MacDougalls.

The MacEwens of Muckly, Dungarthill by Dunkeld, are said to descend from 'Ewen Mor MacDougall, brother of the MacDougall of Lorne' (see part 1, pp. 21–22). Twelve MacEwens *alias* MacDougalls were killed at Dunaverty, see C15, C17–20, C25, C27–31, C41. MacEwen is recognised as a name associated with Clan MacDougall by the Clan MacDougall Society of North America.

Donald C. McWhannell

[To be continued]

Notes

1 George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 569.
2 Rev. Patrick Woulfe, *Irish Names and Surnames* (Dublin, 1922), p. 61.
3 Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, *An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1904), p. 65.
4 Edward Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (8th edn, Glasgow, 1973), p. 92.
5 William J. Watson, 'Marbhnadh Dhonnchaidh Duibh', *An Deo-Greine*, vol. 12 (1916–17), pp. 132–34, 149–51: 134, 150. Watson's translation has been altered slightly on Ronald Black's advice.
6 Ronald Black and Christopher Dracup, eds, *John Dewar's Islay, Jura and Colonsay* (Kinross, 2024), p. 62, n. 33.
7 Neill Malcolm, 'Some Early MacCallum Lairds', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 10 (March 2024), pp. 4–16: 5–6.
8 Argyll Estates Archives, Inveraray (AEA), Dewar MS 2, ff. 97–101.
9 National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 50.2.19, ff. 72–75; J. G. McKay, ed., *Gille a'Bhuidseir: The Wizard's Gillie and Other Tales* (London, 1914), pp. 34–45 (grateful thanks to Thomas McCown for this reference and many other comments). For Bargirgaig see Black and Dracup, *John Dewar's Islay*, pp. 64 n. 48, 498.
10 Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 304–05.
11 K. W. G., *Aig Tigh na Beinne* (Oban, 1911), pp. 281–82.
12 K. W. Grant, *Myth, Tradition and Story from Western Argyll* (Oban, 1925), pp. 49–50.
13 Peter M'Intosh, *History of Kintyre* (3rd edn, Campbeltown, 1870), p. 17.
14 Anon. (Jonathan Mackinnon?), 'Sliochd an Tri Fichead Buraidh', *Mac-Talla*, vol. 7, no. 7 (9 Sept. 1898), p. 54.
15 Cosmo Innes, ed., *The Black Book of Taymouth* (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 196.
16 If it is correctly transcribed, 'V'Crome' implies that Crom was William's grandfather.
17 Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, p. 218.
18 George F. Black, *Surnames*, pp. 482, 511. GFB also mentions (482) a 'Soirll McCrume' as one of those who held Dunyveg in Islay against Bishop Knox in 1616 (*recte* 1614). His source was a document summarised in Cosmo Innes, ed., *The Book of the Thanes of Cawdor* (Spalding Club, Edinburgh, 1859), p. 232. However, when it was printed more fully in G. Gregory Smith, ed., *The Book of Islay* (Edinburgh, 1895), pp. 186–88, the name was rendered as 'Soirll McBrume [? McBraine]', footnoted: "*Or* McBrehon."
19 Rev. Adam E. Anderson, 'Notes from the Presbytery Records of Lorne', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 36 (1931–33), pp. 112–38: 135.
20 See for example *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, 1983), s.vv. *crom* and *deróil*; Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *Myth, Legend & Romance: An Encyclopaedia of the Irish Folk Tradition* (London, 1990), p. 128.
21 See for example Alexander Nicolson, *Gaelic Proverbs* (Glasgow, 1951), p. 167; John L. Campbell, ed., *Songs Remembered in Exile* (Aberdeen, 1990), pp. 153–54.
22 Ronald Black, 'Baptismal Name + Trade + Surname', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 11 (July 2024), pp. 51–52: 52.
23 Alexander MacBain, 'Early Highland Personal Names', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 22 (1897–98), pp. 152–68: 167.
24 George F. Black, *Surnames*, p. 511.
25 MacBain, 'Personal Names', p. 167; George F. Black, *Surnames*, p. 511.

26 Ronald Black, 'MacQuilkans', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 11 (July 2024), pp. 38–41.

27 George F. Black, *Surnames*, p. 560.

28 Hector L. MacQueen, ed., *David Sellar: Pedigrees, Power and Clanship, Essays on Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2023), pp. 102–03.

29 MacBain, 'Personal Names', p. 155; George F. Black, *Surnames*, p. 529.

30 George F. Black, *Surnames*, p. 511.

31 Anderson, 'Presbytery Records of Lorne', p. 135.

32 Herbert Campbell, ed., 'The Manuscript History of Craignish', in *Miscellany IV* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 175–299: 199–200.

33 Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, 'Argyllshire Clans', *The Celtic Review*, vol. 8 (1912–13), pp. 334–40: 338.

34 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The MacEacherns', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 5 (Nov. 2017), pp. 5–18: 13 (www.1467manuscript.co.uk/WHN&Q.html). There is a mistake at this point in Black's article: to reflect *mhic mhic gillanndrias*, his translation 'son of Eichthighearna son of Gille Ainndrias' should read 'son of Eichthighearna son of the son of Gille Ainndrias'.

35 National Records of Scotland GD112/2/12, GD112/11/3/3/24 and GD112/11/5/1/87.

The Macleods of Trumpan Reconsidered

In the late nineteenth century Roderick Macleod, an Edinburgh tea merchant known in his native Waternish as Ruaraidh na Tì, wrote down what he knew of his family's history. In his notes he stated:[1]

> My father came from an old family of the Macleods of Lewis or Clan Torcill, who owned Waternish in the Isle of Skye for generations until it was bought by the MacLeod of Dunvegan . . . My ancestors had Trumpan in Waternish for many generations. My father was the third son of Murdoch Macleod who was a farmer in Waternish.
>
> Murdoch, my father's father was the son of Allan Macleod of Trumpan in Waternish. His father again was Murdoch, in the same place. This Murdoch and Allan his son were of the gentry in those days, the MacLeod of Dunvegan were their associates.
>
> My father John Ban MacLeod was married on Marion MacLeod daughter of Neil MacLeod, Upper Milovaig, Glendale, Skye . . . Her father, Neil MacLeod was a man of talent and wit. He was a poet and his only son Donald, was Domhnullan oran. He was called MacLeod of MacLeod's poet. His works were published in 1811 and were very popular then . . . My mother's family was a branch of the same family as my father's family, natives of Waternish, Skye.
>
> Roderick (myself) born 1821, was at home with my parents until I was 19 years of age. My education was very much neglected as there was no proper school in the place except one and I had to cross a wild hill to it with some peats under my oxter for the fire in the school so that my education was of very little use to me when I came to the south country. However when I came I did all I could to improve the small education I had particularly, the English language. I worked my way step by step until I became

a tea merchant here in Edinburgh. I started on my own account in the year 1859 and have been very successful till now, 1893. The business is large and good.

Based on this account, the family line can be traced as follows:

> **Ruaraidh na Tì** b. 1821 was a son of
> **John Ban** b. *c*. 1787 who was a son of
> **Murdoch** b. *c*. 1750 who was a son of
> **Allan** b. *c*. 1710 a son of
> **Murdoch** b. *c*. 1675.

Ruaraidh na Tì goes no further back than Murdoch, who is on record in the Judicial Rental of 1724 as a tenant of Trumpan Mor.[2] However, Ruaraidh's son Alexander Mathers Macleod, who also wrote a genealogy of the family,[3] appears to name his ancestor Murdoch's father 'Alister Dhu an Dadhidh, literally singeing Sandy because he set fire all the houses between Claggan and Dunvegan – a near relative of Dunvegan with whom he quarrelled'. If so, then the above-mentioned quarrel most likely took place in the 1650s during the Commonwealth period, when MacLeod of Dunvegan found himself opposing those of his name who remained active in the cause of the king.[4] 'Alister Dhu an Dadhidh', however, is not mentioned by Ruaraidh na Tì in his notes (dated 1893) which is strange, given that they appear to have been written after those of his son, which mention a relative who died in 1892, as still being alive. Perhaps he disagreed with his son's placement of 'Alister Dhu an Dadhidh' in the lineage? Maybe he considered him to be a much earlier ancestor and not one necessarily in the direct male line? Indeed, an account of the Battle of Waternish (said to have taken place *c*. 1580) by Ruaraidh's brother Major Neil Macleod mentions a 'John son of Alexander Macleod of Trumpan'.[5] Perhaps Ruaraidh na Tì considered 'Alister Dhu an Dadhidh' to be a reference to this 'Alexander Macleod of Trumpan'?

What then of Ruaraidh na Tì's claim that his father was from an old family of the Macleods of Lewis, who owned Waternish until it was bought (in 1610) by MacLeod of Dunvegan? It's possible he was referring to his father's maternal line. However, there is reason to believe that that line were the descendants of Torquil the chief who lost Lewis a century earlier in 1506. (See forthcoming article 'Donald Macleod of Galtrigill and the Old Macleods of Lewis' by Gordon Macleod). An old tale printed in the 1945 *Clan Macleod Magazine*, however, opens up an alternative possibility.[6] In August 1779 the Scoto-American privateer John Paul Jones was rumoured to be in the vicinity of Loch Dunvegan and there were fears he might attempt an assault on Dunvegan Castle. One of those who allegedly sighted Jones's ship was MacLeod of Dunvegan's fisherman, Ailean mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Ruaraidh Bhàin (**Allan** son of **Murdoch** son of Rory Ban), who had been fishing off the coast of Husabost at the time.

According to Alexander Mathers Macleod, his ancestor **Allan** (b. *c.* 1710) son of **Murdoch** (b. *c.* 1675) lost Trumpan when Waternish was sold by MacLeod of Dunvegan – a sale which occurred in 1781, just two years after the events related

above.[7] Nor was Allan a common name among the Macleods; in a 1746 list of non-participants in the rebellion, there were only two men of that name on the Dunvegan estate.[8] It doesn't seem a stretch, then, to suggest that Allan Macleod of Trumpan and MacLeod of Dunvegan's fisherman may have been the same man. Especially when you consider that Ruaraidh na Tì's uncle, the poet 'Domhnull Nan Oran', was MacLeod of Dunvegan's fisherman in the early years of the nineteenth century.[9] If Allan of Trumpan and MacLeod of Dunvegan's fisherman Ailean mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Ruaraidh Bhàin were the same man, then in the latter's patronymic we would have the name of another generation of the Trumpan line:

Rory Ban born *c*. 1640s.

In the earliest existing rentals for the MacLeod Estate, dating from 1683–86,[10] Trumpan Mor was occupied by a Norman Macleod, son of William. A Donald Macleod, son of Alasdair Ban, was in Trumpan Beg. This latter man, Alasdair Ban, is probably on record as the tenant of Trumpan in 1616, where he is named Alasdair Ban Mac Alasdair Ruadh.[11]

In the genealogy published by the Clan MacLeod Societies, Ruaraidh na Tì's ancestor Murdoch, an occupant of Trumpan Mor in 1724, is speculatively named as a descendant of Donald, son of Alasdair Ban,[12] the occupant of Trumpan Beg in 1683–86. The Trumpan family was therefore presented as a branch of the Clann Alasdair Ruaidh. However, neither Ruaraidh na Tì nor his son Alexander Mathers mention the Clann Alasdair Ruaidh in their genealogical notes. More likely, then, their ancestor was Norman, son of William, the occupant of Trumpan Mor, the same tack tenanted by Murdoch in 1724. If so, we would have the names of two more generations of the family:

Norman b. *c*. 1620s son of
William b. *c*. 1590s.

As noted above, Ruaraidh na Tì stated that his Macleod of Lewis ancestors owned Waternish until it was bought by MacLeod of Dunvegan in 1610. At that time, two of the Macleods of Lewis, **William** and Torquil Og, were living in Dunvegan under the protection of the chief Rory Mor.[13] They were his nephews, the sons of his widowed sister Margaret, whose husband Torquil Dubh of Lewis had been betrayed and executed in July 1597.[14] Indeed, William is on record in 1624 as 'Mr. William McCleod sister's son to the said Rorie'.[15]

Although the late Rev. William Matheson said that 'the fate of the last of the Macleods of Lewis is one of the unsolved mysteries of Highland history',[16] the following information collected by the folklorist Alexander Carmichael appears to shed some light on the matter.[17] In January 1871 Carmichael interviewed 85-year-old Hector Macleod of Linaclate, Benbecula, who stated that his great-grandfather Neil came (presumably to Benbecula) with Sine, the daughter of Torquil Macleod of Lewis, upon her marriage to Clanranald. However, the archivist's note associated with

this record says that the children's names mentioned by Hector indicate that his great-grandfather Neil must have come to Benbecula as part of the retinue of the daughter of William Macleod of Berneray, upon her marriage to Clanranald in *c*. 1720. Indeed, this daughter of Berneray, named Margaret or Mor, is mentioned by Hector Macleod later on in the notes. The marriage between Clanranald and the daughter of Torquil Macleod of Lewis was much earlier.

Of most interest in Carmichael's notes, though, is Hector Macleod's lineage, given as follows: "Each mac Dhonil ic 'Urachai ic Neil ic Coinnich ic Iain ic Ruari ic Thormaid ic Uilliam ic Thorcail ic Leoid Leothais", meaning Hector, son of Donald, son of Murdo, son of Neil, son of Kenneth, son of Iain, son of Rory, son of Norman, son of William, son of Torquil Macleod of Lewis. Here then is traditional evidence that William, son of Torquil of Lewis, had a son named Norman, who in turn had a son named Rory. Although the average age per generation is very low it's still within the realm of the possible. Hector's great-grandfather Neil who arrived in Benbecula as part of the retinue of the *c*. 1720 marriage may have been born *c*. 1701–1705, his father Kenneth *c*. 1683, his father John *c*. 1663, his father Rory *c*. 1643, his father Norman *c*. 1620 and his father William *c*. 1595. We know, for example, that William's father Torquil Dubh had four children by the time of his death, aged around twenty-four. Alternatively, Andrew P. MacLeod has suggested that the lineage may have one name too many and points to the later addition of 'ic Thormoid' as the possible culprit. His suggested solution that 'Thormaid' was the brother, and not the father, of 'Ruairi', may well be correct; however another alternative possibility worth suggesting is that Hector added a byname – neach/luchd-coimhideachd – (meaning: 1 attendant 2 escort or 3 *pl.* retinue) to his great-grandfather Neil's name, which Carmichael misheard as 'ic Coinnich'.

Finally, it's worth mentioning that at the same time that Hector Macleod's great-grandfather Neil was part of the bridal retinue of the daughter of William MacLeod of Berneray, Ruaraidh na Tì's ancestor Murdoch was a neighbour in Trumpan of the 'Old Trojan' Donald MacLeod, another member of the Berneray family.[18]

Additional notes

William, son of Torquil Dubh, probably would have had social contact with the members of his own clan in Waternish. His probable son Norman's presence in Trumpan Mor would suggest William probably married a sister of Alasdair Ban (son of Alasdair Ruadh), on record as the tenant of Trumpan in 1616. The old Gaelic adage 'Tha ceum dìreach eadar Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh agus Niall MacLeòid Bard Ghleann Dail' (There is a direct step between Mary, daughter of Alasdair Ruadh, and Neil Macleod, Bard of Glendale) would also suggest this. Neil Macleod the Glendale Bard was a son of Ruaraidh na Tì's uncle Domhnall nan Òran, mentioned above.

One of the leading Macleods on Lewis in the early eighteenth century was Captain Norman Macleod of Garrabost. He was known as Tormod Òg, which suggests he had an older close relative known as Tormod Mór. The Rev. William Matheson stated: "In 1715, when the Earl of Seaforth made preparations to call out the fighting men of Lewis, he gave instructions that one of the four captain's commissions was to go to

Norman Macleod."[19] Tormod or Norman Og, who is referred to in a traditional tale as *mac an iasgair* ('the son of the fisherman'),[20] was obviously well educated and of a high ranking family amongst the Macleods of Lewis, so it's unlikely his father was just a simple fisherman. Matheson agreed with this assessment when he stated that Norman Og's father 'engaged with some success in the fishing industry, perhaps the first native Lewisman to do so on a commercial scale'.[21] He probably dealt in large shipments of fish which he sold to merchants in places like Inverness, as was likely the case with MacLeod of Dunvegan's fisherman Ailean mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Ruaraidh Bhàin.

