# CHAPTER VII

By the 18th century the Clan Ranald was a significant element in Scotland's distinctive religious situation. The Catholic Church was an outlaw church and only in a few Highland areas could it operate with relative freedom. The Clan Ranald's "rough bounds" was such an area. In this district priests went about their duties with impunity and the catholic hierarchy eventually felt safe enough to create an impressive religious establishment that was, for them, unmatched throughout Scotland. There were two basic reasons for this confidence on the part of that church. Firstly, the Clan Ranald was a solid catholic clan from the various Captains of the kindred to the poorest tenant, with the exception of a few tolerated, trusted and equally Jacobite episcopalian kinsmen settled mostly in Moidart and South Uist. Secondly, this conservative, highly martial and solidly catholic community happened to occupy a geographical territory that in the early 18th century remained remote and relatively inaccessible to government influence. Protected by the friendly peoples of the Clan Ranald (whose chiefs often kept a priest in their own homes), catholic priests, school teachers, missionaries and, eventually, even a bishop were free to practise their religion, set up schools and seminaries and to sent out missionaries to other Highland districts.

The successful work of the Irish missionaries coming into the Clan Ranald territories and the neighbouring Hebridean and west Highland areas in the early 17th century has been noted[1] and in the earliest Highland presbyterian records, those of the Synod of Argyll,

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1. See above, pp.66-79.

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a strong reaction to the catholics in those areas can be noted. On 27th May 1643, Martin MacPherson, presbyterian minister in South Uist, reported that MacNeill of Barra's private chapel contained two idols called "Our Lady and her Babe" which were "trained up in their Apparel & Ornaments". MacNeill was ordered to turn them over to MacPherson for destruction.[2] In that same period MacPherson had also given in an account of a priest named Donald MacDonald.[3] This priest was "commonly residing in his [John Moydartach's] Family",[4] and the priest "had given very much pains" to MacPherson.[5] Acting for the synod, Archibald Campbell, the Marquis of Lorne, first wrote to the Captain of Clan Ranald who did not surrender the priest and later in an unexplained manner Lorne captured this priest and deposited him with the presbyterian authorities in Edinburgh. There the priest was examined and ordered to "Study dilligently to understand the Error of his bygone profession".[6] Eventually, Donald MacDonald appeared to have come around "making of his recantation & Embracing the true Protestant religion & swearing & Subscribing the covenant".[7] But on 16th October 1650 synod records make it clear that Donald MacDonald's "conversion" had been short-lived. Once back in his native Highlands he had quickly joined "in the late rebellion" and in 1650 was

> Still labouring to pervert poor ignorant people

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2. CH2/557/1/p.71.
3. This diligence on the part of Martin MacPherson against area catholics helps to explain why the Clan Ranald attacked his farm before joining Montrose in 1644 (see above, p.96) and this study's assertion that the attack was carried out for political motives is supported by the Argyll Synod's Records in 1650 when they refer to MacPherson's having been "spoiled by the rebells", (Ibid., p.228).
4. Ibid., p.44.
5. Ibid., p.83.
6. Ibid., p.81.
7. Ibid., p.243.

> in the parts where he haunts in the Isle of Uist
> & other parts of the Farr Isles to the dishonor
> of God & Ruin of poor souls. 8

In the following years the records of the presbyterians contain a number of reports about the "Popish Bounds" where "Priests doe ordinarly reside in".[9] Most frequently mentioned are South Uist, Benbecula, Eigg, Canna, Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, Knoydart, Glengarry and Barra. The most often listed "papist chieftaines" are "Captains of Clanranald Elder & Younger [John Moydartach and his son Donald], Macneill Barra & Glengaries whole family".[10] In this period Sir James MacDonald of Sleat wrote several letters to the synod "anent the Seminary Priest in the [sic] South Uist & Barra", but despite the synod's orders to capture this priest Sir James was never successful.

It may be that Sir James never intended to pursue catholics because, like others in his family, he sympathised with them, or it may be that his hands were too full in his native Skye to concern himself with the Clan Ranald's internal affairs. The following occurrence in 1666 can be interpreted either way, but there can be no mistaking the anti-presbyterian sentiments of Sir James' brother, Archibald MacDonald; equally, this incident shows that those early presbyterian ministers were engaged in dangerous work. The catholic Archibald had been irritated at Donald Nicolson, minister in Trotternish, who had "used all means to reclame" him and who had been actively working against other area catholics.

> Archibald McDonald upon ane Sunday at night betwixt
> twelf and one a cloach, in a most Barbarous manner,
> invaded the house of this minister. Accompanyed

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8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p.148.
10. Ibid.

with two servants he did assult him in his bed with a draven dirk, pulling him out of bed be the hair of the head, and that, besydes all other violence offered to the minister and opprobrious speeches for his faithfull dischargeoing of his dewties, he would no question have murthered him had not the good hand of God restrained his wicked resolution, of which barbarous fact he boasted of to several persons within the paroche, whereby all the papist and recuseants in these bounds are mightilie encouraged inso far that some of them have said they would no care much to stob a minister for ther religion and therafter take banishment. 11

The historian who only looks at presbyterian records gains the impression that "priests swarmed like locusts" over the Highlands and Islands in the late 17th century. This is incorrect. A look at the period's catholic sources reveals that the presbyterians in their anti-catholic zeal over-reacted in many reports and that in reality the catholics were almost as guilty of ignoring the religious needs of the Gaels as were the presbyterians. There were two basic reasons behind this lack of catholic interest, the first beyond the power of the catholics to control, the second certainly not. Firstly, catholics were being suppressed by the Scottish establishment. The chiefs of Clan Campbell were active supporters of the presbyterian establishment; indeed, they were its Highland leaders, so most of the considerable power of Clan Campbell was at the disposal of the kirk. Secondly, despite the disproportionally high number of Highlanders among Scotland's catholic population, most of the period's Scottish catholic leadership was of Lowland extraction and had the anti-Gaelic bias expected of 17th century Lowlanders.

The report of the 1677 visitation to the Highlands and Islands by the priest Alexander Leslie[12] is interesting for a variety of

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11. R.P.C., op.cit., Vol.II, third series 1665-1669, pp.322-23.
12. Sometimes referred to as "Hardboots Leslie".

reasons, not the least of which is because it shows that large tracts of Highland area, occupied solely by catholics, were only rarely served by visiting missionaries. Moreover, the report illustrates Leslie's own attitudes towards those he met, whom he saw not as fellow catholics, but as "rough, and in some places savage and inhuman".[13]

Leslie calculated the number of catholics in the area to be around 12,000 and felt the total would be higher,

> If in the past there had been missionary priests to foster and instruct them in the faith for the people of the highlands and islands are very well disposed and inclined towards the catholic religion. 14

In 1677 he felt the persecution was not serious because the courts were distant, because the country was difficult and because the area enjoyed a period of peace and stability "that the Government of the Kingdom does not want to upset by carrying out the penal laws against catholics". But despite the number of catholics, the favourable attitude of other local people towards that religion and the relatively favourable climate, there were only three, and occasionally four, priests in the whole area. One was a Scottish Gael and the others were Irish. People complained of the lack of priests.[15]

At the time of the visitation one priest appears to have resided in South Uist and Benbecula and all other districts were served by visiting priests. Leslie recommended a minimum of seven additional priests and stated that

> In many places all the people are catholics, as glengary, moidart, arisaig, North & South morar,

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13. "The Leslie Report", by Rev. Alexander Leslie, manuscript, Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh, p.17.
14. Ibid., p.1.
15. Ibid.

> Knoydart, etc., where there are no ministers, and all the churches are destroyed. In some of them I saw altars still standing, and in one church a stone crucifix. 16

Leslie's description of the Gaels is remarkable more for its similarity to and not difference from observations made by presbyterian Lowlanders in the period. He was obviously an outsider looking in at which was to him a strange, "rough" and sometimes "inhuman" people. While he felt the Gaels were very hospitable and of an exceptional native intelligence, "the most inquisitive of mankind", he also noted that they always went about half naked and armed and that they were given to theft and feuds. He recorded that they could endure a great deal of cold and hunger, but that the mainland Highlanders were "very lazy". They could, Leslie felt, have had a much higher standard of living "if only they would work". Interestingly, he felt quite differently about the islanders whom he found "most industrious" and because of this labour "they are never in want of food or clothing". Leslie stated that the Gaels thought little of their ministers, that they had little fear of persecution, "trusting to their hiding places, woods, mountains and islands". He recorded that the people took their disputes to the priests and stood by their decisions. No people, he felt, honoured priests more than Highlanders.[17]

Leslie's discussion of the political situation surrounding religious affairs is interesting. He stated that

> The Earl of Argyll is chief (head) of Kintyre, Lorne and some other places in Lochaber, and is the bitterest enemy of all priests and catholics. 18

Arrayed against Argyll and the Kirk, in the forefront of the catholic

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17. Ibid., p.17.
18. Ibid.

ranks, Leslie places the Clan Ranald (Including Barra) and Glengarry.

Of these and other catholic kindreds he observed:

> The heads of these places are called clan chiefs and the clans obey their orders and follow them, and will fight for them against any other lord without exception. Whatever faith is professed by the chieftain will be professed by the clan, so that anyone who can convert the chiefs of these places will quickly convert his subjects. ... When the King's council ordered them to lay down their arms like the other Catholics of the plains, they would not do so, and consequently, they are very powerful, and the council can not compell them. 19

Leslie closes by saying that presbyterians were the "deadly enemies" of catholics, "Protestants [episcopalians] not so much, Quakers are neither numerous nor import". He adds more detail about Argyll:

> Among the nobility our greatest enemy is the Earl of Argyll, and as he is the Lord and master of a great part of the Highlands - Kintyre, Argyll and Lorne - he is a great obstacle to the conversion of the people there, if this Lord could be won over to the faith in a short time the whole area would be converted. 20

He also considers the conversion of the Earl of Seaforth, "who is not an enemy, and could be won over more easily"; the Chief of MacKay was also mentioned as an important target.[21]

Leslie's report brought about no change. Indeed, by 1681 there were fewer priests in the area. The most generous reading of the surviving documentation can only place two priests in the Highlands and Islands in 1681. In that year Leslie enlisted two Irish priests in Paris and sent them into the west Highlands and Isles. There they only found in service a Mr. Haggarty, an Irish man, and a Mr. MacDonald, a native who "died six months after his arrival".

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19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p.27.
21. Ibid.

The two Irish priests who had been recruited in Paris, Fr. John Cahassy and Fr. James Devoyer, laboured for four years in the area and returned to Paris. From the French capital they wrote a series of "most zealous & pathetic" letters to catholic authorities in Rome in which they made

> a most moving picture of the Roughness of the country, the poverty of the people, their want of Instruction, necessity of laboures & the great hardships the missioners had to struggle with. They tell the Congr. that they had not been able to stay two months in one place during all the four years that they had been in the country that before they could return to the same place again the people had forgot the Instructions they had given them before, that they had baptised many young people come to the age of five, eight and ten years and upwards. 22

They continued and made their opinion of their own church's treatment of the Gaels clear:

> They conjure the Congr. by all that is sacred to take pity on those poor people who were in so great distress, and who were so well disposed, and to allow a sufficient sum for the maintenance of labrs. They add that missioners are sent to Siam and China, but that they are provided with all Necessaires that they may not be troublesome to their Proselytes, that the poor Highlanders being separated from the rest of the world cannot expound their necessities to those who may have the bowels of mercy to assist them but that they who have been Eye witness of their situation could not in conscience be silent, and that if they were to hold their tounge the very mountains would speak for them. They conclude by begging the Congr. to send a Bishop to have the charge of the mission increase the pensions of the missioners and they offer themselves to return again to the Highlands and spend their lives there if the Congr. will but only allow them a Competency to live on. 23

Despite this appeal there was no change; the annual allowance of the

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22. "Some Account of the State of Religion and of the Mission of Scotland since the Reformation" by John Thomson, agent in Rome, written circa 1780. From Papers in Scots College, Rome, (lost during French Revolutionary Army's capture of Rome). Catholic Archives, Columba House, Edinburgh, pp.171-72.
23. Ibid., pp.172-73.

missionaries was not increased. However, the two priests returned to the Highlands and served there "until after the Revolution".[24]

In June of 1696 the Synod of Argyll was considering

> the desolate conditiones of the Isles of the Hebrides and adjacent parts both continent and other Islands, and how they are pestered with traffequeing Jesuits. 25

Because of this situation a visitation was ordered and made. Unfortunately, this report and several others is not included in the surviving Synod papers. In the next year two Jesuits, Patrick O'Kerulan and Richard Arnot, "in Barra and Southuist" were mentioned and Colonel John Hill, commander of the garrison at Inverlochy, was instructed to "apprehend the said Jesuits" and accordingly Hill caught "some popish priests and sent them to Edr.".[26] Later in 1699 another priest, "Donald McIllelan seminary priest who resides in Glengarry elder - his house" was captured.[17]

In that same year the catholic Bishop Nicolson led a visitation of his own through the Highlands, but few particulars of that visit have survived. The Bishop seems to have engaged in debates with several catholic priests who were active in that area because "three of them left the country and returned to Ireland". Shortly thereafter, Bishop Nicolson is seen writing to Paris, asking for two Irish priests "as a great part of the country was left distitute" by the recent departures. Two Franciscans were sent into the area.[28]

Up to this point, with the exception of the several Irish missionaries who worked in the west Highlands and Islands throughout

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24. Ibid., p.173.
25. CH2/557/3/p.153.
26. Ibid., p.169.
27. Ibid., p.248.
28. Thomson, "Some Account", op.cit., p.478, (Bishop Thomas Nicolson).

the 17th century, the motives of both the presbyterian and catholic establishments in their dealings (or lack of dealings) with Scottish Gaels have been seen as largely mercenary. The Gaels were often little more than pawns in a larger political/religious contest between the two sects. The see-saw pattern of interest or lack of interest on the part of the two religious groups depending on their perception of the other's success canot be ignored. If the Irish missionaries made real inroads among the neglected folk of the west Highlands and Islands, then the presbyterian establishment took note, tried to capture the offending priests, sent out visitations and wrote reports. If the catholics were quiet, holding their ground but not expanding and the political situation tranquil, then it was business as usual in the synods and presbyteries with little or no note taken of the fact that the catholics were still there. But it is equally true that in quiet periods the Scottish catholic church also neglected the Highland people. Through the 17th century when catholics did take an interest in the area, it was the Gaelic-speaking Irish who took that interest. Indeed, as has been seen,[29] the Irish published a pamphlet that criticised Scottish catholics for their disregard of the religious needs of Highland folk. When Irish missionaries had entered that area in the early 17th century they found that the people had been completely ignored by both religious camps for well over a generation. "When "Hardboots" Leslie made his 1677 visitation, he found only one permanent priest and one or two on circuits in the whole area. In his report he asked for a minimum of seven priests to be added to the mission. None was sent until 1681 when Leslie,

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29. See above, pp.68-69.

himself, finally sent two. These two priest, Cahassy and Devoyer, found only two priests in the whole region and one of these died soon afterwards. On their departure four years later Cahassy and Devoyer pleaded for more priests and funds. They were ignored and eventually returned themselves.

Clearly, the Scottish catholic hierarchy was also guilty of ignoring the needs of the Highland people. Of course, their task was difficult. The Highland catholic establishment had been crushed during the reformation. The Highland mission presented other basic problems such as an inhospitable geography and climate; Gaelic-speaking priests could be difficult to find; and the vigilant Clan Campbell under Argyll was at the service of the Scottish Kirk enforcing Scotland's strict anti-catholic penal code. But even Alexander Leslie recorded that persecution was not severe in 1677; indeed, he says that in that period it did not exist. Despite this, he found only two priests in the area and despite his report, that noted an extreme need and no persecution, no priests were sent for four years and then Leslie had to do it himself. And in any case, even when persecution was rigorous, the Irish missionaries were still on the job. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the 17th century,Irish missionaries excluded, both religious factions in Scotland were controlled by Lowlanders who simply took little notice of Gaels in periods of quiet. Only when the Irish priests were successful and notably active did the kirk take counter-measures. Then and also, of course, in times of potential crisis when the martial west Highland clans were looked upon either with great expectation or great trepidation.

In the following period, however, a new religious force began

to influence this area and this force was not born simply in mercenary motives or self-interest. The Bishop, James Gordon, unlike his catholic predecessors, took a keen personal interest in the folk of the west Highlands and his concern was translated into action, thus leading to a more vigorous and fruitful catholic approach to the religious needs of the area. Doubtless, Bishop Gordon lived in a highly political time, occupied a highly political office and was well aware of this, but it is equally clear that his own regard for the west Highlanders and Islanders was sincere and a significant element in the area's increasing catholic vigour.

The Bishop made his first visitation in 1707 accompanied by a deacon whom he intended to ordain as a priest and "who knew the Erse". Bishop Gordon, at this point, could not speak Gaelic. They departed in June from the Enzie and in the vicinity of Glengarry were obliged to change their diet and live on milk, "white meats", whey, "some barley bread very ill baken" and cheese, but seldom "flesh and flesh Broth". The beds were made of "heathstraw" and when it rained there was never a dry spot in or out of "their miserable Huts".[30] The party always walked, with local guides, to avoid suspicion, because there were troops in the area. Both Glengarry's Invergarry Castle and the Clan Ranald's Castle Tioram were garrisoned at the time. Soon they began to learn

> how bad, dangerous and fatiguing the roads were for they were either so steep that they had to crawl with hands and feet along high and rugged mountains with danger of falling down precipices every moment, or so wet and boggy that they were in danger often of sinking and never had a dry foot. 31

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30. Thomson, "Some Account", op.cit., p.671.
31. Ibid., pp.672-73.

They travelled through Knoydart and down to Arisaig where they met "the skipper who was to transport them to the Isles ... on board the Laird of Moydart's [Allan of Clan Ranald] best boat".[32] They failed to reach Uist the first day due to contrary winds and put into Eigg for two days and then spent one on Rhum "where they supped" and then the

> next morning landed in Uist at Clanranald's house [Ormiclate Castle] where they met with the kindest reception from the Laird and the Lady [Allan and Penelope MacDonald of Clan Ranald] and found all the Convenience and good Entertainment as was to be had almost in any part of Scotland. 33

After taking "a little rest" in this pleasant atmosphere, "having been all seasick", the party began to work the area using Clanranald's home as a base. Four days were spent in Barra and Vatersay where the MacNeill chief and other "principal Inhabitants" spoke to the Bishop about erecting a school in Barra "as it was inconvenient for them to send their children to other Countrys".[34] He agreed. The visitation was "very kindly entertained by the Laird during their stay in the Island".[35] They returned to Uist, laboured there two days, moved up to Benbecula for two more and again moved back to South Uist. Clearly, Allan and Penelope's kindness and hospitality, plus the Celtic court and comfortable Ormiclate Castle were attractive. During the journey back to the mainland the party stopped off at Canna and, again, Eigg and finally back to Arisaig. Because of the government soldiers in Castle Tioram the people of Moidart travelled to Arisaig to meet the Bishop. From there the party moved up through Morar and Knoydart.

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32. Ibid., p.673.
33. Ibid., p.674.
34. Meaning neighbouring Highland and Island districts.
35. Ibid., p.675.

On every stop the Bishop instructed the people, "gave confirmation and conversed with the principal persons". Before leaving Knoydart Bishop Gordon gave "confirmation and ordained Priest the Deacon" who had accompanied him on his expedition "which was the first ordination that had been in that country since the Reformation 150 years before".[36] Finally, the Bishop completed his return journey through Strathglass, Glengarry, Lochaber, Ruthven and Strathspey.

In the report compiled after the trip, Bishop Gordon stated that despite the hardships and fatigue he had the

> consolation to find that the number of catholics was much greater than he had imagined and that the Protestants were well disposed to embrace the holy faith, for he scarce performed any functions in any place, but they flocked to see and hear him with great avidity if there were any of them in the neighbourhood and some of them always petitioned to be received into the Church among whom were three Gentlemen. 37

Bishop Gordon claimed to have confirmed 2,248 people and, interestingly, the Journal adds

> Many people were afraid that this visit of Bp. Gordon would give occasion to the ministers and others to raise a new persecution, but though he travelled over such a large extent of country and performed his functions almost everywhere, yet he behaved with so much caution and circumspection that his progress was not observed and no disturbance or rumour arose from it. 38

Indeed, there is no mention of this catholic visitation in presbyterian records and considering the numbers of Highlanders involved, this is remarkable.

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36. Ibid., p.676.
37. Ibid., p.679.
38. Ibid., p.680.

In 1708 Bishop Gordon settled two Irish Dominicans that he had found in Paris in the Hebrides, one in Uist and the other in Eigg and Canna. The following year Gordon carried out another visitation but the particulars were not recorded in the Journal. They were too "tedious" to record because they so closely corresponded to the previous excursion. However, it is recorded that the catholics in those parts exceeded 8,000 and that the Bishop confirmed 1,200 and he visited "the three old schools", examined how the "young men" were educated and he erected two new schools.[39]

In this period James Stevenson, presbyterian minister of Ardnamurchan, submitted a report on the "Papists in the Parish of Islandfinan viz. Mudart, Arisaig and Morhire" to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh. It illustrates how completely he felt the clan structure and the religious structure were one. When he discussed area leaders he described them in the following manner:

> The Laird of Clan Ronald [Allan MacDonald] superior of all these lands is popish himself and ffamelly, he dwells in Uist and keeps a priest in his ffamellie hidden. 40

He goes on to describe all the area leaders in the same fashion. They were all catholic, their wives, children and servants were also catholic. All the children, especially the young men who seemed destined to assume their father's position one day, were being tutored by catholics. A priest also resided with Morar and "often" with MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart. He lists five men of major consequence in the area:

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39. Ibid., p.710.
40. CH1/2/29/556 (undated, between 1707 when Stevenson came into the area and 13th November 1715 when Allan of Clan Ranald died).

1. The Laird of Cl. Ronald popish
2. Mr. Ronald his brother Germane popish
3. The Laird of Morhire popish
4. Kenlochmoidert in Moidert Popish
5. Glenaldail popish

These are the Leaders of the blind; and incouragers of priests. 41

In this same period Stevenson registered another report "Anent papists in the Highlands, Argyleshire and Inverness". It is primarily concerned with the priests and their situations. This account is interesting because, with the exception of the two priests on MacNeill of Barra's islands, every priest was partly or completely concerned with the Clan Ranald's vast catholic stronghold.

One unnamed "old ffather"[42] was a "grand promoter of the popish interest" and resided on an island in Loch Morar. Another, Patrick O'Kalligan, resided in Eigg. A third, James O'Shel, a Jesuit, with a "tender body" had "great influence and following" and stayed on Benbecula. A fourth, Mr. Donald MacLennon, travelled between Knoydart and Arisaig. He lived often with old Glengarry but also had "a mass house built betwixt Arisaig and Knoydart".

> There is a fifth Mr. McO'Ure he stayes for the most pairt at Ormeled [Ormiclate Castle] in Southuist where he attends upon the Captain of Clanranald as his chaplain this is a lustie bodied black haired young man. 43

And there were two priests on MacNeill's lands. Also Stevenson reported that there were three catholic schools, two on Barra - one in MacNeill's residence - and one "popish school house at Clanronalds dwelling place in Southuist". These priests frequently changed their names and schedules and travelled "in highland habit and armour" to avoid detection by strangers. Some of their funds were conveyed to

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41. CH1/2/29/565.
42. He is not named because the first page of the report is missing.
43. CH1/2/29/569.

them "from the pope" via "ffather Dunbar who attends always the Duke of Gordon" but most of their maintenance came

> from the countreys and Islands where they officiat, the heads of these popish clans particularly Glengarrie old and young, Captain of Clanronald, Bara, Moror [and] Beinbecula. 44

By 1711 Bishop Gordon's special regard for the Gaels was becoming apparent. He remained in the Highlands the whole winter (probably the winter of 1710-1711) and did not leave until June.

> His principal design in going to the Highlands at that time besides visiting the Missrs. and Caths. was to study the nature and genius of the People, which was quite different from those of the low country and to acquire some knowledge of their language, the want of which he found to be a great loss and inconvenience to him in treating with the people and hindered them from reaping all that benefit from his visits which he intended. He applied himself to it with such diligence during this Winter that he learned to understand and speak it tolerably well which proved of great service both to himself and the People in his future visits of that country. 45

Also during that winter he made some alterations in the catholic schools, transferred two "robust" priests from the islands where their work was not difficult to "more laborious" mainland areas and sent to the isles two of a "weaker" constitution. He prevented several daoin-uaisle families from sending their children to protestant schools, and he visited every Highland and Hebridean district that had a number of catholics in it. It is reported that his health was never better than this winter and Bishop Gordon himself stated,

> I never had more comfort everyway than among these poor people and was so far from wearing of them that I rather long to shut myself up forever with them. I do not question but I

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44. Ibid.
45. Thomson, "Some Account", op.cit., Vol.II, p.7.

> could do greater Service there than anywhere else and if it were the will at Exchange I should confine myself so long as I live among our hills and consecrate my days to serve the poor people that live in them. 46

Bishop Gordon even went so far as to request that Bishop Nicolson be given the Lowland congregation so that he could be left in the Highlands.[47] The Lowland priest in his mission learned of this attempt and had his letter stopped and for a while the affair was dropped, although, as will be seen,[48] Gordon did not forget his scheme. There can be no doubt that Bishop Gordon's regard for the Gaels was genuine and, equally, that this flattering attention after so much neglect led to a striking new vigour in the "Popish Bounds". As the General Assembly complained concerning the Clan Ranald's mainland territories, in "no place in the nation ... is there such a body of people all papist without any protestants among them".[49]

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In 1714 on the death of Queen Anne a Jacobite rising seemed certain, but it never materialised due to a simple lack of leadership in the overall Jacobite cause, incompetence, the difficulties in maintaining quick communications between the Stewart court in France and the scattered British Jacobites and, also, because of an over-abundance of Jacobite plots and schemes. Eventually, it was a personal slight to John Erskine, the Earl of Mar, by George I that precipitated the long expected rebellion. Mar had tried and failed to win the new king's favour and on 1st August 1715, as his position

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46. Ibid., p.9.
47. Ibid., pp.10-11.
48. See below, p.396.
49. CH1/2/33/4/246.

deteriorated in London, fearing imprisonment from the Hanoverians and dreaming of a dukedom from the Stewarts, Mar threw in with James Stuart, the old pretender. Mar moved off to his Braemar seat to raise the rebellion. On 27th August he held a great Highland deer hunt, attended by many of the clan chiefs and sympathetic men of consequence from the northeast. There the rebellion was hatched.

It was soon to be seen that Mar, the one pro-Stewart commander in Scottish history from the Civil War onwards to be blessed with a substantial army, had not the skill and spirit of Montrose, the spirit of Dundee or even the early enthusiasm of Prince Charles Edward. Mar was a politician, not a leader of men. He chose his time well; he negotiated for support in an admirable fashion. It has been said of Mar:

> A thorough politician, he talked big and slurred the details: England was already in arms, the French were preparing a large invasion, King James himself was at hand and so on ad nauseam. 50

Mar was not a decisive or trustworthy leader. Certainly, he had to threaten to burn out those of his own tenantry who would not rise, but in so doing he was playing his role as a substantial landholder. He was, certainly, despite his claims, no clan chief.

On 6th August an interesting intelligence report was sent out of Fort William. It discussed an earlier

> meeting of the Lairds of Lochyeal, Glengery, the Captain of Clanrunald, Apin and Sir John Mcclean and that the first [Locheil] had a line by his nephew from the Pretender with a present of a case of pistols. 51

The fact that these particular clans were still consulting together

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50. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.66.
51. RH2/4/303/54.

is exciting. Certainly, they had been represented at the [illegible] hunting party, but this document shows that in addition to that meeting they still felt the need to hold council among themselves. They were beyond doubt the basic reliable core of the pro-Stewart Highland clans from 1644 to 1746 and they were the surviving core of the conservative west Highland community of interest that stretched back to the Lordship of the Isles. The fact that many other clans were active in 1715 due to a general unhappiness with the recent Union of Parliaments, the unpopular succession of the Hanoverian line and the continuing strength of the episcopalian faction should not detract from this further evidence of single-mindedness on the part of the Camerons of Locheil, the MacDonnells of Glengarry, the Clan Ranald, the Stewarts of Appin and the Clan MacLean. Furthermore, if the other two "members" of this association, the MacDonnells of Keppoch and the MacDonalds of Glencoe, were not actually represented at this particular council (as they may well have been) they were soon to join their fellow west Highlanders in this Jacobite campaign; and throughout this event all these specific clans were notable as always acting in concert.

Certainly, the Jacobite leadership seems to have seen them as distinctive. At least three more times in 1715 these specific clans appear together in documentation, but separate from most of the other kindreds. Once in the important descent on Inverary, once in the much less significant situation where they were bivouacked together at Auchterarder holding the Jacobite vanguard against the Hanoverians while the other clans were at Perth and, finally, they operated in concert when implementing Mar's scorched earth policy after the battle. Moreover, every one of these west Highland clans was selected

to stand in the front line of the Jacobite army in the Battle of Sheriffmuir despite the unusual availability of many other clans.

The Hanoverian commander, John Campbell, the 2nd Duke of Argyll, stood with his small force at Stirling, holding Scotland's narrow "waist", thus giving Mar the north but bottling him up there. Argyll was in a difficult position with an army of fewer than 4,000 against Mar's ever growing Highland host that was nearing 10,000 and as Argyll himself said of many of his Lowland levees, "a Lamb is not more afraid of a Lyon, than these Low Country people are of the highlanders".[52] But Argyll was an experienced soldier, who knew Mar and his vacillating nature, and thus gambled that Mar would linger too long in the north and squander his early advantages in a continuing war of letters; and he did.

Here, it is useful to make one point. On 13th September the Clan Chattan, with strong MacIntosh and Farquharson contingents, had captured Inverness, and a few days later Colonel John Hay and a troop of Jacobite cavalry had captured Perth. These were the only two early Jacobite military successes and Mar had done nothing to help achieve either.

Mar tried a series of grandiose flanking movements, using the whole of Scotland as his chessboard. Firstly, he set the west Highland clans under Major-General Alexander Gordon and Allan MacDonald, Captain of Clan Ranald, against Inverary, in an attempt to flank Argyll, keep the Campbells occupied in the west and thus gain time for the expected Jacobite reinforcements to gather. Also, as in Montrose's earlier attack on Argyllshire, a secondary motive was to free Argyll's

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52. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.64.

vassals who were tempted to join the Jacobites.

The descent on Inverary was held up in the opening days because the Camerons, the MacDonnells of Keppoch and the Stewarts of Appin were slow to move. This tardy response was occasioned not by a lack of ardour but by a reluctance to leave their homes and families unprotected from the garrison at Fort William. Its commander had sent out warnings that once the men were gone the troops would fall upon the unguarded Jacobite districts near the fort. Coll MacDonnell of Keppoch, who had earlier with the aid of some Camerons and MacLeans tried unsuccessfully to capture Fort William,[53] wrote to General Gordon on 3rd October 1715, saying,

> tho I am most anxious to join you I cannot as yet be positive how soon I can do it, the country people being terrified by the Garrison of Fort William who threaten to destroy all the country how soon so ever we leave, however, I'm resolved to endeavour to get a party of them to march with me tho the rest should stay from me at this occasion. 54

Three days later John Cameron, son of Sir Ewen of Locheil, informed Gordon that

> the threatning of the Garrison hinders my men much from rising, however I shall make all possible dispatch, and will be as yet by all I see as ready to join you as the McLeans ... P.S. - All my friends and my self have received threatning letters from the Governour of Fort-William showing that he hath express orders to fall upon us and destroy all how soon we rise, which letters I'll show you at meeting. 55

John Cameron also reported that the MacLeans were on the move, having been held up due to a dispute between Sir John MacLean, the chief, and

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53. Donald MacDonald, Clan Donald, op.cit., p.386.
54. GD1/616/12/3 Oct. 1715 (Raven Papers). These are not the words of a man who intends to "burn out" his people. The same can be observed of Locheil's following quote.
55. GD1/616/6 Oct. 1715.

Hector MacLean of Lochbuie, that he had just met "Clanranald on his march", that Robert Stewart of "Appin is to begin his march this day being in haste" and that Robert Stewart of

> Appin, how soon he joins you will acquaint you what passed betwixt him, Lochnell [Sir Duncan Campbell] and me having met them in order to have their positive answer which you will be informed of by Appin. 56

The Jacobites, using Robert Stewart of Appin, who was related to several Campbells, were negotiating with Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell and Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck who were wavering. In the same general period intelligence sent out of Fort William reported that Alasdair Dubh MacDonnell of Glengarry had marched off at the head of 500 men after he had "surprised" the small garrison in Invergarry Castle and carried them off captive. And the same "informer" reported that

> the Capt. of Clanranald had taken a detachment of twelve men and a serjeant under the command of Lieut. Gains of the sd. Regiment at Tyreholm [Tioram] Castle one of his own houses. I doubt not that Islanddonnan [Eilean Donan, the MacKenzie's Kintail stronghold] has had the same fate. 57

In an intelligence report that describes the gathering of these western kindreds an eye-witness stated, "I never saw the Highlanders better armed as they are for the present".[58]

When it eventually came about, the move on Inverary was largely a failure. The force of west Highland kindreds moved unhindered through Argyllshire to the outskirts of Inverary where a few outlying posts were captured, but neither the Campbells, under Argyll's brother,

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56. Ibid.
57. RH2/4/304/248.
58. RH2/4/304/215.

Archibald Campbell, Earl of Islay, nor the Jacobites were especially spirited in dealing with their opponents. Eventually, the Jacobites moved off without ever having mounted a determined attack and the Campbells were content to let them go without a fight. Throughout the 1715 period the documentation gives the distinct impression that the bad blood between the conservative west Highlanders and the Clan Campbell was much less than during the Montrose campaign or even during the later rising of 1745-46.

The operation was not a complete failure because Argyllshire had been harried and some MacDugalls, MacNabbs and MacGregors had been freed to rise but in negotiations the Campbells of Auchinbreck and Lochnell had eventually refused to join the Jacobites.[59] These early hesitations, along with the threats from Fort William, had cost the Jacobites the element of surprise and given the Campbells time to prepare for the invasion. And so the recent claim that "the time thus gained [because of this Jacobite Argyllshire campaign] kept a considerable force of Campbells from joining Argyll's army before the battle"[60] is incorrect. It is true that the Campbells were unable to move off and join Argyll at Stirling while the Jacobites were in the area, but since Mar with his superior force chose not to attack Argyll, the "occupied" Campbells were not needed. By the time this west Highland Jacobite force had crossed to the Perth area and Mar's camp, Islay and his Campbells were with Argyll at Stirling.

In the north the MacDonalds of Sleat, the MacKinnons, the MacRaes and the Chisholms of Strathglass met the MacKenzies at Brahan

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59. Although approximately 250 of the Breadalbane men under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendaruel did join the Jacobites, (MS 1498/1).
60. Donald MacDonald, Clan Donald, op.cit., p.319.

Castle but, in Mar's own words, were delayed "by reason of some interruptions he [William MacKenzie, the 5th Earl of Seaforth] finds in those parts from the Earl of Sutherland, the Monroes, Rosses, [MacKays] &c.".[61] Eventually, the MacKenzies, MacDonalds of Sleat and their allies were able to join Mar, but these Hanoverian clans had performed a useful function in delaying these northern Jacobites. In the central Highlands other pro-government kindreds were active, especially "seven hundred of [Simon] Lord Lovat's Frasers, and 700 Grants who are extremely well armed".[62]

In the south in another of Mar's great flanking schemes, William MacIntosh of Borlum quietly crossed the Forth with a force of his Clan Chattan followers. He failed to take Edinburgh and was unable to attack Argyll in the rear as had been intended. Instead he moved south to join with some Lowland Scottish Jacobites who were wandering around Dumfriesshire and, later, a small force of northern English Jacobites. They achieved little and were eventually captured.

When Mar finally moved and the two forces blundered into each other at Sheriffmuir on 13th November, Mar's battlefield tactics proved to be as uninspired as his previous "campaign". The Jacobite right wing, including the Clan Ranald, completely routed their foes in the Hanoverian left, but the Jacobite left, because of a basic tactical error by Mar, was unprotected by cavalry or geography and in mid charge it was flanked by Argyll's cavalry, riding unopposed, and the Jacobite left was thrown into confusion. Argyll attacked at this point and, consequently, was able to lead his right wing to victory. So the immediate result of the battle was a victory for

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61. GD1/616/4 Oct. 1715.
62. RH2/4/308/302.

the Jacobite right and for the Hanoverian right. However, the overall result was a clear cut victory for Argyll because Mar withdrew his forces from the field, despite his half-victory and numerical superiority, and left Argyll holding the field; the Forth still "bridled the wild Hielandman".[63]

In the first moments of the battle the whole Jacobite attack had seemed in danger because as the right had pressed forward Allan MacDonald, Captain of Clan Ranald, was felled by a shot whereupon the entire charge faltered because the dismayed men of the Clan Ranald stopped. It was reported that they might have refused to continue when they learned that Allan was dead, but fortunately for the Jacobites, Alasdair Dubh of Glengarry rushed forward, shouting for revenge. Glengarry's action saved the day as the Clan Ranald, along with the rest of the Jacobite Highland right then resumed their charge and were off to their piece of victory.

After the confusion of Sheriffmuir and Mar's needless retreat, the rising was in reality at an end. As his army withdrew, Mar attempted what was certainly an ill-considered scorched earth policy between the battlefield and his camp at Perth. All this policy succeeded in doing was to leave some cold homeless people, a needless residue of hatred for the Jacobites in that area and a clear image of the new commander of the conservative west Highland force, Ranald MacDonald, the new Captain of Clan Ranald, whose unpleasant lot it was to implement the orders to burn the villages. On his brother's battlefield death, Ranald had succeeded to the position of chief of his kindred and, interestingly, he had also succeeded to his brother's

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63. Dickson, op.cit., p.6.

position of commander of the conservative west Highland clans, who were seen again acting as a united force.

> This Detachment consisted of Sr. Donald McDonald's [of Sleat], ClanRanald's,Glengarie's, Lochyeles, Appins, Mcleans and Cappochs men under the respective officers of theire own clans, but commanded in chiefe by Clanranald Brother and successor to him who was killed at the battle of Sherrifmoor. 64

After turning the people out of their homes into fresh snow, paying them for the damage and firing the houses, the Jacobites moved off. Ranald MacDonald's feeling about this duty are seen in the following document:

> Clanranald now seeing every house on Fire and many of the best fallen down Rode along the streets, conveen'd his men and marched, all the way he pray'd the people whom he saw weeping to Forgive him, but was answered with silence and so Departed to do the like other places. 65

At this time James Stuart, the old pretender, arrived on the scene but too late to accomplish much. He was a decent and honourable man, but not the sort to revive flagging Jacobite spirits. He was an uninspiring type who was weakened from the continual seasickness of his crossing from France; moreover, the poor man had a bad head cold for his entire stay in Scotland. Soon the news was worse; Inverness had fallen to a Hanoverian Highland force comprised of Frasers, Grants, Forbeses and Monroes. The Jacobite king had little alternative but to return to France; he left from Peterhead and many of his captains did the same from a variety of east coast ports.

Notably, few of the clan chiefs, and none of those from the

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64. MS 3141/p.5.
65. MS 3141/p.7.

conservative west Highland group, abandoned their followers at this juncture. The head-men of the western kindreds returned to their native districts, waited to observe developments and maintained a defensive posture. By July of 1716 it was clear that no positive developments were likely in the near future so the various clan chiefs, many of whom were residing with Ranald MacDonald, Captain of Clan Ranald, on his remote South Uist base,[66] delegated power to trusted followers and departed for France as a letter from a Hanoverian agent dated 13th July 1716 shows:

> Having last night received intelligence from the Isles, ... which are, That the Lord Duffers came lately to the Western-Isles with a French Privateer of 20 or 24 Guns, and has carry'd off with him, Lord Seaforth, Clan Ronald, Cameron of Locheil with his brother Allan Cameron, Campbell of Glenderule [Glendaruel], Genll. Gordon and several others. 67

Ranald MacDonald left the people of Clan Ranald under the care of Donald MacDonald of Benbecula, his most senior and experienced kinsman. This was the same Benbecula who had earlier been the tutor of Ranald and his deceased brother Allan; moreover, he was a veteran of Killie-crankie, a noted Jacobite, catholic and conservative who also had the special qualification of not having been personally involved in the late Highland rising and therefore was not wanted by the government. It is likely that the possibility of just such a situation and Donald's advanced age had combined to keep him away from the Jacobite army.

As the Highland clansmen had filtered home their rebellious spirit was far from crushed. They could rightly feel that they had never been truly defeated in battle, but their opinion of the Jacobite

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66. RH2/4/310/350.
67. RH2/4/311/161.

leadership must have been shaken. In 1715, as usual, the Jacobite Highlanders had responded to the call, risked everything and, when given the opportunity, performed well; but, as usual, the Lowland, English, Irish and French Jacobite leadership had failed its Highlanders. This lack of leadership was a factor in 1689 and 1745-46, but it was most profound in 1715 when the Jacobite leaders squandered their greatest opportunity. And there is one other basic lesson from this rising of 1715.