According to Matheson, Norman Og had sons named Torquil, Norman, William, George and Malcolm.[22] It's interesting to note that the names of his first three sons – usually named for recent ancestors or relatives – match the earliest three names in Hector Macleod of Benbecula's lineage and the speculative reconstructed line of the Macleods of Trumpan.

Finally, the family of one Allan Ban Macleod (b. 1780) of Siabaidh, Berneray, is also of interest.[23] He was the son of another Allan, known as Ailean Aonghais Nèill, who was said to have been butler to the laird of Berneray. Perhaps Allan the butler's grandfather Neil is to be identified with Neil the great-grandfather of Hector Macleod of Benbecula?

Acknowledgements

Gordon Macleod

Notes

1   Roderick Macleod, 'A Sketch of Roderick MacLeod's Family Written by Himself 1893', in 'Three Volumes of Photocopied Literary Papers, vol. 3, Reminiscences', by Major Neil Macleod of Waternish, Isle of Skye and Dalkeith. National Library of Scotland (NLS) Acc. 12321, presented to NLS by Dr Alex C. McLeod, Nashville, 2004.

2   Lachlan MacDonald, *The Past and Present Position of the Skye Crofters* (Glasgow, 1886), Sheet II.

3   Alexander Roger McLeod, 'Letter to Sorley MacLean; enclosing a sketch of Roderick McLeod's family history', NLS MS 29521, ff. 18–24. Alexander Roger McLeod was a son of Alexander Mathers MacLeod.

4   R. C. MacLeod, *The Book of Dunvegan, Volume First, 1340–1700* (Aberdeen, 1938), p. 87.

5   Alexander MacKenzie, *History of the Macleods* (Inverness, 1889), pp. 52–53. In this account John, son of Alexander of Trumpan, is also mentioned as being the nephew of a Roderick of Unish, son of John of Waternish.

6   H. H. MacKenzie, 'Paul Jones' Attempted Raid on Dunvegan Castle', in *Clan Macleod Magazine* (1945), pp. 345–346.

7   R. C. MacLeod, *The Book of Dunvegan, Volume Second, 1700–1920* (Aberdeen, 1939), p. 98.

8   Ruairidh H. MacLeod, 'MacLeod Names In Skye', in *Clan Macleod Magazine*, vol. 8, no. 48 (1979), pp. 87–90: p. 89.

9   Meg Bateman with Anne Loughran, ed., *Bàird Ghleann Dail, The Glendale Bards* (Edinburgh, 2013), p. 50 of Kindle ebook edition.

10 MacLeod, *Book of Dunvegan, Volume First*, p. 153.

11 Alick Morrison, 'The MacLeods of Trumpan', in *The MacLeods: The Genealogy of a Clan, Vol. 5* (Edinburgh, 1999), ed. by Alick Morrison, p. 7.

12 Morrison, 'MacLeods of Trumpan', pp. 8–9.

13 Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World* (Leiden, Boston, 2015), p. 210.

14 J. R. N. MacPhail, ed., *Highland Papers, Vol. II* (Edinburgh, 1916), p. 269.

15 MacKenzie, *History of the Macleods*, p. 89.

16 William Matheson, 'The Macleods of Garrabost', in *The Macleods of Garrabost Revisited*, ed. by W. Cumming (Gateshead, 2020), pp. 12–21: 13.

17 The Carmichael Watson Project, Coll-97/CW116/142, f. 56v, line 8, to f. 57v, line 3.

18 Morrison, 'MacLeods of Trumpan', p. 8.

19 Matheson, 'Macleods of Garrabost', p. 16.

20 Norman Macdonald, ed., *The Morrison Manuscript: Traditions of the Western Isles, by Donald Morrison, Cooper, Stornoway* (Stornoway, 1975), p. 161.

21 Matheson, 'Macleods of Garrabost', p. 16.

22 Matheson, 'Macleods of Garrabost', p. 17.

23 https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/people?name=allan%20ban%20macleod

The Testament of James of the Glen

On 25 September 1752 at Inveraray, James Stewart in Acharn, Duror of Appin, otherwise 'James of the Glen', was convicted of being art and part in the murder of Colin Campbell of Glenure, the Crown factor on the forfeited Ardsheal estate. James was sentenced to death. He was executed by hanging at Ballachulish on 8 November 1752.

There is no record of a will. But, on 13 February 1753, Archibald Campbell, writer, the Commissary Substitute at Inveraray, confirmed a certain creditor as Executor Dative on the estate of the deceased James by reference to the 'Testament Dative and Inventory' of which a transcript is presented below. The creditor was William Wilsone of Murrayshall (1698–1772).[1]

The debt due to Wilsone amounted to £84 00s 00d Sterling with interest from Martinmas 1752. The secretary-hand Roman numerals in the sum of the inventory, 'Summa Inventary', are not altogether clear:[2] but adding together the individual items, the estate comprised in the inventory had a value of £90 00s $10^2/_3$d Sterling, at least £19,000.00 in today's money (2025). The inventoried items consisted of livestock. This suggests that by 1752 James of the Glen was on his way to rebuilding the business which had been destroyed by the redcoats in the aftermath of Culloden. 'Cattle' in

the inventory means livestock generally, not confined to bovines; and the meaning of 'quey' is 'a heifer, a young cow, of any age up to three years or until she has had a calf':[3]

> The Testament Dative & Inventary of the Goods Gear and effects which pertained and belonged to the deceast James Stewart Tacksman of Acharn in the Parish of Appine & Commissariat of Argyll the time of his decease which was upon the eighth of November Jajvii and fifty two years. Faithfully made and given in by William Wilson writer at Murrayshall near Stirling Executor Dative qua Creditor to the said Defunct Insofaras the said William Wilson by his Inland Bill or Precept of the date the first day of November Jajvii and fifty one years, and Regra[t] at Edinb[r.] the twelfth day of January Jajvii and fifty three years Drawn by him upon and accepted by the said Defunct ordered him against Martinmass Jajvii and fifty two years To have paid to the said William Wilson or order the sum of Eighty four pounds Ster[l] money value received in in Cash as the said Bill of the date foresaid more fully bears And therefore the Commissar Substitute of the said Commissariot Decerned the said William Wilson as Executor Dative qua Creditor to the said Defunct for payment to him of the forsaid princ[ll] Sum of Eighty four pounds Ster[l] and Interest due thereon and also of the Expenses of this present Confirmation Insofaras the Goods and Gear after mentioned can be recovered by him as a Decreet Dative thereanent of the date the thirteenth day of ffebruary Curr[t] more fully bears~
>
> Inventary
>
> There was in the Defuncts Custody & possession on the forsaid lands of Achacharn the time of his decease the Goods & Cattle after mentioned Estimated to the Several prices after specified Vizt. Twenty Great Cows & Ten Stirks Valued at ffourty four pounds Eight shillings ten pence & two thirds of a penny Sterling Item twelve four year old Queys Valued one pound ten shillings each inde Eighteen pounds Item Eight Three year old Queys May next ten pounds Item Twelve two year olds May next Twelve pounds Item Twenty Eight Ew sheep at four shillings each ffive pound twelve Shillings
>
> Summa Inventary £XXXX: X ⅔ Sterl.

William Wilsone of Murrayshall was a Writer to the Signet excluded from practice because of his refusal to take the Hanoverian oaths. He was one of the Stirlingshire lairds visited by James of the Glen in April 1752 when James journeyed to Edinburgh to apply to the Courts for a stay of the Ardsheal evictions planned by Glenure for Whitsunday, 15 May, 1752. James was the half-brother of Charles Stewart fifth of Ardsheal, Colonel of the Appin Regiment 1745–46. Wilsone was also connected with Ardsheal through his wife's sister, Isabel Haldane of the Lanrick family, married to Ardsheal; and his own sister Margaret was married to John Stewart younger (later fifth) of Ballachulish. Young Ballachulish remonstrated with the authorities about the harsh treatment of James of the Glen following his arrest. Wilsone's advice was instrumental in persuading Colonel Crawfurd at Fort William that it was illegal to remand the prisoner in 'close imprisonment' beyond eight days.[4]

The Wilsone family is remembered for William Wilsone's three spinster daughters,

the 'Ladies of Murrayshall'. It is recorded of them that, when attending Episcopal services, they continued, as often as the Hanoverian family was prayed for, to shut their prayer books with a slam, rise from their knees and yawn audibly.[5] The last survivor of these three sisters, Miss Lillias Wilsone of Murrayshall, died in 1829, still a Jacobite.[6]

<div align="right">

Angus Stewart

</div>
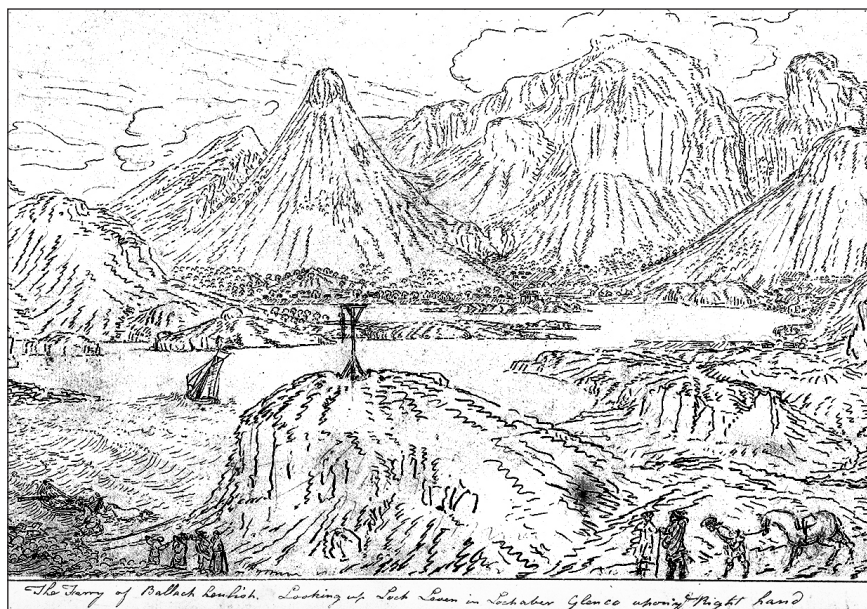
The narrows at Ballachulish, sketched by John Clerk of Eldin in or after 1775. The gallows and corpse would have been gone by then, but he has added them as an imaginative flourish. This is the nearest we have to a contemporary representation of the grisly scene. The caption reads 'The Ferry of Ballach heulish. Looking up Loch Leven in Lochaber Glen co upon y[e] Right hand'.
Reproduced with the permission of Sir Robert Clerk of Penicuik Bt.

NOTES

1   National Records of Scotland (NRS), Wills and Testaments, CC2/3/11, Argyll Commissary Court, 247–248. The Confirmation at page 248 (not reproduced) shows Wilsone's cautioner to have been John Wordie of Cambusbarron.
2   NRS advises: "While looking at your request to view the original document, a member of one of the teams was able to solve the mystery of the sum. The first symbol is an 'L', not a pound sign, so the final sum is 'LXXXX : 10 2/3' and does in fact match the expected '£90 0s 10 2/3 d'. Fortunately they had looked in this volume before and said that it is a quirk of the scribe and that he sometimes writes his 'L's in this fashion."
3   University of Glasgow, *Dictionaries of the Scots Language*, *DSL Online*.
4   D. N. Mackay, *Trial of James Stewart* (Edinburgh, 1931), 17, 197, 294.
5   Praying for the Hanoverian monarch by name was a necessary preliminary to repeal of

the penal laws against Scottish Episcopalians. Hanoverian prayers were introduced at Stirling during the ministry of Rev. George Gleig (1787–1808): Rev. W. Walker, *Life of the Right Reverend George Gleig* (Edinburgh, 1878), 200–220. Coincidentally, Rev. Gleig's son, George Robert Gleig, published a novel with the title *Allan Breck* (London, 1834), the real-life Allan Breck Stewart having been alleged, in the indictment against James of the Glen, to be the actual killer of Colin Campbell of Glenure.

6   'The Jacobite Ladies of Murrayshall', *The Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. 19, Jan.–June 1869, 568; 'The Jacobite Ladies of Murrayshall', in W. Cook, ed., *The Stirling Antiquary* (Stirling, 1893), Vol. 1, 167.

LECTURE

Y-Chromosome Testing: To what extent can it provide insight into the origins and connections between kindreds recorded in the 1467 MS? (12.12.24)[1]

This talk can be viewed in full on the Society's YouTube channel at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cV_cXWXNoL0

The historiography of the 1467 MS has been developed over the years by authors, academics and clan historians. Many clans use the manuscript as the basis of their origin narrative, and their interpretation is likely regarded by clanspeople as definitive.

Ronnie and Máire Black's revised interpretation of the first folio of the manuscript has shone fresh light onto the genealogies of some of the kindreds that are recorded.[2] Commentators point to the creation of the manuscript as a form of political propaganda, Dubhghall Albanach recording those kindreds loyal to MacDonald, Lord of the Isles. Those who had roles of governance within the Lordship of the Isles *c*. 1400 are prominent. David Sellar highlighted that the pedigrees have been viewed by historians and genealogists with considerable suspicion, if not downright disbelief, and are 'a suspect guide'.[3] William Skene and Ronnie Black have highlighted the lack of internal consistency within the manuscript, making it an unreliable source before the year 1000 AD.[4]

Methodology
The correlation between the distinct genetic pattern identified by a Y-chromosome test result and a surname is now generally well known. Although there are some limitations to its use, genetic testing is very reliable and accurate. However, interpretation of test results can be fallible.

The gold standard methodology is the use of multiple 'documented descents', individuals with a well-sourced pedigree. If documented descents are not available, test result data from multiple individuals with oral traditions of descent or good historical context can still prove to be authoritative.[5]

Secondly, the use of a next-generation sequencing test is essential, such as the Big Y-700. This type of test identifies 'SNP' markers which are used to build a genetic equivalent of a descendant tree. Individual branches within the tree are defined by at least one SNP marker that can be calibrated and dated to when it was formed.[6]

It is into this context that Y-chromosome DNA testing has emerged as a tool that can provide insight and even clarity with regard to clan origin narratives and connections between kindreds.

MS 1467 kindreds

We have robust genetic data for about half the kindreds recorded within the manuscript. Ten of them have a link to Cormac mac Airbheartaigh. These are the Gillanderses, the Green Abbot, the MacKinnons, the MacGregors, the MacDuffies, the MacQuarries, the MacMillans and the son of Baron Fearchar (MacNeils of Barra). The final two are the MacKenzies and Mathesons, who are noted to be descended from Gilleoin of the Aird, who is shown in the Gillanders pedigree to be Cormac's great-great-grandson. An apparent lack of any connection between the Y-DNA test results for all these particular kindreds points towards internal manuscript inconsistency.

The MacNeils of Barra, whose pedigree in the manuscript has been identified by Ronnie Black as having been misattributed to the Maclennans, have caught the imagination of the press for supposedly being of 'Viking' origin.[7] The Viking origin is in fact completely false. It was based on incomplete genetic data that was over-interpreted. The MacNeils of Barra also have no common patrilineal connection to the MacNeills of Taynish, who belong to a completely different genetic haplogroup.[8] They in fact belong to a genetic kin-group with a geographical locus in the southern Hebrides, importantly including the 'MacDonald' Buies from Jura and Carmichaels from Lismore and Appin, amongst a clutch of other surnames whose earliest ancestors lived in Ardnamurchan, Ardgour and Bute.[9] The genetic evidence strongly points to this kin-group being indigenous to this area, with no evidence of being incomers in the last two millennia.
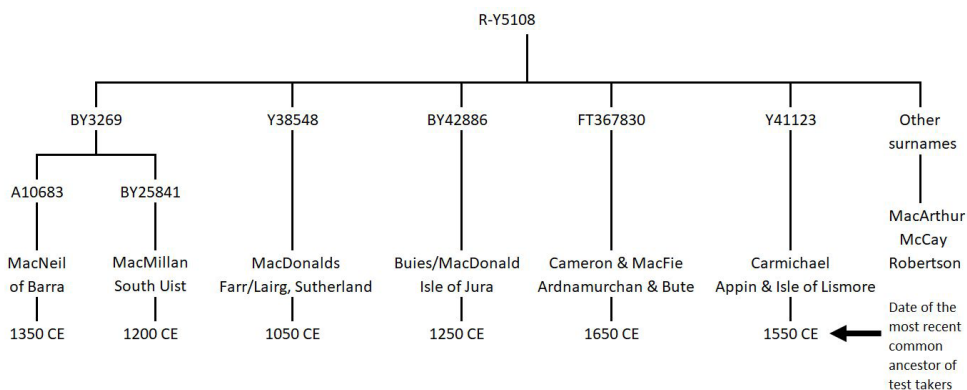

The origin of the MacKenzies, Mathesons and Gillanderses has come under scrutiny by Aonghas MacCoinnich in his PhD thesis. He believes that all were incomers, perhaps the foundation for MacDonald power in the north as they pursued their claim to the earldom of Ross, so explaining why they are represented in the 1467

MS. Aonghas believes that the MacKenzies' alleged descent from Gilleoin of the Aird was a fabrication.[10] What do their genetics reveal?