Historians invariably point to Mar's lack of decisive action in the early days and his overall lack of ability as a central cause of the Jacobite failure. This conclusion is accurate, but a look at the Highland background to the eventual battle leaves the distinct impression that it was Mar's lack of initiative and the good service provided by the well-armed Hanoverian clans that combined to slow the rebellion and therefore defeat it. The threats of the garrison at Inverlochy, which included several sections of the Argyllshire militia, had slowed the mobilisation of the west Highland clans. The Clan Campbell had held its Argyllshire bastion and in so doing had held Scotland's western flank. The Monroes, Rosses, MacKays, Roses and the Earl of Sutherland's people had slowed the advance of the MacKenzies, MacDonalds of Sleat, MacRaes, MacKinnons and Chisholms. Later, the Frasers, Monroes, Forbeses and Grants had recaptured Inverness. All these actions were instrumental for the government's eventual victory. Because of its subject matter, this study naturally focuses on the west Highland kindreds and their distinctive conservative approach to political and cultural developments, but that does not mean that other Highlanders with other points of view and approaches were any less Gaelic or any less martial.

For the Clan Ranald itself, the loss of Allan on the field of Sheriffmuir was a great blow and surviving Gaelic literature makes it clear that this loss was felt by the entire Clan Ranald. Not only had he been popular with his clansmen, he had also been a patron of the Gaelic arts and the hospitality that, along with his wife, Penelope, he provided at Ormiclate Castle in South Uist was renowned throughout Scotland. Allan had benefitted from contacts with sophisticated European society and from service in the French army, but he was able to mix this diversity of experience with his position as the leader of the ancient Gaelic institution that was the Clan Ranald. Because of his contacts in the Jacobite court, his formal military experience and his MacDonald/Clan Ranald power base, he had attained the position of spokesman and commander of the conservative west Highland community of interest. Moreover, Allan's wife, Penelope, is reputed to have been quite lovely and she certainly was an able individual in her own right, who carried the blood of the MacKenzies, a proud, aristocratic and Jacobite kindred. Indeed, Allan was an example of the ideal Highland chief; his position in the memory of his people and their descendants was assured when he was martyred leading his kinsmen and clansmen in battle.

> This year (1715) deprived us of the lovely flower!
> Our clan's brave chief and they are now forlorn,
> Dread is the Storm, afflictions on us pour,
> Too heavy is our trouble to be borne!
>
> The tale of woe my heart asunder tears!
> Clanranald, whom our Maker to us gave,
> A boon of Bless - no more to us appears,
> In Inverpepper he has found his grave.
>
> High was thy mind, as mighty was thy deed,
> Standing undaunted mid the cannon roar,
> Cool and collected as thy foaming stead -
> Nor less accomplished in love. ...

In every manly feat thou did excell:
Sure at the helm when in the boisterous sea,
With skill the mountain waves thou would repell;
Or leave them rolling on the distant lee. ...

An orphan babe - a flock without a head.
To foes in bondage - they us all despise,
How dark our winter; and our lot how hard:
The blood hounds follow, vain is all disguise. ...

Thy spouse I much lament, now left forlorn,
In weeds of woe lamenting thee the while,
Alas! how soon from her, her first love torn -
The heart of joy, who made his country smile. ... 68

Because both the deceased Allan of Clan Ranald and Ranald his brother and successor had been in the rebellion, the "estate of Clan-ranald" was declared forfeit by the government. Thereafter, a long and complicated legal wrangle developed in which the government tried to keep the estate out of the hands of potential Jacobites; there was even mention of settling the estate on a protestant.[69] On the other hand, the old Clan Ranald establishment and an assortment of Jacobite allies, led by Penelope MacDonald, Allan's widow, tried to restore the titles of the property to the "rightful" Clan Ranald duin-uasal family.

Penelope MacDonald was born a MacKenzie and consequently she had powerful MacKenzie kin both in the north and in Edinburgh who were valuable allies in her struggle to restore the lands to her deceased husband's kinsmen. Also these MacKenzies, especially the legal family of MacKenzie of Delvine based in the Scottish capital, had Jacobite sympathies so their ultimate goal was to restore the lands to a family of known Jacobite inclination and thus keep the west Highland pro-Stewart ranks as intact as possible. So both the family feeling for Penelope and their Jacobite politics merged into

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68. GD201/5/1220/1/1715.
69. Royal Bounty Records, CH1/5/51/p.54, 136 & 158.

one cause that tied the MacKenzies of Delvine into an anti-government alliance with the old and still very much intact Clan Ranald establishment.

Indeed, throughout this discussion two significant and quite basic facts should be borne in mind. Firstly, no matter who had been given the legal titles to the lands, the people of the clan were still there; they remained a solidly catholic and a fervently Jacobite kindred. And, secondly, the government had made a basic mistake. It operated under the assumption that if the feudal landlord had been replaced, then the politics of the local folk would have been altered; this was not the case. The west Highland clan was an institution that had evolved in a world where the leader might be lost and yet, to survive, the remainder of the kindred's leadership had to be prepared to fill that void. The Clan Ranald leadership was still largely intact. MacDonald of Benbecula, MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, MacDonald of Glenalladale and MacDonald of Morar were all alive and still in possession of their legal wadsets and, consequently, they were still there to direct the clan's other daoin-uaisle and commoners in a normal kin-based manner.

On 9th November 1723 Alexander MacKenzie of Delvine bought the Barony of Castletirrim for £1594.17.7 from the Trustees of the Forfeited Estates.[70] In making this purchase MacKenzie was acting as an agent for Penelope, Ranald of Clan Ranald, the exiled chief, and other leading members of the kindred. Certain amounts of money appear to have been put into Delvine's hands by this Clan Ranald group,[71] but no details of these transactions have survived and this lack of

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70. GD50/216/43/p.1.
71. MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.II, p.345.

documentation was doubtless intentional, to hide MacKenzie's close link with the Clan Ranald. During this same period MacKenzie bought up debts on the estate and dealt with John Campbell, the Duke of Argyll, who held the superiorities over all other Clan Ranald lands.[72] These schemes progressed well and Delvine was far along in his design of conveying these lands to Ranald MacDonald when this Captain of Clan Ranald died childless in Paris. With his death the direct line that stretched back to the first John Moydartach and the deposition of Dugall MacRanald in 1520 became extinct.

Upon the death of Ranald MacDonald, the Clan Ranald was put in a difficult position.[73] Not only had the legal titles to the estate been lost but with the unexpected loss of Ranald who, like his brother, Allan, left no heirs, the main line of the kindred's leaders was extinct and for the first time since the deposition, a crisis of leadership existed. In this situation a fascinating and illuminating event took place. The details remain sketchy, but nevertheless the documentation concerning them is specific and the conclusions they suggest are exciting.

In the Royal Bounty Records an account of a report by Daniel MacAulay, minister in Skye, has survived. It is dated 11th March 1726 and mentions a visitation he made to Canna and Rhum. MacAulay

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72. Ibid.
73. At this point this study takes a different approach to this question of the restoration of the Clan Ranald's legal titles. The best study of this situation has been the late 19th century Clan Donald (op.cit., Vol.ii, p.345) and here there is no quarrel with that work's thorough treatment of the documentation its two authors uncovered. They have the legal picture correct but in two respects their treatment is lacking: firstly they do not give Penelope, Lady Clanranald, the credit she deserves and, secondly, they were unaware of the contest between Kinlochmoidart and Benbecula.

reported that

> he had no access in Cana to deal with the people, Because they would not hear him, being under the influence of Priests and Popish managers,

and he continued to give

> an account of a Competition betwixt Benbecula and Kinlochmoydart two Papists as to the Succession to the Estate which belonged to the late Captain of Clanrannald. 74

The "competition" was not decided quickly because in an undated letter that had to have been written after 25th January 1727, Archibald Campbell, minister at Lismore in Appin mentioned the continuing "Influence of the Family of Clanronald on that country [Ardnamurchan]" and states that "now Two Papists are contending about the succession thereof".[75]

These are the only two pieces of contemporary evidence concerning this event thus far uncovered, but they show that despite Donald MacDonald of Benbecula's clear primogenital right to the titles of the Clan Ranald lands, Ranald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart competed with Benbecula for the leadership of the kindred and that the competition took at least ten months to decide. It is a pity that further details of this situation have not survived,[76] but one further piece of information has become certain and it, when combined with the above documentation, makes possible the following firm conclusions. In that period, any conflict over the right to a feudal lordship would have been decided by the Lord Lyon, but recent inquiry into the

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74. CH1/5/51/p.54.
75. CH1/5/51/p.157.
76. There is reason to believe that further details of this event might be in the papers of Lord Islay, Archibald Campbell, but they now rest in the closed Argyll Muniments (see CH1/5/51/p.55).

records of the Lord Lyon's court makes it certain that this question was never brought before that court.[77] The conclusions are therefore clear. Benbecula doubtless had right in a strict legal sense, but in Gaelic practice Kinlochmoidart also had a claim and obviously he was basing his case in this kin-based manner. The fact that the competition took at least ten months indicates that MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart's case was taken seriously. The fact that the Lord Lyon was never consulted shows two things: firstly, that the Clan Ranald in some unspecified manner decided the issue internally; and secondly, that Kinlochmoidart accepted the clan's eventual decision and did not take this case to a "higher" court. Clearly, the question of the right to the position of Captain of Clan Ranald arose in the old fashion and the kindred decided the issue itself, probably in its still functioning, or revived, clan council.

In this period the presbyterian establishment tried a variety of schemes to exploit the Clan Ranald's weakness and gain influence in the area. In the above mentioned report of Daniel MacAulay, dated 11th March 1726, he mentioned the "Succession to the Estate of ... the late Captain of Clanrannald" and continued saying,

> it would be much for the Interests of true Religion if that Estate were under the Management of Protestants. [The committee's report continued] There were also produced Letters from other ministers to that same purpose, and the Procurator and Agent for the Church Reported that upon receipt of these Letters a Memorial was drawn up therefrom, Showing how much it would tend to forward the Reformation in the places belonging to that Estate where Protestants never had access to do any good, if care be taken, that according to Law, that Estate

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77. Malcolm R. Innes of Edingight, the Lyon Clerk and Keeper of the Records, kindly supplied this information in personal correspondence, 7.9.77.

> be under the management of Protestants and Papists excluded from Authority there, and copies of this memorial were sent to the Right Honourable The Earl Ilay, The Lord Advocate and others. 78

Later, the Presbytery of Lorne suggested that the General Assembly ask the government for troops and the Duke of Argyll for assistance

> in order to protect and encourage the missionaries to be sent to the countries of Moydart, Moror and Arisaig where there are not Protestants, ... application be made to the Government for a Company of the Forces to ly at Kenlochailert in Arisaig, as also that endeavours be used with His Grace the Duke of Argyll Superior of that Country, In whose hands part there of is fallen; by reason of the Forfaulture of the late Captain of Clan-ronald Hereto, so place Protestant Factors and Baillies there, and to mix in some Protestants in those parts, otherways Protestant Ministers cannot have so full access to Deall with that people for their conversion from Popery. 79

At the same time considerable pressure was brought to bear on Delvine.

> The committee considering that Mr. Alexander MacKenzie of Delving [sic] did lately purchase the forfited Estate of Clanronald in which South Uist lyes, also some other Islands, ... They named the Reverend Professor Hamilton, Professor Crawfurd, Mr. William Miller and John Mathieson Ministers, The Right Honourable The Lord President, the Lord Grange, and his Majesties Sollicitor To meet with Delving. 80

And in 1727, just before MacKenzie conveyed the estate back to the new Clan Ranald chief, the Church of Scotland was continuing in its designs against the Clan Ranald's catholic establishment.

> It is Propos'd that Application be made to the Government for puting in Execution the ... Laws against Popery and to order that some Collonies of Protestants be settled in the Countries of Moror, Arisaig, Moydart, Bara and South Uist, and Some of the Forces lodged there, To protect the Protestants, and countenance such as shall

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78. CH1/5/51/pp.54-55.
79. CH1/5/51/p.94.
80. CH1/5/51/p.101, see also, CH1/5/51/p.76.

come to Profess the true Religion; That Protestants concern'd in the Estate which belonged to the Late Captain of Clanronald, Be applyed unto not to Imploy Papists in Management of that Estate, But to take care, that the Protestant Religion meet with all due Encouragement therein. 81

But it was too late. On 19th October 1727 Alexander MacKenzie of Delvine conveyed the titles (and a considerable financial burden) to Donald MacDonald of Benbecula,[82] who had recently won the competition with Kinlochmoidart and thus brought the title "Captain of Clan Ranald" to the Benbecula collateral family where it continued to pass from father to son until the kindred was no more.

.....

The Clan Ranald had succeeded in re-entrenching itself following the unsuccessful 1715 rebellion. Thanks to Penelope MacDonald and her kinsmen, the MacKenzies of Delvine, the Clan Ranald had recovered its lands from forfeiture (at the cost of an even greater financial burden) and it had successfully met a serious crisis in leadership, decided the issue internally in a difficult period, selected a successor who was accepted by the entire kindred and it had maintained its internal power structure.

The evidence that the Clan Ranald had remained solidly intact and defiant throughout the post-1715 period is abundant. The Jacobite failure of 1715 had not seriously blunted the Clan Ranald's spirit. The kindred had never been truly defeated in battle; at Sheriffmuir, the Clan Ranald had actually served among the victorious clans in Mar's right wing. Its western territories remained remote and once

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81. CH1/5/51/p.187.
82. GD201/1/2/9.

back in their "Rough Bounds" the men of this kindred maintained their rebellious attitude. A variety of Jacobite leaders had felt safe enough to remain in South Uist well into 1716 and once it became obvious that no new attempt was likely to be made, the kindred made only a belated and half-hearted show of turning over its weapons. Actually, the Clan Ranald remained well-armed and hostile to outsiders. In 1722 the Hanoverian wadsetter MacLeod of Hamara needed "a party of red cotts" to collect the rents from his South Uist holdings.[83] The Royal Bounty Records contain a report of 1728 stating that

> Skye, Bara, Long Island [sic], South and North Uist, and the Lewes ... hath no sherriffs or Baillies residing among them authoriz'd by his Majesty, nor have they any Court nearer than Inverness or Ross. 84

And as late as July 1745 Robert Craigie informed John Hay, 4th Marquis of Tweedale, that their Highland representatives could execute "all the Warrants" sent to them

> except with respect to the Captain of Clan Ranald who is hardly to be come at if he keeps within his Island of South Uist. 85

When considering the developments that followed the Rebellion of 1715, it must be borne in mind that this rising had not seriously altered the status quo for the Clan Ranald. It remained remote, intact and defiant.

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While the Rising of 1715 had not seriously altered basic

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83. GD201/5/260.
84. CH1/5/51/p.285.
85. RH2/4/341/p.57.

realities for the Clan Ranald, the same could not be said of the Highlands in general. Changes there had been in the Highlands and Islands and in the post 1715 era they accelerated, bringing increased pressure on traditional Gaelic culture. This pressure took a variety of forms and was eventually to encroach even into the Clan Ranald's Outer Hebridean bastions of South Uist and Benbecula.

As would be expected, several of these changes involved the Clan Campbell. John Campbell, the 2nd Duke of Argyll, and his brother, Archibald Campbell, Lord Islay, had been instrumental in defeating the Jacobites in the 1715 campaign and, while it is true that their valuable service to the Hanoverian regime was never properly appreciated by officials in London, it is nevertheless certain that their position vis-a-vis the Highlands and the general Scottish political arena was enhanced. Sir Robert Walpole was forced to turn increasingly to Argyll and his faction, especially Islay, to control Scotland. With Argyll as nominal head of this party and Islay the real administrator, this group dispensed patronage, influenced elections and in general supervised the administration of all of Scotland.[86] Not only did these two individuals hold positions of power, but their Campbell followers also found the post-1715 milieu auspicious. Campbell clansmen, always prominent in Highland affairs, found their way into even more administrative, legal, judicial, military and religious positions. These Campbell advances[87] grew not only out of the power of the House of Argyll and the improved position of Argyll and Islay, but also in the

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86. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.143.
87. To be noted most prominently in the following religious material.

vacuum created by the many recently discredited officials who had joined the Jacobites in 1715. Perhaps the most obvious example of this development can be seen when it is noted that of the three major Highland kindreds that had historically supported Lowland establishments (and profited from that support), only the Campbells had given most of their support to the House of Hanover in 1715. The Gordons were largely active or suspected Jacobites in 1715 and as late as 1725 the Clan MacKenzie was still reported as being in a state of armed rebellion.[88] Finally, the establishment that was the House of Argyll not only commanded powerful men by virtue of their ancient kin-based attachment, but also a variety of non-related individuals, powerful in an overall Scottish context, were also allied to the Campbell interest. Men such as Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord Advocate of Scotland and later Lord President, and Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Lord Justice Clerk, followed the lead of the chief of Clan Campbell because they all shared similar outlooks and administrative duties throughout Scotland; these two were members of the political faction headed by Argyll and both were simply on his payroll, being employed by him in various estate and legal functions.

The methods used by the Clan Campbell in its historical expansion have been seen and in the post 1715 era the improved position of the Duke of Argyll and his faction helped to focus and intensify that Campbell drive in the Highlands in several ways. Firstly, of course, the general thrust of the Campbell policy continued along the same lines and this approach was not harmed by MacCailein Mor's elevated position in the various British political

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88. RH2/5/12.

spheres. More specifically, the Scottish Kirk, always something of a Campbell ally, emerged as a more significant political instrument and, as will be seen, the numbers of Campbells involved in implementing the kirk's (and Argyll's) religious and political policies increased. But perhaps the most significant aspect of Argyll's post-1715 policy was the direct dismemberment of traditional society in the old MacLean lands that had earlier been conquered by the House of Argyll. In these MacLean islands the native kin-based social and economic organisation was being systematically destroyed and the major feature of this attack was an all-out assault on the position of the daoin-uaisle, Gaeldom's traditional middlemen. With Argyll, Islay and those of their stamp exercising power throughout Scotland, these developments on the old MacLean districts of the Argyll estate had to have been an ill-omen to conservative-minded Gaels.

In the summer of 1737 Forbes of Culloden was sent by Argyll to the former MacLean islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree to evict the local daoin-uaisle (most of whom held tacks and were Campbells or their allies by this time, the old MacLean establishment having been largely destroyed). These tacksmen were seen as anachronistic and expensive middlemen. Despite attempts to depict these lease holders as "oppressors" who "ground down and impoverished" their tenants, and despite attempts to imply that these tenants, who stood by their tacksmen every time, were too dim to notice this alleged oppression, it is clear that the only true goals of Argyll and Culloden were to raise the rents, see the rents were paid on time and to ensure that these rents would be paid in cash and not in "kind" as had been the practice. When, as he admits in his report, Forbes re-issued leases

to a few of the same men he had previously labelled "oppressors" simply because they agreed to pay his desired rent, he destroyed any claim to even a secondary humanitarian motive. It is not reasonable to assume that an "oppressive" tacksman would be less tyrannical when forced to pay more. Here, Argyll was dismembering the basic structure of Highland society. Forbes of Culloden eventually succeeded, although his own report shows that he took troops along with him, used threats and actually turned a number of people off their lands when they refused to pay the increased rents.[89]

Documentation relating to this situation fails to show that these daoin-uaisle were a class of oppressors, but it does show that Argyll felt he no longer needed them, that he needed an excuse to do away with or alter them and that he, in many ways, was already an absentee landlord and needed money for his expensive life in England. The pressures brought to bear on Argyll's tacksmen were the result of new conditions, new pressures and changing situations and attitudes in the Highlands.

Many of these new pressures and changes have been mentioned. As has been seen in the Clan Ranald, the old problem of debts had been seriously exacerbated by the legal wrangles and debts flowing from the 1715 rebellion and the forfeiture.

The government also took a variety of steps to bring to heel the rebellious Highlands at the advice of friendly Highlanders such as Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, and military men, especially Field Marshal George Wade. Firstly, a Disarming Act was passed and while it could be termed a partial success, there is room for debate as to

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89. See Appendix III for an expanded discussion of this significant development, p.liii.

whether it represented more of a success for its Hanoverian authors or its Jacobite targets.

True, after the Act was passed few Highlanders openly carried weapons. On 2nd September 1726 Duncan Forbes of Culloden reported from the central Highlands that

> the spirit of Disaffection which, formerly, was very keen in this neighbourhood has to my observation very much lost its Edge. The Highlanders are at present in full rest, there is not the Least Complaint of Robberye or Depredations and a great stick is become as fashionable ane Instrument in a highlanders hand, as a Broadsword or Pistoll by his side, used formerly to be. 90

It is also true that the MacKenzies, Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, the Highlanders in Atholl, the Breadalbane kindreds and the MacDonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, Glencoe and Clan Ranald turned in some weapons. Wade reported "upwards of 2,600" by October 1725[91] - but every source agrees that these were usually old and in some cases completely worthless relics, and that the Jacobite clans retained their serviceable muskets and swords and actually imported poor quality weapons from the continent to turn in for the cash that the government was offering. Furthermore, in 1719 there was a report that 6,000 muskets had been brought into the Highlands[92] and in 1725 a Mr. Johnstone, the Customs Officer at Stornoway, reported that he spotted "three Muscovite ships" anchored among some islands a few leagues off Stornoway. Upon boarding the largest ship he discovered "between the Decks and all other parts ... was full of small arms, Slung and fix'd with Baynetts". But what gave Johnstone "the most suspicion" was the pilot, who

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90. RH2/4/324/238.
91. RH2/4/321/300.
92. Pine, op.cit., p.146.

despite three denials, was a Scotsman named Thomson and was "perfectly well known by the Collector [customs officer] several years before". Moreover, at dinner the officer

> found 24 Gentlemen at Table most of them dress'd in Rich Muscovite habits, but little conversation happened at Supper, ... but he believes them to be English and Scotch Gentlemen ... they had the aforsaid Pilot and several other British Pilots on board. 93

Also on board these ships, a 64 gun, a 50 gun and a 40 gun, the customs official "could not but further observe" Alexander MacKenzie, the uncle to the late Lord Seaforth and several other powerful Jacobite MacKenzies. Clearly, the rebellious clans were turning in poor weapons and to some extent replacing them with better arms.

This situation left the Jacobite kindreds armed and since all Highlanders had been ordered to turn in their arms and since Hanoverian clans were more dutiful towards that authority, these pro-government kindreds[94] who had played such an important role for the establishment in 1715 were left largely unarmed. This is the traditional interpretation and it holds much truth but, equally, it is known that the then Hanoverian stalwart Simon Fraser and his Clan Fraser were deeply involved in a lucrative business of importing and selling old European weapons. Moreover, in 1745 when the Frasers finally jumped off the fence into the Jacobite camp they did so well-armed. It is to be doubted that any conscientious Highland chief would have allowed his people to be completely disarmed in that uncertain pre-1745 world; but it is not to be doubted that the Hanoverian clans followed the government's dictates more scrupulously

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93. RH2/4/319/3.
94. Such as the Munros, MacKays, Grants, Sutherlands, Colquhouns, Menzies, Roses and Campbells.

and thus in 1745 were less prepared to go to war for their point of view than were their armed Jacobite neighbours.

Close after the end of the rising in 1715 barracks had been established at Kilcumein (Fort Augustus), Bernera (Glenelg), Ruthven (Badenoch) and Inversnaid (Loch Lomond). When Wade was appointed Commander-in-Chief in 1725 he erected or enlarged the bases at Fort August and Inverness (Fort George) into major fortresses and these two, along with the existing Fort William, formed the backbone of the government's defensive posture in the Highlands. . These three forts, termed "The Chain", gave Wade virtual control of the Great Glen, thus cutting the Highlands in two. These major forts and lesser garrison stations were connected by some 250 miles of strategically planned military roads and bridges constructed between 1725 and 1737 by military labour under Wade's direction.[95] Duncan Forbes of Culloden has left an excellent description of one of these early byways and of the effect all these new roads were having on the area.

> In coming from Perth [to Inverness] I chose the Highland road, By Blair in Atholl, and Ruffen in Badenoch, and my Journey had great Relief from the Highways, that are carrying on by Gen: Wade, it is no wonder the Highlanders should be astonished at the undertaking, for to tell you the Truth, I was not a litle [sic] surprised at the Regularity and success of the work, Roads so Rugged and Cross, that a single Horseman could not pass without Danger, and that were difficult Even for people a foot, are now as smooth as the Road from London to Hampstead, and in a little time will be passable by ane Army with its Artillery, notwithstanding the abrupt Declivity of some of the mountains. Here and there its true ane old Highland Chief, a fool, or a thief, is found to grumble at this work, which will make the outmost

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95. Katherine Tomasson and Francis Buist, Battles of the '45, (London: Pan Books, 1962), pp.20-21.

> Recesses of the Mountains no shelter for Rebells or Robbers, But the Gross of the people like it, Because it opens a communication with the Low country, and yields safe and easy means of exchanging their native commodities against those of their neighbours. 96

Another military development in this period was the advent of the Independent Highland Companies to assist regular troops in keeping order and attempting to suppress the habitual Highland trades of cattle lifting and blackmail (trades that were still considered honourable above the Highland line). It has been noted that these activities were not confined to the disaffected clans of western Inverness-shire.[97] In 1739-40 Ross was shaken as the MacKenzies, Rosses and Munros went on the rampage and freely pillaged and abused each other; in 1743 caterans carried out large scaled creachs in Badenoch and the northeastern Lowland plain[98] and throughout the period broken men such as the MacGregors and MacFarlanes were forced by their landless situation to fend for themselves as best they could, often resorting to illegal means. Indeed, it appears that the western kindreds such as the Clan Ranald who were in the conservative camp kept themselves reasonably quiet, perhaps so as not to attract any undue attention to themselves while they carried on with their perpetual Jacobite machinations.

Between 1724 and 1725 Wade began to form this Highland military police composed of Gaels from Whig clans who were felt most capable of curbing their fellow Highlanders in that rough environment. Such companies of Highlanders had been in existence since the reign of Charles II, but eventually had been disbanded because of corruption.[99]

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96. RH2/4/326/141/23 Aug. 1728.
97. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.93.
98. Ibid.
99. Tomasson and Buist, op.cit., p.21.

Under Wade's strict supervision the new companies did their work well. Six companies were established between 1724 and 1725. Commands went to Fraser of Lovat, Grant of Ballindalloch, Munro of Culcairn and three prominent Campbells. These companies seem to have been significant in keeping the peace in the area; in time they came to be the nucleus of The Black Watch, the first Highland regiment in the British Army.

Industry was also becoming a factor for change in the Highlands and Islands. In the early 18th century this represented only a minor development for the Clan Ranald. The traditional cattle trade remained the kindred's primary method of raising cash; although in the early 1730's kelping entered the Clan Ranald's Outer Hebridean holdings in a halting fashion. On 9th March 1731 Penelope MacDonald, Dowager Lady Clanranald, wrote to MacKenzie of Delvine that she could, as he had requested, persuade

> the country people here [South Uist and Benbecula] to undertake to make kelpe - the people Tells me if any ship or vessall will come and take it here from them they would make what would fraught a Veshall of hundred Tun but they expect to get 30 shillings st. the tun upon the place here but they are willing to take half money and the other half in goods. 100

Documentation from the later 1730's shows that Penelope MacDonald had succeeded in establishing a small kelping trade.[101]

While the Clan Ranald had not been seriously altered by the incursion of southern industry, this was not true of other Highland districts. Indeed, even some west Highland kindreds had adopted significant aspects of these new methods. For example, the politic-

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100. MS 1303/143.
101. GD50/216/43/pp.3-4.

ally conservative Clan Cameron, whose territories bordered those of the Clan Ranald, was involved in several "modern" commercial developments. Under the improving Cameron chief, Donald, younger of Locheil, the kindred's woods were being felled and sold, but this undertaking was scientifically managed so as to ensure a natural regeneration of the forest. As early as 1722 Locheil was dealing with outsiders who not only purchased his timber, but also set up an early iron furnace. There was some attempt at mining various minerals in Sunart. Also, Locheil and his brothers were involved in a variety of financial schemes in North America and the West Indies. Certainly, these west Highland ventures tended to bring strangers into the area and with them southern habits, attitudes and speech, but it would be a mistake to over-emphasise these business-related influences in the first half of the 18th century as a major force for cultural change. The Gaelic culture was on the defensive but it was not decrepit; there had always been outside influences working on Gaeldom. It is incorrect to imply[102] that this approach somehow robbed Locheil of his right to membership in the conservative block of west Highland clans or that his membership in that group "proved" that it was not a conservative faction defending its culture and language.

There was no inconsistency in making an estate pay for itself and maintaining the people, their language and culture, no inconsistency in changing and surviving in a difficult economic and political situation and attempting to alter it. True, the Hanoverian establishment stood for improvement and Locheil was involved in elements of

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102. As Lenman does, op.cit., p.245.

that type of improvement, but the Hanoverian faction saw the Gaelic culture as an impediment to that improvement; Locheil, Clanranald, their allies and followers did not see their own culture as an impediment. Naturally, they saw it as a necessary foundation to that improved future. No west Highland Jacobite chief was fool enough to have believed that victory in 1745 would have allowed Gaeldom to return to the 16th century, but they certainly felt that the survival of their culture and language was consistent with progress; the Hanoverian political and religious establishment surely felt it was not.

Indeed, Locheil may have been pointing towards a more realistic, natural and human manner for Gaeldom to enter the modern age - as it doubtless had to do. The following chapters will illustrate the moral and economic failure of the approach advocated (and eventually applied) by Locheil's political enemies. Here, it is felt that Locheil's moderate approach to increasing his estate's income and thereby improving his people's lot is entirely consistent with his pivotal role in the rising of 1745-46.

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The above are all examples of pressures from without coming in on traditional Gaeldom and there is one other sphere in which the traditional area was under assault, but in this important field of religion the conservative Gaels were giving as good as they got. The years between the two major 18th century Jacobite risings saw tremendous religious activity in the west Highlands and - very much related - throughout most of the Highland region.

As the period under consideration opened there were two major Highland religious groups outside the presbyterian establishment;

both denominations, the catholic and episcopalian, were strong and notably Jacobite. This study is of the catholic Clan Ranald and the leading role it played in Scottish catholic developments, but this necessary emphasis should not be permitted to obscure the fact that the majority of Highland Jacobites were episcopalian, not catholic.

When the Highland half of Scotland calmed down following the rebellion in 1715, the area's catholic strength was seen largely to rest on dual Highland catholic power blocks. In the central Highlands and north-east, the Duke of Gordon and his people sheltered catholics and their establishment. In the west Highlands and western Isles the remote territories of the Clan Ranald proved invaluable to the catholic church. In this era the Clan Ranald's "rough bounds" came to be notorious to the presbyterian leaders as the "popish bounds", and with good reason.

Alexander Gordon, the man who in 1716 became the 2nd Duke of Gordon, had played a prominent role as a Jacobite commander in "the '15" and on the unsuccessful close of that rebellion he had surrendered himself to a distant kinsman, the Earl of Sutherland, and was leniently treated by the government. Following that event Alexander took no further part in public affairs, but remained an ardent Jacobite and as the catholic records of the period state:

> None of his Predecessors exerted themselves so much in the cause of Religion and the defence of the Catholics as the present Duke for by his means the most of the designs of their enemies were either entirely defeated or their sufferings were alleviated. 103

The Duke's vast estate shielded the "greatest part of the Catholics in the low country [the north-east] and great numbers of

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103. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, p.162.

those in the Highlands".[104] His children were under the care of catholic teachers and priests, as were the children of other catholic landholders in the area. According to a report that was compiled in 1722 by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, there were "a number of Popish Schools" in the Duke of Gordon's country; the most conservative reading of this report indicates that there were six established schools with catholic teachers plus one seminary college.[105] This seminary, Scalan in Glenlivet, was referred to as "a famous Popish nursery" by the General Assembly and "for the better accommodation" of this college

> there is lately built a fashionable House with suitable office houses, a large Garden and guest Park for grasing well fenced about, this place belongs to Duke Gordon and there are brought youths from diverse corners in Scotland to be educat and after some stay at this nursery Such of them as are Judged most promiseing; specially such as have good friends in the country are pickt out by the Priest and sent regularly every year to Germany, ffrance and other places in great numbers to be farder taught and are returned some in orders, some as Physicians and some of other employments. 106

When the compilers of this report stated that youths, especially those "such as have good friends in the country" were selected, they were not engaging in empty rhetoric. Another presbyterian report, this one dated 1720, mentions these young catholic scholars and gives more detail about the reasons for this selection. After their initial selection, study at Scalan and a period of study abroad, these young men

> are returned in orders to Scotland, and by these means the nation is furnished with Priests suited

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104. Ibid.
105. MS 3430/239.
106. Ibid.

> to the genius and Language of every Country [Highland district]; and with Such as have friends and Blood Relations to Countenance and Shelter them. 107

Not only were these future priests selected with their "Blood Relations" in mind so they could be countenanced and sheltered, but also so the young priests could use that all important lever of kinship to assist them in their work, whether it be holding the line in established catholic regions or converting protestant kinsmen to Roman catholicism. It will be demonstrated below that one of the cornerstones of the period's successful catholic policies was the intelligent use of Scotland's, and more especially the Highland's, strong feelings of kinship. Finally, the people on the Duke of Gordon's lands were served by a number of priests and a bishop who resided on the estate; the bishop and at least two of the priests were Gordons.[108]

This Gordon catholic establishment went beyond the purely religious hierarchy. Land leases were ordered in a manner that was calculated to cement the catholic hold on the area. The General Assembly later reported that

> the best tacks of Land are set to papists who turn out all under them to make way for people of their own Kidney. And to close this scene, he that is factor [a Gordon] in that country is a papist who sets Tacks, uplifts Rents and orders all affairs there. 109

Clearly, the catholics were solidly entrenched in the Gordon country in the 1720's.[110] Late in that decade they felt secure enough to eject a presbyterian missionary and his flock:

> in the countries belonging to the Duke of

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107. MS 68/pp.31-32.
108. Ibid.
109. CH1/2/64, Memorial from the Presbytery of Aberdour, 1731.
110. CH1/5/51/p.104.

> Gordon [the Parishes of Ruthven and Belly] where the Papist did gather ... and in a violent and Barbarous manner Did beat and wound the Protestant Missionary and his meeting in the very act of Divine Worship, and Scatter them upon the Lords Day. 111

Meanwhile, a situation was developing in the west that was even more impressive than this Gordon establishment. Indeed, the Royal Bounty Records, compiled by the General Assembly's committee whose chief function was to observe and counter Highland catholics, relegated the Duke of Gordon's catholic establishment to a distant second place in 1726.

> The Committee took under consideration what had been formerly laid before them, with relation to some Places under the Influence of Popish Heretors, Judges, Factors, and Managers, who, it is alleged, Do maintain and support Popish Priests and Jesuits, so that Protestant ministers Preachers and catechists can have no access to deall with People for their conversion, Particularly in the countries that belong to the Late Captain of Clanronald, Bara and Benbecula. The Inhabitants of these parts being mostly Popish, also Duke Gordon's country, Glengaries and others. 112

A large number of other sources from this period confirms that on the Clan Ranald's territories, where "the Reformation never yet obtained",[113] the people were solidly catholic following an equally catholic hierarchy of daoin-uaisle and the Captain of Clan Ranald.[114] Under their protection flourished a substantial catholic religious establishment.

It was reported there was a priest serving Morar from his base on a small island, Eilean Ban, in Loch Morar and another travelling

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111. Ibid., p.184.
112. Ibid., p.136.
113. MS 68/31-2 and MS 3430/228; many other examples exist.
114. For example, see MS 3431/p.50; CH1/2/57/2/p.250; CH1/5/119/pp.10-36 and CH1/2/59/2/pp.192-3.

"betwixt Arisaig and Knodart" who had a chapel built above Keppoch in Arisaig. A third priest stayed in Eigg and Canna while two others served in the Outer Isles; one of these was described as "a jesuit who stayes constantly at Benbecula" and the other resided in South Uist where he sometimes "attends upon the Captain of Clanranald as his chaplain". In Barra there was still another priest, an Irishman, who rounded out the picture of this catholic set-up (in this period Barra was usually carried along with religious developments in its larger neighbouring kindred). Moreover, there were said to be two schools in Barra under catholic supervision and "a third Popish school at Clanronalds dwelling place in Southuist".[115] And it is not enough simply to say that "catholic education" was available. Another presbyterian fact-finding mission reported in 1720 that,

> In some places particularly in South Uist, which belonged to the Late Clan Ronald [and was still under the supervision of Clanranald daoin-uaisle, especially Donald MacDonald of Benbecula] there is no Protestant School, But even the few Protestants that Live there do send their children to the popish school, It is certain that disaffected Heretors are very much concerned to have Jacobites employed as Schoolmasters and Pedagogues and Governours of Youth, and this now very Comon, and is Like to be of fatal consequence to the Rising generation and our happy Establishment in Church and State if not timeously adverted to. 116

In another account written in 1720, it was recorded that in Moidart, Arisaig and Morar three priests, named Gordon, MacLauchlan and Paterson

> Live and avouedly Exercise their office in meeting houses built for the purpose which three priests are greatly encouraged and chiefly supported [on the mainland in the absence of Ranald the exiled chief]

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115. CH1/1/29/569.
116. MS 68/pp.31-32.

by Ronald McDonald Kenloch Moydart. 117

The Small Isles of Eigg and Canna were served by the three previously mentioned priests and one other known only as "Brother Neill". South Uist, Benbecula and Barra all shared the services of "old father Malcome Mcphie and Mr. McCurrie priests and others whose names are not come to our Knowledge". South Uist was also served by "an Episcopall Incumbant" whose name is only given as "Albert" who had "lived there these 40 years yet he never had above 18 hearers".[118]

Concerning this Clan Ranald catholic establishment, there is one other aspect that is of interest. While the tumults of the Reformation had reduced the material circumstances of west Highland catholics, certain late medieval splendours still remained to lend their particular and distinctive beauty to Clan Ranald places of worship and devotion. This was testified to in the account of Bishop Nicolson's 1700 visitation to the west Highlands and Isles.

> Kilmurui is close to Keppoch in Arisaig. In this chapel there are several tombs of a hard bluish stone, on which there are several ancient figures very well carved, but without inscription for the most part. One would not have thought that the people of these countries has as much skill in sculpture as these tombs show them to have had. There are some on which a priest, wearing the ancient form of chasuble is engraved; others have only figures of arms, such as large swords, or else figures of birds and other animals. There are similar tombs on Eilean Finnon (where the lairds of Moydart are buried), in Eigg, in Uist, Barra, and in several other islands off the North of Scotland. ... I also saw two stone crosses, well carved with strange figures; one in the cemetery of St. Columba, in the Isle of Canna, and the other at Kilchoam, in Knoydart. 119

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117. MS 3430/28.
118. Ibid.
119. Dom. Odo Blundell, The Catholic Highlands of Scotland, Vol.II, (London: Sands & Co., 1909), pp.120-21.

Scotland's presbyterian leadership was concerned with this west coast catholic stronghold and, using the Royal Bounty, mounted a variety of visitations, schemes and operations designed to reduce the catholic base. In early 1726 two presbyterian ministers, Archibald Campbell and Archibald MacLean, visited the mainland Clan Ranald territories "near three months" but "could get no Popist to hear them ... so had no manner of success". Furthermore, the two preachers reported that success would never be gained "while Popish Priests are suffered to reside there" and while "the Gentlemen of Influence in those parts are Popish and Papists [are] employed as Factors and Judges". They closed saying that five priests lived there and one bishop frequented the area.[120] In 1727 a similar report was submitted despairing about the situation existing there due to the "Popish Priests and Emissaries of Rome" and urging the removal of them and the plantation of "some Protestants and troops ... To contenance and protect the missionaries and their hearers".[121] The following year a further report complained of the continuing situation and proposed

> that Application be made to the Government for puting in Execution the foresaid Laws against Popery and to order that some Collonies of Protestants be settled in the countries of Moror, Arisaig, Moydart, Bara and South Uist, and Some of the Forces lodged there, To protect the Protestants, and countenance such as shall come to Profess the true Religion. 122

All this failed; later that year, 1728, James Stevenson, minister in Ardnamurchan, reported that the catholics on Clanranald's lands had "turn'd very Bold now" because the anti-catholic penal laws could not

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120. CH2/5/51/p.93.
121. Ibid., p.157.
122. CH1/5/51/p.187.

be put into effect. In the Clan Ranald's districts catholics "go through the country at pleasure" and Stevenson reported that he and the two catechists who accompanied him on a recent visit had "met with a great deal of opposition".[123]

Clearly, the situation in the west Highlands was not going well for the presbyterian faction and the late 1720's brought two further disquieting developments. In 1726 Stevenson had submitted a report and it contained a brief mention of the situation in Sunart. He observed:

> That there is one pendicle of this Parish called Sunard seventeen miles distinct from Ardnamurchan, Ten miles in length, and six in breadth wherein are Three hundred Protestants in Danger of being prevented by reason of their neighbourhood to Moydart. 124

It does not appear that Stevenson's colleagues took this warning seriously; soon, they would realise that this complacency was a grave error. The second positive development for catholics in this period was the realisation of Bishop James Gordon's long struggle to have a Highland bishop appointed. As was seen,[125] he failed in his attempt to have himself named for the position, but despite his personal failure he remained faithful to Highland catholics and eventually succeeded in having another appointed.