DNA testing shows beyond doubt that the Fitzgerald origin-narrative created for them by the 1st earl of Cromartie, pivoting away from a Dalriadic origin to an Anglo-Irish one in the form of the Anglo-Irishman Colin Fitzgerald who assisted Alexander III at the battle of Largs, was a fabrication. Testing of documented descents confirms that the MacKenzies do not match any other clan or significant surname in the north of Scotland other than a group of MacIver Campbells.[11] There is also no matching whatsoever to the Mathesons. Any distant genetic connections they have are all with surnames presently located in Perthshire and Fife.

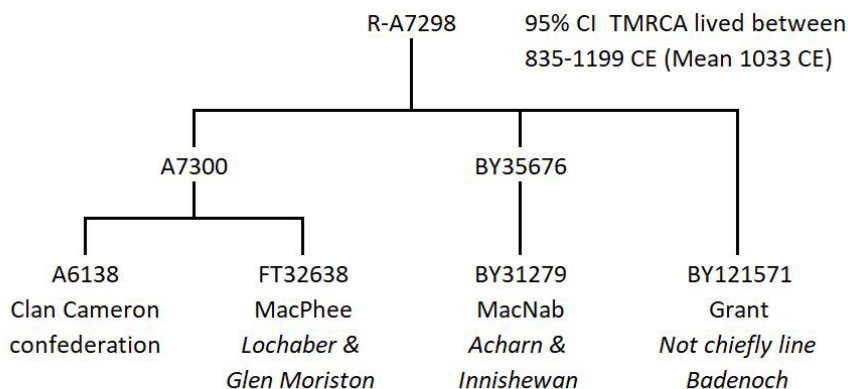As for the Mathesons, documented descents of the Lochalsh and Shinness families do

R-M269>>P312>>DF13>L513>>BY3023>>S7828
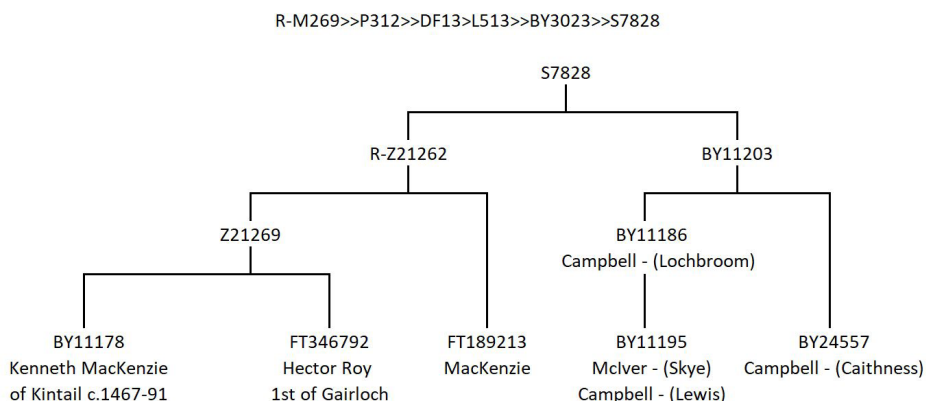
not match each other, and thus they are distinctly different lineages.[12] The documented Lochalsh Matheson test-takers belong to haplogroup R1a and have origins in Norway or Sweden.[13] The Lochalsh Mathesons do have a connection to undocumented test-takers bearing the Ross surname. Could the latter possibly be representatives of the Gillanderses? The lack of documented Ross test-takers means further research is required on the origin of these Ross men.

David Sellar endorsed William Matheson's persuasive argument that the Clan Gillanders' original tradition of descent was a Scandinavian one.[14] Could the Lochalsh Mathesons be a missing link, or is their Scandinavian Y-DNA just coincidental?

The Clan Cameron DNA Project has good test data for individuals who represent the Camerons, the MacGillonies, the MacMartins and possibly the MacSorlies in Glen Nevis.[15] Y-DNA testing supports the confederation of four tribes as represented in the manuscript as sharing common paternal ancestry. This Cameron confederation shares ancestry with three other genetic kin-groups: the MacPhees from Lochaber and Glen Moriston, the chiefly MacNab lines of Acharn and Inishewan, and an unidentified Grant line. They all share a marker called R-A6138.[16] [17]

Traditional origins for the Camerons, MacPhees and MacNabs drift back one way or another to Ferchar Fota, king of Dalriada, who according to the Annals of Ulster