Bishop Gordon felt a Highland bishop was necessary for several reasons. Gordon turned sixty in 1725 and realised that he could not continue to serve Strathbogie to Benbecula and all points between forever. The journey to the distant Highlands and Islands was arduous and time-consuming, and in any case Bishop Gordon believed

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123. Ibid., pp.395-96.
124. Ibid., p.94.
125. See above, p.355.

that a bishop who constantly resided in the Highlands would be of more use. Gordon pointed out in a 1725 report to Rome that a Highland bishop, on the scene,

> alone would be equal to many missions and by his vigilance and exhortations animate the people to a constancy in their faith especially if he instructed them in their own language which would be a great comfort to them, and besides that being on the Spot he would have the Country under his eye and be ready to take such measures as the circumstances required for the advancement and support of religion and might with time ordain Priests born in the country. 125

Several candidates were considered after Gordon's personal attempt had been blocked by his own parishioners and priests who considered him indispensible in the north-east. Gordon acquiesced in this matter, but warned that if a bishop were not readily named for the Highland area, he "was determined to go to the Highlands himself and spend the remainder of his days in that country".[127] Firstly, a young priest, James Grant was considered and even selected, but despite his "great zeal and solid piety" he was "quite ignorant of the world and awkward in his carriage and outward appearance".[128] Grant was aware of these shortcomings himself and requested to be able to go to France and "even to Rome" for polish, instruction and to meet his superiors in the Vatican. Grant spent the last part of 1727 and the first part of 1728 in Rome where he became ill, somewhat confused and eventually "disappeared altogether".[129] Thereafter, Bishop Gordon

> had some thoughts of proposing Mr. Colin Campbell [of the Ardslignish duin-uasal

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126. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.114-15.
127. Ibid., pp.134-35.
128. Ibid., p.136.
129. Ibid., p.153.

> family in Ardnamurchan] 130 both on account of his birth, the great power of his family, his numerous Relations and Connections in the Highlands. 131

But eventually certain unspecified "scandals" held back his nomination. Finally, in 1731 Bishop Gordon succeeded in having Hugh MacDonald, a Clan Ranald duin-uasal, named as bishop.

Hugh MacDonald was a younger brother of Allan MacDonald of Morar. Bishop Gordon described him as being

> of a clan the most numerous [here the bishop probably meant the MacDonald clan rather than the more specific Clan Ranald] and which had the greatest weight in the country. He was more remarkable for his zeal and piety than for his birth and was endowed with great prudence and modesty though rather young. 132

Hugh MacDonald was finally approved and named bishop by the authorities in Rome on 12th February 1731.[133]

In the midst of this campaign to select a Highland bishop, an event occurred that seriously harmed catholic power in the north-east and to a considerable degree diminished that area as a useful catholic base. On 26th December 1728 the Royal Bounty Records stated that Alexander, Duke of Gordon, had unexpectedly died and that his wife, a protestant, was using her new power to confound area catholics. The

> Dutchess and the other Protestant Friends of that noble ffamily having the children thereof Educated in the protestant Religion. 134

As would be expected, catholic records of the period have a much

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130. William Ferguson, "The Problems of the Established Church in the West Highlands and Islands in the Eighteenth Century", Records of the Scottish Church Society, Vol. XVII, 1969, p.23.
131. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, p.168.
132. Ibid., p.183.
133. Ibid., p.187.
134. CH1/5/51/p.397.

more sombre tone. The Duke "was cutt off in the flower of his youth by a short illness of five days in the month of nov.".[135] The loss of Alexander Gordon was to the catholics

> the greatest Stroke the mission had felt since its institution. ... The Bps. the Missrs. and the Caths. were in the greatest consternation, Nor were they so much concerned for their present misfortune and the loss of one man as they were alarmed for the future, for [Bishop Gordon] foresaw that the Children would be educated Protestants and that a most noble family which had continued firm in the cath. Religion ever since the Reformation and had been a nursing mother to the faithful would now be separated from the church. 136

The Duchess of Gordon, "though a bigotted Protestant" had a "great Esteem" for Bishop Gordon and recalled him but this only led to his having to witness scenes that he found unsettling. He observed that

> of four sons that the Duke left the eldest was not above ten years of age, they were immediately taken out of the hands of Mr. Robt. Gordon the chaplain of the family and delivered over to Protestant Preceptors. 137

Robert Gordon was dismissed and the chappels "in Fochabers and the castle" shut up. Bishop Gordon recorded that there had been an agreement between the Duke and Duchess that the sons were to be educated in his religion and the daughters in hers, but the Duchess did not follow this pact and Bishop Gordon "durst not venture to insist on it".[138]

On 13th January 1729, Walter Morrison, missionary minister working in the Enzie for the Royal Bounty, reported that "now Matters go much better in that Country than formerly" and that he had

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135. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, p.162.
136. Ibid., pp.162-63.
137. Ibid.
138. Ibid.

> full access to his work, and meets with much Civility from the people there, and that the papist seem to be under a Damp at present. 139

It would be a mistake to over-emphasise the nature of these transformations in the Gordon countries. Bishop Gordon was still on the job, his establishment - including the seminary college of Scalon - was largely intact and most of the area's folk were still catholic, but a real change was taking place. Gone was the important protection from the top. The future Duke of Gordon, his brothers and sisters were being raised and educated by picked presbyterians. Their mother was overseeing the management of the estate. Soon protestant factors would begin to replace catholic lease holders with presbyterians. By default the western portion of Scotland's twin catholic power blocks, the Clan Ranald's remote "Popish Bounds", assumed a more significant position both to catholics and their foes. And as has been seen, this western catholic camp got a new energetic MacDonald of Clan Ranald bishop in early 1731.

One of Bishop MacDonald's first acts was highly significant and was, doubtless, facilitated by Bishop Gordon's knowledge of the Highlands and feelings about its special problems. This early act was the parcelling out of the various districts between the two bishops. From contemporary evidence

> it is clear the Bishops took for their principal rule in dividing the districts the language that was spoke in the different countries concerned. Glenlivett and Strathavin are the only exceptions. These Bp. Gordon designedly kept in his own Vicariate though the Erse at the time was the only language spoke in them on account of his Seminary being settled at Scalon. 140

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139. CH1/5/51/p.409.
140. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, 1732.

This care for the language of the Gael exhibits an understanding on the part of the period's catholic leadership that was seldom, if ever, displayed by the Church of Scotland. For this approach and because of the usefulness of the Clan Ranald's "Popish Bounds", catholics would soon reap rewards.

Not only were the Clan Ranald areas well served by priests who lived securely in their districts and held religious services in houses built for that purpose, not only did the catholic Clan Ranald hierarchy of daoin-uaisle and chiefs combine with the remote and rugged geography to protect this catholic establishment, but in 1731 Bishop MacDonald was actively occupied in shoring up this power structure; and he contemplated expansion. His next step was the creation of his own seminary. With Bishop Gordon's advice he selected Eilean Ban in Loch Morar as a fit site and in 1732 "as early as the Season would permitt" he began to build. "So active was he in the execution of this work" that before the end of June there were "four youths training up for our colleges abroad" and several other students also in residence.[141]

In this period those implementing the Royal Bounty received a report from Donald MacLeod, minister of South Uist, in which he specified conditions on Clan Ranald's territories. His depiction of the Clan Ranald's solid catholic establishments is thorough and, despite his presbyterian bias, telling:

> It is the Influence of popish Heretors,
> Baillies, ffactors, and Chamberlains, and
> Priests that continues popery among them,
> by keeping the people in Ignorance and
> Slavery, and oblige them to Blind obedience,

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141. Ibid.

and that the Law against papists Succeeding to and purchasing Heretage, Is Eluded by pretended protestants taking the Rights in their name in Trust for the Behoof of papists, and leave the whole Management to them, whereby popery is continued and strengthn'd, and protestants Discouraged and if in such places any show the least countenance to his majestys Government and protestant Religion, they meet with great Discouragement, and have no protestant Magistrate or others in power at hand to protect them. 142

MacLeod was frank; he felt the catholics had the whole area under control and that any further presbyterian attempt to penetrate this catholic stronghold was hopeless. He observed that further protestant missionaries would

> have no access in those parts to do any service, and there the priests are increased in their number, so that until some Remidie be provided in this matter, It seems to be of no purpose to send missionarys to such places, where the Inhabitants are wholly popish or under the above mentioned Influence. 143

Because of this report and their past experiences with the Clan Ranald's "Popish Bounds" the commissioners of the Royal Bounty simply gave up the struggle for this area and decided to focus their funds and attention on other districts "where parishes are wide and populous, and also where people are in hazard of popery".[144] And throughout the Highlands there were, indeed, wide districts where the people were "in hazard of popery".

Ardnamurchan,[145] Glenshiel,[146] Kintail,[147] Lewis,[148] Loch

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142. CH1/5/51/p.419.
143. Ibid., p.420.
144. CH1/5/51/p.420.
145. CH1/5/119/p.9, 1737 Gen. Ass.; CH2/557/6/p.22, 1729, Argyll Synod; and CH2/273/1/p.40, 1734, Presb. of Mull.
146. CH1/5/119/p.35, 1737, Gen. Ass.
147. CH1/2/55/327-28, 1727, Gen. Ass.; and CH1/5/119/p.35, 1737, Gen. Ass.
148. CH1/2/66/1, 1734, Gen. Ass.; CH1/5/119/p.35, 1737, Gen. Ass.

Arkaig,[149] Badenoch,[150] Appin and Lismore,[151] Glencoe,[152] Lochalsh,[153] Mull,[154] Sunart,[155] Keppoch,[156] Glengarry,[157] Lochaber and Rannoch,[158] Glenelg,[159] Gairloch,[160] Muck and Rhum,[161] Enzie,[162] Ruthven,[163] Belly,[164] Abertarff[165] and Perthshire[166] all appear in specific documentation between 1726 and 1737 as being areas where active and, to varying degrees, successful catholic missionary work was carried out. The Records of the General Assembly, the Royal Bounty, various Synods with Highland concerns and Highland Presbyteries abound with accounts of catholic threats and advances throughout the period.

This is not to say that great catholic advances were being

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149. CH1/2/59/2/54-55, 1729, Gen. Ass.
150. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1926, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/51/p.75, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.
151. CH1/5/51/p.430, 1729, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/119/p.16, 1737, Gen. Ass.
152. CH1/5/51/p.430, 1729, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/119/p.16, 1737, Gen. Ass.
153. CH1/5/119/p.35, 1737, Gen. Ass.
154. CH2/557/6/p.22, 1729, Argyll Synod; CH1/59/2/pp.192-93, 1729, Gen. Ass.
155. CH1/5/51/p.94, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH2/557/6/p.22, 1729, Argyll Synod.
156. Throughout the first half of the 18th century the people of Keppoch wavered between the catholic and pretestant camps. Catholic missionaries were active in this struggle. CH1/5/51/p.449, 1729, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/2/59/2/83-84, 1729, Gen. Ass.
157. In this period the Glengarry folk tended to be catholic but since protestant pressure was heavy, the catholic church adopted strong counter-measures. CH1/5/51/p.560, 1730, Royal Bon. Rec.
158. GD95/1/2/p.149, 1727, SSPCK; CH1/5/119/p.10, 1737, Gen. Ass.
159. CH1/5/119/p.9, 1737, Gen. Ass.
160. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/2/55/327-28, 1727, Gen. Ass.
161. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/51/p.99, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.
162. CH1/5/51/p.154, 1727, Royal Bon. Rec.
163. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/51/p.154, 1727, Royal Bon. Rec.
164. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/51/p.159, 1727, Royal Bon. Rec.
165. CH1/5/51/p.10, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.; CH1/5/51/p.97, 1726, Royal Bon. Rec.
166. CH1/5/119/pp.33 & 35, 1737, Gen. Ass.

made in all these cases. In Glenshiel, for instance, "some popish Heretors" were bringing catholics from other areas and were discouraging protestants to settle there

> Yea priests and popish Gentlemen have been allowed profitable ffews and Tacks, whereby they are incase to bribe poor Ignorant people to come over to their way. 167

Here in Glenshiel, a start was being made but the numbers being converted were not large. However, in other cases substantial populations were at stake. Such a situation existed in Kintail where a missionary priest had "perverted to poperie upwards of six hundred people". The General Assembly decried this serious state of affairs in Kintail that had allowed several children to be "Baptized according to the rites of the Church of Rome which was not done in that parish since the reformation",[168] and the next year sent an address off to King George stating that in some Highland Parishes where there had been "scarce a Dozen of Papists their numbers have increased to seven or eight hundred".[169] Clearly, a great missionary effort was underway in the west and northwest Highlands and it was meeting with notable success. The level of success varied from region to region, but there can be no doubting the significance of this crusade or the importance of the causes behind its progress.

At this point it is important to bring this religious picture into proper perspective. In general this was not an auspicious moment for Scottish catholics; the Scottish catholic camp was in decline in most areas. In 1737 the General Assembly produced a

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167. CH1/5/119/p.35.
168. CH1/2/55/2/327-28.
169. RH2/4/327/88.

report entitled, "State of Popery in Scotland, 1713-37".[170] This study observed that overall "the Interest of popery and Jacobitism in Scotland does not appear to be so universall ... as formerly".[171] In only 30 of its 964 parishes could the presbyterian authorities find any catholics, "So that popery is not growing in Scotland, but has decreased".[172] In the "Southern, Western and Eastern parts" the catholics had lost ground and also "now there is few or no papists in the remoter Northern parts" but

> of late it has increased in perthShire ... Also in the countries belonging to his Grace The Duke of Gordon, where many did apostatise to Poperie, before the death of the Late Duke ... and the great strength of Popery in Scotland now lyes there, also about Braemar, Lochaber, Ardnamurchan, Arisaig, Knoydart, Morhir [Morar], Southuist, Bara, Egg and Cana, which belonge to Clanronald and his popish friends. 173

Catholicism was on the decline in Scotland except in a few areas such as Perthshire where it was "under the Influence of the family of Perth", the north-east where the Gordons and particularly Alexander, the former Duke, had been so resolute and the west Highlands and Islands where the Clan Ranald stood firm. From the Clan Ranald's secure "Popish Bounds" catholic missionaries moved through the western Highlands in their profitable struggle for the religious allegiance of the Gael. The methods employed in achieving these catholic successes are exciting and they tell an important story.

The first clue concerning the reasons for the catholic success occurs in the previously used document from 1731 where the

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170. CH1/5/119.
171. Ibid., p.5.
172. Ibid.
173. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, 1731.

new Bishop Hugh MacDonald consulted with his experienced colleague, Bishop Gordon and, with the exception of the area where Gordon's seminary was located, they divided their respective bishoprics along linguistic lines. Gaelic speaking areas went into Bishop MacDonald's area and Scots speaking districts remained under Bishop Gordon's care. This exhibits an intelligent and informed approach on the part of the catholic hierarchy; also, it can be interpreted as displaying a positive attitude towards the Gaelic language and culture. This interpretation will be supported on the following pages where an equally impressive and thoughtful catholic missionary effort will be seen to employ basic elements of Gaeldom's kin-based culture. Doubtless, this understanding and use of the Gaelic language and aspects of the Gaelic culture were powerful weapons in the catholic arsenal.

When the catholics scored the above mentioned success in Kintail where "upwards of six hundred people [were] ... perverted to popery" it was no lucky accident for them. A substantial portion of Kintail was peopled by MacRaes and the priest the catholic authorities sent into the area was named Alexander MacRae.[174] In 1729 a report was submitted to the Commissioners of the Royal Bounty from the Presbytery of Glenelg. It was concerned with the area around Loch Arkaig. There the local inhabitants were followers of Cameron of Locheil, although they were not Camerons themselves; they were MacPhees. The Glenelg report stated that

> there will be the greatest hazard of a Large Branch of that parish [Kilmaly] being overune with popery; for besides that it lyes in closed by popish countries, There is a priest latly come from abroad, call'd Macphie which is the name of the tribe that lives in Lochairkak,

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174. CH1/2/55/2/327-28.

> This priest was once among them already and
> Told them he would come to settle in their
> neighbourhood in [the adjacent] Glengarrie
> and would choose that for his charge before
> any other place from the prospect of Doing
> good, as he called it, to them his Kinsmen. 175

A report dated 28th April 1729 from the Presbytery of Abertarff takes the same tone but as the area is different and the local kindred is different, of course, the priest's surname is different. Old Coll MacDonnell the chief of the MacDonnell of Keppoch had "in harvest last ... Declared himself popish, and says he has been so in judgement for thirty years bygone". The priest who had recently been working in Keppoch was named Peter MacDonnell. The Abertarff account observes

> The great advantage that one priest McDonald who
> Resides and Trafficks in that parish [Kilmallie]
> has [stems] from his being linked in Blood
> Relation with Keppoch, and almost all the Gentle-
> men in that parish. 176

Further evidence of this sort is available. The records of the Presbytery of Mull mention Francis MacDonnell, a former priest who had become a protestant minister. While still a priest, MacDonnell had been first settled in Eigg and Canna and later in Moidart. All these charges were MacDonald of Clan Ranald areas and Francis MacDonnell was the cousin of MacDonnell of Barrisdale.[177] Labouring in the central Highlands, working in and around the Grant districts was the young priest, Alexander Grant.[178] In the 1740's Allan MacDonald served as a priest on the Clan Ranald lands and Aeneas MacGillies was employed on Glengarry's western territories.[179] In Glengarry's Knoydart and throughout that entire western seaboard area

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175. CH1/2/59/2/54-57.
176. CH1/2/59/83-84 and CH1/5/51/p.449.
177. CH1/2/84/1744.
178. CH1/2/64.
179. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.193-94.

the names Gillies and MacGillies were common. Moreover, it should be remembered that Hugh MacDonald, the man who became bishop, was a younger brother of the Clan Ranald duin-uasal, MacDonald of Morar, and when Hugh was selected church officials noted that he was "of a clan the most numerous and which had the greatest weight in the country",[180] and this, after Colin Campbell had been rejected because of unspecified "scandals" despite "his birth, the great power of his family, his numerous Relations and connections in the Highlands".[181]

Isolated pockets of catholics also existed on the fringe of the Highlands such as the estate of the Duke of Perth where a fascinating situation existed. After the death of the catholic Lord James Drummond, his two sons "were taken from under the Government of the Protestant friends of that noble Family" and the boys were "sent abroad to be Educated" by catholics. In 1728 at the time the General Assembly produced this report:

> The Estate is managed by Mr. John Drummond, a son of the Late Earl of Perth [ and a catholic], who is Commonly called Lord John Drummond, and he Employes under him Lodovick Drummond of Wester-feddals as a factor, an avowed Papist who was very active in the Late Rebellion, and proclaim'd the Pretender at the Cross of Crieff and for their assistance to pervert the People Mr. Alex-ander Drummond a Priest, and a Smooth cunning man, is avowedly Intertained at Castle Drummond, where he keeps his Idolatrous worship on the Lord's Day, and pretended Holy Days, to which a great many do Resort. 182

While this Perthshire area is out of the west Highland region, this particular document is useful because it illustrates so dramatically how the catholic kin-based policy was designed to merge with the

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180. Ibid., p.183.
181. Ibid., p.168.
182. Ibid., p.183.

natural kin-based situation that still existed in a variety of Scottish situations.

One further example of this type is found in the west adjacent to Clan Ranald's territories and, as will be seen, the nearness of the "Popish Bounds" was very much a factor. In this case the previously mentioned priest, Colin Campbell, was doing missionary work among his kinsmen in Ardnamurchan. As the Presbytery of Mull reported on 3rd April 1729, Colin Campbell

> who is a considerable Gentleman by Birth and who has great Influence upon the Inhabitants here, some of them being natives, kindly men and followers of the heads of that ffamily from which this priest is descended, has constant residence in his Brothers house here, who has been perverted with his whole ffamily by him about two years ago. 183

His brother was Alexander Campbell of Ardslignish. The Lorn Presbytery stated that Colin Campbell had converted along with Ardslignish "his wife also Mr. James Campbell [of Eriskay, their] brother and Angus McDonald, which Gentlemen have great influence in the country".[184] With the important support of these landholders Colin Campbell.

> travels the country to and fro, preaching upon and deluding the people in the most prejudicial manner imaginable, He with two of his Brethren who reside now there, Joyn hand in hand for promoting a popish Interests and have too great success, they will not allow the Catechists sent by the committee to that country to teach, catechise or Instruct the protestants inhabiting the Lands pertaining, and belonging to one of their Brethren being Heretor there. The Catechists are discharged by them upon their peril from coming into his lands and the people are threatned to be depossessed if they shall Lodge

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183. CH1/2/59/2/192-3.
184. CH1/2/57/2/250-2.

> them or receive any Instructions from them. So that in a little time in all probilitie, the poor protestants in these Lands must yield and fall. 185

The tenants on the lands of the newly converted Alexander and James Campbell and Angus MacDonald were given the choice of being turned off their portions or of becoming catholic, neighbouring Moidart, Arisaig and Morar providing a plentiful supply of catholic replacements for those evicted.[186]

As this situation in Ardnamurchan had started to develop back in 1728, the Synod of Argyll had decided to write to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell to inform him of the problem and "Earnestly" to entreat him to use his authority to stem the catholic tide.[187] But a letter from James Stevenson, minister of Ardnamurchan, dated 20th February 1730, shows Lochnell had failed to control the situation. Stevenson said that the situation remained critical and, in fact, had worsened because James Campbell of Eriskay, Colin Campbell's brother, was "fully resolved to be a priest" and had gone to a seminary.[188]

There is one other point that must be made regarding this catholic kin-based missionary work. These missionaries could not work out of a void and a close look at the period's documentation reveals that the secure "Popish Bounds" of the Clan Ranald with its friendly and easily accessible shores, its firmly entrenched catholic establishment and the protective solidly catholic Clan Ranald provided an excellent centre for these missionaries. Of course, not all catholic missionaries worked from this base. It was not convenient

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185. CH1/2/59/2/192-3.
186. Ferguson, "Problems of the Established Church", op.cit., p.23.
187. CH2/557/6/p.11.
188. CH1/2/62/3/20 Feb. 1730.

to work Perthshire or Braemar from Moidart, but a look at the above list of those areas where the catholic missionaries were active in the 1720's and 1730's[189] shows that a substantial majority of these areas were west and north-west Highland and thus easily accessible from the various Clan Ranald holdings.

A 1728 petition from the Presbytery of Lorn decried the "most deplorable condition of the Wild and Barbarous Highlanders of Scotland", especially in

> Moydart, Arisaig, and Morhir three Popish Pendicles of the said Parish [of Ardnamurchan] are in the Highest Degree Imaginable disaffected to his Majesty King George and his Government, and Profest Enemys to the Protestant Religion ... [the catholics on the Clan Ranald's lands are] not Satisfied with their Liberty to live Peaceably at home without the least disturbance, Do venture farder, and disperse themselves into Protestant countrys and ... are gaining ground. 190

A General Assembly report "Anent the Growth of Popery" was submitted in 1727. It concerned the three large Highland Presbyteries, Gairloch, Abertarff and Lorn.

> The Bounds of these three Presbyterys are of a vast Extent, In some places thereof The Reformation had never any footing and in other places thereof, many have of late appostalized to popery, and others are in Danger of being perverted by reason of their Neighbourhood to Papists, and the many Priests and Emissaries of Rome travelling Continually among them. By the Accounts the Committee had from these [three Presbyteries] they Corresponded with It appears, that the Papists seem to be now Doubling their Dilligence not only to maintain their ground, But also to gain Proselytes, for which, it is said they have great premiums from abroad, and no small Encouragement at home. That party seeing their cause in hazard, from the methods lately set on foot, under

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189. See above, p.401.
190. CH1/2/59/2/250-2.

> the kind countenance of our Gracious Soverign, 191
> are Doubleing their number of their Priests,
> Erecting Schools, and printing new Books. 192

And, finally, in the above case of the MacPhees of Loch Arkaig, the Glenelg Presbytery records noted that the area was in danger of "being overune with popery" due to the fact that the MacPhee district "lyes in closed by popish countries";[193] to the west Loch Arkaig is bounded by the Clan Ranald's Arisaig and Morar and to the north by Glengarry.

Clearly, the presbyterians were aware of this missionary push and its successes. It is interesting to note that they were also quite aware of the kin-based tactics being employed. In a 1729 report to the Commissioners of the Royal Bounty the Glenelg Presbytery accurately observed of Highlanders that

> It may be Easily imagined that they will have
> a greater regard for a priest with whom they
> are Acquainted and who is their Friend and
> Relation than for a Minr. who is a stranger
> to them. 194

Strangely, the Church of Scotland continued to meet this threat in a somewhat uninspired fashion. Countless report were written, visitations planned and occasionally a visitation was even carried out. True, the Royal Bounty and the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge were used to some effect, but it is impossible to deny that (and difficult to understand why) the leaders of Scotland's Kirk avoided reacting to the kin-based catholic threat with kin-based counter-measures, but surely they did avoid such

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191. Royal Bounty and SSPCK.
192. CH1/5/51/p.157. For similar, if more brief, reports tying the Clan Ranald country into this catholic kin-based missionary effort, see CH1/5/119/p.2 and CH1/5/51/p.94.
193. CH1/2/59/2/54-57.
194. CH1/2/59/2/54-55.

tactics. Indeed, a situation existed in the menaced Presbytery of Lorn and the surrounding districts that displays an even more bizarre presbyterian policy.

In 1729 Archibald Campbell, minister of the Parish of Kilmallie, recorded the above mentioned account that stated the priest Peter MacDonnell was so successful in Keppoch "from his being link'd in blood relation with Keppoch and most of all the Gentlemen in that parish".[195] In this same year another Archibald Campbell, this one the minister of Glencoe, Appin and Lismore, reported that his parish was seriously threatened by catholics. Not only was Peter MacDonnell known to have been active in the area, but also catholic records of the period place "the Roman Agent Mr. Stuart" in the area doing missionary work at about that same time. Stuart was

> born in Ireland of Scots parents. He was of a distant branch of the family of Apin. He studied and was ordained Priest at Prague, in Bohemia. He from thence went to Scotland where he performed the duties of a Missionary for a year or two. 196

Keppoch, Glencoe, Appin and Lismore are examples of important west Highland MacDonald and Stewart areas in danger of being converted, certainly by a MacDonald priest and probably by a Stewart priest, and the presbyterian establishment reacted by installing, or at least maintaining, two Campbells. Not only did the officials of the Kirk choose to ignore the reality of catholic success with kin-based missionary activity, but also it stubbornly selected Campbells to counter them in a number of instances.[197] Perhaps, the animosity

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195. CH1/2/59/2/83-84.
196. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, p.107.
197. For example, Hugh Campbell, Wester Ross, 1721-47, Lauchlan Campbell, Ardnamurchan, 1727-55, Dugall Campbell, Appin, Lismore and Glencoe, 1719-24 and Archibald Campbell, Mull and Morvern, 1729-42. Hew Scott, ed., Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Vols. 4 & 7, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915).

towards the Clan Campbell in the Highlands has been exagerated by some writers, but as has been seen in several sections of this study, this animosity was a real factor and doubtless it was strong in these areas and in this period. Why the presbyterians chose to ignore this situation and chose not to use a kin-based approach of their own is not discernable from documentation seen in this search. What can be noted, however, from documentation is that in this period when catholics were making big strides, six out of the seven parish ministers in the Presbytery of Lorn were Campbells[198] and, incredibly, only in the Parish of Ardnamurchan where the priests Colin Campbell and James Campbell worked successfully, and where there was a considerable population of Campbells, did this single non-Campbell minister labour.[199]

True, the "Popish Bounds" and certain adjacent areas were places where "the Reformation never set foot" and a negative presbyterian attitude on religious and political grounds towards that region is understandable, but even in areas that were not catholic and where presbyterian ministers had been active for generations, this same anti-Gael sentiment is evident. In 1725, for example, the committee appointed by the General Assembly for managing the Royal Bounty observed of the people of Rannoch and surrounding districts:

> These are an Ignorant Barbarous and unciviliz'd People, among them have been sheltered in the Memorie of old persons yet living, a set of profligat Wretches, who make a Trade of stealing and preying on their Neighbours. 200

One of the authors of this report also submitted a letter; it is included in the collection. This man, a "Mr. A. Logan", had been in

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198. CH2/557/6/p.11.
199. CH1/2/62/3.
200. CH1/2/53/2/202.

the Highland districts in question and his letter states that he felt the Royal Bounty should be used to provide English-speaking

> Preachers to travel among these People as a probable way to bring the English Language into esteem in these places where it begins to be something known, and it is certain wt. me that the surest way of expelling the Irish Language, that Nursery of Ignorance and Propharity [profanity], is to propagate the English diligently in these lowest places of the Highlands. 201

In the Highland areas where the English language had gained a foothold, the Church of Scotland was already attempting to exclude Gaelic. In 1735 at Maryburgh, the early companion town to Fort William, there was no Gaelic-speaking minister and the Synod of Argyll decided not to send one despite having been so requested. It reasoned that there was a Gaelic-speaking minister available outside the town in the surrounding parish and that since there were "many hundreds in the burgh of Maryburgh that understand not the Irish" it would be to the advantage of the region to keep a Gaelic-speaking minister out of the town because of

> the great advantage that rebounds to Religion in these bounds by having those of that town well instructed and kept under Godly discipline. 202

Apparently, the Synod equated "Godly discipline" with English. And it is equally obvious that the Kirk of Scotland equated the Gaelic culture and language with the catholics and episcopalians; all were its enemies.

Before leaving this section on religion, one other specific Clan Ranald development must be touched on because, while it had no great significance in the pre-1745 religious and political situation,

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201. Ibid., (enclosure).
202. CH2/568/1/p.150.

it was to have the greatest influence on future developments within the kindred. Ranald MacDonald, the 17th Chief of Clan Ranald, known as "the Elder Clanranald" in the Rebellion of 1745-46, and his half-brother Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale bothmarried ablewomen. Clanranald was married to Margaret, the daughter of William MacLeod of Bernera, and Boisdale was married to Margaret, the daughter of Hector MacLean of Coll; these two ladies were protestants. By remaining faithful to their religion Lady Clanranald and Lady Boisdale set in motion changes that were to have considerable effect on the religious development of the Clan Ranald and especially South Uist and Benbecula.

The resolute nature of these two ladies is seen in the series of letters to the General Assembly requesting another minister for South Uist and Benbecula because of the lamentable and "melancholy state of this parish of South Uist" which they felt was "possibly in a worse situation than any other wt in the bounds of this national church". In these letters Ladies Clanranald and Boisdale pledged "to promote the Interest of Religion in general, and that of the Reformation in particular".[203] This they would do with notable effect, but it must be observed that this tiny presbyterian inroad into the Clan Ranald's Outer Hebridean hierarchy would have no effect until 1745 and, indeed, no great effect until long afterwards.

Up until that point, the Clan Ranald remained a stalwart in the west Highland catholic camp and, while the 1715-1745 period was not auspicious for the catholic church throughout Scotland, it did enjoy a period of notable success and growth in the west Highlands. Often operating from the Clan Ranald safe base catholic missionaries

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203. CH1/2/72/23 May 1740, etc.

recorded notable successes throughout this remote region using kin-based tactics. At the same time the Presbyterian Kirk, while recognising the catholic's use of kinship and their success with it, never chose to develop a counter-policy based on kinship; indeed, the presbyterian point of view which was largely negative towards the Gaelic culture and language would have inclined them away from such an approach.

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The conclusions to be gained from the west Highland kin-based catholic success must be seen against the backdrop of the overall poor showing of Scottish catholics in the period and against the backdrop of the presbyterian refusal to employ kin-based tactics. The only Scottish area where the conservative catholic church grew and prospered was the tradition-bound west Highlands and Islands and it prospered at least in part because the Church of Scotland refused to adopt conservative kin-based counter-measures. In this culturally conservative region the two old forms of religion[204] and the politically conservative Jacobites truly prospered.

A major theme of this study has been the centuries-long struggle of these tradition-bound west Highlanders to conserve elements of their old culture. From the seven major attempts to restore the fallen Lordship of the Isles, through the re-unifying glories of Montrose to the last Highland rising, the same area and the same kindreds were centrally concerned. It is of little surprise that

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204. Presbyterian and government records also contain a good deal of information on episcopalian developments, a few of the more interesting examples are: CH1/2/29/569; CH1/5/51/p.183; CH2/568/1/p.78; RH2/4/330/205 & 206; RH2/4/327/88.

this same area was attached to conservative religious camps, especially when those religious factions chose to welcome and employ elements of that culture and its language against a presbyterian kirk. The Church of Scotland certainly saw and acted as if it saw the culture of Gaeldom as one of "Ignorance and Barbarity" and not only refused to use comforting aspects of that culture in its administration, but intended to root out that culture and language along with its religious foes.

Consciously or subconsciously the folk of this region were always inclined towards religious and political groups that were conservative and thus offered the hope of protecting their old culture and language. Doubtless, the religious conservatism existed; doubtless, the political conservatism existed; to ask which grew from the other is to miss the point; they both naturally grew from a tradition-bound, culturally conservative folk attempting to preserve and shore up their old way of life and ancient tongue. And they grew in a common-sense manner as a reaction against religious and political foes who stood for change and saw Gaeldom as a barrier against it.

# CHAPTER VIII

Late in the summer of 1745 a variety of intelligence reports from the "Popish Bounds" began to carry ominous news south. Several of these reports were supplied by Church of Scotland preachers such as Lauchlan Campbell, minister in Ardnamurchan, who learned from one of his parishioners that Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender had landed on the coast of Kinlochmoidart. Rumours flew, chiefs met and in the minister's words "all my Jacobites were in high spirits ... the people were like to go mad".[1] Campbell, true to his convictions if not those of his flock,[2] hurried his information to Donald Campbell of Auchindoun, Argyll's factor, who was living in Mingary Castle. Auchindoun quickly forwarded the tidings southwards.[3]

Eventually, as the news spread, Captain Alexander Campbell, Governor of Fort William, was able to notify the Duke of Argyll that Ranald MacDonald, younger of Clan Ranald, Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, Alexander MacDonald of Glenalladale and a number of other Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle had boarded the Prince's ship "with pipes playing" and that the "Country men" of the district

> were telling they were not to arm till a landing of men from France in the north and that then the Popish Bishop was to take their oaths, that they wou'd be true to their offices and wou'd not fly or quit the cause untill victory or death; for that this is the last opportunity they are to have and that they hoped to have some campbells by the

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1. Sir James Fergusson, Argyll in the Forty-Five, (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), pp.11 & 13.
2. In a sense presbyterian ministers often functioned as spies on their parishioners and, in part, this helps to explain why they were often quite unwelcome in disaffected area. For examples, see CH1/2/53/2/202; CH1/2/59/54-5 and CH2/568/1/p.11.
3. Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., p.14.

necks in a months time. [4]

The "Forty-Five" is a story that has been told far too often and often told far too poorly. No study of this nature could, or should, avoid this topic, but the well-known aspects of that event will not be rehashed yet again. However, several aspects of this rising are especially relevant to this study and some of them have hitherto received little convincing attention. They will be looked at and, interestingly, it will be seen that they are all touched upon to some degree in the above quote of Captain Alexander Campbell.

The whirlwind start of this rising defies logic and gives credit both to Prince Charles Edward's appeal and to west Highland fidelity, but that fidelity had limits and even in those first few days the Prince's flawed character was a factor. The Clan Ranald's central involvement in this rebellion's birth is well known. Firstly, the Prince landed on the Clan Ranald's island of Eriskay and then on 25th July 1745 he landed on the kindred's mainland district of Kinlochmoidart. Despite two trips to Skye by Clan Ranald gentlemen, the MacLeod and MacDonald chiefs there reneged on their promise to rise with Prince Charles because he had not fulfilled his part of the bargain by bringing French troops and arms. Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale, the major Clan Ranald duin-uasal in South Uist, who was loyal to the cause and his kindred's Jacobite point of view but was appalled by the Prince's lack of preparation and support, is often unkindly depicted in Jacobite studies; in fact, he offered the Prince good advice, urging him to land on Skye, reasoning that if he did so, thus placing his person in the hands of

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4. RH2/4/342/213.

> Hugh. 'A very small stock of either,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'What generals or officers fitt for commanding are with him?' said Mr. Hugh. 'None at all,' replied Kenlochmoydart. Mr. Hugh said he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. 'I cannot help it,' said Kenlochmoydart. 'If the matter go wrong, then I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already.' 5

They parted and the Bishop did meet the Prince that night. The conversation did not go well. Manuscripts in the Catholic Archives state that Prince Charles asked Bishop Hugh for his opinion and advice.

> The B. candidly told him that the country was not prepared for his reception; and that his arrival had not been expected till the year following, That any attempt at the present time would endanger his person, and probably ruin his best friends; that therefore his advice was to return to France immediately in the same ship and wait for a more favourable opportunity. This advice was not relished by the young adventurer, and the B. was little more consulted, all this I have heard repeatedly from B. Macdonalds own mouth. 6

Despite these setbacks and ominous conversations, support came and, firstly, it came from the mainland Clan Ranald. During an early meeting on board the Du Teillay various Clan Ranald gentlemen, including Ranald, elder of Clan Ranald, his son, Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, Donald of Kinlochmoidart, Alexander of Glenalladale, Aeneas of Dalilea and at least one other, probably Alexander MacDonald, the poet and SSPCK school teacher turned Jacobite propagandist and officer, were all present; from these men the prince gained his first support.

In his 1827 study Robert Chambers rightly observed:

> Considering that no other chief had yet declared for him [the Prince], and that, indeed, the

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5. Charles Sandford Terry, ed. The Forty-Five, a Narrative of the Last Jacobite Rising by Several Contemporary Hands, (Cambridge: University Press, 1922), p.23.
6. Thomson, Some Account, op.cit., Vol.II, p.191.

> enterprise might never advance another step, it must be acknowledged that the Clanranald family acted with no small share of gallantry; for there can be little doubt that if he had retired, they must have been exposed to the vengeance of government. 7

Soon after this Cameron of Locheil threw his support to the Jacobites and thereafter the Rising was real.

On 15th August a report was sent to the "sheriff of Argyll", presumably Archibald Campbell, the Sheriff-Depute of Argyll, from "one employed by him on the confines of Moidart to get intelligence". He reported that

> Clanronald's people are now in arms, the Camerons, Stewarts and MacDonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch are gathering. They have left in this country but one man in each Farm. 8

The Jacobite standard was unfurled at Glenfinnan on Loch Shiel on 19th August and from that point it was a race. The Clan Ranald, the Clan Cameron, the MacDonnells of Keppoch and some Gordon horse who had arrived under old John Gordon of Glenbucket left the "Rough Bounds" and moved quickly towards Fort Augustus. As had been arranged, they met with several clans en route: the Stewarts of Appin, under Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, arrived first, closely followed by the MacDonalds of Glencoe, the men of Glengarry under Alasdair Ruadh MacDonnell, younger Glengarry, and a few of the one constantly Jacobite section of the Clan Grant, the Grants of Glenmoriston. The majority of the Glenmoriston kindred, however, joined later.

Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from his safe distance) wrote to Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, and

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7. Robert Chambers, History of the Rebellion of 1745-46, (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1934), pp.28-9.
8. RH2/4/343/p.345.

voiced an attitude that was fairly common among the non-Highland Hanoverian establishment concerning the rebellion and its Highland soldiers.

> I look upon the rebellion in Scotland as crush'd as soon as our army gets there; the Highlanders will then return to their dens, and trust to their damn'd country for their security. 9

But the little Highland army was not trying to avoid a fight. Already, it had a couple of victorious skirmishes to its credit and was rushing towards its first tactical target, Corrieyairack Pass, and an expected battle. The Jacobite force hoped to gain the pass before the army of Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope arrived. Cope's force consisted of 3,800 troops, 700 mounted; they were "inexperienced and ill-armed".[10] This oft made point, however, needs to be balanced. The Highland army was not yet quite half that size, it hardly had any mounted men and none of the clans had seen action since 1715.

Cope's objective had been to strike quickly into the Highlands and crush the rebellion "in the bud". Probably this tactic was a mistake. It might have been better to use Argyll's 1715 tactic of bottling up the north by holding Stirling at the Forth, but it is best to remember that this tactic of striking north quickly was not simply Cope's brainchild; it had been determined on in advance with the consultation of Duncan Forbes of Culloden and the Lords Justices as a contingency plan.[11] Moreover, it had worked in 1719 for Major-

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9. Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., p.33N.
10. David Daiches, The Last Stuart, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), p.114. (They may have been inexperienced but it is known that they were well-armed enough to have carried extra arms for their expected Highland allies, while some of the Gaels were armed only with scythe-blades tied to poles, Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.72.)
11. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.27.

General Joseph Wightman. It did not work in 1745. It failed largely because Cope did not get the support he expected from the "loyal" Hanoverian clans. They did not rise for him partly because they were unarmed, thanks to their loyal adherence to the Disarming Act; but more important, since Cope carried extra arms, because as groups and on individual levels many of these "Hanoverian Gaels" had mixed emotions.[12] Due to this lack of support and doubtless with Killiecrankie on his mind, Cope altered his course and moved off towards Inverness, leaving the road south clear. Cope chose to go to Inverness because he feared the journey back through the Jacobite Atholl district and also he hoped to find ships in Inverness for quick transportation back south. While in that northern town the Clan Munro, the first Hanoverian kindred to stir, joined Cope.

From that point the Highland progress was remarkable. Corrie-yairack was cleared "like lightning" and while passing through Badenoch Ewen MacPherson of Cluny brought in his men, then in Atholl the Robertsons, the Stewarts and one very important individual, Lord George Murray, a younger brother of the Duke of Atholl, rallied to the standard. Murray was well respected by the chiefs and has been described as "a commander of genius, greater in many respects than either Montrose or Dundee",[13] whose "outstanding ability and strength of character were to make him the mainspring of the Highland army".[14] Also, as was the case in every Highland rising, various individuals and small groups, including a number of the scattered MacGregors, made their way to the Jacobites. Back in the Highlands, the MacKinnons

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12. See J.L. Campbell's Songs, op.cit., for a variety of pro-Jacobite poems from Gaels who were theoretically Hanoverian.
13. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.151.
14. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.34.

and the remainder of the Grants of Glenmoriston under their chief Patrick Grant were on the march and the MacLauchlans were holding ominous meetings at Castle Lauchlan.[15]

Perth was captured and there the Ogilvies, under Lord David Ogilvy, and James, Duke of Perth, with a number of his retainers, mostly Drummonds and some MacGregors, joined the Prince. It was at Perth that the Prince first really did his "Bonnie Prince Charlie" act and when so doing he chose as his attendants James Drummond, Duke of Perth, Laurence Oliphant of Gask and Robert Mercer of Aldie. Notably, the Prince's onlyimmediate west Highland attendant was the horse that carried him, previously supplied by Donald MacDonald of Tirnadrish.. The Lowlands were in a panic and the force moved on Edinburgh.