died in 697. However, Ronnie Black warns us that 'we should not, therefore, rely on the historical accuracy of these pedigrees, at least in their earlier stages'.[18] What is clear is that they shared a common progenitor sometime between the year 835 and 1199 CE.

```
                    R-A7298          95% CI  TMRCA lived between
                      |              835-1199 CE (Mean 1033 CE)
          ┌───────────┴───────────┐
        A7300                   BY35676
     ┌────┴────┐            ┌──────┴──────┐
   A6138     FT32638     BY31279       BY121571
Clan Cameron  MacPhee     MacNab         Grant
confederation Lochaber &  Acharn &    Not chiefly line
             Glen Moriston Innishewan    Badenoch
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NB: Clan Grant - Grant of Grant, Blairfindy, Ballindalloch, and their branches are a different haplogroup R-DF88>> Z17281> Z17274

Summary

The extent to which Y-DNA testing can provide insight into kindreds within the manuscript is governed by the availability of good genetic data: where possible, documented descents should be sought and an appropriate test ought to be used that generates good SNP data, such as the Big Y-700 test.

Where genealogies have been embellished by the addition of a gateway ancestor such as 'Cormac mac Airbheartaigh' or Fearchar Fada to establish linkage to Dalriadic or Irish kingship, a robust Y-DNA testing methodology can confirm the unreliability of certain parts of the 1467 MS. An alleged descent can be shown to have been fabricated, such as that of Colin Fitzgerald and the MacKenzies.

Testing has corroborated the authenticity of the confederation of tribes within the Clan Cameron, and the existence of a common progenitor with the MacNabs and a distinct kindred of MacPhees. Likewise, historical research undertaken by Aonghas MacCoinnich on the origins of the Mackenzies and Mathesons has been confirmed. Debate about a common ancestry between the MacNeills of Taynish and the MacNeils of Barra has been put to an end, and for the latter, the emergence of an indigenous genetic kin-group located in and around the southern Hebrides has been discovered.

The opening chapter of many clan histories may continue to use an older interpretation of the manuscript for their origin narrative. As Ronnie Black has noted, 'It is important that their failings be understood, and ultimately put right'.[19] There are therefore many opportunities for further research into kindreds and clans both within and outwith the manuscript.

Alasdair F. Macdonald

Notes

1   The writer would like to acknowledge the assistance and help, often over many years, of his fellow DNA project administrators and correspondence with other researchers. Without their generosity and input this talk would have been more challenging to bring together.

2   Articles published in *West Highland Notes and Queries* (*WHN&Q*), https://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/WHN&Q.html

3   Hector L. MacQueen, ed., *Pedigrees, Power and Clanship: Essays on Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2025), p. 42.

4   '1467 MS: The MacNeils', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 6 (Feb. 2018), pp. 3–25.

5   DNA and the Declaration of Arbroath. https://www.whodoyouthinkyouaremagazine.com/tutorials/dna/dna-test-declaration-of-arbroath-descendants

6   Genetic Genealogy Research: SNP Dating. https://www.strath.ac.uk/studywithus/centreforlifelonglearning/genealogy/geneticgenealogyresearch/snpdating/

7   *The Herald*: 'Macneil clan shocked as DNA checks force rewrite of history'. https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13197315.macneil-clan-shocked-dna-checks-force-rewrite-history/

8   Family Tree DNA. Y-DNA Time Tree: I-A1705. https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/I-Y13039/tree

9   Family Tree DNA. Your Haplogroup Story: Y5108. https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-Y5108/story

10 Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Tùs gu Iarlachd: Eachdraidh Clann Choinnich c.1466-1638* (unpublished PhD thesis, Oilthigh Obar Dheathain, 2004), pp. 9–20, 115–116.

11 Family Tree DNA. Your Haplogroup Story: S7828. https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-S7828/story

12 The Mathesons from Shinness in Sutherland belong to haplogroup R-BY24186.

13 Family Tree DNA. Your Haplogroup Story: Y58202. https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-Y58202/story

14 '1467 MS: The Gillanderses', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 9 (Feb. 2019), pp. 3–15.

15 Family Tree DNA. *Cameron YDNA Project: News*. https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/cameronydnaproject/about/news

16 Family Tree DNA. *MacNab: Y-DNA Results Overview*. https://www.familytreedna.com/public/mcnabb?iframe=ydna-results-overview

17 Family Tree DNA. Your Haplogroup Story: A6138. https://discover.familytreedna.com/y-dna/R-A6138/story

18 '1467 MS: The Camerons (2)', *WHN&Q*, Ser. 3, no. 27 (April 2015), pp. 3–15, and no. 28 (Aug. 2015), p. 39. https://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/Camerons%202%20for%20web.pdf

19 '1467 MS: The MacMillans', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 28 (Aug. 2015), pp. 4–14. https://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/MacMillan%20FOR%20WEB.pdf

IN MEMORIAM

Keith Sanger: A Great Highland Historian

Keith Sanger, a regular contributor to these pages, died on 1 August this year at his home in Penicuik, Midlothian, aged 82.

Keith was born on 13 July 1943 somewhere on the English side of the border (his mother was trying to get home to Scotland when she went into labour). He grew up on a farm in Lochaber. Lacking brothers, sisters or near neighbours, he used to describe himself as a loner who devoured books. This love of books continued throughout his life, and he built up a vast collection. But he also learned to play the pipes, and took up sailing and rugby as well as hillwalking.

Intending to join the navy, Keith attended a prestigious nautical academy in London, but weak eyesight put an end to thoughts of a maritime career. Joining the army instead, he served at Fort George, then in France, by which time he was in the Medical Corps. Following military service he trained as a biomedical scientist in the laboratories of the Royal Marsden Cancer Hospital in London. It was here that he met his wife Bella, a lovely young lady who played the harp. They went to live in Bella's native South Africa, where Keith worked at the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town along with, among others, the celebrated Dr Christiaan Barnard, pioneer of heart transplants. Then Keith returned with Bella to London, where he was appointed as a clinical perfusionist at the Hammersmith Hospital. Perfusionists operate the heart-lung bypass machine during open heart surgery, a highly skilled technical role that carries grave responsibilities.

In the 1970s the couple moved to Edinburgh. They were both taken on by the Royal Infirmary, Keith becoming Chief Clinical Perfusionist in the Cardio-Thoracic Unit. I remember teaching them both in a weekly Gaelic evening class in Telford College. (Also in the class were Dr Donald McWhannell and Mairi MacArthur.) Keith moved from playing the full pipes to the chanter, a better accompaniment to Bella's harp. Regrettably they had no children, and they separated in the 1990s.

Keith retired in 2005 at the age of 62. Living in Penicuik and commuting by bus to the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh, he devoted himself to pursuing harpers and pipers through the archives. He built up a huge collection of photocopies of documents. He wrote many articles in the likes of *Piping Times*, *Common Stock*, *Wire Strung Harp* and *Bagpipe News* as well as *WHN&Q*. He was very good about sharing the fruits of his research with others. He often sent me copies of documents with his comments when he found something that he thought might interest me – by post in the old days, by e-mail more recently. And when I published *The Campbells of the Ark* in 2017 he was the first to pounce, politely correcting what I had written about specific pipers.

Keith's first article for *West Highland Notes and Queries* had been 'Murdoch MacDonald the Harper', in no. 10 (Dec. 1979), pp. 16–18. He went on to contribute 46 more pieces, many (but not all) on pipers or harpers. Everything he wrote was

impeccably based on documentary sources. A fine example is his reconstruction of the story of Christopher MacRae, a young man from Kintail who was sent to Wales by the Highland Society of London for instruction in playing the harp; his maintenance became more than they could bear, and they literally got rid of the problem by sending him to Jamaica ('An Attempt to Reintroduce the Highland Harp', 1982).

Through the years Keith had two great collaborators in his work, Prof. Colm Ó Baoill of Aberdeen University (especially on harps and harpers) and the late Dr Roderick (Roddy) Cannon of the University of East Anglia (especially on pipes and pipers). He also collaborated with the harpist Alison Kinnaird in writing *Tree of Strings* (1992), then in 2006 and 2011 the Piobaireachd Society published Keith and Roddy's *Donald MacDonald's Collection of Piobaireachd*, the two magnificent volumes of which constitute a milestone of piping scholarship.

Keith had a great love of dogs, and was a regular dog-walker and dog-sitter. A friend who knew him well in his latter years tells me that she would often see him with his canine companions draped on top of him or under his feet while he was immersed in an article. Keith was himself the epitome of a rare and valuable breed, the archives-based amateur scholar. He was a great Highland historian, and he will be sorely missed.

Ronald Black

Some of the Publications of Keith Sanger

Books
(with Alison Kinnaird) *Tree of Strings (Crann nan Teud): A History of the Harp in Scotland* (1992; Routledge, London, 2015)
(with Roderick Cannon) *Donald MacDonald's Collection of Piobaireachd, vol. 1 (1820)* (Piobaireachd Society, Glasgow, 2006)
(with Roderick Cannon) *Donald MacDonald's Collection of Piobaireachd, vol. 2 (1826)* (Piobaireachd Society, Glasgow, 2011)

Provisional list of published notes, articles and queries
'Murdoch Macdonald the Harper', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 10 (Dec. 1979), 16–18
'The Rankin Pipers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 13 (Sept. 1980), 25
'The Maclean-Clephane Harp Music', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 15 (May 1981), 20–23
'An Attempt to Re-Introduce the Highland Harp, 1784–1786', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 17 (March 1982), 8–16
'A Missing Carolan Composition', in *Ceol: a journal of Irish music*, 6 /1 (1983), 5–6
'Alexander Grant, 4th of Shewglie', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 20 (March 1983), 15–18
'Argyll's Hereditary Retainers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 22 (Dec. 1983), 27–29
'The MacArthurs: Evidence from the MacDonald Papers', *Piping Times*, 35/8 (1983), 13–17
'A Name List', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 27 (Aug. 1985), 22–23
'An Unusual Name', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 27 (Aug. 1985), 25–26
'Harperlands', *Folk Harp Journal*, 49 (June 1985), 39–40
'Duncan MacIndeor, Harper to Campbell of Auchinbreck', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 30 (Feb. 1987), 3–7

'A Campbell Lament for Inverlochy', *WHN&Q*, ser. 1, no. 30 (Feb. 1987), 20

'Physicians in Skye', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 1 (March 1988), 23–24

'Angus of the Isles', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 2 (Oct. 1988), 27

'The Origins of Highland Piping', *Piping Times*, 41/11 (1989), 46–52

'Travels of a Gentleman Piper' [George Skene, 1729], *Common Stock: The Journal of the Lowland and Border Pipers Society*, 4/1 (1989), 11–13

'Mull and the MacLean Pipers', *Piping Times*, 42/9 (1990), 38–43

'The McShannons of Kintyre: Harpers to Tacksmen', *The Scottish Genealogist*, 38 (1991)

'Harpers and O'Connochars in Perthshire', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 11 (June 1993), 23–25

'An Irish Harper in an English Graveyard?', in *Ceol na hEireann – Irish Music*, 2 (1994)

'The MacCrimmon Pipers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 14 (July 1995), 17–20

'From Harp to Lute: A Family of Scottish Minstrels', *Sounding Strings* (Spring 1996), 28

'Placenames in the Disarming of Mull, 1716', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 18 (Nov. 1998), 20

'Irish Pipers and Scotland', *Piping Times,* vol. 50, nos. 11 and 12 (Aug. and Sept. 1998), 83–91 and 20–22

'From Taynish to West Meath, a Musical Link?', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 4 (Aug. 2002), 15–20

'Background to the Campbell Canntaireachd', *Piping Times*, vols 58 (Oct. 2005), 58/2 (Nov. 2005), 58/10 (July 2006) and 67/1 (Oct. 2014)

'Mr MacDonnell' [Irish piper James MacDonnell], *An Piobaire*, vol. 37 (Sept. 2006), 21–23

'Skene's Diary: A Postscript', *Common Stock*, vol. 21/2 (Dec. 2006), 28–30

'Harps in Scotland', in John Beech *et al.*, eds, *Scottish Life and Society: Oral Literature and Performance Culture, Volume 10 of a Compendium to Scottish Ethnology* (Edinburgh, 2007)

'Right Hand Men', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 10 (Oct. 2007), 18–23

'Who Didn't Pay the Piper?', *Common Stock*, 23/2 (2008)

'The Pyper has Gone for a Soldier', *Common Stock*, 24/1 (2009), 22–26

'Newspaper Report Sheds Light on "The Piper's warning"', *Piping Times* 61 (2009), 25–27

'One Piper or Two: Neil MacLean of the 84th Highlanders', in J. Dickson, ed., *The Highland Bagpipe: Music, History and Tradition* (Ashgate, 2009), 153–72

'For the Scottes Musicke', in *The Kilt & Harp: Journal of the Scottish Harp Society of America*, 26/3 (2009), 34–35

(with Hugh Cheape) 'A Mock Eulogy on a Bad Piper and his Pipe: Moladh Maguidh air Droch Phibaire agus air a Phib', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 25 (2009), 23–34

'Final Chords – the Last Scottish Harpers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 14 (Dec. 2009), 12–15

'Patronage, or the Price of a Piper's Bag', *Common Stock*, 24/2 (Dec. 2009), 14–19

'Two Edinburgh Bagpipe Makers, Adam Barclay [d. 1753] and Hugh Robertson [d. 1822]', *Piping Today*, 48 (2010), 44–46

'A Letter from the Rev. Patrick MacDonald to Mrs MacLean-Clephan, 1808', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 26 (2010), 1–12

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'What's in a Name. The Background to When the Description "Highland Pipes" was First Used', *Common Stock*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2010), 17–26

(with Cynthia Cathcart) 'Dictates against Harpers: The Growth of a Mythical Legend', *The Wire Strung Harp* (2012), 1–6

'John MacLean Johnston, Piper to the Clan Maclean 1899 to 1908', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 19 (May 2012), 16

'Piping by Numbers', *Common Stock*, 29/1 (June 2012), 19–26

'Final chords. The Last Scottish Harpers', *The Wire Strung Harp* (July 2012), online journal

'Ascaoin Molaidh na Pioba', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 20 (Sept. 2012), 20

(with Roderick Cannon) 'The 84th's Pipe Banner', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 21 (Jan. 2013), 20–23

'Pipe Music of the Clan Maclean', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 21 (Jan. 2013), 34–35

'Will the Right "Mr MacLachlann" Please Birl in his Grave', *Common Stock*, 30/1 (June 2013), 33–34

'"Sour Plums" and a Potage of MacLeans', *Common Stock*, 30/2 (Dec. 2013)

'A Girl, a Piper and a Shipwreck', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 24 (Jan. 2014), 31

(with Roderick D. Cannon) 'A Letter from Donald MacDonald' [1818], *Piping Today*, 46 (2014), 34–36

'A Rare Find – An Early Lady Piper' [*c*.1709], *Common Stock* 31/2 (Dec. 2014), 4–5

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'Donald Ferguson – A Piper in the Napoleonic Wars', *Piping Times* 67/9 (June 2015), 32–39

'The Two Sides of Sheriffmuir', *Piping Times* 68 (Nov. 2015), 37–42

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'Piobaireachd Cheann Deas, or The Earl of Ross' March', *Altpibroch.com* (2016)

'An Early Piping Contract from 1726', *Piping Times* 68 (June 2016), 28–35

'Ranald MacAllan Oig: Fact and Fiction', *WHN&Q,* ser. 4, no. 1 (Aug. 2016), 22–24, and ser. 4, no. 2 (Dec. 2016), 14–15

'Some Musical Notes from Skye', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 2 (Dec. 2016), 11–12

'A Pyper and His Man', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 3 (March 2017), 8–9

'Mapping the Clarsach in Scotland', *The Wire Strung Harp* (2017), 1–22

'Notes from the Ark', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 4 (July 2017), 15–17

'The Lamont Harp. The Physical Evidence and the Historical Context', *The Wire Strung Harp* (2017)

'The Conundrum of the Wire Strung Harp Revival', *The Wire Strung Harp* (2018)

'Tigh nan Teud', *The Wire Strung Harp* (15 Aug. 2018)

(with Michael Newton) 'A Song-Poem from the 1784 Highland Society Poetry Competition', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* (2018)

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'Maclean of Brolass and a "Pair of Virginals"', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 13 (June 2020), 10–11

'Alexander Menzies, the Harper of Logierait', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 3 (Nov. 2021), 11–14

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'A Retrospective Look at the Research into Scottish Harps', *Harp Ireland / Cruit Eireann, Harp Perspectives* (Feb. 2022), 3–10

'Terminology in the 1751 Valuation of Argyll,' *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 4 (March 2022), 31–32

'The 1692 Letter to John Aubrey Revisited', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 6 (Nov. 2022), 11–17, and ser. 5, no. 7 (March 2023), 1–5

'Where Were the Clanranalds Living in 1745?', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 8 (July 2023), 27–28

'A Royal Genealogy', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 9 (Nov. 2023), 12–13

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'Cehi Harp Perspectives. Harping on the Past,' *Harp Ireland / Cruit Eireann, Harp Perspectives* (2023), 3–11

'A "West Highland and Island" Merchant and his Trade', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 10 (March 2024), 16–18

'A Ramble through the Archives Looking at Harpers and Pipers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 10 (March 2024), 21

'More on James Logan', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 10 (March 2024), 36–37

'MacCallums of Poltalloch', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 11 (July 2024), 34–36

(Review) *Gatherings of Irish Harpers, 1780–1840*, by David Byers, and *Harp Studies II*, ed. by Helen Lawlor and Sandra Joyce, *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 11 (July 2024), 52–53

'MacWhirters', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 12 (Nov. 2024), 23–24

'The Clarsach's Position among the Historical Instruments of Scotland', *The Wire Strung Harp* (20 April 2024), 1–16

'The Lamont Harp Graffitti', *The Wire Strung Harp* (20 Oct. 2024), 1–6

'Da Mihi Manum (Give Me Your Hand), but Whose Hand Was It?', *Harp Ireland* (Feb. 2025), 3–12

'Viols, Violins, Fiddling, Dancing and the Church', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 14 (July 2025), 45–50

[*Many of the above publications were uploaded by Keith Sanger to the web-platform 'academia.ac.uk'. This platform also contains the text of some unpublished public lectures. These are not listed here.*]

Contributions to medical journals

(with Massimiliano Codispoti and Pankaj S. Mankad) 'Successful extracorporeal membrane oxygenation (ECMO) support for fulminant community-acquired pneumococcal pneumonia', *Thorax* 50 (1995), 1317–1319

(with Pankaj Mankad) 'Superiority of centrifugal pump over roller pump in paediatric cardiac surgery: prospective randomised trial', *European Journal of Cardio-Thoracic Surgery*, vol. 13 (1998), 526–32

(with R. Peter Alston and Anna Anderson) 'Is body surface area still the best way to determine pump flow rate during cardiopulmonary bypass', *Perfusion* 21 (2006), 139

'Changing the priming solution from Ringer's to hartmann's solution is associated with less metabolic acidosis during cardiopulmonary bypass', *Perfusion* 22/6 (2007), 385–89

Aonghas MacCoinnich

QUERIES

Fort William Lodge No. 43, 1743–1760

In addition to minute books and other documentation, the Lochaber Archives hold the original 1743 charter establishing Fort William Lodge No. 43, signed by leading figures of the Grand Lodge of Scotland including the Earl of Wemyss, Murray of Broughton (Secretary of State to Bonnie Prince Charlie), Thomas Mylne, William Nisbet, Archibald Kennedy, Robert Menzies of Culterallers, John McDougall and John Douglas.[1]

The lodge's political stance is unclear. Its minutes mention the 'unnatural rebellion', yet several members had Jacobite ties. John Maclachlan, the first Master in 1743, was involved with George Stewart and others in the clandestine admission of brethren in

1743–44. Stewart was expelled, while Maclachlan remained.[2] As I point out in my next query, a 1747 paper identifies one of the founding members, the Rev. John Stewart, as a Hanoverian intelligence source. That same 1747 paper also names William Stewart as an informant, identifying him as a former major in the Appin Regiment. William sought the post of barrackmaster of Bernera, Glenelg, as a reward, but was denied.[3]

William, a merchant of Maryburgh, joined the lodge in 1749. He became central to the 1752 case of James Stewart of the Glen, being described in trial papers as James's brother-in-law and first cousin. James turned to William after Glenure's murder, and William supported his wife and children while James was imprisoned. A court action shows that William later sought repayment for this support.[4] His precise identity remains debated: he may have been son of Duncan Stewart of Sallachan in Morvern, and thus cousin to Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, raising questions over his loyalty, given that he also passed intelligence to Hanoverian authorities.[5] By 1753 he was Senior Warden of the lodge. He died in 1760.

Charles Stewart, writer, Achintore and Banavie, was another prominent member. Already a Master Mason in 1743 despite his youth, he hosted lodge gatherings and was well regarded. Though later genealogies claim that he was Bonnie Prince Charlie's pursebearer, this seems doubtful given his age and background. Yet within the lodge Charles moved in circles close to Murray of Broughton. It is therefore entirely plausible that he was, as recorded contemporaneously, a clerk or similar to Murray.[6] He was also deeply involved in the 1752 trial, named as James of the Glen's cousin and legal supporter. By 1753 he was Junior Warden in the Masons and described as an 'old member'. However, between 1753 and 1755 he was charged with forging documents and supporting Jacobite causes alongside John Cameron of Fassifern (another Mason, admitted 1749).[7] Cameron was imprisoned and exiled; Charles's role underscores how politically exposed some members were.

The records raise important questions. Were lodges used by both Hanoverians and Jacobites as networks for intelligence and alliance-building? Were they deliberately infiltrated? The timing of William Stewart's and Fassifern's admission in 1749 might hint at coordinated motives. Did James of the Glen seek his relatives Charles and William precisely because he knew them to be Jacobite sympathisers with links to Hanoverian-leaning institutions?

Shuna Mayes

Notes

1   Lochaber Archives, Fort William, L/D240.
2   John A. Fraser, *A History of the Mason Lodge at Fort William 1743–1943* (Fort William, 1991), pp. 7, 9.
3   The National Archives (Kew) SP54/37/40B.
4   National Records of Scotland (NRS) CC2/2/45/1.
5   NRS SC54/6/2/63.
6   Rev. Walter Macleod, ed., *A List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 288–89.
7   NRS GD87/1/58–59.

The Fate of the Rev. John Stewart, Minister of Kilmonivaig

The Fort William Masonic Lodge records give some insight into the life of the Rev. John Stewart, minister of Kilmonivaig. He was a Master Mason, a member since the lodge's founding in 1743.[1] Other contemporaneous papers state that he was living at Drumlich on the Duke of Gordon's lands. Married to Margaret, sister of Dugald Stewart of Appin, he was the son of the Rev. Robert Stewart of Kilmallie. Court papers reveal that he had at least two children living in 1749, Robert and Anna, and at least three siblings: Alexander, who was living for a time in Strathspey; Charles, possibly a schoolmaster at Tomnahurich; and Ann.

The Rev. John can be identified from a 1747 document as providing intelligence to the Hanoverian authorities for three years and receiving a stipend for it. He claims to have been the first man to let the Hanoverian authorities know of Bonnie Prince Charlie's landing in 1745.[2] This seems to be an attempt to demonstrate his value and increase his stipend.

The Rev. John became increasingly agitated and fearful over time. It is not clear whether this was because he feared the consequences of his Jacobite countrymen finding out what he was doing, or whether he feared that the authorities might pressure or blackmail him into providing more intelligence. From court papers seeking to retrieve funds after his death, it can be established that he had borrowed a gun. The lender, Hugh Glass, a merchant and fellow Mason, states it had not been returned.[3]

Stewart apparently died suddenly in 1749, having collapsed after a service. Strange, then, that there is no mention in the Masons' minute books of the passing of a founding member. If his birthdate of 1712 is accurate, he would have been barely 37 when he died.[4]

Other court papers reveal that in the year of his death, Stewart had been receiving a significant amount of medication from the local doctor, Lachlan Maclaurin, formerly the surgeon for the Appin Regiment, who was now seeking payment for his services.[5] Here, with my comments, are some of the medications prescribed.

White poppy heads. Poppies are a natural source of morphine and codeine, so provide pain relief.

Colts foot leaves dried. Coltsfoot helps reduce inflammation, and also works as an expectorant, being used to treat respiratory ailments and cough.

Rhubarb. Had laxative properties.

Balsamic syrup of Poppies. See above.

Spirit of Hartshorn. Hartshorn, the antler of male red deer, is used to treat diarrhoea, dysentery, insect bites, snakebite and sunstroke. The key is its ammonia content.

Aromatic spirit. Used to revive from fainting, or treating stomach complaints.

Lint seeds. Linseeds or lint seeds (flaxseed) are rich in omega-3 fatty acids, fibre and lignans, and are thought to help reduce inflammation.

Althea roots. Althea (marshmallow) root is used to relieve coughs, treat gastro-intestinal issues like ulcers, and reduce skin irritation. It contains mucilage which forms a protective layer on mucous membranes (like those found in the intestines).

Balsam sulphur is supposed to have anti-microbial properties, and is used for skin healing.

Salts.

Purging pills were toxic compounds designed to induce vomiting, sweating and bowel movements.

White wine.

Anti hysterick pills and mixture. This was for Mrs Stewart.

These indicate that he may have had little notion of what was happening to him, as they appear to tackle a range of disparate symptoms. His wife may also have been fearful, as she is prescribed anti-hysteric medication.

Was it usual for ministers of that time to have a gun? Might Stewart have been poisoned? Are there other instances of deliberate poisoning in this era? Are there any alternative theories around his demise?

Shuna Mayes

Notes

1 Lochaber Archives L/D240, Fort William Lodge No. 43.
2 The National Archives (Kew) SP54/37/40B.
3 National Records of Scotland (NRS) CC2/2/42/3.
4 Hew Scott, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, new edn, vol. 4 (Edinburgh, 1923), p. 136.
5 NRS CC2/2/42/2.

REPLIES

Beacons (two replies)

Though evidence for Argyll and the Hebrides is scanty, it is very likely that sentinel systems existed here as elsewhere. It is hard to imagine the Kings and Lords of the Isles not having the means to identify approaching threats, communicate information, call out fleets and forces, and give time for people and livestock to move to safety. Evidence from the Isle of Man suggests the existence of a system of coastal sites and guards originating in the Norse period and during the Kingdom of the Isles.[1] By the late medieval and early modern periods this was known as 'watch and ward'. A sentinel system existed in the Northern Isles during Norse times, as indicated by descriptions of watch sites and warning beacons in 12th-century sections of *Orkneyinga Saga*, the survival of numerous place-names (containing *varðr* guard/watch or *viti* signal/beacon) and excavation of beacon stances (on Ward Hill on Shapinsay and Ward Hill at Deerness).[2] The *Orkneying Saga* recounts, for example, that 'Earl Paul had beacons built on Fair Isle and North Ronaldsay and on most of the other islands, so that each could be seen from the others' and that there were islanders 'charged with the task of guarding the beacon . . . and setting fire to it if the enemy fleet were to be seen approaching'.[3]

Recent research has identified place-names of possible sentinel sites in the Inner Hebrides, including the Sound of Mull, Kerrera and Colonsay, with Dun Chonaill as a possible link between the sites.[4] A high point on the Isle of Luing, with extensive views over sea-routes and in direct sight of Dun Chonaill, is *Binnein Furachail* (watchful pinnacle). Sentinels were part of a wider system of communication and defence, with muster sites for fleets and forces, signalling systems (such as smoke by day, fire by night) and fortified places. 14th-century grants by Lords of the Isles to brothers Lachlan and Hector Maclean of lands and castles – including Dun Chonaill and the equally strategic island fortress of Carnaburg – secured control of the northern end of the Sound of Jura, the Firth of Lorne, the sounds of Mull and Luing and the Passage of Tiree. They also supported the fleets and forces that served the Lordship, with particular concentrations of lands around places of assembly such as lochs Aline, Scridain and Spelve.[5] Duart Castle, at the intersection of three major routes, 'functioned as a base for operations at sea and on land'.[6] A similar role in securing control of sea lanes and maintaining a sentinel system is argued for the MacLeods of Harris and Lewis with lands across the Minch (Harris–Dunvegan, Lewis–Assynt and Coigach).[7]

Castles may have had beacon stances, but most watch and ward systems – such as those watching the border with England during the Wars of Independence and later – also made use of prehistoric forts, hill-tops, promontories, beacon towers and even church towers. Prominent sites either side of the Moray Firth, including vitrified forts such as Craig Phadrig and Knockfarrel (watch hill) and a hill-top with no fort but evidence of a beacon, may have formed part of a sentinel system.[8] On Tiree, evidence for beacon sites includes excavation of a thick hearth deposit beside Vaul broch which has been interpreted as a beacon fire site, possible place-names (*viti* and *varða*) and an oral account of the lighting of a 'fiery cross' on hill-tops at times of emergency.[9] On the Isle of Man, Iron Age promontory forts may have been reused as part of the Medieval system, protecting parts of the coast vulnerable to seaborne attack from easily beached longships and galleys.[10] A 1627 document lists for each Manx parish the wardens and hills for day watch and the wardens, hills and ports for night watch, a reminder that a watch and ward system had to operate at all times and involve people as well as strategically-located places. Martin Martin, writing at the end of the 17th century, notes cairns on high points on the coast of Harris on which heath was burnt to signal an approaching enemy. Each had a sentinel, supervised by the island steward.[11] On the Isle of Luing, several promontory earthworks, possibly Medieval in date, are located around the coast overlooking the sounds of Jura and Luing, one with a line of sight to Dun Chonaill; only one was recorded prior to a recent archaeological field survey and none has a surviving name. More research into possible watch and ward systems in the Hebrides could be very rewarding, though a great deal of careful detective work – drawing on documentary and place-name research, site records, field surveys and archaeological investigations – is required.

Mary Braithwaite

NOTES

1   R. A. McDonald, *The Sea Kings: The Late Norse Kingdoms of Man and the Isles c.1066*

– 1275 (Edinburgh, 2019), pp. 257–258, and P. Davey, 'Galley-Castles and the Isle of Man?', in P. Martin, ed., *Castles and Galleys: A Reassessment of the Historic Galley-Castles of the Norse-Gaelic Seaways* (Laxay, 2017), pp. 208–216.

2   A. Sanmark and S. McLeod, 'Norse Navigation in the Northern Isles', *Journal of the North Atlantic*, vol. 13, no. 44 (March 2024), pp. 1–26.

3   H. Pálsson and P. Edwards, eds, Orkneyinga Saga: *The History of the Earls of Orkney* (London, 1981), chap. 67, p. 129.

4   Shane McLeod, Institute of Northern Studies, UHI, pers. comm. A paper by Dr McLeod on sentinel sites in the Inner Hebrides, with a map and gazetteer of place-names, will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*.

5   N. Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests: The History of the Clan Maclean* 1300-1570 (East Linton, 1995), pp. 18–26.

6   N. Maclean-Bristol, *One Clan or Two? The Feud between the Macleans of Duart and the Maclaines of Lochbuie 1100 to 1717* (2017), p. 41.

7   A. Halford-Macleod, 'The Macleods of Lewis…and of Assynt, Coigach and Gairloch', *Northern Studies*, Vol. 3 (1974), pp. 193–213 – https://www.ssns.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/09 Halford-Macleod NWRoss 1994 pp 193–213.pdf

8   Suggestions have been made that such sites operated during Pictish times and later in support of the Earldom of Ross. William Fraser, *The Earls of Cromartie: Their Kindred, Country, and Correspondence*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1876), p. 438. Excavations on the top of Cnoc Mhargadaidh, a hill visible from Craig Phadrig and Knockfarrel, found no evidence of a fort but found a spread of charcoal, suggesting a beacon. https://her.highland.gov.uk/Monument/MHG39613

9   J. Holliday, *Longships on the Sand: Viking and Later Medieval Settlement on the Island of Tiree* (Isle of Tiree, 2021), pp. 79–81, 381 and 520.

10   A. Johnson, 'Watch and Ward on the Isle of Man: The Medieval Re-Occupation of Iron Age Promontory Forts', in P. Davey and D. Finlayson, *Mannin Revisited: Twelve Essays on Manx Culture and Environment* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 63–80 https://www.ssns.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/05_Johnson_Man_2002_pp_63-80.pdf

11   Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 36.

Beacons were discussed in this journal a few years ago, both generally and with particular reference to Tiree.[1] But a few further examples may not be out of place here.[2]

At a meeting in Perth on 17 July 1638, with civil war threatening, King Charles's loyal supporters met to discuss how Perthshire could be defended. They decided, among much else, to appoint a number of beacons to be erected, naming the sites and the individuals to be responsible for erecting them. These were clearly thought of as *ad hoc* structures, given that their locations depended on whether the 'licht' was coming from the south or the north, i.e. they were connecting with beacons fired in other counties. It was decided that the first commissioner or collector who received notice of any alarm, 'ather be licht or be fyre or vtherwayes', must advise the next commissioner or collector, and so on throughout the county.[3] It would be excellent if one of our readers would identify the 23 place-names cited in that source and make a map of them. I am assuming here that 'licht' means beacon and that 'fyre' means a

runner with a torch – a *crois-tàra* – or possibly even an oil lamp.[4] However it could well be the other way round.

There was a similar meeting for Argyllshire at Inveraray on 2 August, in which it was decided to designate particular places for 'setting out of fyre' on the sea-coasts for fear of invasion, both in the islands and on the mainland.[5] Here 'fyre' must mean beacons. No locations were named. It was simply decided to remit the matter to six members of the committee, two from Argyll, two from Lorn and two from Cowal. In those days 'Cowal' would have included Inveraray, 'Lorn' would have included the Mull group of islands, and 'Argyll' would have included Mid Argyll, Kintyre and the Islay group of islands.

On 28 May 1685, at 6 p.m., the 1st earl of Breadalbane wrote from Kilchurn Castle to give the marquis of Atholl the latest news about the 9th earl of Argyll's rebellion against King James. Argyll had come from the Netherlands via Orkney and was busy raising an army in Argyllshire. Breadalbane wrote that 'by beakins fyred on the top of Ilsa and Mull of Kintyr, its conjectured he is to shipp in his partie at Tarbitt'. In other words, beacons had been spotted on Ailsa Craig and the Mull of Kintyre, they were assumed to be Argyll's, and this confirmed that his gathering-place was Tarbert Castle. The news had been brought to Kilchurn at 5 p.m. by a messenger, described by Breadalbane merely as 'a good hand & ane honest man'. This messenger also brought the news that Argyll had ordered his sons, along with Campbell of Auchinbreck and Campbell of Barbreck, 'to march night & day to his Randesvouse this day at 12 of ye clock at Tarbet'.[6]

It would be interesting to know for sure where this messenger had come from, who had given him this information, and how he had got to Kilchurn. But there is a very strong likelihood that he had come from Inveraray, that the 'beacons' information came from fishermen, and that the rest came from sources inside the castle. What intrigues me most is not the beacons, but how the messenger got from Inveraray to Kilchurn – on foot, on horseback, by boat down Loch Awe, or a combination of two of these?

John Dewar noted a very curious 'beacons' text relating to Bute and Cowal, perhaps got from a Malcolm Campbell, whose address he gives as Melburn Post Office, Ontario, Canada.[7] As it takes some sorting out, I will give it in Dewar's Gaelic first:

> Teinntean sanais. Chuirte teine air Dun-a-ghoill. tra chìte sin chuirte teine air Lubas air an taov mu thuath dheth, s teine air a Ghearrig eun Caochaig. steine, Lann-bhuidhnich. Srath bhanainn. C Barra 2nan ròn Baile 3uachdarach, Achchrosain4 anns a cheireimh5 Chomhlach. an Leitir uachdaireach, an srathLachuin, s na dheigh sin aig Inviraoradh.

This is what I make of it:

> Warning fires. A fire would be lit on Dunagoil. When that was seen, a fire would be lit on Lubas to the north of it, and a fire on the Gearrig eun, Caochaig, and a fire, Lann-bhuidhnich. Stravanan. C Barra nan ròn (2) Baile uachdarach (3), Achrossan (4), in Kerry (5) Cowal, the Leitir uachdaireach, in Strathlachlan, and after that at Inveraray.

It seems to be a memory of how a series of beacon-fires was lit from the south end of Bute to Inveraray, as follows:

> **Dun-a-ghoill**: Dunagoil in Kingarth parish, south Bute
> **Lubas**: in Kingarth parish, south Bute
> **Gearrig eun**: ?
> **Caochaig**: ?
> **Lann-bhuidhnich**: ?
> **Stravanan**: in Kingarth parish, south Bute
> **C**: there is a squiggle resembling '§' after this letter. Perhaps it is an abbreviation for *Comhal*, 'Cowal'.
> **Barra nan ròn**: could this be Barran Dronach in Kilfinan parish, Cowal?[8]
> **Baile uachdarach**: ?
> **Achrossan**: in Kilfinan parish, Cowal
> **Kerry Cowal**: well-known district in Kilfinan parish, Cowal
> **Leitir uachdaireach**: perhaps in Strathlachlan parish?
> **Strathlachlan**: parish in Cowal
> **Inveraray**