Before continuing this account of the progress of the campaign, it is necessary to turn to several specifically Highland questions. It is often claimed that a sizeable portion of the Highlanders who served in the Jacobite army were forced out by their chiefs and daoin-uaisle.[16] It is often claimed, but outside of one form of extremely suspect evidence, it is never documented in the west Highlands. The Jacobites drew the vast bulk of their fighting men from two basic areas - the central and western Highlands and the north-east Lowland plains. There is evidence that some of the people in the north-east were forced out and, indeed, there is evidence that this also happened (later in the campaign) in the Atholl district of the central Highlands,[17] but other than the

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15. RH2/4/343/p.345.
16. Prebble, op.cit., p.51 and Mitchison, op.cit., p.338.
17. MS 5138/133.

reasonable plea of captured Highland Jacobites facing execution or transportation, there is no evidence that the chiefs of the western clans had to force their people out. Indeed, there is evidence of both a general and specific nature that forcefully leads to the opposite conclusion.

The Clan Ranald itself provides a good deal of convincing material on this point. As has been seen, on 15th August, Neill MacNeill who lived in Clan Ranald's Canna wrote to his brother Hector MacNeill, "pistol maker in the Land of Torlusk in Mull". He was sure Hector would have heard by the time of the letter's arrival that "King Charles is in Arasaig" and that the Clan Ranald was to be at the gathering in Glenfinnan and then Neill stated, "I am not sure whither I go to the standard or not as I have some business with Clanranald".[18] This man had not yet decided whether he would join the Prince or not. Clearly, he was not being coerced. The lists of prisoners after the rising contain a number of the men of Clan Ranald's Canna and Eigg as well as the mainland areas of Arisaig, Moidart and Morar. If Neill's neighbourhood was not under duress it is highly unlikely, especially given the following evidence, that any other Clan Ranald district was. Further testimony comes from the Clan Ranald's Ranald MacDonald of Belfinlay and Ranald MacDonald, a son of Angus of Borrodale, and it indicates that while on his last visit to Skye attempting to persuade Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat to join the rebellion Ranald,younger of Clan Ranald, was, instead, persuaded by Sleat of the cause's hopelessness. Young Clanranald returned to his country with second thoughts. But when he voiced

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18. GD14/29.

them back in Arisaig, he found his kindred so determined to rise "whether he should head them or not" that, eventually, he was brought back to his former resolution.[19]

In the Clan Ranald's Outer Hebridean islands another fascinating situation was developing. Despite his Jacobite convictions, Alexander of Boisdale had returned to his home in South Uist convinced of the cause's hopelessness and that the Prince lacked the wisdom and fibre needed to see the rebellion through. So Boisdale had returned to South Uist determined to use his every endeavour to prevent the men of Benbecula, South Uist and Barra from rallying to the rebellion. According to the ministers in the Presbytery of Uist, to whom his actions must have seemed both heroic and surprising, Alexander of Boisdale did great service to the Hanoverian cause. They reported that he prevented the people of South Uist from taking the grain sent to them by the Prince (it had been a difficult year). Later, when some Jacobite officers visited South Uist, Boisdale

> insulted them, laughed at their project, and discouraged everybody from going with them ... It is well known that by his endeavours the country people there were kept at home though numbers of them inclined to join the rebels. Nay, he expressly threatened to beat some who were offering to go.

The Presbytery of Uist also testified that later when two Spanish ships bearing money and arms arrived in South Uist and Barra offering to transport the Jacobite Outer Hebrideans to the mainland past the Hanoverian blockade to the rebel army, Boisdale,

> did all he possibly could to hinder the inhabitants of South Uist and Barra from meddling that

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19. Robert Forbes, The Lyon in Mourning, Vol.II, (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1896), p.256.

> way, and it was in a great measure owing to his influence that they continued peacably at home. 20

However, it is necessary to point out that an intelligence report, dated 14th December 1745, makes it clear that a number of "M Donalds of Clanronald's men" were taken from "South Wiste[Uist] and some adjacent isles ... and landed on the mainland". This account puts the number of men carried to the mainland at 300.[21] This numerical estimate is open to question; that the Spanish ships did, indeed, transport a number of the Outer Hebridean Jacobites ashore against Boisdale's wishes is not.[22] Despite his great efforts, threats of violence and the wide inhospitable Minch with the Hanoverian ships patrolling, a number of the people of these islands were able to join the Jacobites. "Forcing out" was not an issue for the Clan Ranald in 1745-46 unless the mainland members of the kindred's "forcing out" of Ranald, their young chief, is counted and, in the Outer Isles, the men of the Clan Ranald came out despite Boisdale's force.

Evidence of this type also exists concerning other kindreds, especially in the west. The MacLeods of Skye were capable of putting over 1,000 men in the field, but such was the disappointment at Dunvegan when Sir Norman MacLeod (who once candidly admitted that his only military experience was "to wear a sword at my A_se"[23]) announced his intention to serve the Hanoverian side, he was only able to raise 200 men to follow him.[24] Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, very much

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20. MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.664-66.
21. GD50/229/3.
22. See RH2/4/346/322. It is interesting, however, to note that Captain John Fergussone, whose ship HMS Furnace patrolled the western waters during and after the rebellion, gained a different impression of Boisdale. To Fergussone, he was "as great a Rebel as any on [one] that was att the Battle of Colodon" (MS 3735/309).
23. MacLeod of MacLeod, Box 56, no.110 23 March, 1744.
24. Moncrieff, op.cit., p:24.

a Jacobite at heart and especially hostile to the Campbells,[25] never actually took any action against the Jacobites.[26] In the central Highlands, 1,100 Grants rose and offered to follow their chief, Sir James, on the condition he follow the Prince. He declined and when his son, Ludovick, attempted to raise a force to serve the Hanoverians, he could only induce 95 men to follow him.[27] Aeneas, the Mackintosh Chief of Clan Chattan, was a government officer in the Black Watch in 1745 and at least nominally remained true to his commission, but his wife, Ann Farquharson, assembled 800 of the men of Clan Chattan for the Jacobites and under Alexander MacGillivray of Dunmaglass they served with distinction.[28] The number of Highlanders such as MacLeods, MacKenzies, Grants, MacRaes, Forbeses, Menzies and a few Campbells who found their own way to the Prince's army against the wishes of their chiefs is noteworthy.[29] When the Highland army won its race to the Corrieyairack Pass and its commanders decided to take the open road through Atholl to the Lowlands a number of the Highlanders were so angry that Cope's force had been allowed to escape without a fight that they decided to go home. They had to be rounded up by their officers.[30] They did not fear a battle because they had been "forced out"; rather they were irritated at having been cheated out of a fight.

In the west Highlands and in most areas in the central Highlands the people were not forced out. They held strong Jacobite

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25. GD14/18/1744, Campbell of Stonefield Papers.
26. Moncrieff, op.cit., p.24.
27. Ibid.
28. Cambers, op.cit., p.220.
29. GD50/224/3; RH2/4/346/432; RH2/4/352/110; RH2/4/355 & 358 and RH2/4/360/128.
30. Daiches, op.cit., pp.118-19.

points of view and there was no need to force them out. Within the Clan Ranald and in most other kindreds the situation was actually quite the reverse of the image given by popular writers.[31] Most kindreds, and certainly the Clan Ranald, were Jacobite from top to bottom; it was a popular cause. All these Gaels shared conservative points of view and a willingness to act on those beliefs but, interestingly, the documentation shows that the commoners seemed to have more inclination to throw caution to the wind than their chiefs whose positions of responsibility[32] combined with Prince Charles' total lack of foreign support to act as a restraint. An excellent illustration of this solid pro-Jacobite attitude mixed with caution is found in the account of a conversation that took place between Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare and his chief Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat when Sleat reviewed his clan at Portree in 1745:

> The people denied rising in arms if Sir Alexander did not go and join the Prince; upon which the people all dispersed. I[Hugh of Baleshare] told Sir Alexander I was vexed at the disobedience shown by the people to their Chief. He told me to keep silence. It was all by his private orders, as it did not lay in his way to do him [the Prince] good, he had no intention to do him hurt. 33

And, indeed, even after the months of poor quality Jacobite leadership, the many empty promises of foreign aid, the continued burning and pillaging of their homes and the bloody debacle of Culloden the common people of the western Highlands were still spoiling for a fight.

> The common people ... especially among the Camerons, Clanronalds, Glengarys and Glen Morisons are all ready to espouse the smallest opportunity to

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31. Prebble, op.cit., and Mitchison, op.cit.
32. And in a few cases, such as that of Sir James Grant of Grant, their beliefs.
33. D. MacDonald, Clan Donald, op.cit., p.428.

> appear in arms again, and for that purpose have certainly concealed some arms. 34

These were not the sort of men who needed to be forced out and their battle record shows it.

Another specifically Highland issue that must be dealt with here has already been introduced in the above quote of Captain Alexander Campbell, Governor of Fort William, who, when reporting on the situation in Moidart on the eve of the rebellion, stated that the "country men were telling ... that they hoped to have some campbells by the necks in a months time".[35] As this study has pointed out, the bad blood between the Clan Campbell and the kindreds of the conservative block of the west Highlands was real and was one of the basic reasons behind the Highland participation in the various Jacobite risings. These causes have been discussed; in 1745 they continued to be significant factors and the Campbell conquest over the Clan MacLean and the recent reorganisation on the old MacLean lands that saw the social system torn apart by Argyll's man, Forbes of Culloden, cannot have reassured conservative Gaels. Indeed, in 1745, the anti-Campbell feelings were especially strong, much more so than in 1715.

Not only did the men of the Clan Ranald "hope to have some campbells by the neck", but other western clans held the same point of view in this period. Archibald Campbell of Stonefield reported that Donald Cameron, younger of Locheil, was no friend of the Campbells:

> It galls him that he is so much in the power of the ffamily of Argylle; nor does he stick to say that the late Duke [John, the 2nd Duke] was a man of no Honour. 36

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34. RH2/4/360/42 (late 1746).
35. RH2/4/342/213.
36. GD14/18 (1744).

Of Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat and his kindred, Stonefield observed,

> Sir Alexander MacDonald and his whole Tribe and following are Jacobites, and inveterate Enemies to the ffamily of Argyll; This they never conceal; Sr. Alexander himself has picked up a collection of stories relating to Injustice, oppression & c all said to have been exercised by the ffamily of Argyll upon their Vassals and Dependents of other names, which he relates to all strangers at his own Table, and in other places as opportunity offers. 37

It is to be noted here that most of this scorn was reserved for the family of Argyll and not the folk of Clan Campbell who were, after all, Gaels too.

The Jacobite Highlanders never seem to have quite given up the belief that eventually the Campbells would convert. The letter of one of Clanranald's people, written on the eve of the rising, shows that originally special care was to be taken not to harm Campbells:

> Clanronald his Regiment and Glengaries Regiment and som others is to be ordered to argyll shire to raise the McNeills, McDonalds and Mcallisters there but they are not to molest any Campbells if they don't oppose the cause. 38

Moreover, in the early days, Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald poet, even included the Campbells in his "Oran nam Fineachan Gaidhealach" or "Song of the Clans". Of them he, somewhat unrealistically, said:

> The Campbell clan will surely
> Bring strength into thy camp; ... 39

The situation that later developed was quite different than Alasdair MacMaighstir Alasdair here envisaged.

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37. Ibid.
38. GD14/29.
39. Campbell, Songs,op.cit., p.77.

Edinburgh fell on 17th September. There was no resistance although the city's citadel fortress held out.[40] Four days later, on 21st September 1745, Cope's army, that had been transported from Aberdeen to Dunbar was destroyed at Prestonpans. The Highland army wavered for a moment when it received the first volley from Cope's force, but quickly regained its composure, and so rapid and frightening was the Highland charge that there never was a second volley from the hapless troops. The carnage was terrible and most of Cope's heavy losses came from the rending Highland broadsword; the battlefield "presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with heads, legs, arms and mutilated bodies"; one stroke from a Highland officer's blade is reported to have severed the raised arm of its victim and penetrated his skull, killing him instantly.[41] Britain reeled. Raw, untrained Highland levees had routed a well equipped regular force. With the exception of a handful of government castles and forts and a few Hanoverian Highland districts, Scotland lay at the Prince's feet.

The Battle of Prestonpans, or Gladsmuir as the Gaels termed it, had a variety of results. A second wave of Jacobite recruits began to arrive, most notable of which were the men of Clan Fraser, led by Simon, young Master of Lovat. His father, Lord Lovat, that unscrupulous but nevertheless attractive scoundrel, had finally allowed his post-battle euphoria and Jacobite heart to get the better of his famous establishment caution. For once he made a bold and straightforward move; he jumped off his fence into the Jacobite

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40. The MacLauchlans, Robertsons, some Menzies, more MacGregors and Grants arrived at this point before the battle.
41. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.72.

camp. He made a mistake. Though the recruits were numerous, almost all of them were from the Highlands or the north-east.[42] For all the much vaunted "Bonnie Prince Charlie charm", the cause was not popular in the south. Very few presbyterians joined the rebel standard. The Jacobite army was actually comprised of about 70 per cent episcopalians and 30 per cent catholics.[43] The Battle of Preston-pans had other results. It restored and strengthened in their foes' eyes the old myth of the "wicked Hielandmen" and it gave the Prince the fatal impression that his Gaels were invincible.[44]

Despite Lord George Murray's better judgement, the Prince demanded an invasion of England. There was friction between the Prince and Murray, his most able commander, and after the capture of Carlisle the Prince dismissed him. But in so doing he had under-estimated the will of his Gaels. He was bluntly informed by the Highland chiefs that they would serve no commander other than Lord George. The crisis abated for the moment when the Prince backed down. As the small army marched through Cumberland and Lancashire it became obvious that the reports of substantial numbers of Jacobites in north-west England had been over-stated. Very few English rallied to the standard and on their recruitment turned the future of the rebellion. By Derby it became obvious that no help was to be had in England and the dissension among the Jacobite leaders was great. Marshall Wade was at their rear and General John Ligonier commanded a substantial and growing force in the midlands; either force was

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42. After the battle the MacKinnons, MacPhersons, Lord Ogilvy, Gordon of Glenbucket and Lord Lewis Gordon all arrived, as well as additional members of the existing clan regiments.
43. Ferguson, Scotland 1695 - Present, op.cit., p.151.
44. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., pp.72 & 80.

much larger and better equipped than the Jacobite army. On 6th December, after much debate, the chiefs agreed with Lord George. They had done much more than could rightly be expected. Despite so many promises by other Jacobites and the French, nothing ever seemed to materialise. The little army turned back. But it was not a defeated army. It retired in an orderly fashion behind a well conducted rear-guard directed by Lord George. Once at Clifton the pursuing Hanoverians got too close and Lord George turned on them with the MacDonnells of Glengarry, Stewarts of Appin, MacPhersons of Cluny and John Roy Stewart's troop. It was a brief, sharp,night skirmish and, thereafter, the army of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, followed rather than pursued.

The situation back in Scotland had not remained static. Once the Jacobite army left, Cope's successor, Lieutenant-General Roger Handasyde, had marched from Berwick and re-occupied Edinburgh. In the north the Hanoverian clans, under the direction of Forbes of Culloden, had occupied Inverness and Major-General John Campbell of Mamore (the future 4th Duke of Argyll) was in the west trying to get the Argyllshire militia into fighting shape. And, at sea, always London's strong suit, the Royal Navy kept French equipment and any possible French troops away. In Perth, the Jacobite commander in Scotland, William Drummond, Lord Strathallan, had been joined by the Frasers, a substantial number of MacKenzies under George MacKenzie, the Earl of Cromartie,[45] the Farquharsons and a regiment of the Clan Chattan; these had recently been joined by Lord John Drummond and

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45. Of him, Campbell of Stonefield had observed in 1744, "when sober is a cautious man, and a Whig; but when drunk, he is a Jacobite - In short, he is a Jacobite in his heart". (GD14/18)

the "French" troops, who were the French Royal Scots and sections of the Irish Brigade, usually styled as the "Irish picquets". Strathallan's force numbered between 3,000 and 4,000 men, almost as many as followed Charles to Derby.

After following the Jacobite army out of England, the Duke of Cumberland had been recalled to take control of the forces in southern England where a French invasion was still feared. His replacement was the "brutal and incompetent"[46] Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley. After a poorly mounted attempt at a siege of Stirling Castle the Jacobite army withdrew to Falkirk where James Maxwell of Kirkconnel recorded:

> By this time most of the reinforcements were arrived from the North, or so near that they could not fail of being up before an action could happen. They looked mighty well, and were hearty. The McDonalds, Camerons and Stuarts, were almost double the number that had been in England. [47]

Some of these men were the Outer Hebridean men of the Clan Ranald who had been brought ashore by the earlier mentioned Spanish ships.[48]

The Battle of Falkirk occurred on 17th January 1746, and like all three battles of the campaign was a confused one. When the Jacobites marched towards their enemy, General Hawley was informed but chose to remain in his comfortable lodgings some distance away from his army. He had a very low opinion of Highland troops and could not believe the Jacobite army could be so rash as to attack him.[49] Eventually, upon hearing his own drums "beat to arms" he

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46. Ferguson, Scotland 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.152.
47. James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, Narrative of Charles, Prince of Wales' Expedition to Scotland in the year 1745, (Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1841), p.98.
48. See above, pp,425-26.
49. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.110.

rushed off. His arrival, without his hat, galloping in with "the appearance of one who had abruptly left a hospitable table"[50] could not have comforted his troops. He quickly took his first look at what was to be the battlefield while the Jacobite commanders assembled their lines. As usual, the Highlanders were to carry almost all the load: on the Jacobite left stood the three Clan Donald regiments, Clan Ranald, Glengarry and Keppoch, then the Farquharsons, MacKenzies, Clan Chattan, MacPhersons, Frasers, Camerons and Appin Stewarts.

Hawley, under the impression that Highland troops could never withstand cavalry, ordered his to attack. Most were killed or broken when the Highland regiments fired a devastating volley at 10 yards but a few pressed on and broke into the Clan Ranald regiment. An account of this action has survived.

> The most singular and extraordinary combat immediately followed. The Highlanders [the Clan Ranald], stretched on the ground, thrust their dirks into the bellies of the horses. Some seized the riders by their clothes, dragged them down, and stabbed them with their dirks; several again used their pistols; but few of them had sufficient space to handle their swords. [Ranald, Younger] Macdonald of Clanranald ... assured me that whilst he was lying upon the ground, under a dead horse, which had fallen upon him, without the power of extricating himself, he saw a dismounted horseman struggling with a Highlander: fortunately for him, the Highlander, being the strongest, threw his antagonist, and having killed him with his dirk, he came to his assistance, and drew him with difficulty from under his horse. In short the resistance of the Highlanders was so incredibly obstinate, that the English cavalry, after having been for some time in their ranks, pell mell with them, were in the end repulsed, and forced to retreat. But the Highlanders not slacking the fight [the Clan Ranald and Glengarry Regiments], pursued them vigorously with sabre strokes, running after them as quick as their horses, and

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50. Ibid., p.112.

> leaving them not a moment's respite to be able to recover from their fright; in so much that the English cavalry rushed through their own infantry in the battlefield behind them; there it immediately fell into disorder and dragged their army with them in their rout. 51

These Clan Ranald and Glengarry men could not be stopped by Lord George Murray who wanted to keep the line intact. Some of them "pursued the dragoons", some "fell a plundering the dead" and a large body of them kept intact followed the dragoons who ran down their own Glasgow militia.[52] The Glaswegians who managed to survive their own cavalry were immediately set upon by the advancing Gaels. Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald poet, reported that the Jacobite left

> had not been fully formed when the attack began on the right; a considerable body of the enemys horse came up also to attack them but receiving part of the fire of our left they broke and ran off; their infantry comeing in upon that side were opposed by some four battalions who receiving the enemys fire went in amongst them sword in hand and drove them down the gill with great impetuosity and slaughter. 53

The enemy was broken. The clans advanced but the left wing halted when Colonel John Roy Stewart suspected a trap (the right being obscured by a hill), thus many of the enemy opposing the Jacobite left escaped. Many of those opposing the Jacobite right were similarly lucky because the Clan Ranald and Glengarry regiments were largely useless after their premature charge.

Like Prestonpans it was a short sharp affair and a notable victory for the Jacobites, but the weather, and according to Lord George

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51. James de Johnstone (the Chevalier), Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746, (London: Longman, 1821), pp.122-23.
52. Maxwell, op.cit., pp.103-104.
53. George Lockhart, ed., The Lockhart Papers, Vol.II, (London: William Anderson, 1817), p.502.

Murray, the Gael's lack of discipline and the incredible lack of a commander for the Jacobite left prevented the complete destruction of Hawley's force. The lack of a commander for the left of the Jacobite front line appears to have been due to an amazing oversight on the Prince's part and, indeed, before the battle Lord George had twice reminded him of it. By all accounts the Prince had never fully regained his spirits and initiative after the turn-back at Derby.

A Gaelic poet of note happened to be serving against the Jacobites in the Argyllshire militia that day. This poet, Duncan Ban MacIntyre, has left an account of the battle entitled "Oran do Bhlar na h-Eaglaise Brice", or "A Song on the Battle of Falkirk".

Once while we, the Whiggish army,
  Were down on the Scottish Lowlands,
Chanced the Rebels to come on us,
  Folk whose company liked we little;
When they put the retreat on us,
  And pursued us to make slaughter,
If we had not used our feet well
  Ne'er again had we fired musket. ...

'Twas the Lowland troop that lost most,
  Death and slaughter they received;
We did flee from unknown country
  When a third of us had fallen,
Ne'er again shall I go forward
  To the Whiggish King's assistance. 54

In a second poem to this battle Duncan Ban sang:

... We were bold and full of courage
  Going up towards the hillside,
But before we got in order
  Down on us came the Rebels!
Not for long the field did we hold.
  When we scattered from each other,
Then indeed the red-coat soldiers
  Did receive a thorough mauling. ...

Ne'er before was such a thing seen
  Since the day of Inverlochy. ...

All our Englishmen retreated

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54. Campbell, Songs, op.cit., pp.196-99.

> At the onslaught of Clan Donald,
> 'Twould indeed their lives have shortened
> To have faced the mighty heroes. ...
> Who had come to win the kingdom
> For their King and for the right cause; ... 55

A second regular British army had been destroyed by the Highlanders, a people who had earlier been shrugged off as "dregs and scum" by a prominent Lowland official.[56] The shock was profound; the Duke of Cumberland rushed north with reinforcements.

At this juncture, however, all was not well with the Jacobites. Their councils were even more confused. Instead of pursuing the remnants of Hawley's shattered army, time was wasted continuing the siege of Stirling, an objective of doubtful value. Also, because the victory had disposed of any immediate danger, because the siege was boring, idling work, especially for the Highlanders, a number of them drifted off and

> sauntered about all the villages in the neighbourhood of their quarters, and abundance of them had been several days absent from their colours. 57

Because of this "desertion" it was decided, over the Prince's objection, that on the approach of Cumberland the Jacobites should pull back into the Highlands for the winter, reduce the government forts there and, in the spring, with their Highland bastion cleansed of enemy troops, start a fresh campaign with well over 10,000 men. The Jacobites retired and as they did so, two facts became apparent. Firstly, the "desertions" were not nearly so numerous as had been believed, the "saunterers" returning. Secondly, some Highlanders had indeed gone home but for quite legitimate reasons.

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55. Ibid., pp.206-209.
56. RH2/4/344/79, (Andrew Fletcher of Milton, Sept. 1745).
57. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.131.

Events back in the west Highlands inclined some of the western Gaels to go home, not to desert the cause, not primarily to transport loot, but to see to their families and homes. The image of the raping and pillaging Highlander is but slowly being put to rest. Documentation makes it clear that not only did the Jacobite Gaels behave in a decent fashion in 1745-46 but also, in going off to the standard, they were exposing their own people and homelands to exactly the sort of rapine of which they have so often been wrongly accused.

On 17th February Captain Alexander Campbell, Governor of Fort William, reported that

> Most of the Camerons and MacDonalds are returned to this country, and some of their chiefs have followed them with the Pretender's orders to bring them back again ... Large bodys are assembled in our neighbourhood, some of which marches this day, and the whole will follow this week. All my intelligence confirms that one of their principal designs is to take this garrison, and Locheil has declared whilst it is in our hands neither the Camerons nor MacDonalds will be kept to their duty, as they apprehend being destroyed by us, and therefore insist that we should be destroyed. 58

This was the case throughout the west. On the previous day an informer, probably in Ardnamurchan, had reported that "all the rebells" from Morvern, Ardnamurchan, Sunart, Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, Lochaber and Glengarry were home and that "Young Clan Ronald" had returned to raise his men. The "rybells" had returned home fully armed and with some plunder and that

> they are in high spirits, yet fond of staying home till the seed time is over, as they pretend. Yet I am of opinion that you will soon hear of a generall gathering of all the clans formerly in rebellion, in order to protect themselves in a body, expecting a

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58. GD50/229/3/17 Feb. 1746.

landing, or to attack the forces if they are pursued into the Highlands, where they are sure of advantage. Young Clanranald and Glencoe are expected this night in this country. They sent notice to their men to be in full readiness to prevent their houses from being burnt and all their effects destroyed and carried away. 59

There were over 350 men of the Argyllshire militia stationed at Fort William under the command of Captain Alexander Campbell. Of course, they were not all Campbells; as has been seen, no clan was comprised of one surname, but these Argyllshire militiamen were from Campbell territories, their commander and most of their officers were Campbell daoin-uaisle, they were following the orders of Major-General John Campbell of Mamore (later 4th Duke of Argyll), and in fact a high proportion of these Argyllshire troops were Campbells. They were, in short, the Clan Campbell in 1745-46 institutionalised, armed and supported by the government; and they were seen as such by the conservative western Gaels.[60] And what were their orders? They were ordered to send parties to "Burn and Destroy all the country belonging to the Rebells" in their neighbourhood as far as was consistant with the garrison's safety.[61] Who served the orders? A letter from Major-General John Campbell to Archibald Campbell of Stonefield makes it clear. The future Duke of Argyll stated:

> His Royal Highness [Cumberland] has order'd that strong partys should be sent to Burn and destroy all the Rebells Country as far as they can goe and drive their cattle. My notion is

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59. GD50/229/3/16 Feb. 1746. This intelligence, always signed "Old Rock", was almost certainly supplied by Donald Campbell of Auchindoun who lived in Mingary Castle (Old Rock) protected by "three officers and fifty men". See MS 3733/73 and Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., pp.13-14.
60. GD50/121 (Locheil to Cluny, 20 March 1746).
61. RH2/4/351/160.

that this should be carried into execution the moment they march out [the Jacobite clans who had returned home after Falkirk] and not before least that they should be made desperate too soon.

If the Intelligence I have this evening received is true the Rebels must have left their country and in that case I am of oppinion all ought to be burnt and destroyed but be that as it will I have his R.H. Positive orders for so doing; in the Isles the ships ought to land some of their men and doe the like, for which purpose I desire you will acquaint the several captns. with His Royal Highness's commands, the plunder they will have a right to excepting arms.

[Signed] John Campbell. 62

How did Mamore feel personally about his duty? Earlier, he wrote to John Maull,

> tho I have a cough & night sweats, if I can but last to see an end to this Rebellion by assisting to extirpate the Race of Rebells, I shall think my time well spent. 63

On 21st January 1746, four days after Falkirk, the burning started. Captain Alexander Campbell reported from Fort William:

> I sent out Partys to the towns adjacent to plunder and bring in the Cattle. They brought in a good number but they were mostly milch cattle the best of them I kept for the use of the soldiers.

A timid start, but Campbell went on to say that two of Locheil's other farms, "Inverlochy and Clagon", were only separated from the fort by the river, that they had "a good many cattle" upon their grounds and the men were away so "the cattle may be got in".[64] Since these Cameron farms were so close to the fort and still had their livestock it is reasonable to conclude that they were the first victims of this new policy. They were not to be last. Between that date and the

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62. GD14/67.
63. MS 3733/73 (mid January 1746).
64. MS 3733/110.

Battle of Culloden almost every district of the disaffected western Highlands and Islands was put to the torch.

Conservative Gaels were saddened and angered once this tactic had been started. To them it was not Hanoverian policy so much as Campbell policy. Charles Stewart of Ardsheal, who led the Stewarts of Appin throughout the rebellion, lamented that "the Campbells have begun that odious unchristian way of Making War" and hoped that the Prince would

> send five or six of our best Regiments to make Reprisals on the Campbells who I am certain will Repent their Rash inconsiderate behaviour. 65

The burning increased. In early February "between 4 & 500" Campbells raided into Atholl.[66] On and around the 23rd February the H.M.S. Terror visited Clan Ranald's lands of Moidart, Arisaig and the Island of Canna.[67] In early March the Terror was off the coast of Morvern and a despatch by a David Campbell gives some details of that operation. Campbell with a "Lieutenant & fiftyfive men from my ship" plus "20 from Mingary Castle" landed with "orders to burn the houses and destroy the effects of all such as are now in the Rebellion".[68] On 7th April Forbes of Culloden, then on Skye, issued orders to a "Lieutenant Campbell" and Captain Fergussone, Captain of the Terror, to combine for an operation on South Uist and Barra.[69]

During this same period there is also evidence of burnings in Keppoch, Glencoe, Appin and, repeatedly, on Locheil's lands.[70]

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65. MS 3733/193.
66. MS 5138/125.
67. MS 3733/185.
68. MS 3733/184.
69. MS 3733/258-259.
70. MS 3733/3 April, 1746, John Campbell of Glenorchy to Mamore. GD50/229/3/Intelligence to Glenorchy and, another letter, Thomas Dove to Sir Everard Fawkner.

Donald Cameron of Locheil wrote to Ewen MacPherson of Cluny, describing one of these burning expeditions:

> A party of Campbells took the opportunity, while the country of Morvine was destitute of Men, to burn all the farms upon the coast of it that were inhabited by either Camerons or MacLeans 71 - first plundered the houses, stript the poor women & children, killed all the horses that came in their way and even set fire to their byres without allowing them to turn out their cattle, such barbarity was never heard of. 72

Obviously, the west Highland men had a lot on their minds and this material must put their "desertions" or "visits home" in a different light.

All was not, however, going the Campbells' way on these raids. Locheil continued to say:

> There are three hundred and fifty of the Campbells at Fort William - Two men of war - they are dayly attempting by their party to land at Corpack and other farms in Locheil, to burn and carry off cattle, but are prevented by our guards who have killed some of them, and we expect by tomorrow night to begin cannonading & bombarding of the Fort [William] & hope soon to be masters of it - cost what it will. 73

Locheil's people were not alone in their siege; "every man of Keppoch and the Glenco men" were there and "they expect Clanranald's men to come to them, and such of the Stewarts as were at home".[74] Despite the addition of 100 of the "French" regular troops and some artillery Fort William was never in serious danger and while the siege and presence of the men in the west served to curtail the predatory sorties from Fort William, they could not stop sea-based incursions

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71. Some MacLeans, mostly from Morvern, had just come out for the Prince.
72. GD50/121.
73. Ibid.
74. GD50/229/3 (From Taymouth to John of Glenorchy).

from government vessels like the Terror .

The situation in the west was rapidly developing into a sort of extended clan feud and the Campbells were becoming objects of a particularly virulent anger. Locheil expressed this to Cluny in an answer to Cluny's "most agreeable letter". Locheil congratulated Lord George Murray and Cluny for a successful strike into Atholl in which a number of Campbells were captured. The Cameron chief said he could not express "the satisfaction it gave all here", at the siege of Fort William. He was pleased with Lord George's tactics and said that "it will strick a pannick in our Enemy & encourage our friends" but Locheil continued

> what gives me joy in a particular manner is the fate of the Campbells, the plunderers of our countries. I hope Lord George will order them to be strictly guarded. We have showed too much lenity already to those villains. 75

One of Campbell of Glenorchy's people, who remains nameless, wrote from Taymouth that the clans were in a dark mood and were considering a retaliatory descent on Argyllshire. He regretted the burning, but for a particular reason. He reported that the western clans,

> will march into Argyleshire to revenge a thing that has happened, for which I am heartely sorry, and that is the burning of the houses ... This is a trade that the friends of the government will not be gainers by as they have much better houses at stake. 76

The anger on the part of the western clans was illustrated in an amazing communication from Cameron of Locheil and MacDonnell of Keppoch to the Duke of Argyll, Donald Campbell of Airds, Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Sheriff-Depute of Argyll, and "other leading

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75. GD50/121.
76. GD50/229/3 (Taymouth to Glenorchy).

men amongst them". It was a "Declaration of War" against the Campbells, dated Glen Nevis 20th March 1746. The Jacobite chiefs stated that

> We have daily proofs (of the Campbells Inhumanity and Barbarity) by their burning of houses stripping of women and children and exposing them to the open fields and severity of weather burning of corn, houghing 77 of cattle and killing horses, to enumerate the whole would be too tedious at this time. They must naturally reflect that we cannot but look on such cruelties with horror and detestation and with hearts full of Revenge will certainly endeavour to make Reprisals and are determined to apply to H.R.H. for leave and orders to enter their country with full powers to act at discreation and if we are lucky enough to obtain it we shall show them that we are not to make war against women and brute creatures but against men and as God was pleased to put so many of their people in our Custody we hope to prevail with H.R.H. to hang a Campbell for every house that shall hereafter be burnt by them.

The "Declaration" continues, saying "Notwithstanding of the many scandalous and malicious aspertions industriously contrived by our Enemies against us" that the Hanoverians

> could never hitherto since the commencement of the war impeach us with any such acts of hostility that had the least tendency to such cruelty as they exercised against us tho' often we had it in our power, if barbarous enough to execute it. When courage fails against men it betrays cowardice to a degree to vent the spleen against Brutes, houses, women and children who cannot resist.

Donald Cameron of Locheil could not resist adding a personal postscript:

> I cannot omitt taking notice that my people have been the first who have felt the cowardly Barbarity of my pretended Campbell friends. I shall only desire to live to have an opportunity of thanking them for it in the open field. 78

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77. Severing the animal's hamstring with a sword stroke and leaving it alive but thus disabled.
78. RH2/4/354.

This extraordinary document was forwarded to Alexander Stewart, younger of Invernahyle,[79] one of the officers in the Appin Jacobite regiment who was stationed in Appin and from there he had the "opportunity of corresponding with the Gentlemen of Argyllshire". Stewart gave this document plus one of his own to Donald Campbell of Octomore who was stationed with a small Hanoverian command in Castle Stalker, the old stronghold of the Stewarts of Appin, situated on a small island off Appin in Loch Linnhe. Alexander Stewart's letter is also of interest as it shows that the Camerons and MacDonalds were not the only people upset that the burning had started.

> I am heartely sorry that the Burning of houses and Distruction of Cattle is once begun in our countrys, which must be hurtfull to both parties and a Loss to the Conquror, and make friends and neighbours that have wished well to on [one] another's private Interest alter their sentiments, I own it is the only part of the war gives me most trouble, if my ffriend and I should differ in sentiments about the Government of the nation I always thought it was better we decided the matter in the field, than bring our resentment upon innocent wives and children, who possibly may differ in sentiments from their parents. You may see by the Enclosed it is believed that my friends in Argyll have been the cause of this violent procedure, I shall be very sorry it hold true, as I still continue to have a value and friendship in my private Life for them they being mostly my good friends and Relations, and I hope if it is in their power they'll put a stop to it. 80

In fact, the only recorded act of retaliation carried out by these western Gaels was mentioned in a letter written on 31st March by

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79. The man who in later life was a client of Sir Walter Scott's father. It was from Stewart that Scott got much of his information for his excellent novel Waverley. Several of the exploits of that work's eponymous hero are actually said to have been based on young Invernahyle's actions during the rebellion. John Gibson Lockhart, The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Vol. 1, (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1902), pp.154-57.
80. GD14/84.

Cumberland's civilian secretary, Fawkener. He stated:

> The Campbells having destroyed the country of the Stewarts of Appin, as is reported, the Stewarts passed the 26th 2 miles above Invergordon Ferry, in order to burn Argyleshire. 81

The results of this raid have not been discovered and were probably not significant.

It is interesting to note that the Duke of Argyll, Archibald Campbell, did not like the burning. After he received a copy of Locheil's and Keppoch's letter, he wrote to Campbell of Stonefield, saying,

> I want to know some matter of fact relating to that matter, viz. who they were that burnt &c Morvern & what foundation they had for that which they ascert relating to intercepted letters of your & Airds. I am very sorry for the whole affair, but I cant help it, you know my opinion of it. 82

On 17th March he wrote to Major-General Campbell that he was "mightily concerned" at the "burning houses and committing devastion [sic] of that nature". He said that if "anything of that kind must be done" it should be carried out by regular troops because for the Argyllshire

> militia to burn houses and possibly in the scuffle murder women and children is what I should be very tender of. ... As to the lands, the nearest rebells to Argyleshire are my own tenants, the Camerons of Morvern, and their houses are mine. 83

Clearly, for reasons of humanity and self-interest, MacCailein Mor was against the burning. Despite this attitude, Argyll was, unfortunately, not on the scene to direct his kindred. Archibald Campbell had been at Rosneath (between Glasgow and Inverary) when first reports of the rebellion were received. His first thought had not been to

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81. GD50/229/3.
82. GD14/77.
83. Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., p.124.

rush to Inverary to protect and raise his clan. On the contrary, he had recorded:

> All I can do is to return, I may say escape, to Edinburgh for if I proceed farther in my journey to Argylshire, I shall do little less than surrender my self prisoner. 84

By the time the burning started Argyll was in London[85] and his well-meaning point of view was of little value there.

Only Sir James Fergusson's study gives any real attention to this important pre-Culloden burning and it is Hanoverian in bias and over-reacts in its attempt to de-romanticise the rebellion.[86] It bundles all the "blame" for the burning into a single package and places it on Cumberland's convenient shoulders.[87] Certainly, Cumberland is responsible for this policy but as seen above the Campbell leadership was not unwilling. The man left in Scotland in charge of the Argyllshire militia was Major-General John Campbell of Mamore and when the burning started he stated:

> I am of oppinion all ought to be burnt and destroyed but be that as it will I have his R.H. positive orders for so doing.

Earlier, he had said that if he could assist "to exterpate the Race of Rebells" he should think his "time well spent".[88] Fergussone also states that the Highland Jacobites "promptly laid the whole blame at the Campbells' door" and ignored completely "the major part in the burning played by the Navy".[89] It is true that the western

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84. RH2/4/242/159.
85. Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., p.100.
86. Ibid., see especially Chapter VII, "The Burning of Morvern", pp.117-126. Despite the work's bias, it is very well documented and quite useful in many respects. However, the coverage of the western burning is not convincing.
87. Ibid., pp.124-26.
88. See above, p.441.
89. Ibid., p.122.

Gaels directed little spleen towards the Royal Navy and that they seemed to view the whole affair as something like a clan feud. This study has illustrated the origins of those feelings and pointed out that they were a significant historical factor in the area; consequently, the reaction of the west Highland Jacobites was to be expected. Furthermore, it can be seen in the above quotes from Campbell of Mamore that Campbells, too, could feel heat arising from old clan-based animosities and, in any case, it is true in every one of the above cases that the ships either landed parties of the Argyllshire militia or regular troops with Campbell officers. This certainly helps to explain the Jacobite attitudes in the period. And the important point must be made here that there is solid documentary evidence showing that not only Morvern but also Locheil, Inverlochy, Appin, Keppoch, Glencoe, Atholl, Canna, South Uist, Barra, Moidart and Arisaig suffered from these sorties. Documentation gives support to the west Highland Jacobites' allegations. However, a very significant point should be mentioned; the policy of burning worked. Jacobite Highlanders did feel the need to rush home after Falkirk and their absence is one of the major reasons behind the Jacobite decision not to pursue and destroy the remainder of General Hawley's force. But these Gaels returned home not simply to deposit loot, or to abandon the Jacobite cause, or to hide from danger; they came back to protect their families and homes from what they saw, with some justification, as Campbell raids. In closing, it is of interest to note that, earlier, John Campbell of Loudoun had passed through Fraser country with 700 men but had done no damage. As Loudoun

> was passing thro' Stratherick a country belonging to my Lord Lovit there appeared a great body of the Frasers upon a high hill forming to attack Lord Loudon. But finding his Lordship mean'd no harm to their country they disappear'd. 90

As pressure increased in the east, with Cumberland advancing up from Aberdeen, the western kindreds began to shift back to that theatre. The Clan Ranald regiment was first ordered to the north of Inverness around Dornoch where, in operations against the area Whig clans, it captured four merchant ships at Ferry Over.[91] But these northern manoeuvres were halted as Cumberland began to close with the Jacobites around the field of Culloden.

To the well known story of Culloden there is little to add. There at Drummossie Moor, on 16th April 1746, the Prince's irresponsible and selfish optimism, his friction with Lord George Murray, the incompetency of O'Sullivan and the Prince's choice of a field perfectly suited to his enemy and totally unsuited for Highland tactics all combined to bring a bloody conclusion to the rising. The Prince and his "Irish favourites" thought the idea of a guerilla war fought in the Highland winter distasteful. Lord George Murray's terse conclusion "we were undone for their ease"[92] was apt. The Hanoverian troops greatly outnumbered the Jacobites, thirsted for revenge, were well-equipped, well-fed and rested. The outnumbered Jacobite troops had been given very little food for days and were exhausted due to the previous night's long march, an abortive attempt to catch Cumberland off guard. Furthermore, the MacPhersons, MacKinnons, MacKenzies, MacGregors, MacDonnells of Barrisdale and others were absent.

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90. GD1/53/79.
91. GD50/229/3.
92. Donald Nicholas, The Young Adventurer, (London: The Bletchworth Press, 1949), p.113.

Despite these many problems, the Jacobite right performed with notable courage and effect against terrible odds. After enduring a withering cannonade it attacked into grapeshot, the fire of the troops in its path and the cross-fire from the Clan Campbell that was safely behind a dyke to the right of the Jacobite line of charge. Because of smoke and sleet, because of enemy fire and an old estate road that crossed their path and led to the right, the charging Clan Chattan and the MacLauchlan - MacLean regiment veered right, cutting off the Frasers and driving the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin and Athollmen against the stone dyke where they all became a tangled charging throng. It has been pointed out:

> No two regiments could have been expected to withstand the impact of eight clan regiments numbering some 1,500 men, and Barrel's split in two. 93

One of the English who faced the Gaels this day wrote, "like Wildcats their men came down in Swarms upon our Left Wing".[94] The onrushing Jacobites actually closed with the second line before the charge faltered. Then, trapped between the re-closed first line and the second, these Gaels had to fight their way back towards their own lines. Losses were terrible. After they broke free, and while they retreated, the fresh Argyllshire Militia decided to attack. The fleeing west Highlanders turned and closed with the Campbells and there, before the Hanoverian army, a last clan skirmish took place. The Jacobite Gaels beat the Campbells off the field, inflicting numerous casualties, and then resumed their orderly retreat "pipes playing and banners flying".[95]

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93. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.180.
94. Ibid., p.179.
95. Ibid., pp.190 & 96.

On the Jacobite left the story was quite different. There had been friction between the Clan Ranald and the men of Glengarry over an accidental shooting after Falkirk and the MacDonalds were angered because they had been deprived of the position of honour to which they felt entitled on the Jacobite right. Moreover, the Clan Donald had to cross very boggy ground, it was left isolated when the two Jacobite regiments to its right fled early and when the Clan Chattan and MacLauchlan - MacLean regiment veered right, thus leaving the MacDonalds seriously out-flanked both to the right and left with no cavalry to provide cover. Their charge faltered before they reached their enemy and nothing young Clanranald, Keppoch or their daoin-uaisle could do would induce their kindreds to charge onwards.

Despite the minor success over the Campbells and despite the right wing's orderly withdrawal, Culloden was a terrible defeat for the Jacobites. The losses, especially for the clans of the centre and more particularly the right, were shocking. When the Camerons and Stewarts had closed with the Campbells at the end of the battle, Locheil had not realised his wish to meet the men of Clan Campbell in open battle; earlier, he had been wounded and carried off by two of his clansmen. On the Jacobite left Keppoch had been killed trying to induce his men to charge. MacDonald of Scotus was killed and his friend, Young Clanranald, wounded less than twenty yards from the Hanoverian lines. He was carried off and hidden at his grandmother's house in Inverness until able to make his way back to his own country. Alexander MacDonald of Glenalladale was seriously wounded. Indeed, of all the Jacobite officers who led the Jacobite charge, only Lord George Murray, Lord John Murray of Nairne and Stewart of Ardsheal escaped serious injury. Moreover, the casualties fell especially

heavily on the various clans' officers, their duin-uasal class leaders, who as usual had been in the forefront of the charge. The Atholl Highlanders lost nineteen of their officers and only three of those in the Clan Chattan regiment survived. The commander of the Appin regiment, Charles Stewart of Ardsheal lost eight from his own family. Fourteen other Appin officers were killed as well.[96] Of those clans on the right and centre that did charge, Lord George estimated that at least a third of the rank and file "did not come off".[97]

Under Lord George Murray's direction the Jacobite right managed to carry out its retreat "with the greatest regularity", pipes playing. With no directions from the Prince, Lord George and the few commanders present set out for Ruthven in Badenoch. The retreat on the Jacobite left was more a rout than a retreat, although it is true that the MacDonald advance had allowed those regiments that had run off earlier time to make their escape. The Hanoverian cavalry did far more damage to those in this disorganised throng than on those following Murray. The pursuit of Cumberland's dragoons is well known. Any who found themselves on the road to Inverness, Jacobites or innocent men, women and children, were cut down. Thus ended the Battle of Culloden, but the "Culloden" that has come down through the pages of history and Scottish folklore was not over.

Cumberland had won his first (and only) victory but he still had to win his name, "butcher".[98] He was responsible for a bogus

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96. Tomasson and Buist, op.cit., p.189.
97. Ibid.
98. While seriously flawed in many respects, John Prebble's Culloden provides a good account of the post-battle atrocities, op.cit., pp.114-41.

"Jacobite order" that commanded "no quarter"; Cumberland's own order for "no quarter" was not bogus. The English commander did not shy away from setting an example for his troops. While riding over the field he came upon the wounded Charles Fraser of Inverallochy. The young Jacobite was asked to whom he belonged and he replied "to the Prince". Hearing this, Cumberland ordered Major Edward Wolfe to shoot him. Wolfe courageously replied that he was a loyal soldier, but no executioner; Fraser was, however, shot by a nearby soldier.[99] Here, it is important to point out that the man put in charge of the post-battle operations was Lieutenant-General Hawley. This man, noted for his brutality to his own men, let alone those Highlanders whom he considered "the most despicable Enimy that are",[100] and who had routed and humiliated him at Falkirk, was certainly diligent in his work. It is also true that the "rank and file of the Hanoverian army was drawn from the dregs of society and some of the officers were somewhat peculiar gentlemen".[101] These troops had feared the Gaels even more than they feared their own officers. That fear, and the earlier bloody and debasing defeats at the hands of these untrained clansmen, coupled with an almost racial hatred of those who were dangerous, dressed differently and spoke a strange language, all combined to produce one of the darkest pages in British military history. Michael Hughes, one of those English soldiers who fought that day, commented later that

> This Rebel Host had been deeply in Debt to the Publick for all their Rapin, Murder and Cruelty;

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99. J.T. Findlay, Wolfe in Scotland, (London: Longman,Green & Co., 1928), p.110.
100. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.106.
101. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.153.

> and since the Time was now come to pay off the Score, our People were all glad to clear the Reckoning, and heartily determined to give them a Receit in full. 102

In a sense those wounded Highlanders lying on Culloden Moor were to pay for all those previous victories when commanders, starting with Montrose, had used them as shock troops and had profited from their image as "the terrible Gael". In fact, the Highlanders had carried out a very decent campaign but their image and their foes' hatred were also real factors.

The Jacobite wounded and dead were allowed to lie where they fell with no sort of aid (except for help brought by three brave women from Inverness who arrived hours after the battle). The first attention that most of the fallen Jacobites received was quite different. Parties of Cumberland's troops, including many over-zealous Scottish Lowlanders who shocked their English comrades with their excesses, moved systematically through the piles of Jacobite wounded and dead, shooting, bayonetting or clubbing the injured Highlanders. A number of Jacobite wounded had taken refuge in nearby huts. When they were discovered the doors were barred and the injured burned alive. One of the Clan Ranald officers, Ranald MacDonald, younger of Belfinlay, described as a "tall, strapping, beautiful young man", had both his legs broken during the Clan Donald charge. He was passed over in the retreat and had to lie watching the approach of troops clubbing and killing the wounded. They "gave him knocks", but he lived. Later that evening he was stripped by beggars and lay naked all night in the rain and frost. In the morning he crawled as far as he could

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102. Michael Hughes, A Plain Narrative of the Rebellion, (London: Henry Whitridge, 1747), p.43.

but found himself being approached by another party "executing" the wounded. He waited for this same fate, but was saved by an officer he knew only as "Hamilton" and was sent to Inverness a prisoner. He survived. Indeed, of those unfortunate men and boys left wounded on Culloden Moor before Cumberland's conquering Christian soldiery, only the survivors could tell such stories and there were not many.[103]

Of Culloden Moor John Roy Stewart, one of the Jacobite commanders who was a Highlander, composed a Gaelic lament, "Latha Chuil-lodair" or simply "Culloden",

> Great is the cause of my sorrow,
> As I mourn for the wounds of my land;
> O God, be strong, thou art able
> To keep in subjection our foes;
> O'er us Duke William [Cumberland] is tyrant,
> That vile rogue, who has hate for us all;
> 'Tis as foul weeds of charlock
> Overcoming the wheat of the land. ...
>
> Woe is me for the host of the tartan
> Scattered and spread everywhere,
> At the hands of England's base rascals
> Who met us unfairly in war;
> Though they conquered us in battle,
> 'Twas due to no courage or merit of theirs,
> But the wind and the rain blowing westwards
> Coming on us up from the Lowlands. ...
>
> Woe is me! the white bodies
> That lie out on younder hillsides,
> Uncoffined, unshrouded,
> Not even buried in holes;
> Those who survived the disaster
> Are carried to exile o'erseas by the winds,
> The Whigs have got their will of us,
> And 'rebels' the name that we're given. 104
>
> .....

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103. The basic source for most of these post-Culloden excesses is Robert Forbes, The Lyon in Mourning, 3 Vols., (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1896). The above Belfinlay material is found in this work, Vol.II, pp.3-4 & 229.
104. Campbell, Songs, op.cit., pp.169-71.

The Prince was on the run, profiting from the Highlanders' laws of hospitality as well as their loyalty. The people of the Clan Ranald from the old chief and his wife, the younger Clanranald, Flora MacDonald (of the Clan Ranald's South Uist Milton duin-uasal family), Alexander of Boisdale and Neill MacEachan to those who rowed him to Skye including four MacDonalds, two MacMhuirichs and "Donald Campbell",[105] were all instrumental in the Prince's well-known escape. While the Prince looked out for his own safety, the Gaels did not fold. Three weeks after the parting at Ruthven the chiefs met at Muirlaggan near the head of Loch Arkaig to discuss mutual defence and the possibility of a new rising. Present or at least sending representatives were Locheil, young Clan Ranald, Lovat, Gordon of Glenbucket, John Roy Stewart, Major Kennedy (one of Lochiel's officers), Stewart of Ardsheal, one of the Glengarry duin-uasal, "a nephew of Keppoch", MacDonnell of Barrisdale, Alexander MacLeod and a representative of the MacKinnons.[106] More kindreds were here represented than the Prince had led across Corrieyairack Pass. But little came of this effort. The Prince was not interested, supplies were low and without French assistance little more could be done.

Thereafter, Cumberland's forces, aided by the Argyllshire militia and other Whig clans, moved throughout the disaffected area. They burned, plundered, raped, executed and murdered in a manner similar to that seen after Culloden.[107] As an area where the rebellion was hatched, where one of the most reliable Jacobite

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105. MS 3736/429, Donald Campbell and his fellow Campbells in South Uist were as loyal to the Jacobite cause as any other members of the Clan Ranald, see above, pp.329-30.
106. Chambers, op.cit., pp.324-25.
107. Many Gaels who had been inactive were also spoiled by the troops despite having been given letters of protection by Campbell of Loudoun. Hughes, op.cit., p.51.

regiments was raised and where the Prince spent considerable time during his wanderings, the Clan Ranald territories received close government attention. In 1889 using oral tradition in Moidart as his source, the local priest, Charles MacDonald, described the post-Culloden period, known as "the wasting of Moidart", in the following manner:

> The Troops were let loose upon their [the people of Moidart's] district, and immediately commenced to enact those scenes in which pillage, burning, and slaughter of the natives filled up the principal parts, - as they did in every other locality which had the privilege of being visited by the cowardly ruffians. The houses, after being first plundered, were burnt to the ground, the cattle were driven away or wontedly destroyed. Shooting parties ranged over the hills, chasing the unfortunate people, and hunting them down like wild beast. Those that escaped from their hands had to suffer from famine and exposure, and these privations told heavily upon the miserable people especially the women and children. 108

The initial contact the people of the Clan Ranald had with these unfriendly forces was less turbulant than later ones were to be. On 2nd May 1746 two French frigates closed in battle with three English warships in Loch nam Uamh, the sea loch that cuts between Moidart and Arisaig. This twelve-hour battle was the last true battle of the rebellion. It ended when the Royal Navy drew off short of ammunition. The tradition that throws a very human perspective on the day was also recorded by Father MacDonald in 1889:

> The natives on each side of the loch stationed themselves on knoles and on the slopes of the hills, whence they had a complete view of what was going on before them. During the hottest part of the fight, one of them, an old man belonging to Gaotal, was heard to offer up the most fervent supplication to

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108. C.MacDonald, op.cit., p.186.

> Heaven for the preservation, not of the French, less so of the English, but of some goats belonging to himself, and which at the time were grazing on an island within close range of the combatants' guns. 109

The old man need not have concerned himself so over his goats; if they survived the naval battle, surely they did not live through the depredations of the approaching Hanoverian soldiers.

Michael Hughes, a volunteer in Bligh's regiment that operated in Moidart, described the surrender of two men there who made the mistake of carrying loaded muskets in to turn over to the troops. Because their weapons were charged "tis plain they were upon mischief bent". In half an hour they were lined up for execution.

> But they absolutely refused to kneel, or to have caps over their faces, so that the picquet-guard was obliged to perform this sentence as they stood.

Thereafter this party

> marched along the Seacoast through Moidart burning Houses, driving away Cattel, and shooting those Vagrants who were found about the mountains. 110

An officer who led other troops into Moidart was Lord George Sackville who was enraged when a few Highlanders attacked his baggage horses and took his possessions. The next township he came upon caught his fury. The women were held down and raped and then forced to watch their assailants execute their men.[111] The Campbells who were with these parties were scorned by Alexander MacDonald in his Aoir do na Caim-beulaich or "Another Satire on the Campbells"

> The rennets of Glenmoidart beneath
> The folds of your skirts you carried;
> The poor and the maimed you did plunder,
> And the countryside you harried;

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109. Ibid., p.184.
110. Hughes, op.cit., p.54.
111. Ibid., p.52.

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The very blind that could not see,
Their gear you clutched, and, woe's me,
The wives along the countryside
Mourned for chests they could not hide. 112

Despite Alexander's anger against the Campbells it will be seen that their actions in this period were often quite honourable.[113]

Clan Ranald's people in the Isles were not to be spared. While the Royal Navy in general does not seem to have been inclined to such cruelty, there were exceptions. One such exception was Captain John Fergusson of H.M.S. Furnace and he visited the Clan Ranald's Eigg and Canna. On Eigg 39 men were taken up including Dr. John MacDonald, one of Kinlochmoidart's brothers. He was "stript of all his cloaths to the skin" and put in a "dark dungeon" aboard the Furnace. The men, mostly married, were put on board the sloop, eventually to be taken to London. While en route "Many of them dyed and starved ere they arrove at the Thames". Thereafter, the survivors were transported to Jamaica "where the few that lives of them continue slaves as yet". Once the men had been taken up the sailors and marines returned to the island destroyed the cattle and grain they did not want, sacked and burned the houses and "ravished a girl or two".[114]

An unspecified MacDonald who lived on Canna reported that after an earlier visit the sailors and marines from the Furnace and her sister ship, the Terror, descended on Canna one night "to make one attack upon all the girls and young women in all the Isle, marryed

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112. Angus and Alexander MacDonald, ed. & tran., The Poems of Alexander MacDonald, (Inverness: Northern Counties Printing, 1924), p.43.
113. See below, p.461.
114. Forbes, op.cit., pp.86-88.

or otherwise". On this occasion, however, one of the "marines" warned the Clan Ranald folk and the women took shelter in caves. Only the pregnant 50 year old wife of Evan Mor MacIsaac was found. As the sailors prepared to rape her, with Evan Mor forced to watch, she escaped and eluded their drunken pursuit, but died the next day of a miscarriage.[115] The identity of the "marine" who warned the islanders is not known, but as there were members of the Argyllshire militia serving on board these ships, it is reasonable to speculate that the man who warned the folk of Canna was one of these Campbells. Certainly, they were often quite offended by such excesses. Not only did some refrain from participating, but they reported what they saw. While these well-meaning accounts failed to elicit orders from their commanders for the desired restraint, at least they have illuminated the dismay and sense of decency of their authors and prevented the details of these outrages from being lost. An excellent example of this sort of situation comes from "a Gentleman who was present". It concerns actions taken by Captain Caroline Frederick Scott of Guise's regiment and the "Gentleman" later proved to be "Campbell of Kildoloan". Their company was ordered to burn the houses in a disaffected area near Keppoch and it split into several parties to accomplish this. One of the groups under the command of an officer named "Maxwell" captured three men. Firstly, they had fled but an old man there had been "assured by Maxwell no harm should be done them". The old man "whistled in a particular manner and the three came in". After rejoining the main group under Captain Scott, Campbell of Southhall acted as interpreter while Scott questioned them:

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115. Ibid., pp.85-86.

> Being told they were found carrying their arms, the prisoners said they were in their way coming in to surrender them at ffort william. Then Capt. Scot said why did you flee from the porte. They said it was for fear and immediately Capt. Scot pointing towards one of them said By God I will Hang you at which the man smiled which Scott observing he swore he would spoyle his laughing and ordered him to be immediatly taken & hanged and accordingly the man was directly hanged and they ordered the others to be hanged, one of whom begged to be allowed to speak, he [Scott] said away with him. Hang them directly. That they were all hanged till they were dead.

Campbell of Kildoloan did not like what happened. He objected at the time and his report shows his distaste. The

> Informer having objected to Mr. Maxwell the people had surrendered themselves upon Terms; It was odd they should be so immediatly hanged, To which Maxwell said I have kept my promise to them. I have done nothing to them. It is Capt. Scot has done it. 116

Captain Caroline Scott and John Fergussone earned an unsavoury place for themselves in British History for these and other such needlessly brutal acts. It is interesting to note that both were Lowland Scots not English, that their actions disgusted some of their followers and that notable among those who disliked these proceedings against the Jacobite Gaels were many of the Hanoverian Gaels of Clan Campbell.

The Prince continued to elude capture through Skye and back to the mainland. At one point his body-guard consisted entirely of Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle; it included Alexander MacDonald of Glenalladale, his brother John, John MacDonald, younger of Borrodale and his son-in-law Angus MacEachen. They were obliged to leave the area because "Clanranald's country was surrounded on all sides by the

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116. GD14/85.

troops" with Captain Caroline Scott busily dispersing his particular brand of retribution in Arisaig. The Prince's party wandered through Glenmoriston, Locheil's country and down to Badenoch. Eventually, the French ship, L'Heureux, achieved the much sought after rendezvous with the Prince. Departing with him were Cameron of Locheil, MacDonnell of Lochgarry, John Roy Stewart, Dr. Archibald Cameron, Locheil's brother, and a number of other gentlemen. Young Clan Ranald remained in the Highlands to prepare for the return of the French that was expected the next spring.[117] In the event that a French invasion could not be brought about, young Clan Ranald was to oversee the escape of "ev'ry man that inclind to go" on the ships the Prince promised to send. No invasion came and eventually Ranald, the younger of Clan Ranald, made his own way north to Brahan Castle, the seat of the MacKenzie chief who apparently was unaware of his presence. There Ranald met and married Mary Hamilton. From Cromarty they got a ship to London and from there completed their escape to the continent where Ranald served in the French army.

The marauding government soldiers were carrying out a conscious policy of destroying all livestock and grain in rebel areas and the resultant famine was both serious and protracted. Speaking of the Clan Ranald's mainland bounds, a government official noted, "They are in great want of meal & firing".[118] In this same year, 1747, Sir Norman MacLeod of MacLeod reported from Skye that even areas, "The most part of whom were in arms during the Rebellion on Behalf of their King and country", were

> reduced almost to Entire want of Bread and must

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117. RH2/4/361/197/p.6.
118. RH2/4/361/197/p.2, William Keppel, Earl of Albemarle.

> Inevitably starve if these orders 119 are not in some shape or another altered or countermanded.
>
> That it is not presumed to be the intention of the Government to starve those who were in Rebellion and pardoned, and far less can it be imagined they will mean to starve Those who were in Arms for the Government. 120

Indeed, only one section of the west Highlands was observed to have had plenty of meal in this period and this abundance stemmed from a sombre truth. Two Hanoverian agents who travelled through the west Highlands reported from Appin that

> There was a great many of the Inhabitants of this place killed at Culloden, which makes meal more plenty in that country than many others. 121

But, contrary to the impression given in so many studies, these Gaels from the conservative west Highland area were not cowed; beaten, yes; beaten down, no.

These Gaels had ways of finding food as a memorial to the Duke of Newcastle from a group of Gentlemen in Ross and Cromarty pointed out:

> In these thirty years past, the countys of Ross and Cromartie and at sometimes the shyre of Sutherland has been oppressed by the MacDonalds of Glengary, Camerons of Lochiezels and Grants of Glenmoriston, by their stealling their Catles with bodies of armed men, That as all of these tribes were concerned in the late wicked Rebellion, They had after the Battle of Culloden, Their Catles & effects justly taken from them by the army, which makes them now more desperate than ever, and Since His Royal Highness The Duke of Cumberland left Fort Agustus they follow their former Practices of stealing and has already ruined

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119. This regards an order not to allow any meal to be carried into the Highlands and Islands.
120. RH2/4/364/33.
121. RH2/4/361/197/p.4. The Appin Stewarts, along with the Camerons, had suffered extremely heavy losses at Culloden when trapped between the two Hanoverian lines. It was reported that this small kindred "lost about 150 & did not exceed 260 from the beginning of the Rebellion", RH2/4/361/197/p.10.

> many Innocent Peoples by stealling their catle. 122

A different government report ties the people of the Clan Ranald in with this, obviously successful, foraging and shows that the disaffected areas were still well-armed "in expectation of a Landing from France in the spring which they all seem very fond of & willing to join".[123]

> They have great plenty of arms, money & spiritts & cattle of all kinds, & are daily employed in stealing from all other countrys they can have access to.
>
> These Countrys are all McDonalds & their followers belonging to Clan Ronald and Barisdale mostly Papists & great thieves. 124

To this discussion of the oft-mentioned west Highland talent for cattle-lifting needs to be added one useful point and it was well made by the Whig, Major-General Humphrey Bland in the summer of 1748. After a tour of duty in the Highlands he commented on the problem of cattle theft and possible remedies, but he also significantly added

> for the Highlanders seldom commit any other sort of Thefts, thinking that all the creatures that live on Grass ought to be in common, and therefore think it no crime. 125

This puts the topic into perspective. Highland folk were not a race of thieves but products of a culture of which cattle-raids had always been a central part. In fact, the Jacobite Highlanders' continued talent for this singular activity and their willingness - indeed, desire - to break a peace imposed by their enemies gave them a dis-

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122. RH2/4/363/151 (2 Feb. 1747). Another representation from Ross, dated 15th November 1746, lists the chief offenders as "the Camerons of Lochaber, the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Keppoch, Knoidart and Moidart, the Frasers of Glenfarror, with the several Inhabitants of Glenmorrison", RH2/4/360/106.
123. RH2/4/361/197/p.1.
124. Ibid., p.6.
125. RH2/4/370/173.

tinct advantage in this time of scarcity over the Hanoverian Gaels, who were also able but not so inclined to break their king's peace.

Despite the many problems, the people of the Clan Ranald remained rebellious and resistant to government influence. On 3rd May 1746, Captain Fergussone of the Furnace had tried to land a party on the shores of Loch Ailort but was attacked by Ranald, young Clanranald, and a substantial number of men. Fergussone records that he "drove them back" with grapeshot. Later, on the 17th as his marines put ashore on Loch nam Uamh, the Clan Ranald men set off a mine they had earlier planted and fired at the retreating boats from the shore of Borrodale.[126] On 14th July, a Colin Campbell reported to Campbell of Mamore that he "durst not venture" an expedition to South Uist and Benbecula to catch priests and "the Baily of Benbecula wt. this Boat as she could not carry a command sufficient to guard them". On the Clan Ranald Isle of Eigg the Jacobites had been in a mood to act against the Navy but, as Fergussone of the Furnace reported, had reconsidered at the last moment:

> they proposed to seize Capt. Duff's Tender
> that happened to be in the Harbour att that time.
> they certainly would have done it, if it had not
> been for some of the poor People that begg'd &
> prayed off them not to do it, for they were sure
> if they did, that the first King's Ship that came
> there would burn & destroy everything belonging
> to them. 127

Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale, who had been arrested despite his service to the government, was not held in high regard by this Jacobite kinsman. Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat reported that the

> ffrench & Rebels in Arisaig have eat all the cows

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126. John S. Gibson, Ships of the '45, (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1967), pp.49-51.
127. MS 3735/309.

> belonging to Mr. MacDonald of Boistill, now a Prisoner at London, that they cou'd get hold of. 128

Clearly, the west Highlander's spirit was not broken by Culloden and the pre- or post-battle excesses and this was not only true of the MacDonald areas that had got off reasonably lightly at Culloden, but also true in other west Highland areas that had paid a considerable price in that last battle. The Camerons and Stewarts of Appin had lost many men at Culloden and yet in February of 1747 they were still quite active. Charles Stewart of Ardsheal "with some Appine Gentlemen" were "skulking" in Morvern opposit Appin[129] and holding frequent meetings with Ludovic Cameron of Torcastle and other Camerons.[130] A Hanoverian agent recorded his amazement at this state of affairs.

> I was not a little surpris'd upon my return home to find that matters in this Country of Appin do not seem so very quiet. ... In short I find an unusual stir among the People of this country at present, which with Ardsheils change of measures, & their frequent meetings, must make me conclude, they are hatching some mischief or other. It is even whisper'd that the French are already, or soon will be, at sea. 131

Where the Chiefs and higher level <u>daoin-uaisle</u> had been killed or forced into exile, the lower level <u>daoin-uaisle</u>, especially tacksmen, who had not suffered the same fate helped to keep the spirit of rebellion alive. In 1748 it was reported that the people in the disaffected areas continued to be "poison'd by their petty chieftans"[132] and on the forfeited estates, such as the old holdings of MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, there was an effort to replace these tacksmen.[133]

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128. RH2/4/360/51.
129. MS 3735/367.
130. RH2/4/363/151.
131. RH2/4/363/151.
132. RH2/4/367/138.
133. E 764/26/3.

But it is important to note that the documentation specifically states that the "common people" throughout the west Highlands and Islands were not awed but were "all ready to espouse the smallest opportunity to appear in arms again".[134] Moreover, the government act that had proscribed Highland dress had created a great deal of resentment among ordinary Gaels, especially since it was forced on all of them, not just the Jacobites. In 1748 a government official, displaying an interesting set of values, observed that

> The Highland Garb is a dress fit only for War, Theft and Idleness. Distinction between Highlander and Lowlanders can never be abolished, the warlike spirit can never be extinguished, nor Industry introduced, untill the highlanders universally wear the low land habits, which is cheaper than their own, and consequently the change cannot really distress. 135

Despite these "savings" the act did distress the Gaels and the reaction of all Highlanders, Hanoverians included, was strong. A number of Gaels from Hanoverian or at least inactive clans composed poems when the tartan and kilt (and bagpipes) were prohibited. Along with the verse expected from Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald's celebrated Jacobite poet and propagandist, Duncan Ban MacIntyre, Rob Donn MacKay, John MacCodrum and William Ross, all either inactive or Whig soldiers in 1745-46, composed poems expressing anger at the loss of their distinctive dress. MacIntyre keenly felt the injustice of an act that retaliated not only against rebels but also against those who had gone to war for the government.

> To take away their ancient garb
> Though William [Cumberland] conquered with
> their aid [is unfair] ...

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134. RH2/4/360/42, see also RH2/4/357.
135. RH2/4/367/315.

There's anger too and misery
In many a man now at this time,
Who was in William's camp before
   Who's now no better that he's won,
And if Prince Charles to us returned
We would arise and follow him,
The scarlet plaids once more be worn
   And all the guns be out again.  136

John MacCodrum, a native of North Uist and a part-time bard to the MacDonalds of Sleat, also expressed the love of the old way of dressing, the hatred for those who unfairly took it away and the hope that Prince Charles would return and lead all Gaels against those who ruled in the south, themes common to all the verse composed on this topic by the Gaels, be they Hanoverian or Jacobite. John MacCodrum sang

I am sick at heart, I am tired and full of sorrow,
Bonds are on my limbs, I cannot move a footstep,
  Cursed be the King who took the plaids away,
May he damned be since our hose he lengthened; ...

The garb that once protected every handsome Gael,
God! 'twas an injustice to decree its abolition.

Not a mother's son you saw on street or on parade-ground
Finer than the Gael, of truly splendid presence;
  Kilted tartan wearing, his sword behind his buckle,
His pistols so well oiled the flint straightway fires the
    priming;
His shield upon his shoulder, his slim gun beneath his
    armpit,
No foreigner alive but would expire before the vision.

Splendid's the blue bonnet o'er wild locks in war-time,
The short coat and the kilt, leaving the thighs naked,
  Going into battle, wounding, striking, rending,
Cutting down the red-coats, scattering their marrow; ...

  Dearly they'll replay their debts in blood and gore,
Not a penny owing for Culloden will be left then; ...

For each check in their tartan a foe's head shall be
    severed.

Keenly I'm resenting that our clothing's form is changed,
But I'll see its vengeance at the gates of London.
  By the handsome young man, venturesome as lions,
Who'll strike George with terror not to be endured;

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136. Campbell, Songs, op.cit., p.221.

> When he has gone homewards, and the young Prince is chosen,
> Charles will be our King, and the plaids in better favour. 137

Another of the prime targets after the rebellion was the western catholic establishment. An SSPCK account of religion in the year 1748 mentions the "pulling down of Mass-houses, by the Army after the Battle of Culloden, and chasing the Romanish Priests into lurking Holes".[138] In the summer of 1746 several government parties converged on the residence of Bishop Hugh MacDonald on its island in Loch Morar. On that expedition the government troops spoiled the Bishop's house, his library that included books "in Scots, English, French, Greek and Latin"; they captured a variety of catholic papers[139] and Lord Lovat.[140] In this raid the "apostolick Vicar Bishop McDonald, who with two priests, narrowly Escap'd" the soldiers. In other cases priests were not so lucky. On 8th July 1746, Colin Campbell reported that "Priest Allan Mcdonald" and "Priest Forrester" were captured on South Uist at Boisdale,[141] and in August of that year Francis Bower "a Papist Teacher of children in Morar" was apprehended.[142] At least fifteen priests were captured after Culloden.[143]

The attitude of the establishment towards the rebellious west Highlanders in matters of religion is clearly seen in the following SSPCK declaration from 1748:

> the Inhabitants ... are not quite civilized.
> We must now say further, That they are, many

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137. Ibid., pp.248-53.
138. GD95/13/16.
139. See below, Appendix I, p.xi.
140. RH2/4/351, and Gibson, op.cit., p.35.
141. MS 3736/418.
142. RH2/4/359/18.
143. R.L. Mackie, A Short History of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1962), p.244.

> of them, wild and barbarous. Many things conspire to make them so, particularly, their Climate, their Religion, and their Clanship. ---- Their Religion is either Popery or Paganism, and Clanships are slavish to the last Degree. ... Rome Pests them with her Priests, and the Pretender with his agents; ---- The Consequence has been , that by two infamous Rebellions, against the most merciful and best Modell'd Government in Europe, they have done all in their power to ruin our happy constitution, and to reduce us back to that state of error and Slavery. 144

Despite the best efforts of this "most merciful and best Modell'd Government in Europe" the Gaelic culture was still alive and even the catholic church was staging a recovery as is seen in this 1748 SSPCK observation:

> these very assiduous creatures, the Priests, are again buzzing about, and doing all they can, to regain their former Place in the Hearts and Houses of their deluded People; and that in several Places, Popery still prevails, such as, Ardnamurchan, Arisaig, Knoydart, Morhire [Morar], Eigg, Cana, South Uist, Bara, & c. 145

And an intelligence report dated 5th October 1747 gives more detail, on both the religious and political mood of the disaffected districts.

> For a twelve month [sic] after the Battle of Culloden the papist Priests & their followers were very quiet but of late their meetings are so publick and so obnoxious to the persons well affected to the State and so troublesom to the Clergy of the establish'd church ... & I am sorry to say that the spirit of Jacobitism in this northern country is so far from lessen'd that their spleen & venom is more appairent than ever. 146

The Duke of Cumberland and his lieutenants such as Lord George Sackville, Captain Fergussone and Captain Caroline Scott (who was rewarded and promoted by the Duke[147]) had done their best to break

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144. GD95/13/16/p.50.
145. Ibid., p.56.
146. RH2/4/366/159.
147. GD87/24.

the spirit of the Jacobite Gaels, and yet, before his departure from Scotland, Cumberland was forced to contemplate a fantastic scheme for

> the transplanting of particular, Such as the entire clan of the Camerons, & almost all the tribes of the McDonalds (except some of those of the Isles [MacDonalds of Sleat?]) & several other lesser clans.

And in the Duke of Cumberland's own words there is an admission of defeat.

> I am Sorry to be obliged to Say, that it is my opinion was there the least occasion, they would rise again tomorrow. 148

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The decline of the kin-based Gaelic culture was a long, complex and painful process that started at least as early as the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. To attempt to cope with so intricate a topic within the confines of a study that extends only from the time Prince Charles landed in Moidart until he departed from the same loch, is absurd. Such works can shed light on a significant watershed, but they can never hope to grapple with, let alone grasp, even the basics of this difficult subject. However, in several ways this last rising was of considerable importance to the downfall of the old kin-based society.

The rising of 1745-46 was not simply an attempt to restore the Stewart dynasty to the British throne. As ever, Gaels had goals of their own. The failure to achieve those goals and the manner of that failure speeded the process of decline. Certainly, loyalty to

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148. RH2/4/357/20.

the old line of Scots kings was important to these patriarchal folk; and given the unique nature of this rising with the Stewart representative, the Prince, so flatteringly close, it was natural that this aspect was focussed on both at the time and later in documents and studies. But, as has been seen above, there were a variety of concrete issues of equal or over-riding importance. These issues included: feudal superiorities, religion, Campbell expansion, a relative poverty and lack of prospects for the conservative Gaels,[149] traditional clan animosities, continued dissatisfaction with the Union of Parliaments and the related Whig ascendancy.[150] Also, as the Jacobites were ever a convenient camp for discontents, the conservative Gaels of the west Highlands and Islands from the old Lordship area, who were inclined to look back with nostalgia and forward with trepidation, were naturally inclined towards the Jacobite movement. Moreover, a tradition of service to the House of Stewart had been forged in 1644-45,most notably in this west Highland area and this tradition had, itself, become a reason for renewed service. Finally, after that first campaign under Montrose and after the later risings, this western block of conservative kindreds had borne the brunt of Lowland and English reaction, thus increasing the resentment and displaying most clearly to these particular Highlanders that it was their culture that was under attack and not just their politics

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149. See Ferguson, Scotland, 1689-Present, op.cit., p.15; Cunningham, op.cit., p.451 and Angus MacDonald's poem in Campbell, Songs, op.cit., p.15.

150. The testimony of Donald Cameron of Locheil is to the point here: "My ambition was to serve the crown and serve my country, or perish with it. In whatsoever situation I may be, of this I have given proofs that I now apprehend may prove fatal to my country; but my comfort is to have acted upon a principal that I am sure is right, in prefering the honour of the Royall Family and the publick good, which I consider as inseparable to all private considerations whatsoever. James Browne, A History of the Highlands, vol.III, (London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1849), p.477.

or their religious beliefs.

These goals were all tied together, but not in a perfectly structured ideology. To the Gaels their own interests came first. They would loyally pursue the goals they held in common with the royal Stewarts, but always on their own terms. As has been seen throughout this study, from the west Highland ultimatum that John Moydartach put to Montrose in 1644 about the descent on Inverary to the 1745 ultimatum the clan chiefs put to Prince Charles when he dismissed Lord George Murray at Carlisle, the Highlanders showed they had their own points of view and objectives and never lost sight of them. If these conditions, important in a Gaelic context, were met, then the kindreds of the conservative west Highland block would serve the Stewarts; and because their own needs were great they then served with great effect and fidelity.

In a Highland context, if loosely structured, these arguments hold, but in a wider Jacobite context they break down. The theoretical belief in the divine right of the Stewarts might warm the heart of many an English lord; in 1745 it moved few of them to action. It was well said of the English Jacobites at the time, who frequently indulged in Jacobite toasts, that "no people in the Universe know better the Difference between drinking and fighting".[151] But there was a solid reason behind this "Difference" and it was not ideological or theoretical; it was cultural. An English lord was not a clan chief. He could not rely upon a loyal following of martially inclined kinsmen who shared these culturally induced beliefs. An English lord and the younger Clanranald might (and in many cases did)

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151. James Ray, A Complete History of the Rebellion in the Year 1745, (London, 1752), p.162.

share similar ideologies, but the fact was that the Englishman's tenants did not tend to share his point of view; on the other hand, the peoples of Clan Ranald, structured in a kin-based manner, did share these beliefs with their representative, young Clanranald. Because of this attitude and because of the martial nature of Highland society, the people of Clan Ranald, with their conservative western neighbours, held the potential for acting decisively upon their beliefs.

The weakness of the English lord held true for many Lowland Scottish lords. James Drummond, the Jacobite Duke of Perth, is an excellent example. His estate encompassed both Highland and Lowland districts. From his Highland holdings he raised a company, mostly MacGregors, who, at the Battle of Prestonpans, largely armed with scythe-blades attached to poles moved against the Hanoverian cavalry with great effect. They "cut the legs of the horses in two; and their riders through the middle of their bodies",[152] while at the same time Perth's Lowlanders were reported to have "stood stock-still like oxen".[153]

Another factor that inclined the west Highlanders into action against the odds in 1745, after the powerful French invasion fleet had turned back in 1744 and after the Prince arrived empty-handed in 1745, was that the cause of Jacobitism was getting no stronger. The movement was certainly on the wane in the Scottish Lowlands, Borders and England. Devoid of leadership, "the catholic Irish were at the most cowed phase of their history".[154] Due to changes in European power politics and the past string of Jacobite failures

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152. Tomasson & Buist, op.cit., p.72.
153. Ibid., p.163.
154. Ferguson, Scotland, 1689 - Present, op.cit., p.148.

and shifts in French policy that had occurred in 1744-45, foreign support was seeming less and less likely. In the Highland area itself there were problems. The failure in 1715 and the government reaction, forfeiting estates, increasing forts and garrisons, building the military roads and establishing the Independent Highland Companies all inclined potential Jacobites to more caution. Argyll's reorganisation of the basic structure of society on the old MacLean lands both detracted from the potential MacLean support and pointed to a worrying future. In this deteriorating situation that saw a yearly thinning of Jacobite ranks, action became increasingly urgent. All these reasons, plus a romantic inclination on the part of the Highlanders, not later historians, were factors.

Here it seems reasonable to say a few words on the topic of "romanticism". This study condemns the artificial "Prince in the heather ... deer in the glen" type of romanticism that has made this legitimate and illuminating event something of a historical laughing-stock, but it is felt that on other levels a real romanticism was an important historical factor. When Lauchlan Campbell, the minister of Ardnamurchan observed of his parishioners "all my Jacobites ... were like to go mad"[155] on the arrival of the Prince; when Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, upon being asked why he joined the Prince, replied, "Lord man what could I do when the young man came to my house?";[156] when Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald poet sang,

O, hi ri ri, he is coming,
O, hi ri ri, our exiled King,
Let us take arms and clothing,
And the flowing tartan plaid.

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155. Fergusson, Argyll, op.cit., pp.11 & 13.
156. Walter Biggar Blaikie, ed. Origins of the Forty-Five, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966), p.82N.

Joyful I am, he is coming,
   Son of our rightful exiled King,
A mighty form which becomes armour,
   The broad-sword and the bossy shield. ...

The music of thy pipes and banners
   Would fill folk with reckless fire,
Our proud spirits would awaken,
   And we'd put the mob to rout.

The thundering of bombs and cannons
   With its force will rend the earth,
Hill and dale will answer to it,
   And the echo leave us deaf!

Pity him who on that day then
   Wears the ugly coat of red,
His black hat, bordered and cockaded
   Split like a cabbage round his ears! 157

When Duncan Ban MacIntyre, a Gael serving in the Hanoverian army at Falkirk, said of his "theoretical" MacDonald foes,

All our Englishmen retreated
   At the onslaught of Clan Donald,
'T would indeed their lives have shortened
   To have faced the mighty heroes. 158

When a government agent observed of the Jacobites as they first gathered,

> I find a kind of Despondency mixt with great keenness in the breast of all ranks, and some of the better sort, wishing that this affair did not come in their way, but as he [Prince Charles] happened to come, and trust himself amongst them, they would live and die with him. 159

And, when a force that initially consisted of 1,500 Gaels and later expanded to around 5,000 men of fewer than a dozen clans, raced across Scotland, capturedEdinburgh, soundly defeated a regular army with totally inexperienced and poorly armed clan regiments and drove deep into England before deciding to retire on its own terms; when all of these statements and events can be documented with absolute

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157. Campbell, Songs, op.cit., pp.49-51.
158. Ibid., p.209.
159. RH2/4/343/320.

certainty, it would take a very dry historian not to see that romanticism of a sort was a significant historical factor. A tight leash must be kept on this topic of romanticism, but history is about people and so emotion can be, and was here, a legitimate and important historical factor and in 1745 it combined with all the other above mentioned factors to propel the Gaels into their final attempt on behalf of the Stewarts.