As it stands, this chain of beacons is slightly odd, in that it appears to leap across the Firth of Clyde from Kingarth to the southern tip of Cowal rather than going through North Bute and over the Kyles. The Cowal part makes much better sense. But if more of the names can be identified, perhaps the problem can be solved. My understanding of the order of the names may be wrong. I appeal to readers for help.

Finally it may be worth making the point that the use of hilltop forts for beacon fires may in some cases be what led to vitrifaction. The idea is not mine – I found it in an old book about Arran.[9] But perhaps it is a familiar idea to archaeologists?

Ronald Black

NOTES

1 Dr John Holliday, '*Castel Loch Hyrbol*: Tiree's Lost Castle', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 8 (Nov. 2018), pp. 21–31: 25.
2 The '1547 document from Queen Mary's Privy Council' cited by Kees Slings may be found in the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland,* vol. 1 (1545–69), p. 73.
3 Cosmo Innes, ed., *The Black Book of Taymouth* (Edinburgh, 1855), pp. 391–93.
4 For descriptions of the *crois-tàra* see e.g. Col. David Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2nd edn, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1822), Appendix, p. ix, and Amelia G. M. MacGregor, *History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 105–06.
5 Innes, *The Black Book of Taymouth*, pp. 396–97.
6 John [Murray], 7th duke of Atholl, ed., *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 213–14.
7 Argyll Estates Archives, Dewar MS 7, p. 78.
8 Angus McLean, *The Place Names of Cowal: Their Meaning and History* (Dunoon, n.d.), p. 26.

9   Mackenzie Macbride, *Arran of the Bens, the Glens & the Brave* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 106.

Seannleaba in Coll (two replies)

Catherine Scougall, 'A Settlement Name in Coll', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 14 (July 2025), 39

In reply to the recent query on the location of Seannleaba on the Isle of Coll – as part of my undergraduate dissertation some years ago, I transcribed the 'scrapbook' of former Collach, John MacFadyen, known locally as John Hyne, then in the possession of Nicholas Maclean-Bristol at Breacachadh Castle.

The book contained folk tales, some family history, Gaelic poetry, musings and, of most interest to me, a large section on place-names. John even had a copy of an old 19th-century map where he had drawn in names that weren't already marked on it.

He divided his names into areas and 'An t-seann Leaba' appears under Freaslan (Friesland on modern maps). I couldn't identify the exact location at the time, but it can be seen on the old OS six-inch-to-mile map here as Sheannlep, to the right of 'Frisland' proper.
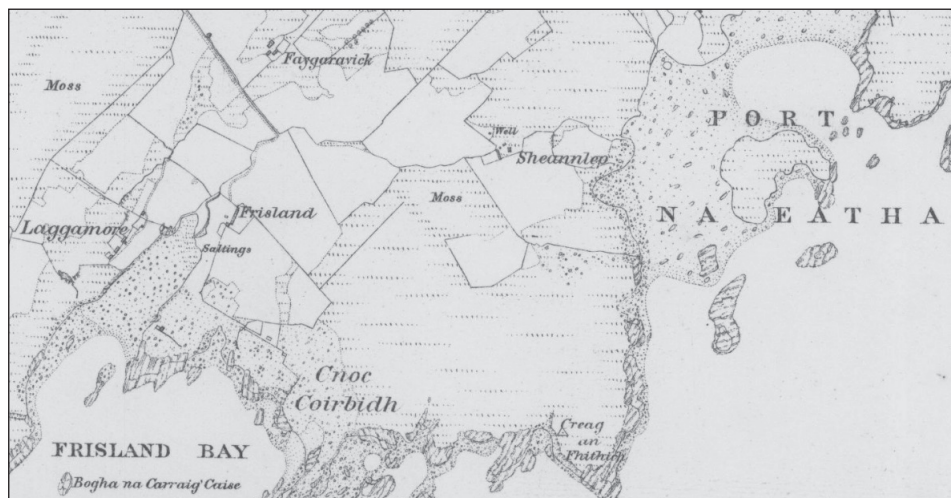
John had given the translation of 'the old bed or field'.

Doug Young

Some readers may be wondering about *leabaidh* 'a bed' being used in place-names. In English we talk about flower-beds, bedding plants and lazybeds, but *leabaidh* isn't commonly used as a place for growing things. A lazybed is *feannag*. John Hyne's 'old bed or field' is the first time I've come across *leabaidh* being translated as 'field', and I suppose the one in Coll must be a natural hollow used as a field. Perhaps it's *Seannleab'* because the field was already there before the place was settled. The most celebrated *leabaidh* place-name is *Leabaidh na Bà Bàine* in Gairloch, 'the Bed of

the White Cow', said to have been where Fionn tethered his cow, and used at one time as an amphitheatre for Free Church communions.[1] Then there's *Leab' a' Bhruic* ('the Badger's Lair'), also in Ross-shire.[2] With one slight exception, all the other *leapaichean* I can think of are hollows where named people rested, like *Leabaidh Nighean an Rìgh* ('the King's Daughter's Bed') in Glen Urquhart,[3] *Leaba Bhàtair* ('Walter's Bed') in Ross-shire,[4] *Leapaichean Falaich Mhic-a-Phì* ('MacPhee's Hiding Beds') in Colonsay,[5] *Leapaichean 'ic Ailein* ('Allan's Son's Beds') and *Leaba Eachainn 'ic Ailein* ('Hector son of Allan's Bed') in Jura,[6] or *Leaba Dhonnchaidh Dhuibh a' Mhonaidh* ('the Bed of Black Duncan of the Mountain') in Rannoch. They all have a history, of course, and that last one, at least, is very far from being a field. It's a hollow in a rocky precipice on the north side of Glen Comrie. "It got its name from a Cameron who hid there undetected after Culloden, while soldiers searched and re-searched round the foot of the rock."[7] I think this is the tradition that inspired Stevenson to give Davie Balfour and Alan Breck a very similar-sounding 'bed' in *Kidnapped*.

The slight exception is *Leaba Iain Ghairbh* ('Iain Garbh's Bed') inside the old *Caisteal Bhreacaich* (Breacachadh Castle in Coll), which may have been a hollow, a bedroom – or a bed![8]

Ronald Black

NOTES

1   John H. Dixon, *Gairloch* (Edinburgh, 1886), pp. xxxv, 3, 118, 120, 198, 310.
2   W. J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904), p. 14.
3   William Mackay, 'Sgeulachdan Ghlinn-Urchudainn', part 2, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (*TGSI*), vol. 2 (1872–73), pp. 74–80: 75.
4   Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, pp. 12–14.
5   Kevin Byrne, *Colkitto! A Celebration of Clan Donald of Colonsay (1570–1647)* (Colonsay, 1997), p. 97.
6   Ronald Black and Christopher Dracup, eds, *John Dewar's Islay, Jura and Colonsay* (Kinross, 2024), pp. 488–89.
7   Duncan Fraser, *Highland Perthshire* (Montrose, 1978), p. 84.
8   Eachann M. MacDhughaill, 'Seann Eachdraidh Chollach', *TGSI*, vol. 34 (1927–28), pp. 170–201: 200.

Clann a' Bhucullaich

Following the line of thought on the potential for Clann a' Bhucullaich to refer to descendants of Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll, Gordon Macgregor's 'Red Book of Scotland' Volume 16 yields two potential avenues. The Stewarts of Grandtully and Stewarts of Appin, both descending from Bonkyll, were present in the Breadalbane area. The Stewarts of Grandtully originate with Alexander Stewart 1st, younger son of Sir John Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn. Stewarts of Appin had a number of junior

stirpes within Breadalbane, including those who settled in Glen Lochay near Killin and also in the Rannoch area. This is commentary on the existence of Bonkyll descendants within Breadalbane however, rather than any insight into Clann a' Bhucullaich, as it is not a designation Gordon nor I are familiar with.

Shuna Mayes

A Name in Strathdon

Graeme Mackenzie, 'A Name in Strathdon', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 14 (July 2025), 40

The name cited by Graeme as McYose, McCheos, Makcheos, McYois, McKeos, McEos and McKoes looks to me like MacEòs, pronounced MacYòs, ò being long. George F. Black doesn't give it, but he does give McCosh, which he describes as an Ayrshire name. He mentions the Irishman Erard mac Coisse, and takes McCosh from *Mac coise* 'son of the footman' or 'courier', though if that is so, it should strictly be *Mac 'ic Coise*, and perhaps it once was.[1] But the instructive thing for us is his scribal forms M'Cosch and Makcosche, not to mention 'McCosh' itself. These endings are clearly palatal (*sh*), unlike the velar endings of the Strathdon name (*s*).

It certainly appears, then, that these are two different names. It would help if we knew the length of the vowel in each case, but since Gaelic is no longer a living language in Strathdon or Ayrshire, that kind of information is probably irretrievable.

Eòs is Joseph. There was a celebrated Cape Breton storyteller called Eòs Nìll Bhig, Joe Neil MacNeil.[2] The 'proper' Gaelic for Joseph is *Ioseph* in the Bible or *Iòsaph* elsewhere. It could equally be spelt *Eòsaph*. When writing my articles about the 1467 MS I remember being puzzled for a long time about the mysterious name Oisiab. Eventually it dawned on me that it was Joseph, so I discussed the matter, suggesting that the pronunciation was 'oshEEav'.[3]

Mac surnames are formed using the genitive case ('Son of'). If the nominative is *Eòs*, we would expect a genitive *Eòis*, pronounced YÒSH. There is arguably no sign of this in the forms cited by Graeme, so it seems to me that McYose etc. represent *MacEòsaph* or *MacEòsabh* with the final syllable lost, exactly as we would expect in an eastern dialect like Strathdon. Strictly then the name is *MacEòs'*, with an apostrophe.

Biblical names enjoyed a degree of popularity in medieval Gaelic Scotland. It has been suggested that 'Joseph and Joachim . . . are most likely names that reflect developments around the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary'.[4]

I'm pleased to say that a substantial article on Clann Mhic Eòs, or Eòs', by Angus McCoss (not McCosh please note!) will appear in a future issue of *WHN&Q*.

Ronald Black

NOTES

1   George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland* (New York, 1946), p. 477.
2   His stories were collected and published by John Shaw in *Tales until Dawn* (Edinburgh, 1987).
3   Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The MacKays of Ugadale', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 4 (July 2017), pp. 3–15: 11–12.

4   John Reuben Davies, 'Old Testament Personal Names in Scotland before the Wars of Independence', in *Personal Names and Naming Practices in Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Matthew Hammond, pp. 187–212: 212.

The Strange Case of Arthur Smith

Keith Sanger is irreplaceable. His reaction to my 'Glenorchy Mint' query is a good example. I had pointed to a Gaelic story that shows Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (r. 1583–1631) counting out a thousand merks from his money-chest, and to a claim that his immediate successor had 'the right to mint his own money'. Did he really?

Keith was sceptical. In various informal exchanges, he mentioned that there was a notorious shortage of cash in the Highlands, and that there was no evidence of any such right in the Breadalbane Muniments (GD112 in the National Archives of Scotland). As Keith knew GD112 better than anyone, I took this as confirmation that no answers were to be had there.

But Keith also mentioned Arthur Smith. I tried to persuade him to answer my question here by telling the story of Arthur Smith, but he was reluctant. I now suspect that, as a medical man, he knew he was dying, and had more important things to do. So I will tell the story myself.

Smith, a 'fals coyner', fled from Banff with his servant at some point in the 1590s. The pair were arrested in Sutherland and sent to the authorities in Edinburgh, where they were put in prison in 1599. During interrogation they 'confessed divers matters of that kynd, more than deserved death'. The servant was carried to the place of execution and burned to ashes, but Smith himself was reserved to further trial. During his imprisonment he contrived to acquire some tools, with which he made a lock of extraordinary ingenuity. It was presented to King James VI as a rare and curious piece of work, as a result of which his execution was further delayed. Elphinstone, the Lord Treasurer, was particularly anxious that a workman of this quality should not perish. So first he relaxed his conditions, then he set him at full liberty.

Smith went to the far north, where he found employment with George Sinclair, 5th earl of Caithness. He served him for seven or eight years, working diligently 'vnder the rock of Castell Sinclar, in a quyet retired place called the Gote', which had a secret passage leading to the earl's bedchamber. Only two people were allowed to go there by the watergate – the earl himself and Smith, who was often heard working there in the night. Eventually Caithness and adjacent territories, such as Orkney, Sutherland, Ross, Strathnaver and Assynt, were awash with counterfeit money, both gold and silver.

When the earl of Sutherland's scholarly young brother, Sir Robert Gordon, returned from Scotland to the court of James VI and I in London in 1611, he told the king what was going on. The king gave him a letter to the Privy Council, commissioning him to arrest Smith and bring him to Edinburgh. Sir Robert came back to Scotland in 1612, and for this and other activities he had Earl George denounced rebel at the instance of the earl of Sutherland. Then he went away again, leaving the commission

to be formally executed by his nephew Donald MacKay and John Gordon, younger of Embo. MacKay had good reason to take on the task in the king's name, given that Earl George and his son had recently captured and imprisoned a servant of his father's with no commission or warrant to do so.

MacKay, Gordon and their companions from Sutherland gathered a full armed force in Strathnaver, then marched with them into Caithness. In May 1612 they came to Thurso, where they knew Smith was in residence. After spending three hours securing the town, they went to Smith's house and arrested him in the king's name 'together with some peeces of fals coyne, both of silver and gold, which he had then about him'.

MacKay put Smith on horseback and brought him out of town, while Gordon stayed behind with some of the men in order to display the king's commission and try to keep the inhabitants from making a fuss. This he signally failed to do, for the town bell was rung and the people gathered. Unfortunately a number of Earl George's people, including his nephew John Sinclair of Stirkage and his daughter-in-law Lady Berriedale, were in town. Stirkage swore that he would allow no man to carry away his uncle's servant in his absence, royal commission or no. Lady Berriedale tried to persuade him to calm down and submit to the king's authority, but to no avail. He ran out of the house shouting his head off, followed by others, and this mob attacked Gordon and his men. There was a furious fight. It ended with some of the Caithnessmen killed, some wounded, and the rest chased further into the town.

MacKay heard the noise and came back, leaving Arthur Smith at the townhead in the care of the Strathnaver men. Seemingly panicked by the noise and unfamiliar surroundings into thinking that Smith would be retaken, the Strathnaver men killed him. But when MacKay got to the centre of town he found the fight ended, with Stirkage and some of his companions lying dead.[1]

Smith's fate was curiously similar to that of some young prisoners taken by the MacGregors at the battle of Glen Fruin nine years before. Locked in a barn, they were entrusted to the care of a warrior who took fright and dirked them all.[2]

It will be noticed that Smith's activities fell at the height of Sir Duncan Campbell's reign as laird of Glenorchy, and that around 1600–11 especially, the northern Highlands were awash with counterfeit money. It would be surprising if a man of Sir Duncan's unsavoury reputation did not get his hands on some of it. I simply cannot think of any other way to explain his extraordinary expenditure. Page after page of the contemporary 'Black Book of Taymouth' lists huge sums of cash paid out by him between 1599 and 1630.[3] As is well known, he was called 'Black Duncan of the Castles' because he built seven castles. His eldest son and successor Sir Colin (r. 1631–40) scraped through, but by 1643 the next laird, Colin's brother Sir Robert (r. 1640–57), was broke.[4]

All of that I can understand. What I do not know is whether the Glenorchy family's close connection with the earldom of Caithness at a slightly later date has anything to do with it. Sir Robert's son and successor Sir John (r. 1657–86) had an extraordinary son, also John, who inherited all his crafty great-grandfather's genes. By 1672 he had contrived to become principal creditor of George Sinclair, 6th earl of Caithness, great-grandson of the 5th earl. On the 6th earl's death in 1676 King Charles gave John the earldom of Caithness for himself 'upon gross and false misrepresentations'. In 1680 he

asserted his rights by leading a Campbell force north and defeating the Caithnessmen at the battle of Allt nam Meirleach, near Wick. Then in 1681 the king corrected his horrendous mistake and made him 1st earl of Breadalbane instead.[5]

Much more can be said about this master of dirty tricks, for example his alleged involvement in the Massacre of Glencoe, but for present purposes it will suffice to recall that King William gave him £12,000 to spend in pacifying the Highlands, and that when asked what he had done with it, he replied: "My Lord, the money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting between friends."[6]

They say 'follow the money'. Are there any threads that connect the financial activities of Arthur Smith, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, and the 1st earl of Breadalbane? Now that Keith has gone, perhaps others can tell me what they think.

Ronald Black

NOTES

1   Sir Robert Gordon, *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland* (Edinburgh, 1813), pp. 279–84.
2   See for example William Fraser, *The Chiefs of Colquhoun and their Country*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1869), pp. 197–98.
3   Cosmo Innes, ed., *The Black Book of Taymouth* (Edinburgh, 1855), pp. 29–37, 54–71.
4   Innes, *Black Book of Taymouth*, p. 96.
5   See for example Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 203.
6   James Macknight, ed., *Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715. By John, Master of Sinclair* (Abbotsford Club, Edinburgh, 1858), p. 185.

Fiddling, Dancing . . .

Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Fiddling, Dancing, the Presbytery of Lewis and the "Merry People at Shabost"', *WHN&Q*, ser. 5, no. 13 (March 2025), 28–33

In relation to Aonghas MacCoinnich's query*, is it worth adding, *a toutes fins utiles*, the confession of Angus MacIver, 'An Ceistear' (1799–1856)?

> It was the general practice in these dark days of ignorance and superstition, as soon as the Harvest was done, to engage a Piper or a Fiddler for dancing, balls and rioting on each Farm once a week. There the young men and women met for the better promotion of the Kingdom of the Devil. I was mad for dancing. Oh, Lord, I am ashamed of this wickedness and madness which I have committed in thy sight. Pardon mine iniquity for it is very great.

Angus MacIver was writing about his childhood in Reef, Uig, before he enlisted in the Hudson's Bay Company, later to become a schoolmaster and catechist in Tobson, Back and subsequently Maryburgh. The extract comes from an MS autobiographical account he left in English, which was published in the *Stornoway Gazette* in 1971/72.

It might be argued that the catechist is deliberately exaggerating the state of

merriment in Uig in the pre-Evangelical days, in order to highlight the contrast with his attitude post-conversion. On the face of it, however, it is further evidence that fiddling and dancing were prevalent on the west coast of Lewis as late as 1800–1820.

The fact that in his later years Angus MacIver seems to have been renowned for his fine singing voice might indicate that his youthful enthusiasm for music and dancing was genuine, rather than rhetorical embellishment.

Norman MacSween

Martin Martin as a Source for Musicality in Lewis in *c*. 1695

The late Mr Keith Sanger replied to a query posed in an earlier piece on 'the Merry people of Shawbost' (*WHN&Q* 5/13, 28–33) with a characteristically wide-ranging and informative reply which makes a useful contribution to our understanding of the emergence of fiddling and musicality in the Early-Modern Gàidhealtachd and in Scotland. As always, one learns a great deal from reading his work both on the nature and development of the viol and fiddle and much valuable context on fiddling and musicality in 17th- and 18th-century Scotland.

However, his reply draws attention to my earlier reliance on Martin Martin as a source for musical culture in Lewis in 1695, and on this one point I respectfully beg to differ. He casts doubt on Martin's statement that 'eighteen men in Lewis and Harris [were able to play the fiddle]' – 'a statement with which,' Mr Sanger said, 'I have always had a problem'.

Well, why the problem? We know from a reference in a slightly earlier Gaelic poem, 'Iorram na Sgiobaireachd / An Làir Dhonn' (*The Skippering Song / The Brown Mare*), composed by Murchadh Mòr MacKenzie of Achilty *c*. 1670, that his friend in Lewis, Eoin or John Morrison, tacksman in Bragar and father to An Clàrsair Dall (the Gaelic poet, the Blind Harper), was an accomplished fiddler.[1] The poet Murchadh Mòr tells us they had