Having discussed the many causes for Gaelic involvement in the Jacobite Movement, it becomes necessary to mention a significant underlying force. A recent study of Gaelic poetry looks at Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald poet, and persuasively concludes that the "mainspring" of Alexander's total involvement with Jacobitism "was not a narrow dynastic loyalty to the House of Stuart, but a dream of Gaelic independence".[160] Other Gaels may not have left the specific pro-Gaelic markers that Alexander left but their involvement in 1745-46 was no less notable. Here, it is felt that behind the many causes for their involvement was a strong and over-riding conservatism that found its origins in their ancient Gaelic way of life. This is not to say that the Highlanders rose in 1745 specifically to check the decline of their old culture. That culture was in no immediate danger of disintegration and there is no evidence that they felt it was but, certainly, that way of life was under assault from a variety of sources and the Jacobite victory that the Gaels so singularly struggled and suffered for would have relieved many of these pressures. Moreover, to assume that Alexander MacDonald was aware of these underlying Gaelic issues and yet that

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160. Thomson, Gaelic Poetry, op.cit., p.159.

he, a man with such abilities and passions, failed to communicate them is a highly questionable assumption.

> It is in the context of these ideas concerning tradition and innovation, the detritus of an old system and the stimulus of external contacts, together with the break-up of the old social system and the painful building of a new one, that we must consider the poetry of Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair (Alexander MacDonald). 161

Indeed, it is in this same context that the Gaelic loyalty to the Jacobite cause must be considered. At the onset of the rising the west Highlanders were reported saying,

> they wou'd be true to their offices & would not fly or quit the cause untill victory or death; for that this is the last opportunity they are to have. 162

The gamble failed. At one stroke the great majority of the leadership of the traditional Highlands was either killed, forced into exile or imprisoned and intimidated. Those who had been the powerful and influencial spokesmen for the traditional Highland society were suddenly gone. Elder and younger MacDonalds of Clan Ranald, Cameron of Locheil, MacPherson of Cluny, younger MacDonnell of Glengarry and elder and younger Frasers of Lovat, leaders of those major clans were all dead, in hiding, in exile or imprisoned. Their allies in the less numerous kindreds, MacDonnell of Keppoch, MacDonald of Glencoe, Stewart of Ardsheal, MacGillivray of Dunmaglas, Robertson of Struan, MacLauchlan of Lochfyne, Ogilvie of Airlie, Grant of Glenmoriston, MacKinnon of Strathairdale, MacLean of Drimnin, MacKenzie of Cromarty, MacLeod of Raasay, Gordon of Glenbucket, a variety of Atholl gentlemen including Lord George Murray and many others were also dead, in

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161. Ibid., p.157.
162. RH2/4/367/213.

hiding, in exile or imprisoned. This devastation of the traditional leadership had to have had a notable significance.

It is difficult to imagine any other development that would have played more into the hands of Whigs and Argyll's camp of "improvers" in the Highlands. Of course, many of the fence-sitters and heads of small kindreds who had tended to follow the leaders of the traditional camp before 1745 (and who were often Jacobite at heart) remained, but after 1746 there was no leader in the Highlands to follow, except Argyll. After 1746, not just the Argyll Estate and a few adjacent areas, but all the Highlands and Isles were strongly influenced by Argyll and those of his ilk. This power of Argyll's stemmed not only from his own economic, military and political power, but from those in high places who were favourably attached to him, such as Duncan Forbes of Culloden and Andrew Fletcher of Milton. This is not to say that these individuals were mere tools of Argyll's, but they clearly did share many of his ideas. After 1746 the Clan Cameron (like the Clan MacLean earlier) was left weakened, intimidated and leaderless by defeat. The Camerons did not love Argyll or his ideas but they were no longer able to resist him and his agents as they had in Morvern, or for that matter on the shores of Locheil. In Moidart, too, there was a Campbell factor and troops. Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart had been executed, his head impaled on a stake at Carlisle; Ranald elder of Clan Ranald was imprisoned in London and his son in exile in France.

This is the way that the failure of the rising of 1745-46 played its part in the deterioration of Gaelic culture and this situation had an influence on the timing of the separation of many chiefs from their kindreds. At a stroke in just a few months, the most powerful,

effective and influential leaders of the traditional camp were lost and Argyll and his friends were in the position to fill the void. In this situation the modernising pressures were likely to fall on the defeated kindreds either from government agents, new leadership drawn from the ranks of non-Jacobite Highlanders who were favourably attached to the Argyll camp and government or, as in the case of the Clan Ranald and Lovat, from the old Jacobite chiefs and/or their Jacobite sons who returned from prison and exile intimidated and obliged to move with the crowd. Occasionally, two or three decades after the Rising, sons or grandsons of other dead or exiled chiefs, as in the case of Cameron of Locheil's grandson, were able to return to their lands but they had been either living in France or in the south of Britain. The chain of tradition had been broken. The whole environment of the post-1746 Highlands was void of any strong traditional leadership and was set by Argyll and those with similar ideas. In this situation the fence-sitters and followers of the old leadership who remained or returned had no choice but to accept the inevitable and make the best of a bad situation.

There is another significant aspect to this question of the loss of the traditional leadership. It involved not only the chiefs but, to a lesser degree, it also carried down to the next rank of Highland leadership, the <u>duin-uasal</u> class. As was seen above, it is wrong to think that a Jacobite chief could force every one of his gentlemen out against their will. Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale is a good exmple; the inactive Cameron of Fassifern in Lochaber and Grant of Dundreggan in Jacobite Glenmoriston are other cases in point. It is equally incorrect to think that every Hanoverian and undecided chief could keep his <u>daoin-uaisle</u> away from

the Jacobite army if they were so inclined. Several MacLeod, MacKenzie, Grant, MacRae, Gordon, Forbes, Menzies and Campbell daoin-uaisle defied their inactive chiefs, mobilized their followers and rose in 1745.[163] These instances are important for two reasons. First and foremost, they show, despite the claims of certain historians, that Highlanders were not mindless puppets of their chiefs. Secondly, on a lower level and to a lesser degree, "the '45" had a similar culling effect on the warrior aristocracy of the involved clans.

Of the Clan Ranald's high-level duin-uasal class only the pro-government Alexander of Boisdale survived with his holdings intact (after a spell in the prison of the king he served); Donald of Kinlochmoidart was executed, Alexander of Glenalladale,seriously wounded at Culloden, eventually had to sell and emigrate perhaps because of financial problems growing out of the rebellion[164] and Allan of Morar was also ruined by the rising. Later, a Clan Ranald tacksman, Allan MacDonald of Grogarry reported,

> that he saw Morar and his Lady in Uist after the rebellion of 1745 and upon that occasion they told they had no money or effects to support them, until he had disposed some of his lands; and at that time they thigged [begged] in Uist for bear. 165

Certainly the Rising of 1745-46 tended to weed out a number of like-minded and powerful conservatives thus playing into their foes' hands.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46 was not the cause of the downfall of the old kin-based society. The decline was obvious long before that event, but that clear decline was one important reason

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163. See above, p.427.
164. Gregory, op.cit., p.416, see below, p.502.
165. Session Papers, Signet Library, Edinburgh 66; 16; p.40.

behind the decision of the more traditional elements to take that last risk. Their failure greatly increased the speed of the decline by rending the basic Highland power structure. The conservative leadership was crushed. The legal,political and economic climate was altered. After Culloden the mist of ignorance and fear that had historically veiled and protected old Gaelic ways was largely gone. The Highlands lay open to outside influence.

All this is, however, not to say that the effects were immediate; as has been seen, the spirit of resistance was not broken by Cumberland, his lieutenants and their harsh tactics. It must be pointed out that the Gaelic culture did not expire on Culloden Moor; it lives yet today. But, in a real sense, the collapse of this Highland rising did mark the demise of the Jacobite movement. It was the Prince who lost his taste for "adventure" that day, not his blooded Gaels. Indeed, there were more Highlanders under his standard after Culloden than before. In the long term the Jacobite Rising of 1745-46 was to have serious effects on the old kin-based social structure but even after that defeat the Highlanders remained willing to fight for their goals. Only the weakness of the royal Stewarts and lack of foreign support made the Rising of 1745-46 the last one. The Gaels did not feel crushed, not yet, and they still had their goals. This continuing spirit has been noted above, and it is seen in Alexander MacDonald's song, "Oran a Rinneadh 'sa Bhliadhna 1746" or "A Song Composed in the Year 1746".

Cold and rainy is each day,
Each night dark and stormy;
Sad and gloomy is each day,
Close, and misty laden;
But waken up, O people,
And put your sorrow from you,
Put away your grief,
A jewel there is, by wind and sea ...
And after him shall come all joy.

Bright skies attend the King,
   Snow and frost shall flee from us, ...
Joy will supplant pain;
All kinds of every wine
   Shall come in casks from France;
We shall quench our thirst,
And gain our full desire,
   And round our foes who've left us poor,
Closely our net we'll wind.

O chroniclers of the Clans!
   Arise, write now the effectual tale, ...
This is the wonderful year. ...

Accept not peace from George,
   But, with your strong and loyal hope,
Still trust the righteous cause,
Sufficient help will come; ...
Have patience yet, O Clans,
   And you shall see your every want
Supplied by your stout swords. 166

And, finally, the report of a Hanoverian agent who had just journeyed through Moidart and Arisaig to observe the mood of the Gaels shows that the sentiments expressed in the above Clan Ranald poem were not empty propaganda.

> Some days ago he had an Information by a man from Arasick; who had left those parts the day before, that the country there look wishfully upon the coast, and they believe every ship they see to be French. 167

This report is remarkable because it was not submitted in 1746 or in 1748 but on 26th July 1759.

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166. Campbell, Songs, op.cit., pp.95-97.
167. RH2/4/338/34.

# CHAPTER IX

Major historical changes are seldom felt immediately. The forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles caused few swift alterations in the Gaelic west; only after much strife and long years did the serious ramifications of this act become apparent. So, too, it was with the collapse of the 1745-46 rebellion and the death of the Jacobite movement around which conservative Gaels had wrapped their own quest. Highland aspirations had become entwined with and in a realpolitik sense inseparable from the Jacobite cause; on its demise Gaelic goals remained but then Highlanders lacked the catalyst that had become Jacobitism and the necessary allies it provided.

As the last chapter has shown, the west Highland fighting spirit was not crushed on Culloden Moor and the Gaelic culture did not die there, but as time wore on and that rising eventually proved to be the last, it became increasingly clear that a new era had been entered. The Gaelic culture has survived but its old kin-based social structure has altered significantly; the last Jacobite rebellion served to hasten a variety of modifications that had been visible long before that event and it opened the way for the Whig victors to institute their ideas and structures throughout the Highlands and Islands, not just on their fringes.

Traditional landholding in the Highlands had supported a large and efficient military establishment that was unique in Britain. The Captain of Clan Ranald followed by his warrior-aristocracy of daoin-uaisle and their followers, the people of Clan Ranald, all bound together in religious and political outlooks by their conservative kin-based society, had been an effective fighting machine.

However, despite winning many battles, Jacobite Gaels and their allies lost the cause. In 1746 the Hanoverian line had been badly shaken but it had survived. It was safe. Whigs predominated throughout Britain. Whigs predominated even in the "Rough Bounds". As the extent of the Jacobite collapse became apparent to the Gaels (who had not collapsed but who had learned that alone they were incapable of altering the course of Great Britain), it became increasingly obvious that no option remained. There was to be no turning back in the modernising and improving pressures. After 1746 these developments came faster and they came into all areas, including the once remote Moidart, Eigg and Benbecula.

While they may not have realised it, all members of the Clan Ranald were entering on an era of accelerating social crisis; an era that would drive alien social and economic wedges between ranks that previously had been bonded together by centuries of kin-based evolution, a struggle for survival in a sometimes hostile environment. The traditional Highland world had naturally tended to foster an inward-looking clan-centred loyalty in which all ranks of a given kindred were welded together, rising or falling collectively depending on the kindred's fortunes. And, it is well to remember that despite the vastly different results these encroaching historical developments were to have for the kindred's various social levels, in a real sense all ranks were victims of the coming changes; changes that none had desired and changes that certainly would have been retarded, and possibly altered, by the Jacobite victory they had all struggled (and failed) to gain.

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A bureaucratic error on the government's part softened the legal blow the Clan Ranald expected following the Jacobite rising. In his Bill of Attainder Ranald MacDonald, younger of Clan Ranald, was accidentally listed as "Donald MacDonald" and, eventually, after several years of exile in France (and after the Jacobites proved unable to mount another serious threat) this erroneous registration, coupled with his father's inactivity in 1745-46 combined to provide his lawyers with the legal loophole needed to preserve the estate from forfeiture.[1] On his return from exile Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, was given active control of the estate through a conveyance of titles from his father, who had never been successful in business matters.[2]

In this new climate a variety of factors came together to make the decline of the old order increasingly obvious. Despite his having been the first and one of the most loyal Highland Jacobite commanders, Ranald MacDonald, younger of Clan Ranald, embodied a number of these alterations.

Ranald was not a catholic. The effects of his mother's upbringing began to tell. It will be remembered that in the 1730's and 1740's his mother, Margaret, a protestant, had been ardent in her loyalty to her religious creed. She had, along with Lady Boisdale, supported the presbyterian ministers in South Uist and these two women had often communicated with the Kirk's General Assembly to encourage an increased effort in the Clan Ranald's Hebrides.[3]

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1. GD201/4/52,53 & 54. This situation must raise the suspicion that Ranald the elder of Clanranald had remained inactive in case such a situation arose but, of course, no documentation concerning that topic would have been allowed to survive.
2. GD50/216/43/p.1.
3. For details, see above, pp.413-14.

It is doubtful that Lady Clanranald had a great effect at the time. While she certainly made the lives of the various presbyterian ministers who served there less difficult,[4] her true gift to her sect was in planting the protestant seed at the head of the Clan Ranald, the catholics' stalwart west Highland and Island ally in the 17th and 18th centuries. Furthermore, during his wanderings after Culloden Ranald had met and married another protestant, Mary Hamilton. There was to be no turning back.

It would be an error to over-state the immediate significance of this development. Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, was in no sense a religious bigot and actually on several occasions acted as a buffer between his catholic people and the over-zealous presbyterian minister in South Uist, John MacAulay.[5] But given the catholic's weak position in Scotland and their somewhat tenuous hold in the west Highlands and Islands after the Jacobite defeat in 1746, even Ranald's tolerant approach to religious issues was ominous for the very catholic tenants he protected from MacAulay. Ranald was the first Captain of Clan Ranald to give leases to non-catholics.[6] This search has discovered no evidence of immediate problems arising from this situation. Despite his many and serious financial problems, Ranald selected satisfactory individuals when he chose protestant tacksmen but, doubtless, this was the first step towards the situation where protestant estate managers and lease-holders oversaw an almost uniformly catholic tenantry.

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4. See CH1/2/72/4 August 1736.
5. GD201/5/1228/1/1767, for details see above, p.127.
6. For example, GD201/2/17 & 18 (Extending Alexander of Boisdale's holdings); GD201/2/30 (Donald MacLeod "Sometimes merchant in Glasgow") and GD201/2/32 (Donald Fraser).

After assuming control of the estate Ranald was faced with the ever-present Clan Ranald problem of serious debts. Sometime after 1754, when he had finally been able to return to the west Highlands following his exile and the complicated legal manoeuvres in London that had been required to quash his Bill of Attainder, Ranald was free to deal with his financial embarrassments. His money problems were many. Firstly, as has been seen, the Clan Ranald had a variety of old debts and these burdens had been exacerbated by the expenses of fighting the last Jacobite campaign, the lost rents from that period, the considerable damage inflicted by government troops after Culloden on the estate, its furnishings, livestock and crops and by the expenses incurred in his own legal battles. If all these were not enough, he also had to break the unfavourable tack that his father had given to David Bruce, Surveyor for the Forfeited Estates in Scotland.[7]

Bruce had convinced Ranald, elder of Clan Ranald, while his son was in exile to lease the entire estate in 1749. Elder Clanranald had been enticed by stories of "mines and minerals on the Estate of Clan Ranald of considerable value" which Bruce promised to work to his and Clanranald's mutual profit, thereby relieving the family of its debts. To gain this theoretical aid old Clanranald had been persuaded to offer Bruce a 500 merk increase in the estate rents. David Bruce apparently secured a similar hold over MacNeill of Barra because Sir Alexander MacDonald, in a letter to Norman MacLeod of Dunvegan, stated:

> Wee have been greatly astonished Here at the News

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7. GD201/5/1143.

of Mr. Bruce Becoming Tacksman of Clanrd. & Barra's Estates. He gives it in Town that he owes this favour much to your friendship, but so little faith do I give to this Report, as I really think you would judge better for those two deluded men that I must joyne with the Multitude in the cry of Ruin & desolation to the Hilland[sic] chieftainy. The Benefit of this project to those two Gentlemen can not be seen in our apprehention but the wee Mr. Bruce may make off their simplicity & folly, may indeed mend his fortune, at their Expence - it is beliv'd he is then bargon with McKinnon to the same purpose. I can not help grieving that a chap of neither character nor credite, should be Receiv'd with such Esteme & that people who have so very Lately strugled for their property, shou'd so easyly quite [sic] with it & flater themselves with Idle hopes & promises. 8

The Clanranald family gained nothing from the transaction and eventually Ranald younger was able to buy Bruce's lease at a loss.[9]

In 1757 when writing to his uncle Roderick MacLeod, his lawyer in Edinburgh, Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, lamented the "perplexity" of his situation and the "Hardships", he laboured under because of his debts and his father's lack of business sense. He reported that it was impossible for him to raise the funds MacLeod needed to satisfy his creditors "till I can convort [sic] cattle or kelp to cash"; until then it was as impossible for Ranald to find the money as it was for him "to fly".[10] The next year he penned a sombre letter to the same Roderick MacLeod that illustrates his hopeless mood and the serious nature of his dilemma:

I always feared I should be some time oblidged to follow the resolution I now see it is impossible to avoid in the Desperate state of my affairs; which (both by the petulancy of

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8. MacLeod of MacLeod Papers, Box 56, 127.
9. GD201/1/364/15, see also GD201/1/85 and GD201/5/1147.
10. GD201/4/85.

> Creditors, the avarice of Part of my relations, and the want of Sense of the rest of them ... [and the severe estate problems] I have been concerned in has unavoidably led me into) has rendered totaly irretrievable, I mean how soon Possible to sell the Estate; which now there is an absolute necessity of your agreeing to as I have no other way in the world to satisfie your own debts or send you one single farthing if it were to relieve you from Hell, this will seem harsh to you, But necessity has no law, and its better tell you know [sic, now] than when Even an advantageous Sale of the Estate would not Procure you but with difficulty your own.

Here, Ranald was serious and not simply attempting to buy time to respond to his debt to MacLeod with outlandish threats. This is demonstrated in another section of that same letter.

> As none alive is more accquainted with the State of the affairs of the family than yourself ... I hope you will cheerfully concurr in obtaining me the best Price Possible, and as soon as Possible. However as I know you have an aversion to this step which might Posible Engage you to disobey my Present orders and Endeavour hinder this only means left me of saving myself out of the jaws of misery from taking Place I have wrote & engaged another who will manage the affair if you refuse. But should there any advantages be in managing this affair I would rather you had it than any other Person whatever. I only beg your using all possible Dispatch & Secrecy; and if you think the Duke of Argyle would like to have the Estate, as he possibly might, make him in my name an offer of it. 11

Indeed, this fatalistic decision to give Argyll the first refusal on the estate displays how Ranald had come to believe the west Highland conservative cause lost, and that Argyll had emerged the victor who remained and was able to pick up the pieces. For the second time in less than ten of these disturbing post-Culloden years,[12] an old-style Clan Ranald chief had tried to escape the considerable burden of

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11. GD201/4/85 (enclosure).
12. Ranald's father had surrendered management of the estate to David Bruce in 1749.

managing the encumbered estate and the many contradictions that task implied. As with the daoin-uaisle later, these last true Captains of Clan Ranald had not been trained as had the successful Argyll. They had neither the preparation nor inclination (nor sound financial footing) required to cope successfully with the changing situation.

For reasons that remain unclear, Ranald did not sell the estate, but his confusion, irritation and inability to cope with this modern world continued to be observable, and again the estate's considerable debts occasioned the situation that illustrates Ranald's quandary. By 1773 he was so deeply in debt and being pressured in an especially heavy fashion by the Bank of Scotland, that he was forced to grant Colin MacDonald of Boisdale (the son of the recently deceased Alexander) a factory over the entire estate, Benbecula excepted, for twelve years or until such time as the debts were paid.[13] This factory went so far as to allow Boisdale the right to "outputt and inputt tennants",[14] an unprecedented concession for any Chief of Clan Ranald. However, it must be added that at this time Ranald was very ill and that in the same period in a contradictory fashion he issued a number of missives to people all over his estate giving them long security of tenure at low rents.[15] After his death, on 2nd October 1776, the Minutes of his son's Tutors also state that the exceptionally high number of pensioners who had been supported by Ranald on the estate had to be drastically curtailed due to the debts.[16] It is instructive to note that Ranald, who certainly had reacted to his debts by driving up the rents, had also in a completely inconsistent manner, maintained

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13. GD201/5/1022.
14. GD201/5/1233/2/p.24.
15. Ibid., p.25.
16. Ibid.

this large and expensive number of pensioners at his own expense; furthermore, in this same period, Ranald, who had been forced to grant Colin of Boisdale the factory that carried the unusual power to "outputt and inputt tennants", had, in a notable display of confusion, issued the many missives that conferred long term tenure for low rents. Here, surely, is a good example of the complex and contradictory forces bearing down on traditional Highland chiefs.

Ranald's upbringing and inclinations led him to try to maintain the people on his estate as had always been done, but his debts and the area's new political realities forced him to raise the rents and contemplate other drastic steps. Small wonder both Ranald and his father had reacted by trying to escape these conflicting burdens.

The requirements of a traditional west Highland chief were not those needed in the late 18th century; Ranald's upbringing had prepared him to perform one role and the world he faced from 1760 was rapidly changing. It was one thing to maintain the less fortunate folk on his estate and, equally, it had been one thing to stand in the front of his kindred at the Battle of Falkirk and help to break the charge of the English dragoons by falling to the ground and opening the bellies of the onrushing horses with his dirk (as he had done, almost at the cost of his life[17]). But it was quite another thing to try to break Bruce's entangling lease, turn a sizeable profit on an estate that had never shown a large profit and raise the rents on valued kinsmen and loyal comrades-in-arms. Also it was difficult to face the hard choice of either selling the lands that his ancestors had maintained and defended for centuries to former enemies or

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17. See above, p.435.

keeping the estate in that confusing situation. If he sold to these former enemies they would disrupt the lives and culture of the folk left behind on the estate. If Ranald did not sell, he would be forced to do what was possibly more painful, disrupt that culture himself.

Despite the growing economic pressure that forced Ranald into his confused, painful and contradictory position it must be pointed out that these problems and his reactions to them did not occur in a vacuum; they had consequences on other people. In his attempt to come to grips with his debts Ranald increased rents and shortened the duration of the leases.[18]

In this new atmosphere, as traditional positions ceased to exist or were altered to such a distasteful extent that they no longer appealed to the traditionally minded daoin-uaisle, there was an increasing exodus from the west Highlands and Islands. Life in Lowland Scotland, England and, to a lesser extent, the continent had always held an attraction for a few substantial Gaels such as the late 17th century Ruairi MacLeod of Dunvegan, but in this mid to late 18th century period, because of the increasing modernising pressures there was a more notable pull from the south. Since this ebb in the traditional Gaelic culture happened to coincide with a corresponding vitality in southern Britain and the British Empire, therewere a variety of options open to unwanted or dissatisfied Highlanders with talent and ambition. In this period service in

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18. For example compare these early tacks GD201/2/8 (1718),; GD201/2/9 (1728) and GD201/2/10 (1730) with these later contracts GD201/2/16 (1756); GD201/5/1151 (1760) and GD201/2/27A (1765). These later tacks were given out by Ranald himself before he turned the management of the estate over to Colin of Boisdale.

the expanding Highland regiments, emigration to North America and employment with the British East India Company were all potentially fruitful options.

A letter dated 12th May 1757 from Roderick MacLeod to Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, provides an illustration of how these Highland regiments furnished a useful outlet for able and needy Gaels:

> This will be Delivered you by your Brother Donald now made a Captain in the highland regiment to be raised under the Command of your cousin Mr. Simon Fraser eldest son of the late Lord Lovat, in which regiment your other two Brothers Wm. & Normd. are also provided for the one as a Leut. and the other one Ensign. I need scarce say any thing to incline you to give your Brothers all possible assistance in making up their compliment of men for this regiment, ... the service done you by Having so many of your own Brothers, & so many other of your relatives provided for must of itself be a sufficient Inducement for your exerting yourself to the utmost [in raising men for the regiment]. 19

This regiment was the 78th Highland Regiment, Fraser's Highlanders, and it saw much action in North America against the French where, on 12th September 1759 in the assault on Quebec Clanranald's brother, Donald, was killed along with General Wolfe.[20] It is said that at the moment of victory the previously wounded Wolfe died in the arms of one of the men of the 78th Highland Regiment and whether this soldier was a Fraser, a MacDonald or some other associated Gael, he almost certainly was a Jacobite veteran, or the son of one, who in 1746 had struggled against Wolfe on Culloden Moor.

Through the Napoleonic Wars these Highland regiments were to offer opportunities to young Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle and often their companies were made up of the young men from their fathers'

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19. GD201/5/1128/1.
20. GD201/5/1128/1, 14 July 1760.

holdings. Thus many Highland regiments were raised in a somewhat normal Highland manner and consisted (unlike many other sections of the British army) of the best their society had to offer; officers and soldiers finding their attachment not only in military discipline but from kin-based tradition and from the knowledge that their parents continued to live together in a landlord-tenant relationship.

In the mid 1760's an anonymous friend of William Pitt, the Elder, observed:

> Battalions on battalions were raised in the remotest parts of the Highlands of those men, who a few years before and while they saw any hope, were devoted to and too long had followed the fate of the race of Stuart. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons and others of disaffected names and clans were enrolled, their chiefs or connections obtained commissions, the lower class always ready to follow. 21

In the same period when discussing Hugh MacDonald, a young kinsman of the Chief of Clan Ranald, Roderick MacLeod mentioned the desirability of entering him in "some cheap county school here abouts [the Edinburgh area] till he was fitt for going to some employment",[22] and later Roderick stated,

> I would wish to see you send out Hughie that he might be fitted for some business, for every days stay in the country now is a loss to him - as for Gordon & Allan, these you must make the best of you can in the country as they cannot be made fitt for going out of it. 23

Clearly, the non-Gaelic world was seen as holding the best potential for promising young Gaels.

Emigration, the other reasonably accessible choice open to

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21. Adams, op.cit., p.441.
22. GD201/5/1128/1, 27 January 1757.
23. GD201/5/1128/1, 12 May 1757.

more substantial Highlanders will be dealt with later, but before moving on it is necessary to carry the coverage of the kindred's decline one step further. Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald, died in 1776 leaving his widow and their young son John (sometimes referred to as John Moydartach). With this event a significant milestone had been passed. Ranald was the last Captain of Clan Ranald to live among his people on a regular basis; in many respects he was the last true chief of the kindred. After his death his widow[24] took their son away from the Highlands to Edinburgh and thereafter resided in the Scottish capital or on the European continent at a considerable expense.

With Ranald's death and the movement of the boy who would own the estate to the south, the chain of tradition had been broken. After this point the Gaelic folk on the old clan lands and their customs were to become increasingly strange and the Gaelic language either an impediment to be ignored as much as possible or a curiosity occasionally studied as a sort of romantic hobby by a future Victorian estate owner. Ranald's situation in the post-Culloden era forced him to make a variety of hurtful changes; his loss and the associated separation of the future "chief" from the west Highlands ushered in more changes at an accelerated pace.

In an attempt to cope with the old debts as well as the new ones being incurred by the southern life of the dowager Lady Clanranald and her son, the Tutors (or financial managers) of the young Clanranald made several alterations on the estate that caused immediate changes. Firstly, since he had lived on the land Ranald had increased the rate

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24. Flora MacKinnon, Ranald's first wife having died in the mid 1750's.

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of exchange for casualties in order to ensure a reasonable supply of the produce needed to support him and his family. But on his death "as the family will now have no use for them" the tutors adjusted the conversion to secure an increased payment in a money rent.[25] Also, they reduced drastically the "great number of Pensioners" Ranald had kept during his lifetime.[26]

With the exception of the young John, who briefly resided in Benbecula in the late 18th century (following his southern education and fashionable "Grand Tour of Europe") and his son, Reginald George, who occasionally resided in Arisaig in the 1820's, the folk on the old Clan Ranald lands were to be ruled by absentee landlords, business-men and their factors. John and Reginald George were the direct descendants of the ancient Captains of Clan Ranald through the Benbecula line but also in a real sense they were products of the alien southern British culture; furthermore, in a less abrupt manner this general period witnessed the demise of the traditional daoin-uaisle.

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In his account of the 1715 Battle of Sheriffmuir, John Campbell, the 2nd Duke of Argyll, perplexed the English readers of his report when he stated that the Highlanders had fought "like Gentlemen".[27] To his English readers the term "Gentlemen" conjured up images of polite southern society; to MacCailein Mor, Chief of Clan Campbell and other west Highlanders "Gentlemen" was synonymous with the proud,

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25. GD201/5/1233/2/p.24.
26. GD201/5/1233/1/pp.22-24.
27. State Papers, 54/10/48, 14 November 1715.

well-armed, martial leadership of Gaeldom, the warrior aristocracy that was drawn from the traditional duin-uasal class. By the mid 1770's these men were seen to be anachronistic and thus were in notable decline.

Between 1746 and the close of the Napoleonic wars the almost total disappearance of the old style duin-uasal occurred. Of course, the most significant single aspect of this deterioration was the collapse of the Jacobite movement and the entry of southern British jurisdiction into the Highlands and Islands. In the 1750's and 1760's, as it was becoming increasingly clear that the non-Highland Jacobites were a spent force and, equally, as the heavy debts bore down on Highland land-owners in an ever more pressing fashion, both the military nature and the kin-based loyalty of these traditional leaders diminished in significance; while at the same time the ability to farm the leased lands at a profit, always a matter of at least secondary importance, rapidly became paramount in the eyes of the hard-pressed chiefs.

The Clan Ranald's more substantial wadset-holding daoin-uaisle felt the brunt of these changes before most of its tacksmen. As has been mentioned, these wadsetters suffered considerable personal and material damage in the Rising. Donald of Kinlochmoidart was executed, his family's lands forfeited. These holdings were not returned until 1786 when Donald's grandson, Donald, then serving in the British army, received them.[28] Allan of Morar was largely ruined by the Rising and by his inability to cope with the problems that grew out of that event. This inability seems to have been

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28. MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.302-3.

partly due to his weakness for alcohol. In 1748 Allan sold his South Uist lands to Alexander of Boisdale and later his lands in Eigg also had to be given up. The old Morar holdings were passed on to his son who, because of his service in the British army, was often an absentee landholder.[29] The story of Alexander MacDonald of Glenalladale, and his son John, is quite revealing and merits close attention.

Alexander of Glenalladale had the good fortune to recover from the wounds he received on the field of Culloden[30] and not to be forfeited as had his kinsman and neighbour Kinlochmoidart. In 1760 he was enjoying quite good relations with Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald. In that year he was appointed the factor for the entire estate. Correspondence from Roderick MacLeod to young Clanranald gives insight into Glenalladale's character. MacLeod wrote:

> You may be certain I will do anything I can to assist honest Glenaladill whom I am Glad you have made your factor as I am convenced he has your Interest sincerely at heart. 31

Unfortunately, MacLeod was forced to pen this further message on 18th March 1761, less than year later.

> I was informed of the Death of your worthy friend Glenalladill, a loss that I sincerely regrete as he was a man of Integrity & worth, ... I know he had both a personal regard for you & had your interest truly at heart - nor do I know how his want can be made up to you. 32

At Alexander's death his son, John, succeeded to the lands of Glenalladale and also the position of factor for Clanranald.[33]

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29. Ibid., p.256.
30. MS 3735/367.
31. GD201/5/1228/1, 14 July 1760.
32. GD201/5/1228/1, 18 March 1761.
33. For example, see GD201/5/124.

John MacDonald of Glenalladale served Ranald younger as factor for about ten years, but in or around 1771 the tranquil situation that existed came to an end.

While there are conflicting accounts concerning the details of the situation, doubtless John of Glenalladale's regard for, and close ties with, the less substantial tenants and subtenants on the estate and his defence of them was a major factor in this problem.

In 1836 Donald Gregory recorded that

> John Macdonald of Glenalladale, being obliged to quite Scotland about 1772, in consequence of family misfortunes arising out of the rebellion of 1745, sold his Scottish estates to his cousin..., and emigrating to Prince Edward's Island, with about two hundred followers, purchased a tract of forty thousand acres there, on which his heir-male now resides, while the two hundred Highlanders have increased to threethousand. In that remote colony, the language, manners, and customs of the Highlanders, as in several districts of Upper Canada, are preserved in greater purity than in the mother country. 34

But the MacDonald authors of the late 19th century Clan Donald give a different and, because of certain other evidence, a more plausible explanation of this situation. They record that a dispute arose between Colin MacDonald of Boisdale and his tenants in South Uist over religion. It is alleged that Colin used his position of power to try to force his catholic tenants to become protestants, threatening them with eviction if they did not convert. They refused. At this point the estate's factor John of Glenalladale took the part of these less substantial folk. He helped them, and others, to emigrate to Canada. He raised a large sum of cash using his own holdings as security in 1771 and bought a large tract of land on Prince Edward's

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34. Gregory, op.cit., p.416.

Island, and in the following year the South Uist folk left. In 1773 John completed the sale of his estate (to his cousin Alexander MacDonald of Borrodale) and, taking some others from Moidart and Arisaig, followed the Uist people to the lands in Canada.[35] And here the account of Gregory's largely conforms with the Clan Donald description. In Canada, Clan Donald reports, the "emigrants were doing extremely well ... and living already much better than at home".[36]

The Clan Donald account seems more reasonable because John of Glenalladale did not leave Scotland until 1773, twenty-seven years after Culloden. If his family had been so harmed by that last Rising, John, or more likely his father, Alexander, would have been forced to leave sooner. In any case, the considerable Glenalladale lands coupled with both Alexander's and John's position as Clan Ranald estate factor would surely have put this family at least on an equal financial footing with other daoin-uaisle on the estate who were not forced to leave. Moreover, Colin of Boisdale, like his father Alexander, was known to be staunchly presbyterian. Finally, the testimony of John of Glenalladale himself tends to support, if not prove, the religious interpretation because he displays a considerable amount of anger towards the emerging Highland leadership. This anger would not necessarily have been a factor if continuing problems from the Rising of 1745-46 had forced the move.

Writing from Greenock before he left, John observed:

> I saw many of my friends whom I loved, like to fall into [the honourless situation he felt the new Highland gentry was entering], and which the children could not avoid, unless some other path

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35. Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.III, p.266.
36. Ibid.

was struck out for them. 37

John MacDonald of Glenalladale struck the path. He led out his "opprest people" from South Uist, Arisaig and Moidart including both tacksmen and subtenants. And before leaving he bitterly observed that, "Emigrations are like to demolish the Highland Lairds, and very deservedly".[38]

In Canada John continued to lead a distinguished and eventful life. At the start of the American Revolutionary War he raised the 84th, or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, and served with distinction. One of his superior officers observed of him in a report:

> The activity and unabating zeal of Captain John Macdonald of Glenaladale in bringing an excellent company into the field is his least recommendation, being acknowledged by all who know him to be one of the most accomplished men & best officers of his rank in His Majesty's service. 39

Obviously, both John MacDonald of Glenalladale and his father Alexander were men of merit and it is equally certain that they had strong ties with, and felt paternalistic obligations towards, the people they oversaw. When Alexander and his kinsmen had led the Glenalladale people into battle at Prestonpans, Falkirk and Culloden, they, among the other Highland officers, were not unusual in their attachment to those they led. One of the central elements of that culture was that very attachment. The preceding pages of this study demonstrate this. But by the early 1770's changes had occurred and were continuing to occur. Young Clanranald of "the 45" was no longer young; he faced an unfavourable climate that he was ill prepared to

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37. Iain R. MacKay, "Glenalladale's Settlement, Prince Edward Island", Scottish Gaelic Studies, Vol.10, 196, p.18.
8. Ibid., p.19.
9. MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.III, p.266.

master and he faced massive debts at the same time. Donald of Kinlochmoidart, a man whom Bishop Forbes had described as "fit for either Cabinet or the field" had been executed and his brothers and sons were either dead or in exile, no longer overseeing their people. Allan of Morar was ruined and his son away in the British army. Alexander of Glenalladale had died in 1761 and by 1770 his son, John, was becoming unusual in his attachment to the people he oversaw. As he correctly observed, the Highland gentry's "children could not avoid" the coming changes unless they left the Highlands. Because of this changing environment and because of his kin-based regard for the less substantial folk on his lands he chose to leave. John's irritation at the loss of these inter-class ties testifies to their existence in the traditional period. Because of the changing environment, not because of any continuing oppression inherent in the old Gaelic hierarchical society, the generations raised in the post-Culloden world had to be different from their fathers and grandfathers. It only took a generation or two for the new attitudes to take hold. Of course, the Glenalladale and Benbecula holdings, like the Locheil and Glengarry territories, continued to exist but in a real sense they were coming under new management.

Significantly, the only substantial Clan Ranald wadsetter to prosper in this new milieu was Colin MacDonald, the representative of the Boisdale branch and the son of Alexander of Boisdale who had given good service to the House of Hanover in 1745-46. Alexander had not given that service out of any attachment to the Hanoverian cause or scorn for the royal Stewarts; rather he, a presbyterian, had correctly interpreted developments and moved with the times. He was correct. Southern Britain had finally conquered Gaelic

Scotland in a physical sense and southern class-based attitudes were soon to follow, settling themselves over the old kin-based hierarchical structure. In the case of the Clan Ranald wadsetter level daoin-uaisle, it took only a generation or two for this most rending of all the many changes, this crux of all the changes, to be realised. The job that Cumberland, General Hawley and Captain Caroline Scott had failed to complete in 1746 was being completed by the more insidious forces of the future: bankers, lawyers, presbyterian ministers and English (and Scottish) public schools. It was a complex, slow and uneven process but it was relentless.

It would be incorrect to represent these emerging Highland gentlemen as uniformly cruel and self-serving. Examples of generosity and human kindness are not absent from the documentary material of the following period, and in a few cases it seems that a lingering, almost instinctive, bond between classes was a factor, but Gaeldom's long standing institutionally encouraged kin-based ties were rapidly being eroded as that traditional kin-based society disappeared along with the old-style chiefs and daoin-uaisle.

Traditional tacksmen were facing the same sorts of pressures as wadsetters and these pressures would have similar results, but for a variety of reasons these tacksmen outlasted the traditional wadsetters. In the later 18th century tacksmen were somewhat less obvious targets for the financially hard-pressed chiefs because they were less visibly wealthy than the larger wadsetters and at the same time they were more necessary as the "middlemen" or agricultural overseers who were still thought to be useful. Moreover, the tacksman's position as an overseer who tended to be closely tied to the ground and to the many subtenants was increasingly attractive

to many chiefs who were becoming absentee landlords. Also, the traditional tacksmen outlasted the old-style wadsetters simply because tacksmen were a central feature of the old system that, structurally, had not changed rapidly; and, finally, the tacksmen were simply numerous and entrenched, occasionally still profiting from their close ties of kinship and sentiment with the landowners.

As the chief faced financial burdens, so too in due course did all others on the estate and it fell to the tacksman's lot to attempt to produce the extra cash by altering his life style and pressuring the tenants. Many found this difficult or impossible; and certainly they found many aspects of their new role obnoxious. Earlier, the tacksmen had been a source of money to the chiefs[40] and this function continued after the crisis period of the mid 18th century on an ever diminishing scale. For example, in 1781 John MacEachen, one of the Arisaig tacksmen, agreed to a new lease with the tutors of the minor, John of Clan Ranald. The tack agreed upon was under favourable terms in consideration of John's renouncing a series of debts, dating from 1760, 1763 and 1775, that Ranald younger of Clan Ranald had incurred with John's father, Alexander MacEachen, who had also been tacksman.[41] But such cases were becoming unusual.[42] Tacksmen tended to be uninspired farmers because their traditional functions had not prepared them to be keen improving farmers.

In this situation tacksmen either had to pay or to go. The decision to stay (or rather, to try to stay) meant making improvements

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40. See above, pp.247-48.
41. GD201/5/977.
42. Even this case was unusual in that John MacEachen was also a physician and certainly had a source of income that other area tacksmen lacked.

on their land and raising higher rents. A few were moderately successful, as the Borrodale, Rhue and Dalilea families were, but most of these late 18th century Clan Ranald tacksmen, like the wad-setters who had been forced out, had a firm and unbroken tie with the past. They had inherited many of the attitudes and expectations of earlier daoin-uaisle. They were conservative and the majority of them were not quick to adopt the improving ways of the best farmers. Certain improvements were made conditions of the leases received from Clan Ranald landowners or from the Clan Ranald trust. Enclosures were to be constructed, land drained, roads built, sand-drift controlled, fishing encouraged, artificial grasses and turnips were to be planted and better dwellings and out-buildings constructed,[43] but the majority of the tacksmen appear to have retained a casual attitude towards modern farming methods.

As a group, tacksmen were not the tyrants of Duncan Forbes' imagination but they often tended to be uninspired farmers. Throughout the improving literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries the poor farming methods of the tacksmen were made clear. James MacDonald in his Agriculture of the Hebrides discusses their weaknesses, He admitted that they were "a fine and respectable class" of individuals but,

> however respectable the character of the Hebridean tacksmen, and however proper it is to support that order of men in particular cases, ... it can not be denied that they have been instrumental, together with other causes, in keeping back the improvement

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43. See GD201/2/55, 1786 (fishing); GD201/5/1167, 1767 (buildings); GD201/5/1110 (enclosures); GD201/5/1174, 1773 (dwellings); GD201/5/1189, 1786 (buildings); GD201/5/1191, 1786 (fishing); GD201/5/1196, 1788 (build dykes) and GD201/2/51, 1777 (road and bridge building).

of their country. The very circumstances indeed which, in one point of view, constituted their respectability, were highly unfavourable to the cultivation of their lands. A tacksman, considering himself and his family as well entitled as any other members of society to the honours and advantages of civilised and polished life, had no idea of enduring the drudgery of a farmer's dull routine. The little that his farm could, by the miserable management of subtenants and servants, supply, was either consumed by his family, or laid out in preparing his sons for entering into the Army, Navy or some of the learned professions. The profession of a farmer for any of his family never entered his head. The eldest son might perhaps have the farm, burdened with a provision for the daughters [but he was ill prepared to be a farmer] ...

Agricultural improvements were, in this situation, completely out of the question; and such was the real condition of nine-tenths of the Highland tacksmen for a century past.

It is not easy to remove habits so deeply rooted in a remote district of the country, or to bring down the mind of the Hebridean tacksmen to the sober view of his condition, which the present state of his tenures enjoins. Hence, the mutual ill-humour which we frequently witness between him and his landlord; and hence too the rapid decline and probable annihilation of that once gallant and valuable description of men. 44

This useful quote raises several important points. MacDonald documents the tacksman's agricultural shortcomings and he does an enviable job of explaining why these shortcomings existed. But when considering the tacksman's agricultural weaknesses two points should be kept in mind. While Clan Ranald estate owners and trust managers, especially after the 1776 death of Ranald younger of Clan Ranald, were primarily interested in improving the land and increasing its output, the tacksmen had another consideration. This consideration was the tenants. In his position the tacksman could not only be

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44. James MacDonald, General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides, (Edinburgh: Alex Smellie, 1811), pp.75-76.

concerned with the chief's profit, he had to be concerned with the condition of the tenants. This extra human pressure on resources goes a long way towards explaining why the tacksmen appeared to be so slow in adopting new methods and why he was so slow to increase the landlord's portion of the crop yield. In 1755 the population of South Uist was estimated at 2,209 and in 1841 it was 7,327.[45] While the South Uist increase was larger than in other areas on the Clan Ranald estate the fact remains that a heavy population increase was common over the entire estate and, indeed, the entire Highlands and Islands region. With this increasing human need it is not surprising that the tacksmen found it difficult to raise increased profits for the estate owners. It may not be out of place to raise a second point here: even with today's improved farming methods, and without the burden of overpopulation, the Highlands and Isles have not become a highly productive area, so perhaps too much was being expected of the tacksmen. Be that as it may, all the evidence clearly shows most tacksmen were not eager or willing to try the new methods.

It was no longer intended that the tacksman retain his old thirty per cent profit margin.[46] He was caught between the new demands of the estate owners on one hand and the increasing population of tenants with their narrow economic base and the land with its limited production on the other. The tacksmen were being squeezed and as their profit margins fell they increasingly found themselves in a sort of crisis of status. The problem was simple; with their ever decreasing profit how were they to maintain their old life-style? There

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45. F. Fraser Darling, ed. West Highland Survey, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.81.
46. GD201/5/1233/2/1777.

was no satisfactory answer to be found.

In the period between the 1776 death of the last Clan Ranald estate-owner to live continually among the people of the estate and the close of the Napoleonic Wars a number of significant alterations of the tacksman's position occurred. In the 17th century tacks had been issued for as long as two lifetimes and nineteen years;[47] by the post-Culloden period nineteen years was standard[48] and after Ranald younger of Clan Ranald's 1776 death some tacks were being issued for only nine years.[49] Of course, there were exceptions to this trend, especially where factors and other estate officers were concerned[50] and for a short period under Ranald younger's son, John, longer tacks were again issued.[51] Despite these exceptions the general direction was towards ever shorter leases, thus increasing the tacksmen's insecurity and at the same time making them reluctant to undertake long-term and expensive improvements that they might not be on hand to enjoy.[52] In this situation the turnover of tacksmen became quicker.[53]

Despite the unfavourable climate and the rapid replacement of old lease holders, there was no shortage of potential tacksmen desiring land, but given their attitudes and the problems they faced few succeeded. Some had their tacks cancelled long before their expiration date because they could not raise the high yearly rental,[54] and

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47. RD3 (Dur.) 29/329.
48. See, for example, GD201/2/18, 1758.
49. GD 201/2/50, 1777.
50. For example, GD201/2/56, 1786 - 30 years to factor Alexander MacDonald and GD201/2/59, 1795 - John Butter factor "during the term of John's office of factory".
51. GD201/5/1190, 1786 (35 years), GD201/5/1193, 1786 (30 years) and GD201/5/1197, 1788 (21 years).
52. GD201/5/1218/15.
53. GD201/5/1233/21/pp.20-21.
54. GD201/5/1233/35/p.10.

others struggled along barely keeping to the terms of the lease, but in the end their accomplishments seemed so marginal that the estate mangement chose not to renew their leases.[55] Others simply did not try for a new tack. And yet, because the population was rising and land was finite, even in this unfavourable atmosphere a strange situation developed, in which a large and ever present pool of individuals desirous of land was always on hand, and in their keenness for a holding often bid the rent up to unrealistic prices. On the face of it, this "rack-renting" was favourable to those controlling the estate, rents soared - theoretically; in fact, many of those who had "won" the competition soon found the task of raising the exorbitant payments impossible. The new tacksmen were soon forced off and the estate gained little or nothing from this situation. With only partial justification landlords and improvers continued to blame the tacksmen for this lack of success.

Angus MacDonald of Milton, a South Uist tacksman struggling in 1797 to maintain his family's holdings in an era of Lowland factors, trusts and businessmen, submitted a memorial that puts into human terms the plight of the traditional tacksmen who had nothing more special to recommend themselves to the Edinburgh overseers of the estate than their family's loyal attachment to the old kindred and the Captains of Clan Ranald. Angus recorded that he and his ancestors had for "a very great many years" possessed the farm of Milton, that their entry into the holding had been "coeval" to the family of Clanranald's entry into the estate, that he was

> a distant connection of the family and he and his predecessors have endeavoured to render every service

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55. GD201/5/1233/27/p.6.

> in their power to the family with whom they have always been on the best terms, no better proof of which can be referred to, than the long period of their possession.

Angus then offered to give a rent of £220 Str. "very near four times the present rent". And Angus closed saying that he had

> offered as high a rent as he believes any other person will or can give for the farm. If his offer shall be accepted he will do his utmost endeavour in promoting the Interest of the Family [of Clanranald] by rendering every service in his power and if the Tack to be granted shall not comprehend the right of making kelp he will attend to the Interest of the family in that particular and in so far as lies in his power pay attention to the manufacturing when the Factor is necessarily absent on business or he [Angus] will undertake to manufacture it for behoof of Clanranald at a reasonable allowance per Ton. [Angus then offers a brief account of his finances] ... This observation he does not make with the view of boasting of his own affluence he does it for the purpose of guarding the tutors against the offers of others who may bid a higher rent which they are not able to pay. 56

The Tutors managing the estate were unimpressed with Angus' special historical position but as he already occupied the lands "And as he is ready and willing to give as great a rent for them as any other person" they first determined to grant him the lease.[57] However, three months later for unspecified reasons the Tutors recorded that

> agreeably to the directions of the last meeting, removings had been executed and decreets obtained against Angus Macdonald of Milton in South Uist and against all the other tenants in Arisaig and Moydart whose lands were out of Lease. 58

Clearly, the old-style tacksmen level <u>daoin-uaisle</u> faced an

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56. GD201/5/213, 1797.
57. GD201/5/1233/26/p.31.
58. GD201/5/1233/27/p.6.

inhospitable climate, and as with the wadsetters, many of them reacted by emigrating or seeking positions away from the Highlands in areas such as the military where their high standards, military inclination and close ties with their tenants were welcome.[59] But it must be specified that the individuals here discussed are traditional daoin-uaisle. Many studies fail to differentiate between the old-style tacksmen and the lease-holders, still "tacksmen" and distinguished by the name of those same holdings (such as Milton), who were evolving in the late 18th century period. This is an error. Simply holding a tack in 1793 or 1822 did not make an individual a traditional duin-uasal.

The loss of these traditionally minded individuals represents a serious loss to the west Highlands and Islands. No example of cruelty from an old-style Clan Ranald tacksman towards the folk living under him has been uncovered in this search and no example of a tacksman forcing his tenants out for war has been found.[60] This, of course, does not mean that no such events occurred; this is not an attempt to whiTe-wash the tacksman; there are already too many over-simplifications in Highland history. Tacksmen were human and doubtless poor examples existed, but the total absence of this sort of testimony in documentary evidence must be significant. After all, a Clan Ranald chief and two wadsetters have not escaped this type of notoriety.[61] Daoin-uaisle at the tacksman level played a pivotal role for the society, on the ground in close contact with

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59. See the section below on emigration, pp.533-40, and above on the Highland Regiments, pp.495-96.
60. Other than the highly suspect testimony of captured Jacobite soldiers facing transportation or execution.
61. Here, Dugall MacRanald, the deposed chief and Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale, and his son Colin, wadsetters, come to mind.

the people of the kindred, connecting them with the upper orders. When the Gaelic society operated within its proper historical context the tenants and their tacksmen were not at cross-purposes; indeed, that society encouraged and fostered ties between classes and as long as the traditional tacksmen existed, the documentary material contains an abundance of testimony to the reality of these Gaelic inter-class ties.

The tacksman's role or "middleman" in a changing society is well seen in a note from William MacLeod of North Boisdale to Robert Brown, the Clan Ranald factor. Here, MacLeod is seen smoothing over the troubles between the subtenants of Smerclate at the southern tip of South Uist and their neighbour who held the tack but was an outsider. The specific issues involved are not particularly relevant to this study; MacLeod's approach in putting the outsider's case to the tenants and in turn putting the tenant's case to the estate factor is relevant.

> This very moment I came from Kilbride being scoulding the people of Smerkilet for several complaints that Mr. Livingston has against them, & they has no less against him ... 62

In this middleman role the tacksman was certainly open to pressures from the tenants. He lived on the land with them and he could see, and to a degree experience, their problems and often, as will be seen, he reacted to their need at a personal loss. This is what should have been expected from a traditional duin-uasal but as the management of the estate slipped into the hands of Lowland businessmen (or Lowland educated Highlanders) Clan Ranald tacksmen were also subject to peculiar pressure from the top, pressure designed to

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62. Hamilton Papers, Lennoxlove Muniments, Robert Brown's correspondence, Bundle 1, 2nd January 1799. (Henceforth, as H.P.)

undercut the tenants. At the turn of the century, in 1799, the Trustees of the Clan Ranald estate were trying to increase their already notable kelp profits and they observed that

> As some of the Tacksmen on the Estate who have a right to their kelp give more [to the tenants] for kelp making than is given by the proprietor the meeting recommended to Mr. Brown to endeavour to get them to join in some measure for equalizing their prices and giving similar prices to that paid by Clanranald. 63

This period was relatively affluent due to the high kelp prices and clearly certain tacksmen had reacted by sharing some of the profits with their tenants who worked the kelp and not simply by keeping them at a subsistance level and pocketing the extra cash. This practice fitted well into the old social structure of South Uist but the concept was "foreign" to the Trustees and here they are seen using their power over tacksmen to assure that their concept of business was accepted in South Uist and that any form of wages competition that might be beneficial to the tenants and unprofitable to the estate was quashed.

Pressures such as these and the other above mentioned problems that were pressing down on traditional tacksmen did not, however, prevent them from continuing their role as influential friends, and occasionally protectors, of the poorer tenants and by a happy chance it is the survival of the papers of the Lowland factor, the Trustees' representative, Robert Brown, who was no friend to the old ways, that has left the continuing ties between tacksmen and their tenants well documented. All the following individuals were of long-standing duin-uasal class families.

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63. GD201/5/1233/31/pp.18-19.

While the years 1798 and 1799 were profitable years for kelp they did not bring kind weather.[64] Gales and storms ravaged the Outer Hebrides and severely damaged the crops. In this situation tacksmen spent considerable sums to maintain those on their farms. On 2nd January 1799 Lauchlan Currie[65] the tacksman of Bornish was forced to admit to Robert Brown, the factor, that

> I find it Impossible to pay my present rents particularly on account of the great quantity of meal required for the Kelpers. 66

Five months later this same Lauchlan Currie is seen again writing to Robert Brown and defending the small tenants in and around his holdings from the unnamed "ground officer". Details of the dispute are not specified but Currie's impression of the tenants' plight is clear. He says it would be useless to have the ground officer

> explain matters to them as they have been too long ill used & that they will not believe a word of what is told them unless wrote from your hand. 67

In the same year Ranald MacEachen of Drimore took the part of a widow of "unexceptionable" character whose husband had been lost in a storm at sea the previous year. The young woman was "burdened with a child which is a posthumous one" and in danger of losing her only support for the child.

> A milk cow of which she hears you are to deprive her on account of Rent arrears due by the husbands

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64. Bad weather, a perennial fact of life for Hebrideans, is a difficult topic to express adequately in a study such as this but it was (and is) always a source of hardship for the folk of the area.
65. Most MacMhuirichs had come to be known as Currie by this period.
66. H.P., Bundle 1, 2nd January 1799.
67. H.P., Bundle 2, 29th May 1799.

> Father. It would be doing me a particular favour, should you be good enough to allow the poor woman the use of this cow, at least till such time as I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. 68

In this same general period similar examples occur throughout the estate such as two cases involving John MacDonald of Borrodale. In one he petitioned the Trustees on behalf of the "Roman Catholick Tenantry in Clanranald's Estate of Arisaig" asking for aid in the construction of a chapel[69] and in a second instance he objected to the young Reginald George of Clan Ranald for failing to consider properly the removal of certain tenants to other sections of the estate. John of Borrodale was particularly displeased that the tenants were being given too short a notice to dispose properly of their livestock.[70] Finally, in 1798 Roderick MacNeill of Barra, when appraising the South Uist tacksman James MacDonald of Garryheillie for the Trustees, had considered his good relations with the tenants important. MacNeill of Barra felt these ties were a desirable quality in the factor the Trustees sought.

> In his praise I shall say no more than that I have ever found his a worthy, honourable and intelligent Gentleman, & that I know that he is respected and esteemed by all the people in the Island. 71

In this period tacksmen had also performed a positive role for other members of the old kindred in need. As the chiefs became absentee landlords and as the trusts and their factors moved into the area, often the tacksmen had attempted to fill the void left by the chief and support the remnants of the old bardic lines and the vernacular poets. On a much reduced scale certain old-style tacksmen

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68. H.P. Bundle 3, 1 July 1799.
69. GD201/5/1233/42/p.7, 1806.
70. H.P., Bundle 80, 10 December 1812.
71. GD201/5/1233/28 - enclosure/pp.10-11.

continued to appreciate and patronise the old Gaelic arts.[72] As far as the bardic MacMhuirichs were concerned, however, there is little to add. The last of this family to appear in this function in estate documentation was Neill "Mac Muruick, the poet" who, on 5th May 1777, was given a yearly pension of £2.15.6⅔.[73] His son, Lauchlan stated on 9th August 1800, that when his family had lost their lands they had lost their "alacrity and zeal". Furthermore, he testified that he had received no bardic training from his father and was illiterate.[74] These MacMhuirichs had ceased to be members of the clan's duin-uasal class and they had ceased to be tacksmen.

An entry in the Minutes of the Trustees of the Clan Ranald Estate, dated 17th March 1799, gives a good indication of what the future held for the few surviving traditional tacksmen. Of course, they were not all netted here but those whose leases did not expire at this time faced a future of equally bleak prospects.

> The meeting considering ... that there are a number of poor Tacksmen & c on the Estate which from the situation of the country must all their life continue a burden on the proprietor are of opinion that some plan might be fallen upon for confining them to one farm where they might be allowed to possess gratis or run in arrear without interfering with the rest of the country. 75

Deterioration is not too strong a word to use when a once valuable class of individuals had come to be seen as a collection of anachronistic burdens.

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72. See above pp.250-51.
73. GD201/5/1233/2, 5 May 1777.
74. MacKenzie, Ossian Report, op.cit., pp.277-79.
75. GD201/5/1233/31/pp.25-26.

The common folk of the Clan Ranald suffered in this time of transition as did the old-style daoin-uaisle but there were two major areas of difference in the way these changes evolved for these small tenants. Firstly, the position they traditionally occupied left them even more ill equipped to cope with changes than were the tacksmen. These less substantial tenants had a weaker economic footing that made alternatives such as emigration difficult; they had not tended to become acquainted with languages other than their native Gaelic and this placed a barrier between them and emigration or employment elsewhere; and while these Gaels made excellent soldiers their roles had not prepared them for positions as officers or given them any other special talents that were in demand outside their own Highlands and Islands. Thus they were, to a considerable extent, at the mercy of developments in their native districts and the whims and dictates of estate policy. Secondly, the tenants' position was different from the daoin-uaisle simply because the major changes that influenced the tenants tended to come down on them later. When the old-style "middlemen" were being subjected to negative pressures and were finally being eliminated, this was not true of the mass of people under them. True, the old Gaelic kindred was coming apart and the tenants' old institutional position of importance as the backbone of the clan's military might (Keppoch's "500 swordsmen"[76]) was fast ceasing to exist, but still a large population was seen as necessary, no longer to hold predatory MacPhees or MacLeods in check or conquer Campbells or other Hanoverians, but to provide the man-power thought necessary to make the estate pay.

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76. See above, p. 317.

The documentation is quite revealing in this respect and not simply in the specific information it contains, but also because of its general focus. Between 1760 and 1815, while the demise of the old-style daoin-uaisle occurred, there was only a gradual increase in the coverage of the tenants. In the early years of this period the lingering clan daoin-uaisle still oversaw the folk on their holdings, and estate papers do not contain an abundance of information on these commoners. Certain documentation does exist that gives a good impression of the lot of the joint-tenants and subtenants but the majority of information deals with debts, the tacksmen, proposals concerning estate management; in general the daoin-uaisle were expected to pass these instructions along to the rest of the estate population. Only as the traditional tacksmen vanished did estate papers really begin to focus on the tenants and, as with the daoin-uaisle earlier, this focus was seldom desirable attention.

Even in 1777, when a limited number of tacksmen were being turned off their holdings and replaced by large joint-tenant groups, the lot of these joint-tenants was not improved. Tacksmen were being eliminated not to allow tenants to achieve a better position but to gain the old third excess profit that traditionally had gone to the tacksman for the estate owner[77] and, in fact, later documentation indicates that not only was the tacksman's old profit lost to the tenants, but also a small additional percentage was being levied on the joint-tenants.[78] After Ranald died, the Tutors of his son moved to stop the "Evil" of the tenants grinding their own grain on their "quorns", a simple type of hand mill. The Tutors decided to

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77. GD201/5/1233/2, 1777.
78. GD201/5/1233/39, p.26, 1803.

erect a second estate owned mill in South Uist. It was thought that the two mills would be sufficient to grind all the tenants' grain, thus allowing the estate to outlaw completely the use of the old quorns and giving the estate a monopoly on all milling and, of course, its profit.[79] Also, as has been mentioned, pensions were drastically curtailed by the Tutors.[80] Clearly, in this early period the pressure of the debts was causing estate owners and, even more, estate managers, to tighten every possible financial arrangement and it was always the people on the estate, first the old clan daoin-uaisle and then their followers, who were burdened.

The tenantry, however, had some early protection. This came, as the previous section of this study shows, from the kindred's old daoin-uaisle who lived on the land with the people and thus could balance west Highland realities with the cold needs and fantasies of Edinburgh businessmen who could only see the debts and lack of cash. In 1780 the Tutors of the minor, John of Clan Ranald, tried to raise the rent on all the common folk of the estate and drastically shorten the duration of the leases, but Colin MacDonald of Boisdale, the factor and a constant inhabitant of South Uist, told them he would play no part in the implementation of this policy. He offered several reasons. Firstly, he felt the shortness of the intended leases would not encourage any strangers to travel a distance for such a lease. Secondly, Boisdale stated that he was unwilling to take entirely "the load of the clamour & reflections which might be thrown out against him" in the management of such a policy, and,finally,

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79. GD201/5/1233/2/p.15, 1777.
80. GD201/5/1233/2/p.24, 1777.

Boisdale declined to take the Management of this Sett which he represented as a difficult Tack from the great number of Small Tenants and multitude of Inhabitants on the Estate, most of whom he thought highly rated at present even by the farmer Rent, as some of them were throwing up their Possessions and he referred to Lady Clanranald's knowledge of the Situation these small Tenants were generally in. 81

Life was to be much harsher for the Clan Ranald tenantry without this sort of man. Speaking to these traditional daoin-uaisle, many of whom emigrated in the early 1770's, John MacCodrum voiced sentiments that must have been shared by many of the small tenants. In his "Song to the Fugitives" MacCodrum sang to the departing daoin-uaisle of both the Clan Ranald and Sleat estates, "'tis better for you to go of your own will than to be subject like slaves", better to escape estate owners and factors "grown so niggardly" that they would "geld a louse if it would raise invalue a farthing". Of the traditional chiefs and the old system, he observed

> The Warrior Chiefs are gone who had a yearning for the truth, who had a regard for their faithful followers and had a yoke on their foe; they were mindful of the tenantry, (and) not in order to fleece them; widows and orphans were liberally provided for; without want was every poor man around these heros, who would not look low - their minds were too high.

Of the emerging estate owners MacCodrum sang,

> Look around you and see the nobility without pity for poor folk, without kindness to friends; they are of the opinion that you do not belong to the soil, and though they have left you destitute they cannot see it as a loss; they have lost sight of every law and promise that was observed by the men who took this land from the foe: but let them tell me whether they will not lose their right to it, without means of saving it, when you go into exile. 82

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81. GD201/5/1233/8/pp.6-7.
82. Matheson, Songs of MacCodrum, op.cit., pp.196-203.

Here, MacCodrum, a native of North Uist, was certainly not speaking of that Isle alone but also of a "similar exodus from the Clan Ranald lands of Benbecula and South Uist".[83] It will be remembered that John MacDonald of Glenalladale chose to leave and take a number of Clan .Ranald tenants with him at this time. Obviously, MacCodrum felt the old style daoin-uaisle would share his concern for the tenantry of the estates, the widows, orphans and poor folk, but that after these daoin-uaisle left these poor people would be deprived of their traditional spokesmen and protectors. He was to be proved correct, but not immediately. In a number of cases it actually took another generation for this sort of man to die out or be completely replaced. This was true because the emigrant was often replaced by a son, cousin or more distant (but similarly inclined) kinsman. But at an ever increasing rate after 1770 MacCodrum's dark prediction was to prove sadly accurate.

The remainder of the 18th century was not an auspicious time for the tenants on the Clan Ranald estate. It was a time of increasing population, increasing pressures, altered roles for them and changing attitudes towards them by those in positions of power on the estate, but equally it was not yet a period of crisis. Unlike the hard pressed daoin-uaisle, the tenants were still needed; a healthy population was desirable to work the farms, gather and prepare the increasingly important kelp, build the roads and make the other improvements seen necessary to make the estate pay; also they fitted well into the theoretical potential of the estate. Industry was to come into the area and the people were held to be

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83. Ibid., p.314.

necessary to implement these future industries, such as fishing. In general, however, these industries - save kelp - were unable to compete with those closer to Britain's centres of production and shipping.

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Fishing, for example, did hold potential and in 1786 John of Clan Ranald contemplated various schemes that were intended to introduce this industry to his estate.[84] However, these attempts came to nothing;[85] only kelp was to have a great impact on this area.

Kelping had started on the Clan Ranald estate in the 1730's[86] and slowly became an important industry. Alkali was needed in the production of a variety of items, such as soap and glass, and kelp was a useful source. Its production required a large workforce to gather and burn the seaweed; indeed, it seems that the small tenants and cottars on the Clan Ranald estate were actually

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84. See GD201/2/55, tack to Hugh MacDonald of Torlum and GD201/5/1191, tack to Alexander MacDonald of Balihare, both dated 6 September 1786.
85. It is interesting to note that the "Records of Secret Council" dated 30 July 1622 show that the Islesmen had earlier been involved in a fishing trade of sorts and that central government had suppressed it. The Records state:
> Complaints being made by the Fishermen that their trade is greatly hindered by strangers who come to the Isles and meddle with a great part of the Fish taken there - and purchase the fish from the Country people - the Islesmen are directed to suffer no strangers to come within thair bounds to the fishing - nor no fish to be sold to strangers; & if strangers come against the will of Islesmen, no provisions to be sold to them - The names of any of the country people contravening this act to be reported to the Council. (Donald Gregory's notes, MS 2131, 30 July 1622).
86. See above, p.384.

encouraged to have large families in order to increase the number of kelp workers. When referring to the late 18th century period, the lawyers for Reginald George of Clan Ranald discussed "the large population reared to Manufacture it [kelp]".[87] With the coming of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, supplies of Spanish barilla were cut off. This had been the primary source of alkali and with its exclusion, kelp assumed the major role in Britain, thus enabling the great kelping estates, such as Clanranald's, to enjoy an increased income.

With this kelp boom the Clan Ranald estate entered its most prosperous period. For example, in the years 1807, 1808 and 1809, the annual average income from kelp was £9,454 while the land rental was only £5,297 and in 1811, the best year for kelp, it brought in about £11,000.[88] Despite the impression given in several studies,[89] it is not possible fully to reconstruct a picture of Clanranald's kelp income because documentation is incomplete. However, it is certain that profits were up and throughout the Napoleonic period Clanranald's income was considerable. The kelp made on the estate's South Uist and Benbecula shores was among the best and most valuable in the Hebrides.[90]

This does not, however, imply that all was well on the estate. Most of the best land near the shores was used in kelp production

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87. GD201/5/581, notes on a court case between Clanranald and his uncle James' children, 1839.
88. GD201/5/1228/2 & GD201/5/1332/7a.
89. Gray, op.cit., p.135 & A.J. Young, After the Forty-Five, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1973), p.137. For example see GD221/36 for a comparison of Clanranald's and Lord Mac-Donald's kelp. Here, the compiler of this 1806 manuscript was unable to find figures for 1802. Given this contemporary weakness it is difficult to see how modern writers could gain a full picture of this issue.
90. GD221/36/1806.

or divided into group-holdings for the workers.[91] Kelping was labour intensive and it took a good deal of the small tenants' time away from agriculture. Only a few "lean" sheep or cattle, some milk and a few "wretched" crops of barley, black oats and potatoes were produced as food. Turnips and all other green crops (except potatoes) were ignored.[92] In 1815 Clanranald's trustees noted the general negative influence of kelp in agriculture and said that as long as kelp was the major source of revenue it was "impossible that the tenants can give that attention to the production of the land which to secure a decent return,is indispensably necessary".[93] This was because the tenants were "distracted" by the situation where the summer months, when the crops most needed care, were also the dry months, when the kelp had to be gathered, dried and manufactured.

Other problems arising from kelp further harmed the estate's agricultural output. Seaweed had been used to manure the land but once kelp achieved its value all seaware was reserved for its production. In the first decade of the 19th century it was estimated that no less than nine-tenths of the fertiliser once used on Hebridean land had been thus lost.[94] In 1799 people on the Clan Ranald estate were reported stealing seaweed for use as manure[95] and on 13th June 1798 the Clan Ranald factor, Robert Brown, complained that

> the number of small horses [used in transporting

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91. Individual lots were not proposed until 24 February 1816 on this estate. GD201/5/1228/2.
92. MacDonald, Agriculture, op.cit., pp.119-20.
93. GD201/5/1233/61/12 July 1815.
94. MacDonald, Agriculture, op.cit., p.113.
95. GD201/1/313.

> materials for kelping] kept by the Tenants in Uist entirely precluded them from feeding any number of Black Cattle so that their maintainance & the payment of the rents entirely depended on the making of kelp. 96

Kelping had other negative effects on the small tenants. It was difficult and unpleasant work; an impression of a kelp worker's lot has been recorded.

> If one figures to himself a man, and one or more of his children, engaged from morning to night in cutting, drying, and otherwise preparing the sea weeds, at a distance of many miles from his home, or in a remote island; often for hours together wet to his knees and elbows; living upon oatmeal and water with occasionally fish, limpets, and crabs; sleeping on the damp floor of a wretched hut; and with no other fuel than twigs or heath; he will perceive that this manufacture is none of the most agreeable. 97

In 1811 it was observed that "the great body of seafaring Hebrideans are now metamorphosed into slavish kelpers".[98] It has been noted that the kelpers' wages were little affected by the great increase in kelp prices, excess profits all went to the estate; and, indeed, if any extra income went to these people it was taken up in increased land rental[99] or the purchase of food in bad years. These points are borne out by this inquiry. For example, on 17th January 1806, the Trustees of the Clan Ranald estate noted that for the past eight years the amount of kelp produced had greatly increased and

> the prices now paid for making the same is considerably higher than formerly, that the tenantry must thereby be enable to pay a considerable increase of Rent as their Returns for kelp making is so much more considerable - Besides the late rise in the

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96. GD201/5/1233/29.
97. William MacGillivray, "Report on the Outer Hebrides", Transactions of the Highland Society, (Edinburgh: New Series, II, 1831), p.301.
98. MacDonald, Agriculture, op.cit. p.140.
99. Gray, op.cit., pp.128-33.

> price of cattle must likewise enable them to augment their Rent. 100

So while the tenants had a slight improvement in income, the managers of the Clan Ranald estate saw to it that these small tenants could not significantly improve their situation. However, it is not entirely true that Clanranald (or his trustees) squandered this period of profit[101] and it is not entirely true that the estate enjoyed "a golden harvest";[102] there were drawbacks.

Firstly, Reginald George MacDonald of Clan Ranald was a minor for much of this period and two years after he came of age, his trustees regained control of the estate.[103] So, while he was a spendthrift and while his many expenses, such as the construction of his mansion house in Arisaig,[104] consumed a good deal of profit, the estate was not under his direct control. Moreover,the trustees, who were responsible for the management of the estate, laboured under three basic difficulties: firstly, the estate was encumbered with a number of old debts; secondly, while Reginald George did not personally direct the estate, he did incur extravagant debts;[105] and, thirdly, the expense of feeding the kelp workers was heavy. On 19th March 1808, the trustees stated that they,

> considering the very high price now offered for Kelp, are anxious for much of it should be made on the Estate this Season. They therefore direct the Factor to take every step in his power for increasing the quantity.

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100. GD201/1233/42/p.2.
101. As Gray implies, op.cit., pp.128-33.
102. Youngson, op.cit., p.137.
103. He came of age in August of 1809 but as late as 1838 he still struggled to end the Trust. GD201/5/1228/2/1816 and GD201/5/1228/3/1830.
104. H.P. Bundle 80/3 April 1813.
105. See below, pp.556-62.

But at that same meeting this factor

> stated that owing to the falling off of the crops for 1807 the Estate would require a considerable supply of meal ... [and the factor was instructed] to furnish the Kelpers with what ever quantity may be necessary for enabling them to carry on the Kelp manufacture. 106

And earlier, on 9th November 1803, one of the trustees informed the factor that the estate had

> not a farthing to pay either annuities or Interests of debts, & Mr. Anderson [kelp merchant] declines, as usual, to advance what is necessary for that purpose ... I think the Tenants of Uist have eat up in meal the whole produce of the Estate, this will soon ruin if it continues. 107

Clearly, even in this period of high income, the estate was not as profitable as has been imagined. This, however, is not to defend the trustees or Reginald George. When extra cash did exist, as in 1799, there was no increase in the wages for kelpers; instead, the Island of Muck was purchased.[108] There was no intention of improving the small tenants' lot. The attitude of the trustees is well illustrated in a letter, dated 6th October 1804, from one of the trustees to the factor. This letter will be quoted at length because it also underlines the "ruinous meal buying" and illustrates that the situation of the young "chief" had become very different from those on his estate. The trustee was happy

> that there is so good a prospect of the Kelp being considerable in quantity this year - for the prices are low indeed & will get lower - I trust the crops are so good this year that the ruinous meal buying will not be resorted to, nothing distresses the Tenantry so much or is apt to render them desperate

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106. GD201/5/1233/45.
107. H.P. Bundle 21, 9 November 1803. See also GD201/1233/18/p.5/ 15 June 1795; GD201/5/1233/29/p.11/13 June 1798 and GD201/1/ 352/21 April 1832.
108. GD201/5/1233/33, 17 June 1799.

> and careless as to future events, than finding themselves involved in a debt they can see no prospect of paying ... tho' it is painfull to you to with-hold meal when you know the person requiring it to be in want, yet it is greater humanity to be sparing on such occasions, as a debt would be created never to be paid, & an easy supply makes many of them relax their industry, so that in such distributions the character of the person to be supplied must be taken into considera-tion, but you know them all now. ... I was never so pinch'd for money - Clanranalds going abroad, clearing him off at Eton, fitting him out & c has run away with a good deal of money. I have a Letter from Clanranald from Copenhagen he was perfectly well. 109

Finally, in addition to all the above problems, the entire kelp boom rested on an unsound foundation. On 30th September 1804, Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale added this postscript to a letter to Brown the factor, "Now My D. fellow we are to have a Spanish War & high prices for Kelp".[110] The inevitable peace would have the reverse effect on these prices; the prosperity of the Clanranald family and the adequate subsistance of those on the estate had become almost entirely dependent on these kelp prices.

The trustees wanted to keep the tenantry of the estate at a low but healthy level not just to protect their "character" or to protect the estate's profits, but also because it was suspected that tenants who were permitted to rise above a reasonable subsistance level might be able to emigrate. This the trustees feared.

In 1801 Robert Brown, the factor, found "the spirit of emigration is spreading all over the West Highlands",[111] and in this worrying situation stated that he "considered a large body of men of much more consequence to the proprietor than a flock of sheep".[112] An

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109. H.P. Bundle 25, Hector MacDonald Buchanan to R. Brown.
110. H.P. Bundle 23.
111. H.P. Bundle 9/10 June 1801.
112. GD201/5/1233/37/1 July 1801.

ominous choice of words because at this point, unlike the old daoin-uaisle, the commoners were still needed to work the kelp and to supply the labour for the proposed industries. Also, to a degree, those who managed Highland estates, like others in authority, worried about the effect of a large scale emigration on Britain's reserves of manpower and thus its military potential.

During the 1790's the war with France had harmed emigration, but from 1800 onwards and certainly with the Peace of Amiens (March-April 1802), it became a very serious issue. The small tenants emigrated for many reasons. Most obviously, population was up and this naturally increased pressures.[113] Moreover, land was available in Canada and the United States and, certainly, this was a strong inducement to Gaels who felt a variety of pressures in their native Highlands. As has been seen, a number of the men from the Clan Ranald lands had joined Fraser's Highlanders and served in North America; many took their discharge there and settled. In the following years a number of other Clan Ranald people had emigrated, such as the group led to Canada by John MacDonald of Glenalladale. These people prospered and communicated with their kin and friends back in the Highlands. Not only were their accounts persuasive but also they were already on the scene, comfortably and successfully established. This gave the potential emigrant the extra inducement of their advice and assistance on arrival. On 8th December 1802, the Reverend Alexander MacDonald wrote back to a friend on the Clan Ranald estate:

> We landed at Charlotte Town, Prince Edwards Island - a very plesant & agreeable Country = after remaining a

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113. See H.P. Bundle 9, 17 June 1801.

few weeks there I crossed over to this coast, or Gulph of St. Lawrence, as they term it = Such as Emigrated to this Country some time ago do well & live comfortably if they have been any ways industrious = in regard of the new comers, little can be said as yet, but they, as well as such as may come here after, will do well to lay it to account, that they are for some time to experience difficulty, notwithstanding the kind assistance of friends. 114

In addition to these convincing testimonials from friends and relatives, there was a number of emigration agents working throughout the area.[115] Late in 1802, the estate's lawyer, when considering taking these emigration agents to law, asked the factor to gather evidence. His questions give an insight into the sort of things these emigration agents were saying:

> I wish particularly to have Evidence of these [agents] calling Scotland, or your District, the land of Egypt, Tyranny & oppression, and America the land of Canaan [promised land], freedom & Equality, That in America there were no Landlords, no rents, no Factors, no Militia. 116

In another account these agents are said to have worked the commoners into "an almost constant state of Intoxication" by

> exclaming against the Militia Act as oppressive and unjust, and by sounding up the praises of America, as a free and happy country; where they have no taxes, no King, no Militia Act &c &c. 117

The reaction of the folk on the estate is seen in a report concerning one of these agents, a Clan Ranald duin-uasal, who was recruiting for a Canadian regiment that offered land on the soldier's discharge.

> Mr. [Ranald] MacEachen, a son of Houghbeg.

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114. H.P. Bundle 14, 8 December 1802. See also Bundle 14, 26 November 1802.
115. H.P. Bundle 13, 21 August 1802 and Bundle 9, 17 June 1801.
116. H.P. Bundle 14, 26 November 1802, original's italics.
117. Grant of Seafield MSS. GD248/659/1803, Report on Emigration by Ranald MacDonald of Ulva, Advocate.

> [Howbeg, South Uist], started up here as an emigrant recruiting officer & has unhinged the peoples minds completely, they follow him in great numbers where ever he goes. 118

On 1st January 1803 Donald MacLean, Minister of the Small Isles, including the Clan Ranald islands of Eigg, Canna and Muck, raised a number of issues concerning emigration. He claimed to be no enemy of "well-regulated emigration"; for example, he noted that

> In the more hilly parts of our country, indeed, where a new system of Management is adopted, viz. Stocking with Sheep, Emigration is become necessary in some degree for most of the people who formerly occupied these lands, as they have access to no employment wherewith to support themselves & families.

However, Reverend MacLean saw more sinister motives behind those who wished to emigrate against the estate's wishes:

> But the present Rage as I termed it, I'm ready to believe proceeds from a blacker source. The recruiting Emissaries I consider Tools - their exertions, no doubt, are well bought - but their Employers, at least some of them, I'm led to believe may have views of a darker hue & more unfriendly to our constitution - Whence is it we find among our people political Sentiments, to which till of late appeared to be Strangers? - Liberty - Equality we have heard in the mouths of intending Emigrants - both they expect to enjoy in America. Perfect Equality, Liberty without Control No Lords - no masters - These are the notions which seem to have been of late inculcated into them, which they heedlessly & greedily swallow, & which they expect to realize in the new world. 119

Notably, these radical reactions did not flow from a dissatisfaction with the ancient social order of the Highlands, but from an

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118. H.P. Bundle 22, 19 March 1804.
119. GD248/656/1 January 1803, Rev. MacLean to Sir James Grant of Grant, Lord Lieutenant of Inverness, original's italics.

intense displeasure with what was replacing it. This "rage" to emigrate on the part of the commoners is evidence that they too disapproved of the disruptions that had come on their society; disruptions that had first acted to alter the chief's world, then that of the daoin-uaisle and, finally, the commoners'. And whether these Small Isles emigrants voiced these sentiments out of a strongly felt and well-defined radicalism or to express a more nebulous irritation, the conclusions are the same. The old order was going; the area was coming under new management and there was dissatisfaction. Options were being considered and those who could were leaving.

This adverse reaction to the estate's modernising pressure can be seen to originate in the commoners' attachment to old ways. In 1802 a Highland clergyman, Alexander Irvine, said of the rapid pace of "improvement" that it had "put the whole Highlands into commotion".[120] On the neighbouring estate of Locheil improvements were certainly destroying the old bonds between ranks. In this period Captain Alexander Cameron, younger of Invermallie, noted,

> Families who had not been disturbed for four or five hundred years are turned out of house and home and their possessions given to the highest bidder. So much for Highland attachment between chief and clans. 121

These Locheil evictions were taking place because this estate, without kelp, had gone to large-scale sheep-grazing. However, on the Clan Ranald estate the people were still necessary to produce

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120. Alexander Irvine, Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of Emigration from the Highlands, (Edinburgh, 1803), pp.34 & 36. from James Hunter, op.cit., p.23. See this study for other examples in a general Highland Hebridean context.
121. S. MacMillian, Bygone Lochaber, (Glasgow: K. & R. Davidson Ltd., 1971), p.183.

kelp, so the management had to be more wary in its dealings with them. Indeed, in a variety of instances it can be seen that the management either went slowly or abandoned desired improvements because it feared these changes would push the needed kelp workers to emigrate; and, clearly, the Clan Ranald people found their resentment to these improvements in their conservative attachment to the passing social order.

> On 12th May 1808, Clanranald informed his trustees,
>
> I am sorry that Brown [the factor] does not agree with the Ardnafouran people as to inclosing - I am not surprised at it as I am convinced from what I saw, they conceive it a serious encroachment upon their antient [sic. ancient] privileges, and as such wish to throw as many obsticals in the way as possible. 122

Later, the trustees decided to ask Brown before initiating a proposed "new system" because they feared emigration. They resolved to

> remit to Mr. Brown, one of their Number, well acquainted with that country from his long residence in it, to report as soon as he possibly can how far it would be prudent to carry the plan into effect, and they request him to take under his consideration the rooted attachment which the Highland Tenantry have to their ancient Customs, and whether there is much probability of emigration to any extent being the consequence of such an innovation. 123

And as late as 1817 a variety of improvements still had not been introduced on the Clan Ranald estate because of the conservative tenants and the management's fear of emigration.

> It appeared to the factor [Duncan Shaw] prudent to limit the lotting to the Island of Benbecula in the first instance, because the System being new in that country, he thought it better that it be gradually introduced ... [and later] the remainder of the Estate may be lotted. He was

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122. H.P. Bundle 43, 12 May 1808.
123. GD201/5/1233/64/p.4, 8 February 1816.