Ceòl fidhle nar cluais	*Fiddle music in our ears*
On Eoin fhìnealta shuairc	*From gentle, fine Eoin*
O'm bu mhìsle cur dhuan air folbh.	*Who was the sweetest at giving forth an air.*

This, the final verse, appears in almost all the earliest, eighteenth-century, manuscript witnesses of the poem/song. Martin, incidentally, met Eoin/John Morrison in 1695, clearly an influential witness for the Lewis section of his *Description of the Western Islands*. In fact, Martin referred to Morrison as 'a person of unquestionable sincerity and reputation'.[2] I don't think there is any reason to doubt Martin (or, by extension, Murchadh Mòr or John Morrison). Therefore, by the same reasoning, Martin Martin's account of a culture of music in Lewis, *c*.1695, seems credible (irrespective if it was a viol or violin – both types, I suspect, were called fiddle in English and fidheall in Gaelic).

Mr Sanger also argued that Martin's statement was suspect on the grounds that eighteen people able to play the fiddle in Lewis and Harris gives you more fiddlers in that island than in the whole of the Lowlands of Scotland. I don't, however, think that this objection can be upheld. There will almost certainly have been many more people able to play the fiddle in the Lowlands than we can ever know. The fragmentary nature of our documentary source base only affords us small glimpses of what was once present throughout Scotland. If one does not find something in an archive (i.e. Lowland fiddlers) it doesn't necessarily prove that something did not happen, or that this is proof that it wasn't there – just that no one saw a need to document it.

Martin Martin (1695) gives us a detailed description of society in the isles – a level of detail we simply do not have for much of the rest of Scotland at that time. Therefore, I think it is likely that there will have been a number of people in Lewis and Harris able to play the fiddle. If not 18 fiddles – then 18 people able to play the fiddle – why not? It is a big island and one can imagine Morrison's children, perhaps maybe even An Clàrsair Dall(?), learning to play their father's fiddle. And if Morrison, a wealthy tacksman, could afford a fiddle, then some others may well have also had the instrument.

This was probably the case in neighbouring islands too. Skyeman Martin Martin, indeed, tells us that on his native island

> The people have a great genius for music and mechanics. I have observed several of their children that, before they could speak, were capable to distinguish and make choice of one tune before another upon the violin; for they were always uneasy until the tune they fancied were played, and then they expressed their satisfaction by the motions of their heads and their hands.[3]

This suggests not only that fiddling was common, but that children in Skye were familiar with hearing these tunes. Martin does not say where this took place in Skye, but he was tutor, in turn, from 1681 to children in the households of the chiefs of the MacDonalds of Sleat and then the MacLeods of Dunvegan prior to his travels across the isles.[4] The taigh mòr, the chief's great house, may have been one environment where late-17th-century children could appreciate – and perhaps even learn to play – fiddle music.

Mr Sanger also suggests that the Highlands operated somehow outside the orbit of the Lowlands, saying that

> during the 17th century the viol successfully spread throughout 'Lowland' Scotland, mostly to the detriment of the gut-strung harp, encroachment beyond the 'Highland line' other than the 'intercultural zone' only gained any momentum during the early 18th century.

Yet such a position, the assumed mutual exclusivity of the Gaelic and non-Gaelic worlds, cannot be sustained. Recent studies of the career of two 17th-century Lewis chamberlains, both Gaelic poets, Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh MacKenzie of Achilty

and his son Murchadh Mòr MacKenzie, show extensive connectivity between the Highlands and Islands and the Lowlands. Rather than existing in some Highland bubble, immune to Lowland cultural influence, both men were extremely well connected to the mercantile community elsewhere in Scotland, chartering ships and regularly freighting goods and doing business with the Lowlands. Lewis, in fact, was well connected by sea to Aberdeen, Leith and Edinburgh in the 17th century – better connected, indeed, than large swathes of Lowland Scotland. And if Alasdair of Achilty could purchase a copper whisky still in Potterrow, Edinburgh, in 1620, for shipping north to Stornoway – along with salt, wine and sundry goods – why not ship some fiddles north?[5] Might it have been a route such as this, often used by Alasdair of Achilty's son and successor Murchadh Mòr MacKenzie, that was the means by which John Morrison of Bragar got his fiddle, 1670x1680?

Again, to return to Martin Martin, there seems (to this reader) no reason to doubt the presence of fiddles in Lewis in 1695 and that this was nothing new in Siabost (or Shawbost) and elsewhere in Lewis and Harris (or even Skye) well before 1759, even if our evidence base will, inevitably, be thin. Therefore, while I greatly welcome Mr Sanger's illuminating reply and his argument, I nevertheless disagree on this one point and regret that his untimely passing prevents further discussion.

Aonghas MacCoinnich, Oilthigh Ghlaschu

NOTES

1   C. Ó Baoill and M. Bateman, eds, *Gàir nan Clàrsach. Anthology of Seventeenth Century Gaelic Verse* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1994), 148–153, 228–229. A. MacCoinnich, 'Murchadh Mòr MacCoinnich, Fear Aicheallaidh (c. 1610–c. 1689): Am Bàrd agus a Shaoghal', *Aiste* 6 (2023), 1–50 at 23, 24, 26, 27–29 <https://eprints.gla.ac.uk/305683/>.

2   Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, circa 1695* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1999), 29, 189.

3   Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 20, 124–125.

4   Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, 'Martin, Martin (d. 1718), traveller and author', O*xford Dictionary of National Biography*, 18201 (2008). Retrieved 25 March 2025, from https://www.oxforddnb.com/.

5   The career of both Gaelic poets, Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, first MacKenzie chamberlain of Lewis (c.1610-1633), and his son Murchadh Mòr Mackenzie, chamberlain in Lewis in the 1630s and active 1630–85, have been the subject of studies (in Gaelic). A. MacCoinnich, 'Long, Fìon agus Fine. Dàn le Alasdair Mac Mhurchaidh, Fear Aicheallaidh, c. 1639 x 1643', in C. Ó Baoill and N. R. McGuire, eds, *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6. Papers read at the conference Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6* (Aberdeen, 2013), 121–159 <https://eprints.gla.ac.uk/71945/>. A. MacCoinnich, 'Murchadh Mòr MacCoinnich, Fear Aicheallaidh, *Aiste* 6 (2023), 1–50. Information on the careers of both men can also be found using index entries in A. MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World* (Brill, Leiden, 2015). For John Morrison (c.1630–1708), tacksman of Bragar, see also W. Matheson, ed., *An Clàrsair Dall / The Blind Harper* (Edinburgh, 1970), 190, 192, 206–44.

The Real James of the Glen?

This is an exceptionally lucid and highly readable conundrum. Were there two people called James Stewart, both half-brothers to Charles Stewart of Ardshiel, who led out the Stewarts of Appin for the Jacobites in the rising of 1745? Government records in the aftermath of the Forty-Five show that both men related to Ardshiel and called James Stewart fell into the hands of the victorious Whig forces while Ardshiel escaped to France. But were both men reputed to be James Stewart actually one and the same man who would go on to be accused and hanged as an accomplice to the Appin Murder of 1752? According to Angus Stewart they were. Albeit he admits his findings are not necessarily conclusive, they are presented forensically rather than speculatively. That the man executed in 1752 as James of the Glen (Seumas a' Ghlinne) had two iterations in government records is convincing, but there are three aspects that could be tightened up in what is otherwise a splendid paper.

The first is the temporary location of James of the Glen in Kingairloch, across Loch Linnhe from Appin. No clear indication of why he was there is given other than to state that this territory did not pertain to the Stewarts of Appin. The clans in possession were the Macleans and the MacLachlans – also Jacobites. No examination has been made if James of the Glen held a mortgage or wadset over Kingairloch, a task that can be accomplished by searching published Argyll Sasines or documentary sources such as the Argyll Transcripts in Inveraray Castle. However, James of the Glen was an associate of the MacLachlans as well as the Camerons in colonial ventures launched from Fort William and Belfast. He was not himself a colonial adventurer, but he was a seller of colonial commodities in and around Loch Linnhe.

The second aspect is James of the Glen saving the life of a Patrick Campbell, who had been captured by Jacobite forces. Campbell's rank is initially described as a captain, albeit he seems to have been a lieutenant in the Argyll Militia at the time of his capture. More important than his rank was his family connections. These are not followed up, albeit Patrick or Peter Campbell was a name found among the Campbells of Barcaldine, who were neighbours to the Stewarts of Appin. Moreover, the man whom James of the Glen was falsely accused in 1752 for abetting his murder, Colin Campbell of Glenure, was a member of the Campbells of Barcaldine.

Finally, notwithstanding the outcome of the trial of 1752 determined by a Campbell dominated jury, the cohesion of the Clan Campbell needs to be questioned. There were three distinct branches having a presence in Lismore and Appin that impacted on the dealings of the Stewarts of Appin in general and James of the Glen in particular. The most prominent branch, especially in terms of feudal superiority, were the Campbells of Argyll, led in the Forty-Five by Archibald, third duke of Argyll. The author does propose that the duke may have had a lenient disposition to James Stewart, who worked for a time for the duke's factor in Morvern, Donald Campbell of Airds. But the duke, when presiding over the trial of James of the Glen in 1752, harangued the

accused at its conclusion, claiming that as James had been an inveterate Jacobite since his youth, he received his just desserts with the decision to execute.

Campbell of Airds was a member of a separate Campbell branch, that of Ardchattan and Cawdor, which had a presence in the eastern as well as the western Highlands. The laird of Airds was particularly acquisitive at the expense of the Stewarts of Appin, notwithstanding his use of James of the Glen as a rent collector.

The Campbells of Barcaldine belonged to a third branch of the clan, that which followed originally the Campbells of Glenorchy, headed by the earls of Breadalbane. Although this branch had flirted with Jacobitism in the rising of 1715, they had switched back to the Whigs by the Forty-Five. In the interim, the earls of Breadalbane had consolidated their feudal overlordship in Lismore and in the mainland district of Benderloch that bordered Appin.

All the Stewarts of Appin, not just James of the Glen, were caught up in these competing Campbell interests. Occasional, benign acts of partiality to the Stewarts were more than outweighed by persistent acquisitive behaviour at their expense.

Allan I. Macinnes

The Appin Chalice

The Appin Chalice, though mainly under the charge of the Rev. John MacLachlan, a non-juring Episcopalian, was actually commissioned and bestowed on the parish of Lismore and Appin by Alexander Stewart of Ballachulish, on whose estate in North Lorn the chalice and its accompanying paten were to find a home. It was primarily used by and for non-juring Episcopalians, who were consistently Jacobites. MacLachlan took the chalice with him when he accompanied the Jacobite forces from Prestonpans to Derby and back to Falkirk and Culloden. At the latter two battles he served as chaplain to Prince Charles Edward Stuart and was given a commission as chaplain-general to the Jacobite clans. There is no evidence that his use of the chalice was confined to the Stewarts of Appin among the Jacobite forces.

After the fatal battle, MacLachlan did not return to Lismore and Appin but sought refuge in Wester Ross. But did he take the chalice and paten with him? There is no definitive answer to this, either from traditional oral sources or documentary records. That Donald Malloch Livingstone, who certainly carried the Appin banner back from Culloden wrapped around his body, also took back the chalice and paten is open to challenge on several counts. If MacLachlan was giving succour to the dying in the aftermath of Culloden, it is unlikely he would have stopped this to hand over the chalice and paten to Livingstone. There is no means of placing their respective presence amidst the carnage on the battlefield. But as the priest in charge of the chalice and paten since 1723, it is highly unlikely he would have given up these essential liturgical artefacts lightly.

MacLachlan did more than lurk around Wester Ross until he demitted his charge in Appin by 1750. As he made clear in subsequent correspondence with Bishop Robert Forbes, the compiler of the voluminous *Lyon in Mourning*, he was actually back in Argyllshire via Lochaber by the spring of 1748 and was ministering there until the following spring at the least. If he had retained the chalice and paten, he would have returned them then.

However, there is another possibility, backed up by family papers. During the 1740s MacKenzies from Wester Ross were actually migrating to Ballachulish, and some participated with the Stewarts of Appin in the rising. This migration continued after the Forty-Five, most likely to find work with the expansion of slate quarrying at Laroch. MacKenzies would have been reliable carriers of the chalice and paten if entrusted to them by MacLachlan.

There was little public mention or notification of the use of the chalice in the later eighteenth century, even during the tour of Bishop Forbes to Ballachulish in 1770. However, this can be explained by the prevailing application of penal laws in force against non-jurors since the Forty-Five. Only four celebrants were officially allowed to meet with a priest. This regulation was regularly circumvented into the nineteenth century. But notified use of the chalice and paten carried the risk of disclosure of such circumvention to the authorities enforcing the penal laws. The hut in the current graveyard in St John's was long in use for such circumvention before the existing church was built in 1842.

The chalice and paten have suffered wear and tear over the last 300 years. But they survived Culloden relatively intact, and in the 1880s they were discreetly repaired by church jewellers in Edinburgh. However, the chalice has now been passed for removal of blemishes to the BBC's *Repair Shop* programme. This is of great concern for many reasons. When the chalice and paten were exhibited in the major Jacobite presentation at the National Museum of Scotland in 2017, they were intact on despatch and return, journeys in which the NMS insisted on a high degree of security and lock-safe conditions for storage. It would seem that significant, rather than minor damage, has been inflicted on the chalice in the interim which may or may not be related to the lack of secure lock-safe storage and to remiss security, if not abusive use, in its transporting by the current incumbent.

St John's, Ballachulish, is now one of six charges in the reconstituted West Highland Region for the Scottish Episcopal Church. By having repairs publicised in an October issue of the *Repair Shop*, every grifter, conman and crook from Land's End to John O'Groats will have been served notice of its value and its precarious security in a church that can easily be broken into. That it should be so reduced from spiritual use to public entertainment cannot be attributed solely to a dilettante cleric or even a meddlesome priest acting independently of episcopal oversight, however opaque. Its public airing on the BBC reflects not just a dismissive attitude but the colonial disposition of the current Anglican hierarchy in Scotland towards the Jacobite foundations of the Scottish Episcopal Church.

Allan I. Macinnes

Lost Maclean of Coll Papers

The papers that my father bought in 2007 are safely stored at Breacachadh Castle on Coll. As many subscribers will know, my father is suffering from dementia and, very sadly, his history days are behind him. In April it became necessary for him to move to a care home near Oban. My mother continues to live at Breacachadh. As a family we have not yet decided what to do with my father's papers, research documents and library. The 'Lost' papers are part of this collection. We do intend to make them available for researchers and others in the future and will let subscribers know when this has happened.

The papers were exhibited at the National Archives of Scotland in 2007. A short catalogue description of the most important papers was published in *Notes and Queries* at the time ('Maclean of Coll Papers', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 9 (Aug. 2007), pp. 7–9).

Alexander Maclean-Bristol

Who was Old 'Spitty'? The Identification of Ewen McDougall

Having taken it upon myself, somewhat rashly, to document the numerous McEwens *alias* McDougall of Lochtayside (my grandmother being one), and having therefore grappled with the somewhat complex pedigree of the Achomer branch, I can at least offer a positive identification of Ewen McDougall. Ewen was the compiler, among other works, of the 'List of the different Clans and Tribes descended from the Family of Lorne, and of those depending on that most ancient family, as kept in the Records thereof' (1808), which is being examined elsewhere in this journal.

In the splendid *In Famed Breadalbane*, the Rev. William Gillies acknowledges his debt to Jean (*Sine*) Campbell McEwen *alias* McDougall (1865–1933), who resided with her sister Iseabel at Milton of Ardtalnaig, the old family home. It was there that Ewen, their great-grand-uncle, had died in 1832. Not only was Sine 'deeply versed in the lore and traditions of the district'; she also had in her possession '*A Manuscript Description and Historical Notes on Loch Tay* by Ewen MacDougall, Ardtalnaig, Kenmore, written about 1820'. Gillies has frequent recourse to this work, characterising it as 'a long description of the river Tay, the houses and lands in the valley, and the traditions of this region'.[1] Sadly, this precious manuscript appears to be lost.

Relying on both the living source and the defunct one, Gillies provides an admirable sketch of the Achomer family; but it is not free of error. Thus Ewen is said to have been 73 at the time of his death, and the grandson of another Ewen (*c.*1692–1765) who had fought at Sheriffmuir. It is clear now that Gillies had confused the younger Ewen with

the elder. It was Sheriffmuir Ewen who died at the age of 73; the younger man was his son.

No wonder McWhannell and I could find no evidence of a baptism in 1759. However, I am pleased to draw his attention to Ewen's fulsome obituary in the *Perthshire Courier*, which confirms him to have died at the age of 85, not 73. A Ewen born around 1747, sufficiently documented elsewhere, is clearly the same man, falling squarely between his brothers Donald and Alexander, who were baptised in 1744 and 1749 respectively.

His own baptism unrecorded, we first hear of Ewen on 6 July 1771. Described as a 'residenter of Perth', he is confirmed by deed of *Iain Dubh na rionnaig*, 3rd Earl of Breadalbane, K.B., in his father's lands at Margnadallach; he is described therein as 'the next younger brother of the late Donald alias Daniel McEwen alias McDougall, merchant in Perth'.[2] The half-wadset of Margnadallach had been granted to Sheriffmuir Ewen in 1719, and Donald was his undisputed son; so Ewen's identity is incontrovertibly proved.

In his capacity as Clerk of Works on the Taymouth estate, we find the endorsement on 19 March 1796 of his account 'for expenses of measuring the Strathtay road', insofar as he had measured 'the post road between Aberfeldy and Logierait'.[3] Gillies adds that he was 'for some time a sergeant in the Royal Breadalbane Volunteers, a regiment in which Francis MacNab of MacNab, the well-known laird, was Major'. It is said of this larger-than-life character that 'on the parade-ground at Taymouth he used to give his commands to his men in voluble and forceful Gaelic', which were no doubt seconded by Ewen as sergeant. Much spit would have been emitted; he was not called 'Spitty' for nothing. Incidentally, the sergeants in the regiment were distinguished by their silver lace.[4]

On 9 February 1831, old Ewen forwarded a letter from Milton to John Ferguson, his successor as clerk at Taymouth Castle, asking for it to be franked by the Earl (soon to be the first Marquis) of Breadalbane. The Earl, described as 'an enlightened and considerate landlord . . . in a very true sense the father of his people', would have known Ewen all his life; while the franking of letters, a privilege of members of the Lords and Commons, was a harmless favour that his lordship could perform for his friends. Ewen asks after Lord Breadalbane's health and adds: "I am happy at hearing that Lord Glenorchy [the only son and heir, soon to be Earl of Ormelie] is arrived at Taymouth from being among that restless harlequins the French."[5]

From what we know of the 'pawky octagenarian', that seems to have been a characteristically witty remark. While we are credibly informed that he was a *bon-vivant*, there is no evidence of his having been a schoolmaster;[6] the confusion may arise from his mother, Sheriffmuir Ewen's second wife Isabel McLeish, having been related in some way to John McLeish, who was indeed the schoolmaster at Kenmore. Checking his notes after conversing with Miss Jean McDougall, Gillies must have been puzzled by Ewen's supposed date of birth, which, clearly, he had misrecorded; besides which, he could perhaps hardly credit that a man who died in 1832 could be the son of a veteran of the '15.

To quote from *The Perthshire Courier* (Thursday 22 March 1832):

The death of this ancient Celt, which took place at Ardtalanaig, Lochtayside, on the 25th ultimo, we cannot find in our heart to relegate to our ordinary Obituary.—Ewen, honest man, was a character, and a remarkable one in his day and generation; and during a considerable portion of his long life, which was protracted to the unusual term of eighty-five years, he held a conspicuous place in the eye of the world in his native district of Breadalbane. In point of local information he never had a rival; and to a thorough knowledge of the antiquities and genealogy of Perthshire, with which he was intimately conversant in their minutest details, he added a familiar acquaintance with the manners and customs of the whole Highlands and Islands of Scotland; nor was there any branch of Celtic lore to which the venerable writer and baron bailie clerk of the Marquis of Breadalbane had not turned his attention.—In conversation, Ewen showed himself equally polite and well-informed; while his extraordinary memory really suggested his favourite subjects, in all their details, which, to the last he discussed with the ardent feeling and enthusiasm native to a true Highlander.—His company was, therefore, much sought after by all who possessed any relish for those reminiscences of the olden time with which his memory was so richly stored;—many a traveller, too, was fain to spend a few social hours with this living register of all that's most curious or interesting in the country where he had long been regarded as a sort of oracle; and the charm of his society was greatly enhanced by the peculiar felicity and naiveté with which he was accustomed to relate his somewhat marvellous stories and adventures.

Honest old Ewen, in fact, was a perfect chronicle of all the remarkable events that had occurred in his native district. He knew every thing of every body, and was always ready and willing to communicate his knowledge; while, in drawing out "a statement fair, petition good, or paper onie," there was really none who could be compared with our venerable and pawky octagenarian "crony," Ewen Macdougall. In a word, this truly original mountaineer may be considered as the *ultimus Romanorum* in his native district,—the last of that ancient race, which now only lives in the patriotic pages of Stewart [of Garth], which time and "improvement" have rooted out from the land of the mountain and flood, and which, remarkable alike for their peaceful and their warlike virtues, the simple purity of their morals, and the high chivalrous character of their courage, have left behind them a name which belongs to the peasantry of no other country.—*Caledonian Mercury.*

As far as is known, this living encyclopaedia was unmarried and had no issue. He spent his last years at Milton with his nephew Donald (*c.*1783–1867), whose late father, Alexander, was Ewen McEwen of Achomer's twelfth and youngest child.

Rupert Willoughby

Notes

1   W. A. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane* (Perth, 1938), pp. ix, 8, 361–2.
2   National Records of Scotland (NRS) GD112/2/118/26.
3   NRS GD112/74/389/49.
4   Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, pp. 107–8. On the 'silver lace': NRS GD112/52/601/4.

5   NRS GD112/16/2/1/9 and GD112/11/9/2/60 (identifying John Ferguson); Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane*, pp. 209, 211, on Lord Breadalbane and his son.
6   Robert Craig Maclagan, *The Clan of the Bell of St. Fillan* (privately published, 1879), p. 6, and *The Perth Incident of 1396* (Edinburgh and London, 1905), pp. 341–3, citing the memories of John Sinclair McLagan and John Christie.

REVIEWS

Robert Hay, *Monks and Bishops: Lismore 560–1560* (Edinburgh, Origin/ Birlinn 2025), pp. xiii + 175. £14.99 paperback

This is the history of the cathedral of the diocese of Argyll in the island of Lismore; therefore also of the diocese itself, of its bishops and other clergy, and of Lismore during the thousand years in question. A tall order of course, as there is a dearth of relevant information for most of that period. But Robert Hay, a Lismore resident since 2006 and already author of a book about the island (*Lismore: The Great Garden*, 2009), has done his best.

One of the things I like about this book is the way archaeology is dovetailed with historical evidence to form a satisfying whole. If we exclude the introduction and the epilogue (on the years following the Reformation), there are ten chapters, of which half of the second ('The Early Church Monastery on Lismore') and the whole of the sixth ('The Cathedral of Argyll') are archaeological. There is also a series of plates, mostly in colour, which introduce us vividly to recent work on the site and its revelations – notably a detail from the old north wall doorway that takes the form of the head of a bishop, smiling and wearing his mitre.

The other eight-and-a-half chapters are historical, telling mainly of the Celtic ('Insular') Church, of the making of the medieval church in Scotland, of the foundation and early years of the diocese of Argyll (1190–1249), of the coming of the Dominicans (1250), of Alan de Carrick (bishop of Argyll 1250–62), of the four MacDougall bishops (Laurence 1262–99, Andrew 1300–42, Martin 1342–87, John 1387–97), then two who appear to have owed their position to the Stewarts of Lorn (Beathan or Bean 1397– 1419, Finlay 1419–26), and finally six who were clearly outsiders and took little or nothing to do with the cathedral in Lismore or even the diocese itself (George Lauder 1427/8–1473/5, Robert Colquhoun 1475–94, David Hamilton 1497–1523, Robert Montgomery 1525–38, William Cunningham 1539–53, James Hamilton 1553–80). In the time of these six the diocese was administered from Dunoon, not Lismore, and the author reminds us that the dean of Lismore, James MacGregor, remained firmly settled in his native parish of Fortingall in Perthshire. But he is wrong in describing the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* as 'the oldest surviving example of written Scots Gaelic': the credit for that belongs rather to the Book of Deer, which is older by 500 years.

What emerges throughout is the tension between the two duties of a bishop: on the one hand his responsibility to cathedral and diocese, on the other his obligation to

attend parliaments, advise the monarch and, if required, take on a role in government, or even serve as an ambassador. Bishops of Argyll tended to do one or other of these types of thing, but not both. Of all the bishops, the author awards the highest praise to Martin 1342–87 for his 'diligence in looking after the interests of his diocese and its parishioners'. Indeed he is the only bishop who gets a chapter to himself. (Pun not intended.)

The story is wrapped up very satisfyingly by Chapter 11, which asks how the cathedral affected the people of Lismore. The answers to this intriguing question consist of sections on landholding, teinds, building work, the Mass, social control, and services to the community. On social control, or the lack of it, the author points to a riot in 1452 (described in the *Auchinleck Chronicle*) which, he says, can be interpreted as the islanders' resistance to external interference with their hereditary priesthood. On services, he gives us a wonderfully telling introduction:

> In a well-managed medieval diocese, the bishop and his clergy would have taken responsibility for a range of services to the community. These included elementary education of boys showing academic promise, in preparation for assuming the role of vicar of the parish or possibly as a preparation for more advanced study; basic health care, including maintenance of a hospital for the sick; support for the poor and needy; and hospitality to travellers. There is no documentary support for the existence of any of these services on Lismore.

Perhaps above all, *Monks and Bishops* is a significant contribution to the history of the MacDougalls, of all the leading clans the one that most cries out for a full and comprehensive treatment. I recommend it.

Ronald Black

Scottish Highlands and the Atlantic World: Social Networks and Identities, **ed. by Annie Tindley, S. Karly Kehoe and Chris Dalglish (Histories of the Scottish Atlantic, Edinburgh University Press, 2023). Pp. xiv + 214. Paperback £19.99.**

This ambitious book seeks to understand some key themes in Highland history by looking at them in a wider 'Atlantic' context. This approach is not novel, but the authors have pushed it in important new directions. Many readers will be familiar with James Hunter's *Dance Called America* (and/or the Runrig song of the same name), which looked at the connections between the Highlands and north America. David Craig's more simplistic *On the Crofters' Trail* takes a similar approach. Among the academic literature can be found important works by Marianne McLean and J. M. Bumsted, which dealt with emigration in a wider context. These works provide the antidote to studies which lose interest in the emigrant once they step on the boat.

So, what's new here? In an insightful short piece to begin this volume Hunter argues that the current generation of historians are more attuned to issues of indigeneity and slavery. Further, the older literature tends to be focused on the USA and Canada, and their forerunners. This volume deals with the Caribbean and this expanded

geographical focus brings the question of slavery into much sharper focus. There are two essays that exemplify this point. David Alston, well known for his seminal *Slaves and Highlanders* (2021), writes here about the Caribbean network of Christian (Christy) Robertson. She was brought up in a Church of Scotland manse in Easter Ross in the late eighteenth century and was at the centre of a series of links with the Caribbean through her brothers and sons. Her life is well documented because her second husband preserved much of her correspondence, including many letters from Guyana. He was a doctor in Liverpool, a city deeply implicated in the slave trade. Through these various contexts Robertson was involved in the slave economy and, as Alston notes (146), 'this involvement was accepted as part of everyday life in the north of Scotland'.

The leading historian of Scotland's connections with slavery, Stephen Mullen, has written an intriguing essay on the Gaelic Club of Glasgow. He uses a range of sources to demonstrate that the Club's history can be characterised by 'an elite Highland-Caribbean nexus in Glasgow' (152). The club was particularly active in Glasgow's 'golden age of sugar'. The membership was replete with West India merchants who profited from the labour of enslaved people, and its activities promoted their interests.

A number of the chapters deal with the movement of ideas and literary culture in Gaelic and English. Matthew Dziennik's excellent essay is about the Highlands and warfare in the Atlantic world. Military service was a key theme in the Atlantic world in which many Highlanders lived. In a typically elegant and closely argued piece, Dziennik uses Gaelic poetry and song to emphasise (101) that 'Gaels were not simply contributors to British military forces in the Atlantic World. They were also active participants in the cultural construction of the Atlantic World as an arena of violence'. The poetry and song that he studies demonstrates the complexity of these links. There is little evidence of glorification, and many references to the downsides of the violence that imperial expansion involved, not least in the small number of songs by women who mourned the death of their menfolk in foreign climes.

In a deeply researched essay, Sheila Kidd provides yet more of her vast knowledge of the print culture of the Gael in the nineteenth century. The title of her essay – 'Drochaid eadar mis' agus mo dhùthaich' / 'A bridge between me and my country' – reminds us that the Atlantic can be seen as connective. She focuses on Gaelic publications of the first half of the nineteenth century and argues that these publications were essentially transatlantic: not only were they carried across the ocean on emigrant ships, but they also began to be published in Canada from the 1830s.

There are two final essays that I wish to discuss – apologies to the authors of excellent work that I have not dealt with in detail in this short review. The 'land question' was central to political debate in the nineteenth-century Highlands. It is an oddity that in the literature about Scotland and the Empire and the work on land and politics in Scotland, the Atlantic dimension has been neglected. One author who has done more than most to address that gap is Professor Annie Tindley. Her essay is about aristocratic thinking on the land question. This was surprisingly varied. For some, like the earl of Selkirk, the imperial space was one where traditional duties could be repackaged. For others, the empire was a place of loss and dislocation.

In a thought-provoking paper, Karly Kehoe relates her own background in Cape Breton to assumptions and stereotypes of its history. There was more than tartan and Gaelic to the history of that island. I was pleased to see a reference to Anne Marie MacDonald's powerful novel *Fall on Your Knees* in Professor Kehoe's paper. That novel raises the profile, as does Kehoe's essay, of the industrial history of Cape Breton and the role of other ethnicities, such as the Lebanese, in its history. Bernard Bailyn, the Harvard historian and founding father of Atlantic History, did not think of the subject as a mere extension of the anglophone world. For him it was always transnational, multicultural and multilingual. Neither was it just an expansion of imperial history, but a new way of thinking about the connections between the peoples who lived in the Atlantic World. This excellent volume falls squarely into that tradition.

Ewen A. Cameron, University of Edinburgh

SHIHR Zoom Talks

Iain A. MacInnes, 'The Death of David Strathbogie, Earl of Atholl, in 1335: What was going on?' Thurs. 13 Nov. 2025.

Frances Bickerstaff, 'Cowal and Kintyre in the Charters of Paisley Abbey before 1300'. Thurs. 11 Dec. 2025.

Sandy Johnstone, 'Sutherland to Glasgow and Back Again: Gleanings from Family Diaries 1772–1863'. Thurs. 15 Jan. 2026.

Ellen Beard, 'The Diaries of Rev. Murdo MacDonald, Minister of Durness 1726–63'. Thurs. 12 Feb. 2026.

Karen Deans, 'Climate Change in the Highlands 1810–20'. Thurs. 12 March 2026.

Ewan Kennedy, 'MacUalraig Migrations: A Family's Move from Lochaber via Badenoch to the Lowlands, 1720–1840'. Thurs. 15 Oct. 2026.

Glen MacDonald, 'Has the 1745 Association Found the Site of "Cluny's Cage"? The Story behind the 2017 Expedition to Ben Alder'. Thurs. 12 Nov. 2026.

Alex Woolf, 'Of Ships and Men in Argyll and Beyond: Military Levies in the First Millennium'. Thurs. 10 Dec. 2026.

Rupert Willoughby, 'Breacan and Plaid: A Search for Authenticity in Highland Dress'. Thurs. 14 Jan. 2027.

Each talk will begin at 7.30 pm UK time and last up to one hour, followed by questions. Keep an eye on our website, Facebook page or the next *WHN&Q* in case any changes are made to the schedule. Places can be booked by e-mailing lectures@highlandhistoricalresearch. com. Free to students and SHIHR members. Non-members are asked to pay an attendance fee of £5 via https://www.highlandhistoricalresearch.com/online-lectures/

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Graeme Mackenzie, a Cambridge University graduate, made history programmes for BBC local radio. After researching his Macmillan ancestors in Glenurquhart he became a professional genealogist and clan historian. He has chaired the Clan MacKenzie Society and the Highland Family History Society, whose *Journal* he now edits. He lives in Fortrose.

Alexander Maclean-Bristol (son of Nicholas) farms on the isle of Coll, at Grishipol. He has restored the White House, which was visited by Boswell and Johnson in 1773. He studied history at the University of Edinburgh, but tells us that he has never been as involved in the subject as much as his father would have liked.

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Rupert Willoughby is a writer, lecturer, obituarist and itinerant Classics master. His latest book, *Mountain Gunner: The Wartime Adventures of Tony Fowle, M.C., 1939–1951*, is published by Chiselbury. He lives in London, but is the great-grandson of a Gaelic-speaking Perthshireman; his passion for Highland lore dates from childhood.

Doug Young graduated from Aberdeen University in 1997 with an MA in Scottish History and Gaelic. Then he moved with his wife to Coll, where he worked for Project Trust (projecttrust.org.uk) and served as secretary of SWHIHR *c*. 1999–2015 (he was responsible for the technical aspects of *WHN&Q*). He worked in Fife for St Andrews University 2015–24, but the couple have now moved back to Coll where Doug works for the university remotely.

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The society was founded in 1972. It is a registered charity, no. SC051933. Its aim is to stimulate research into the history of the Highlands and Islands, and of Gaelic Scotland as a whole. Anyone wishing to support its work is invited to become a member.

Members receive the journal *West Highland Notes and Queries* (which comes out every March, July and November) and free access to the society's Zoom lectures. Details of all our publications and lectures will be found on the website.

Annual membership of the society costs £20 (£10 for students with a valid student e-mail address). Membership is valid for 12 months from date of payment. New members receive the most recent issue of *WHN&Q* and the next three. Members are encouraged to pay through PayPal on the website – 'Join the Society' – or can create a standing order by contacting treasurer@highlandhistoricalresearch.com.

New members should contact the Secretary to let her know if they wish to receive a hard (paper) copy of *WHN&Q*, otherwise an electronic copy will be sent. Back numbers of *WHN&Q* are only available electronically. They can be ordered through the website.

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