> also induced to confine the lotting to Benbecula, from the circumstance of an Emigration being going on in the neighbouring Island of Barra, and he was apprehensive it might extend to South Uist, should he attempt to introduce too generally a change to which (tho evidently for their advantage) the Tenants from attachments to old habits are very averse. 124

Clearly, the tenants were not pleased with the changes coming into the Highlands and Islands and their reaction to the dismemberment of the old structure, as with the chiefs and daoin-uaisle, was strongest when the modernising pressures bore directly down on them. This same attachment to the old Highland society is also seen when it is noted that certain of the daoin-uaisle still had considerable influence with the commoners. John MacDonald of Glenalladale led a large group of emigrants out of the Clan Ranald estate in the 1770's and later, too, the remnants of the duin-uasal class still exercised a notable sway among their traditional followers. On 17th June 1801, Robert Brown reported that

> a general emigration is projected from most parts of these countries & Isles in spring next & particularly from our Mainland Estate, at the head of the party on Clanrds. Estate are Mr. Angus McDonald, of Laigs now in Eigg & Mr. Andrew Mcdonald of Islandshona - the former has already procurred a number of subscribers as emigrants in Eigg & Moidart. 125

And it has been seen that, in 1803, Ranald MacEachen, son of Howbeg, had been able to "unhinge" the minds of the people of South Uist and that they followed him "in great numbers where ever he"[126] went.

It is also of interest to note that these people from the conservative kin-based Highlands and Islands tended to emigrate in families and

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124. GD201/5/1233/73/pp.13-14, 10 March 1817.
125. H.P. Bundle 9, 17 June 1801.
126. See above, p.533.

extended kin-groups when they did leave.[127]

Finally, it is of interest to note that the estate manager's fear of emigration occasionally gave the small tenants some real power. In 1816 when considering the "alarming spirit of emigration which has crept in amongst the Arasaig and Small Isles Tenantry" the trustees directed the factor to

> use every prudent plan to conciliate the minds of the Tenants, by continuing them in their possessions and giving them every reasonable time to pay up the arrears due by them, and to inform them that it is by no means the wish of Clanranald or his Trustees to harass or distress them, on the contrary that they are anxious to accomodate them as far as possible. 128

Sadly, the trustees and factors often did "harass" and "distress" the tenants and despite the relative power held by the commoners on the Clan Ranald estate (in relation to tenants on other estates such as Locheil's where kelp was not important) the trustees saw to it that they, not the tenants, most often held the whiphand. In this period all the power of the estate and government was brought to bear on the small tenants to curtail emigration, and the various methods employed give insight into the attitudes of those who largely controlled the commoners.

Two basic approaches were employed to stop the emigrants: governmental legislation and internal estate methods. It will be seen that Robert Brown, factor on the Clan Ranald estate, played the expected leading role on his estate but also that he had considerable influence on other estates and seems to have been the man who first thought of a feasible scheme to use legislation against the tenants.

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127. See, for example, RH2/4/87/66-78. Home Office Paper, List of Emigrants on ship Sarah, 1801.
128. GD201/5/1233/69/p.4, 27 April 1816.

Governmental action grew, at least in part, as a result of agitation by the Highland Society of Edinburgh, an organisation that Highland landlords, including those from the great kelping estates, dominated.[129] At the same time Robert Brown engaged in a public war of pamphlets with Thomas Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk, an outspoken advocate of Highland emigration.[130] Brown's goal was to stop emigration completely and he was a powerful man with great influence throughout the Highlands.[131] In his pamphlet he openly stated that it was in the kelping estate owner's interest to have as many tenants as possible to keep production up and wages down.[132] Correspondence between Brown and one of the Clan Ranald trustees, dated 26th April 1802, also indicates that Brown had originated the idea that eventually became the Passenger Act. This trustee, Hector MacDonald-Buchanan, wrote, saying everything should be done to prevent emigration, "The Highland Society are doing what they can to spur the Minister", and that the Society's secretary had again written stating the "necessity of taking immediate measures" and he closed saying,

> nor has any other plan been suggested for the purpose except yours for putting the shipping under certain regulations. 133

Eventually, the Highland Society prevailed and Brown's design was employed. The Bill was drawn up by Charles Hope, Lord Advocate, and passed as the Passenger Vessels Act of June 1803. Ostensibly,

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129. Hunter, op.cit., p.23.
130. See H.P. Bundle 28, 23 May & 5 August 1805 and Bundle 31, 12 March & 16 March 1806.
131. See below, pp.545-48.
132. Robert Brown, Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations on the Present State of the Highlands, (Edinburgh, 1806), pp.93-97.
133. H.P. Bundle 11, 26 April 1802.

the act grew from humanitarian motives. It limited the number of people carried on emigration ships and insured adequate provisions for the voyage. However, as has been seen, Brown, the man who devised the plan, was a great enemy of emigration and later in 1804, the Bill's author, Charles Hope, admitted that the legislation

> certainly was intended, both by myself and the other gentlemen of the Committee ... indirectly to prevent the effects of that pernicious Spirit of discontent against their own Country, and rage for emigrating to America which had been raised among the people ... by the Agents of Lord Selkirk and others, aided, no doubt, in some few cases, by the impolitic conduct of the landholders, in attempting changes and improvements too rapidly. 134

It worked. Before the Act came into effect the cost of a passage from north-west Scotland to Canada was under £4 and after it was raised to around £10.[135] On the Clan Ranald estate the effects of the legislation were felt almost immediately. On 12th July 1803 just a month after the Bill was passed John MacDonald of Borrodale wrote to Robert Brown, saying, "The fate of the foolish (once intended) Emigration from this country has now finally terminated". The emigration agent, a Major Simon Fraser, had informed those who intended to leave that month that he could not "procure a vessell on the Terms agreed on with the people owing to the tenor of the late act of parliament".[136]

This single act did not stop emigration but did considerably curtail it. Thereafter, it was simply too expensive for many of the small tenants to emigrate; and, in any case, the estate, largely under Robert Brown's direction had methods of its own to use against

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134. RH2/4/89/140, 3 September 1804, Hope to Sir James Grant of Grant.
135. Hunter, op.cit., p.25.
136. H.P. Bundle 18, 12 July 1803.

the tenants. The first reaction was to consider devising leases that would entangle potential emigrants; "This will fix the tenants so effectively that it would be out of their power to move during the currancy of the lease".[137] This was Brown's proposal, to be used if necessary but in the beginning he felt the leases might not be necessary and that if the desire to emigrate subsided such leases would actually improve the position of the tenants. Brown did not want this. He said of the entangling leases:

> However - a measure of this kind is only what I would propose in an emergency of this kind as I think our small tenants are in general more in our power when they have no lease but possess from year to year. [138]

Most of the small tenants had always possessed their piece of land yearly and as has been seen,[139] when the kin-based social structure was intact, this was not used against the tenantry. The estate management, however, had attitudes quite different from the old-style chiefs and daoin-uaisle and these changed attitudes at once explain the commoners' desire to emigrate and their difficulties with that undertaking.

Eventually, however, the trustees decided to implement "the plans you [Brown] formerly suggested of tying them down with leases".[140] In this "emergency" Brown had other ideas too. He used all his influence against the various emigration agents[141] and eventually succeeded in having some of them arrested and sent off to Inverness.[142]

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137. H.P. Bundle 9, 17 June 1801, Brown to trustees.
138. Ibid.
139. See above, p.323.
140. H.P. Bundle 12, 7 June 1802.
141. H.P. Bundle 14, 26 November 1802, Archibald MacLean and Roderick MacLellan are the agents listed here. See also Bundle 22, 7 March 1804.
142. H.P. Bundle 23, 29 May 1804, here Captain Ranald MacEachen was arrested.

Earlier, in 1797, the trustees had aided a group of people who had failed to emigrate because they had been misled by an emigration agent. The trustees made this decision, not to help the people who were too poor to take the agent to law, but because the publicity "might be of service in preventing future emigration from the Estate".[143]

Brown also hit upon a scheme to settle comfortably a popular priest, reasoning that "if he's fixed at home himself, he will not be very desirous that the people should leave the country".[144] In addition to using the influence of the priest over his flock, Brown also tried to use family connections to bind the people to the estate. Potential emigrants were informed that their parents would receive no support if they were left. Indeed, one of the causes of the emigration spirit, according to John MacDonald of Borrodale, was the tenants "great argument" that

> they cannot live in their native Land and that their aged Parents are destitute of every Source of Support - which unfortunately cannot be denyed as there is too much truth in the assertion.

Borrodale went on to propose a "Subscription ... Clanranald at the head of it" to see to the old, the poor and the infirm.[145] Nothing came of this suggestion and the only other mention of the old and infirm in estate papers was a warning that if anyone emigrated, they "should be made to carry their Burden & infirm Parents off the country".[146] Brown also hit on the idea of having Clanranald and "every other extensive highland Kelp proprietor" purchase a piece of land in Canada and transport the tenants who were "determined" to

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143. GD201/5/1233/23/pp.17-18, 12 January 1797.
144. H.P. Bundle 11, 26 April 1802.
145. H.P. Bundle 27, 8 February 1805.
146. H.P. Bundle 23, 7 May 1804.

emigrate or "whom he might wish to send away", thus undercutting and breaking the emigration agents.[147] However, nothing came of this scheme. It was also considered that some of the emigration "ringleaders" should, "if a good Tenant could be had to take the Farms of one or two of them, tho' under a private understanding of a moderate deduction", be "thrown" out of their holdings, thus preventing them from emigrating, ruining them and exposing them to "the ridicule of the country".[148]

Most of these anti-emigration tactics originated with Robert Brown and it can be shown that his tactics were approved of, and actually encouraged, by the Clan Ranald trustees.

> The Meeting having considered the very extensive charge of Mr. Brown ..., and also the very arduous and difficult situation in which he has been placed for some years by the spirit of emigration which has pervaded the whole Highlands and would have materially injured the Minor's [Clanranald's] property had it not been for the very spirited and active measures adopted by Mr. Brown ... The meeting therefore are of opinion that Mr. Browns salary should be increased Fifty pounds sterling. 149

In another meeting the trustees recorded that they

> entirely approve of Mr. Brown's proceedings in this business and recommend to him to continue his exertions to prevent emigration by every means in his power. 150

Despite Brown's methods and despite the trustees' approval, emigration continued. On 10th April 1811, Hector MacDonald-Buchanan, one of the trustees, wrote to Brown, stating that every tenant of Iochdar, South Uist, and many others, had subscribed for emigration

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147. H.P. Bundle 53, 10 April 1810.
148. H.P. Bundle 62, 22 April 1811.
149. H.P. Bundle 24, 22 August 1804.
150. GD201/5/1233/39/pp.19-20, 27 March 1803, see also H.P. Bundle 14, 4 September 1802.

and he closed the note to Brown saying, "In short the whole Isles are in a blaze - and all ascribed to Brown's high sets of Land".[151] One other piece of information has been uncovered and it is informative not only about kelping and the estate management's attitudes but also it may help to explain the continuing strength of the tenants' desire to emigrate. On 17th January 1806, Robert Brown reported to the trustees that owing to the high prices of kelp he had decided to have the tenants of Benbecula take the highly unusual step of making the west coast seaweed into kelp (normally, only the richer east coast material was used). The records of the meeting state that Brown could not have succeeded in making kelp "so early" in the season from west coast ware unless "extraordinary encouragement had been held out" to the small tenants "and even some degree of compulsion used for accomplishing the object". The underlined section of this quote had been crossed out but remained entirely legible. This copy of the minutes of the trustees' meeting, like a few others from this period, is in a poor, rushed hand, obviously intended to be recopied later as most surviving transcripts have been. This copy, however, remains in a preliminary state and clearly shows that there was an effort to control and censor the records.[152] This demonstrates that "some degree of compulsion" was used on the tenants of Benbecula by Brown and it shows that most of the surviving records of the Clan Ranald trustees[153] have, to some degree, been censored.

Despite all Brown's machinations there was one force that could control the pace of emigration but that even he could not control:

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151. H.P. Bundle 62, 10 April 1811, original's italics. See below, p. 547, for the full meaning of this phrase "the whole Isles".
152. GD201/5/1233/42/pp.1-2, 11 January 1802, my italics.
153. These are, of course, not the only records from the period.

poverty. After peace came to Europe in 1815, kelp and cattle prices deteriorated and, strangely, the emigration that Brown had long struggled against was largely controlled by the falling prices of Highland goods that he had long feared. On 18th May 1816, Brown received a report from Arisaig saying cattle prices were down more than a third and that few

> people have lately gone, or have signed for going next season, to America, from this property; but this is owing entirely to the want of money and the [tenant's] reluctance to part with their stocks at a low value. For it is my opinion, had they money, more than one half would go out. 154

Unfortunately for Brown, the poverty that tied the people also afflicted the estate. And, finally, on the topic of emigration, there was a sober truth developing for the small tenants under all the above issues. Even on the Clan Ranald estate, possibly the greatest kelping estate, when people emigrated a few were starting to be replaced by shepherds and their sheep.[155]

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Obviously, the trust was of importance to the people on the Clan Ranald estate. There had been a short-term trust to manage the affairs of the minor John MacDonald of Clan Ranald on his father's death (Ranald, younger of the 1745 period) and this trust had a strong Highland and Clan Ranald composition. There were five MacDonalds (including Boisdale and Kinlochmoidart) Florence MacKinnon, the widow of the deceased chief and James Montgomery, Lord Chief

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154. H.P. Bundle 161, 18 May 1816, Peterson, mainland factor, to Brown.
155. H.P. Bundle 42, 22 March 1808, Alexander MacGillivray, Glenalladale's shepherd, was moved in to replace some Moidart emigrants.

Baron of the Exchequer.[156] On John's early death (November 1794) another trust was set up to manage the affairs of his son, Reginald George, but this trust, reflecting the fact that John had lived both in Nunton, Benbecula and in Edinburgh, and that on his death his widow and son lived entirely in Edinburgh, was completely made up of Lowlanders or men of partial Highland descent but who lived in the south and had little or no first-hand knowledge of the area.[157] This trust laboured under the burden of the considerable Clan Ranald debts, an ignorance of Highland conditions and it also lacked human contact with the area it governed. It was easier to make cold decisions based solely on financial expediency in distant Edinburgh, when the disturbing spectacle of the poor and ill-fed was conveniently tucked away on Canna.

On 16th December 1797 Robert Brown first appeared before the trustees;[158] soon he would be the most influential member of the group and, indeed, soon he would be a man of importance throughout the Highlands and Islands. He had been employed on the Duke of Hamilton's estate and retained his connection there during his long period of service to the Clan Ranald trust. He was to be factor, residing in Nunton, Benbecula, until 1811 when poor health forced him to leave the Hebrides;[159] afterwards, he continued as a trustee of the estate and his experience in the area gave him a great influence

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156. GD201/5/1233/1, 11 April 1777.
157. The first (and most Highland-appearing) collection of members of this trust included Robert MacQueen, Lord Justice Clerk, William Honeyman, advocate, William MacLeod-Bannatyne, advocate, Archibald MacDonald, advocate, Hector MacDonald-Buchanan, Writer to the Signet, and John Butter, factor. GD201/5/1233/14, 27 June 1795.
158. GD201/5/1233/26.
159. GD201/5/1233/48/pp.9-12, 17 September 1811.

in the trust. For example, on 8th February 1816, when discussing a "new system" of dividing land, the trustees felt it was "needed" but decided to

> remit to Mr. Brown one of their Number, well acquainted with that country from his long residence in it, to report as soon as he possibly can how far it would be prudent to carry the plan into effect. 160

And a few weeks later, when discussing the administration of the trust, Lord Alloway, one of the trustees, informed Reginal George of Clan Ranald,

> I was totally ignorant of the nature of the Estate which indeed was the case with most of the other Trustees altho' the plan seemed at first sight extremely proper, yet as Mr. Robert Brown, the only Trustee who had perfect knowledge of the estate, was not present, I requested that he might be desired to report on the subject, and that another meeting might be called when the report was received. 161

Brown clearly came to have great say in the trust and it is a measure of the trustees' ignorance of the situation in the Highlands that Brown, a man with no Gaelic[162] and no previous Highland experience, so quickly came to exert such control.

It has been seen that Brown was a leading enemy of emigration, that he engaged in a public debate through pamphlets with Selkirk and that he originated the concept behind the Passenger Act. Brown's notable influence with Highland landlords is seen when he induced the Highland Society to lobby for anti-emigration legislation structured around his own concept.[163] It is also a measure of

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160. GD201/5/1233/64/p.4, 8 February 1816.
161. GD201/5/1228/2, 24 February 1816.
162. See H.P. Bundle 11, 23 January 1802 and later, after he had completed his work in the Hebrides, he still "experienced the greatest inconvenience ... from his ignorance" of Gaelic. GD201/5/1228/2, 28 December 1815.
163. See above, p.538.

his importance that he was approached by the Scots Magazine to write an article against emigration.[164] Moreover, while he served as factor and/or trustee for the Clan Ranald estate, he also made many useful connections throughout the Highlands and Isles because he was employed on a number of estates. He was factor and trustee for Clanranald; factor for Hume of Harris; factor for MacKenzie of Seaforth; manager and setter of the property of MacDonald of Valay (Skye and North Uist); manager and setter for Lady Campbell, dowager of Lochnell; setter and appraiser for the Marquis of Douglas (Arran and etc.); appraiser and valuer for the Marquis of Tweedale (Appin); setter and appraiser for MacLeod of Dunvegan (Skye and Glenelg); surveyor and valuer for MacDonald of Sleat (Skye and North Uist); and he was also employed by an unspecified landowner in Kintyre.[165]

Given the previously discussed attitudes of Brown, given his position in the forefront of the anti-emigration forces and given his large number of affluent Highland associates and employers, it is reasonable to conclude that Robert Brown's point of view was not only significant on the Clan Ranald estate, but that to a notable extent he was also able to influence the attitudes of estate owners, managers and factors throughout the Highland region. In this period of flux and uncertainty, a strong willed man such as Brown, who was obviously highly thought-of by the establishment, must have been significant in helping to form the ideas of leading men on topics such as kelp, improvement, sheep and emigration. All of these issues were central to common Gaels as they faced the unsettled future and Brown's attitudes towards these basic issues are most

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164. H.P. Bundle 13, 4 September 1802.
165. H.P. Bundle 62, 1, 2 April 1811, 2, 2 April 1811 and Bundle 39, 29 June 1807, GD221/39, 7 January 1809 and No.674 MacLeod of MacLeod Papers, 30 October 1810.

clearly seen on the Clan Ranald estate.

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Before leaving this discussion of the trust it is appropriate to look at the topic of religion because it was the trust, much more than the Clanranald family, that had the next real impact on the area's religious situation. After the disruption of the last Jacobite rebellion catholics had largely re-established themselves by 1760.[165] Presbyterian records of this period take a tone similar to previous accounts but perhaps with slightly less emphasis. The people of Clan Ranald, with the exception of the chief's family and very few others, were still catholic, but they were no longer a serious threat. Indeed, as late as 1784 there were no protestant daoin-uaisle on the mainland[166] and very few, such as the Boisdale family, in the isles. The catholics continued to use the kinship weapon with success. On 6th May 1784 it was reported that Angus MacEachen taught the "popish" seminary at Samalamen[167] and was over-seen by Bishop Alexander MacDonald who resided there. There was another catholic school "taught by another priest in Moydart" and of the seven priests who were mentioned, four were named:

> Mr. Norman McDonald in the Braes of Arisaig,
> Mr. Alexr. McDonald in Strath of Arisaig,
> Mr. Ronald McDonald in South Morther [Morar],
> & Mr. James McDonald who occasionally resides &
> officiates in that country. 168

This was under protestant Clan Ranald chiefs.

With the coming of Reginald George's trust changes came quickly.

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165. See CH1/5/79/15, 1760; CH1/2/107/ 1766 & CH1/2/110, 1768.
166. CH2/273/2/pp.278-9, Presbytery of Mull.
167. Catholic Seminary, Glenuig, 1770-1803.
168. CH2/273/2/pp.278-9, Presbytery of Mull.

The old-style catholic daoin-uaisle who had not emigrated were under assault and by 1811 the power structure in South Uist and Benbecula was almost entirely protestant. Robert Brown the factor, MacDonald of Boisdale and MacDonald of Bornish were probably the most influential men on the island; certainly, they were with the important trust and they were all active among the "respectable heads of Protestant Families in the Parish".[169] Indeed, the only catholic Clan Ranald duin-uasal who ever gained a position of influence with the trust was John MacDonald of Borrodale who served as mainland factor in the early 19th century. With this exception the lists of estate officials and kelp officers seldom, if ever, show the expected "Clan Ranald names". In 1835 a list of kelp officers includes four Chisholms "from Sky", "Donald Matheson from North Uist", "Alex MacRae from Sky" and Alexander MacDonald[170] who, a later note shows, was not from Clan Ranald lands either. And this note is extremely interesting for a variety of other reasons:

> It will be seen that all the above named office-holders are from the Isles of Sky or North Uist and protestants to a man - none are excluded from these situations but natives of South Uist and catholics - Alex MacEachen Junr. of Snisval [Snishival, South Uist] is a relation of Clanranald's - he is a native of South Uist with the additional misfortune of being a Catholic - yet he is as active and industrious as any man in the Long Island; his appointment to one of the above situations would exempt Clanranald from paying the pension he actually receives; but let those [the trustees] who are entrusted with the Government of Uist account for his being neglected. 171

The trust, with one break from June 1808 until September 1811, functioned until all the lands were sold. This break was from the

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169. CH2/361/1/pp.409-11, Presbytery of Uist, 1 July 1811.
170. GD201/5/1232/9/16, 1835.
171. Ibid., original's italics.

time when Reginald George of Clan Ranald came of age to the time he "erected" the trust again to "extricate himself from his present embarrasments".[172] Thereafter, the trust continued because it became entangled in the great debts that continued to grow and plague the estate. These burdens grew because the income from the estate was never enough to overtake the existing debts and because of the tremendous expenses compiled by Reginald George. In 1823 he tried to break the trust, charging that it had severely mismanaged his affairs and kept him ignorant of the growing debts.[173] While there were bad feelings between Clanranald and his trustees and while on occasion the trustees were either lax or intentionally vague when he requested information,[174] the great majority of documentation shows that Reginald George only on occasion took serious interest in the estate. It shows that the two-year period when he did manage his own affairs was a financial disaster,[175] that his continuing expenses harmed both the trust and the estate[176] and that the trustees repeatedly warned him of the general situation and the damage being done by his extravagance.[177]

Both Reginald George and the trustees wanted to end the trust in 1823 but due to the binding conditions of the original trust, it proved impossible.[178] The trustees were left with the irritating burden of managing a distant and, especially after 1815, non-profitable

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172. GD201/5/1233/48, 17 September 1811.
173. GD201/5/1228/1,15 June 1815 and 24 April 1841.
174. See, for example, GD201/5/1228, 15 & 16 December 1814 and 7 January 1815, between Clanranald and his father-in-law, Richard Edgecombe, 2nd Earl of Mount-Edgecombe.
175. GD201/5/1233/48, 17 September 1811.
176. See below, pp.556-62.
177. H.P. Bundle 53, 19 August, 1 & 27 December 1810 and Bundle 131, 19 January 1815.
178. H.P. 1823, 10 October 1823.

estate and Reginald George was left struggling to maintain the life-style he had learned to expect, and vainly trying to regain actual control of his property. In this atmosphere of antagonism no-one was pleased and no-one prospered, especially the Gaels who lived on the estate.

# CHAPTER X

Reginald George MacDonald was the last Chief of Clan Ranald to hold titles to his family's ancient charge. But due to his father's early death and the fact that his mother chose to live entirely in Edinburgh after her husband's death, Reginald George was a complete break with the past. Unfortunately for all, his early life left him completely unprepared for his, or his "clan's", coming trials.

The early influences of Reginald George were his mother and the trust. His mother preferred Edinburgh society to the Highlands. Her correspondence depicts the estate only as a source of income[1] and the western Isles only as a place of beauty to be visited on occasion.[2] Her desires for her two sons reflect this southern mentality. When discussing a tutor for them she mentioned James Walker who had been educated in Aberdeen and Cambridge. He had been "bred to the Church of England"; never, Lady Clanranald felt, was there a man, "better qualified for his Task".[3] This same attitude is shown throughout the records of the Clan Ranald trustees. When it was time for the youth to go off to school,

> The whole Tutors present were of oppinion that an English Education was a proper measure and that Eton School appeared the most eligible place. 4

When he was ten Reginald George was deposited at Eton under the care

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1. H.P. Bundle 13, 19 August 1802.
2. H.P. Bundle 25, 7 November 1804.
3. H.P. Bundle 13, 19 August 1802. Another of the youth's tutors was Duncan Robertson who later became a minister in Atholl, GD201/5/1237/34/p.5, 19 July 1799.
4. GD201/5/1233/20, 16 March 1796.

of a Mr. Hynd, one of the Masters, and "The Reverend Mr. Teu" and soon the youth reported that he was "doing exceedingly well".[5] Later, his brother Donald was also sent to Eton.[6] During his school years Reginald George was never allowed to go to his estate. He was often sent abroad on expensive "Grand Tours" with specially selected tutors.[7] The young chief, after Eton, expressed a desire to go to Oxford University as a member of Christ Church ~~College~~. The trustees, who had only considered Oxford and Cambridge as proper options for the young man, secured his admission to Oxford and Christ Church with the aid of Professor Dugald Stewart of the University of Edinburgh. Before he went off to Oxford, Reginald George also attended a few classes at Edinburgh.[8]

The trustees used curious language when referring to their young charge and seem to have had an interesting policy concerning his early years. When he was sent off to Eton he was "disposed of" and after he completed his studies

> it became a matter of importance to determine how the minor was to be disposed of ... it would be imprudent to keep him longer at Eton.

It was unanimously decided that Reginal George should not return to Scotland but that "the best mode of disposing of the Minor" was to send him abroad "with a proper Tutor as soon as possible".[9] Several summer holidays are mentioned in the papers and only one example of Reginald George coming to Scotland occurs; he never visited his estate.[10] In 1799 the trustees had an interesting discussion

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5. GD201/5/1233/33,p.12, 26 September 1803.
6. H.P. Bundle 19, 26 September 1803.
7. See, for example, H.P. Bundle 51, 5 February 1810.
8. GD201/5/1233/43, 20 & 24 December 1806.
9. GD201/5/1233/39/p.21, 27 March 1803.
10. See GD201/5/1070, 6 August 1804 and H.P. Bundle 21, 26 December 1803.

concerning the young man:

> Lord Armadale stated to the meeting that, understanding the sense of the Tutors to be, that the Pupil was not to come to Scotland during the long vacation this year, he corresponded with Mr. Teu on that subject as it is customary for all the Boys at College to leave that place immediately on the rising of the College to go to their Friends or wherever they are to be disposed of for the vacation and that Mr. Teu had been good enough to propose taking the pupil with him to a living he had in Hampshire. 11

On 26th December 1803, Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale saw young Clanranald and reported that Reginald George

> is really a smart Boy, & wishes to get to Uist next summer, he told me he was to call a meeting of Tutors to propose that. 12

Reginald George was not permitted to go to South Uist that summer; he was kept at Eton and then sent off to Europe.[13] Again, in 1806 Clanranald had been scheduled to visit South Uist and Benbecula but was prevented. Three weeks after his intended arrival, estate officials in the isles were finally informed he was not to come, "however", one of them observed, "the country people expects him still".[14]

All this demonstrates that from his earliest days young Clanranald was kept away from the Highlands and raised in a family where Lowland society and English attitudes were valued. He was sent off to Eton while quite young; that school and Oxford were institutions that could be expected to instil particular class-based attitudes that were foreign to the old kin-based Highlands. Despite his desires and those of the people on his estate, the young man was

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11. GD201/5/1233/33, 17 June 1799.
12. H.P. Bundle 21, 26 December 1803.
13. GD201/5/1070, 6 August 1804.
14. H.P. Bundle 36, 16 October 1806.

prevented from going to see his estate and its inhabitants throughout his childhood. Moreover, when Lord Armadale said it was "the sense of the Tutors" that Reginald George "was not to come to Scotland", it appears that young Clanranald's separation from his estate and its people (and, perhaps, the entire English nature of his education) was part of an intentional policy on the part of the trustees; a policy to create an estate owner devoid of all lingering sentimental attachment to those on the old clan lands. Certainly, life in Edinburgh and England, European Grand Tours, attendance at Eton and Oxford and a total exclusion from the Highlands and the Clan Ranald estate was not calculated to give the boy a special feeling for the people on his inheritance. And whether the trustees intended to separate Reginald George from the culture of his ancestors or whether this situation grew naturally out of their own attitudes and the climate of the period, the effects were the same.

While the trustees' educational policies for Reginald George succeeded in separating him from the Gaelic culture and a knowledge of the situation of those on his estate, it created other problems. The young man never seems to have wanted for anything and he was raised and schooled among the richest and most privileged of Great Britain where he learned expensive habits. Unfortunately, he was to lack the fortune to support them. In 1807 the trustees seem to have finally noticed this worrying trait in the young man and recorded.

> The minor having signified to the meeting his intention of going to London which he stated he conceived to be necessary anterior to his going again abroad which he proposed doing in the month of August next - Lord Armadale stated that the minors going to London at present without having specified any satisfactory purpose

> for such a journey had so much the appearance of unsteadiness and frivolity when his time could be most usefully employed under proper masters. 15

In this case Clanranald seems to have prevailed; he was still in Sweden at Christmas 1807.[16]

The young man came of age in 1809[17] and assumed personal control of his estate and his other affairs. His problems grew. In addition to the existing family debts and the ones caused by his education and travels[18] others came quickly. His marriage to Lady Caroline Anne Edgecombe in 1812 moved him into a social circle and life-style his income could not support. His father-in-law, Richard, 2nd Earl of Mount-Edgecombe, entertained guests such as the Austrian Archduke Maximilian and invited only "quality" to meet him;[19] and Lord Mount-Edgecombe encouraged Reginald George to make expenditures, something both men later lamented.[20]

Reginald George's experiences in this period were serious and in 1810, Hector MacDonald-Buchanan, one of the trustees, complained

> If we do not adhere to some system and get the expenditure limited to a stated sum Clans [Clanranald's] affairs will be ruined and instead of buying Lands He will soon be forced to sell. If He carries on improvements in the country He must deny himself all the expenses and gratifications of fashionable life but if he prefer the latter He must not attempt the other. Clan's Estate is a very good one but not equal to both at once and the same time, even should times continue good as they are, but let kelp fall to what we have seen it & where are we? 21

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15. GD201/5/1233/44/p.1-2, 2 May 1807, the other trustees concurred with Lord Armadale.
16. H.P. Bundle 41, 23 December 1807.
17. August 1809, GD201/5/1228/2/1816.
18. GD201/5/1233/44.
19. GD201/5/1230/1/22, 1815 (original's italics).
20. GD201/5/1228/1, 15 December 1814.
21. H.P. Bundle 53, 19 April 1810, Hector MacDonald-Buchanan to R. Brown.

The next year this same trustee wrote to Robert Brown:

> You can have no idea of the incessant toil & trouble I have in his [Clanranald's] business - not a day do I rise but I have a levee of 20 or 30 tradesmen & Servants all demanding money. 22

For three months, from "morning till night" MacDonald-Buchanan's house had been "infected by his [Reginald George's] creditors & numerous retinue of Servants".[23]

The best explanation of Reginald George's debts was given by the young man himself on 17th September 1811 when he was forced to re-create the trust. Clanranald stated that

> since he had come of age he had incautiously and trusting to a continuation of the high price of kelp involved himself in considerable difficulties

and that due to a fall in kelp prices "in order to extricate himself from his present embarrasments" he had to form another trust. He further stated that

> the difficulties he now laboured under had principally arisen from his having taken and furnished Appin House in Argyleshire, that in doing so, he had not only bought furniture, Linen &c but also a very extensive assortment of wines in all to the amount of at least Eight thousand pounds. That he had during the same period entered into arrangements with James Gillespie, Architect in Edinburgh, for building a dwelling house [Arisaig House] in Arisaig for his own use - an Inn - a chapel - and School house, had now cost upwards of Twelve Thousand Pounds Sterling. That he had likewise contracted a Debt to Messrs. Rundell and Bridges [jewellers] of London for about fourteen Thousand pounds worth of Plate besides sundry other Debts in London to coachmakers & others to the amount of about Three Thousand Pounds Str.

He had also been building roads through his estate, purchased the lease of Keppoch, in Arisaig, for the construction of the Mansion

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22. H.P. Bundle 60, 12 February 1811, Buchanan to Brown.
23. Ibid.

House and had been draining the area. Clanranald admitted,

> In short that in the space of two years, being the period since he came of age, he had expended in this way Forty four Thousand pounds Str. He also stated that during the foregoing period He had from keeping establishments of Horse and Servants both in London and Scotland at the same time and his own personal expences expended the clear Income of his Estate. That at the time of his coming of age his Debts amounted to about forty seven Thousand Pounds and that now [two years later] they might be stated at ninety one or ninety two Thousand. 24

Despite the trust, Reginald George did not mend his ways. On 19th January 1815 Robert Brown wrote to him in London complaining that "all the Rents of the Mainland and Small Isles" had been absorbed in "planting and completing the Mansion House &c" and mentioned other unfavourable estate details. Brown closed, saying,

> there is little I can add on the present occasion, but only once more to suggest that you should lose no time in putting your resolution of retiring to Arisaig into execution where you can live until better times come round - and you must excuse my putting the question. Why do you not come to Scotland instantly to look after your house in Arisaig [there were difficulties with the architect] and to cooperate with your Trustees? Were I to call on my constituent here [the Duke of Hamilton] on a like emergency he would not require a second Summons - How many of our Nobility and Gentry had they a property like yours, would struggle hard to retrieve it! 25

Under the new trust the debts ceased to grow but they fell very little. By 1827 the debts against the estate stood at £73,800.[26]

For short periods Reginald George was persuaded to live moderately in

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24. GD201/5/1233/48, 17 September 1811. See also H.P. Box 1823, 12 August 1823 for a good discussion of these debts and trust affairs.
25. H.P. Bundle 131, 19 January 1815.
26. GD201/5/1215/35, 1827.

one place; occasionally in Arisaig, where he was something of a stranger.[27] It is interesting that the trust, largely made up of the same men who comprised Reginald George's earlier trust, actually tried to encourage him to live quietly in Arisaig. But they had done their earlier job too well. Clanranald was never happy there; it was too "remote";[28] and the debts continued. The silver plate mentioned above had to be sold but this was difficult because every piece was emblazoned with the Clan Ranald crest.[29] There were frequent and considerable expenses incurred with firms, such as "Romanes and Paterson" of Edinburgh for a variety of tartan goods, silk more often than wool,[30] and at jewellers for the purchase of new Highland jewellery or the repair of old items, such as swords, powder horns, dirks and brooches.[31] And in the late 1830's Reginald George served as Vice-President of "The Celtic Society" whose purpose was

> for promoting Education in the Highlands of Scotland, for encouraging the use of the Antient national Garb, and for preserving the other characteristics of the Highlanders. 32

Unfortunately, Reginald George seemed more interested in the Victorian trappings of clanship than overseeing and protecting the true Highlanders on his estate. Throughout the period when Clanranald was enlarging his debts and quarrelling with the trust that he had created, there was a number of crises in the west Highlands and Islands; often Reginald George's life exhibits an extreme

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27. GD201/5/1230/1/19, 19 January 1815, Robert Brown to Clanranald, advising him to live in Arisaig. See also H.P. Bundle 51, 5 February 1810; here the mainland estate agent, Alexander Chisholm mentioned that "Clanrd. and other strangers" were in Moidart.
28. H.P. Bundle 75, May 1812.
29. H.P. Bundle 80, 15 December 1812.
30. GD201/5/1242/21 27 September 1826 and GD201/5/1248/3, 1829.
31. For example, see GD201/5/1250/1, 1831.
32. GD201/5/1220/16, 14 July 1837.

contrast to that of the people on his estate.

In 1812, for example, the condition of the tenants on the estate was "very deplorable". The weather was severe and a number of cattle and horses was lost. Then the harvest was poor and what little grain the tenants had was soon eaten by the surviving livestock. The people had been temporarily relieved by a shipment of meal from a kelp merchant but that was gone. The new estate factor, Duncan Shaw, asked the trustees about "Clanranald's Tenants",

> What is to be done with these poor creatures? It is dreadfull to see them starve, yet I fear it will be long ere we can recover payment from them. 33

Hector MacDonald-Buchanan suggested to Robert Brown that

> I think it might do Clanranald some good to send him a copy of this Letter of Mr. Shaw's, if you think so, you had better send it, for it may make him think a little. If he would muster resolution and with his Lady spend their allowance of £4,000 on the Estate what good might they not do with such a sum at such a period of distress? 34

In this situation, despite other warnings, Reginald George collected his full allowance.[35] He continued to worry about where he was to live; due to his previous life-style and suggestions from the trustees, he had a variety of choices such as Appin House, Gartmore, Arisaig House (not quite finished), a residence in Edinburgh or one in Dumfries that the trustees felt was not too expensive. "What," Clanranald asked, "should we do in Dumfries?"[36] Considering the "present lamentable state of circumstances" - here he referred to his economic problems not the condition of the people on his estate -

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33. H.P. Bundle 74, 25 April 1812.
34. Ibid.
35. H.P. Bundle 77, 26 June 1812.
36. H.P. Bundle 74, 18 April 1812, original's italics.

Reginald George decided that the most prudent plan would be

> to return to the original intention of going to Appin, and to give up all thoughts for this season of any other residence: still, it would be pleasant to hear of any places which are to be let, ... I request you will let me know what is to be done in regard to the Water Closet in-doors and the harling [covering of cement and stone] the outside of the house &c at Appin. These are matters of expence I am aware but not serious, ...
>
> I am extremely sorry to hear such accounts of the Long Island [South Uist and Benbecula]; they are deplorable but I trust we may not long suffer from this distressing and most untimely claminity [sic. calamity]. 37

And on 27th June 1812, while according to his factor the people on his estate were near starvation, Clanranald asked of Robert Brown,

> I wish you would enquire about the flour at Appin. I should like to have more sent there for making brown bread besides white. 38

Moreover, he requested that Brown send him an additional £500 to supplement the allowance he had already spent.[39]

In mid summer the situation in Uist remained grave. Shaw, the factor, discussed "the cravings of those who were truly in a state of almost absolute starvation".[40] At this time MacDonald-Buchanan complained to Brown about a visit of Reginald George's, who was

> only to bring 2 Servants & 2 horses, but he arrived at 11 o'clock with Seven horses & Seven servants.

And MacDonald-Buchanan made a further observation that has a bearing on the question of Clanranald's extravagance. Of the new Lady Clanranald, he remarked,

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37. H.P. Bundle 75, 21 May 1812, Clanranald to Robert Brown.
38. H.P. Bundle 77, 27 June 1812, Clanranald to Brown.
39. Ibid.
40. H.P. Bundle 77, 9 July 1812.

> I am much pleased with Lady Caroline, & if any thing goes wrong it is his fault, for she is a sweet good tempered young woman as I ever saw. 41

In other periods, when the condition of the small tenants was less desperate, Reginald George still fell far short of the traditional clan chief role that he tried to project in Edinburgh, London and Paris.[42] Without telling his factor or checking the leases of those holding the ground, he selected the site for his mansion in Arisaig. This involved him in expense and bad feelings; moreover, some of the small tenants in the area were forced to move.[43] He also asked the trustees to remove the unsightly tenants of Ardnafuaran who were too near his residence. The trustees refused, although they did ask Donald MacDonald who had a stance on the farm of Keppoch, behind the mansion to build his proposed house elsewhere because his selected site was "too near Clanranald's pleasure grounds".[44] Most of the tenants who had been displaced by Reginald George's building were resettled "at the old rents" but Clanranald, "notwithstanding all that could be urged against the measure" had also persisted in removing the priest, John MacDonald. Eventually, the trustees found a new place for him but this move had "irritated the minds of the people in a great degree indeed".[45] Moreover, Reginald George had problems getting along with the remnants of the duin-uasal class who happened to live near him. The trustee MacDonald-Buchanan reported to Robert Brown about Clanranald:

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41. H.P. Bundle 80, 1 August 1812, original's italics.
42. In Paris Reginald George styled himself "M. Macdonald de Clanranald chef Montagnard Ecossais", GD201/5/1246/12, 7 July 1829.
43. H.P. Bundle 91, 3 April 1813. It is also worth noting that it was during this period that Clanranald compiled the debt of £14,396 from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell Jewellers in London, GD201/5/1233/54/p.3, 4 January 1813.
44. GD201/5/1233/71, 9 November 1816.
45. H.P. Bundle 161, 18 May 1816.

> There is no pleasing him, as he is ready to listen to every absurdity that is told him and his pride is evidently now much hurt at his not being able to live like the nobility of the Country - For his vanity is excessive - I believe he & Borrodale [John MacDonald] are not good friends so you must take <u>cum grano</u> what you hear - I believe he is not very gracious with Rhue [Alexander MacDonald], in short he will quarrell with every respectable person about him. 46

Clanranald also rejected the application of a "Mr. Stewart" for the position of factor because he had a Highland background. Reginald George was

> very little inclined to employ a person connected with the highlands as I know from experience it is productive of much mischief to the proprietor from the mode adopted by such, of bringing in a train of friends as tenants. 47

Finally, during the Christmas period of 1824 a situation developed because of Reginald George's "very singular" conduct. John MacDonald of Borrodale stated that Clanranald had turned the priest, John MacDonald, and his congregation out of their chapel.

> The lower class having learned that they were to be deprived of the chapel which they all along conceived had been built for themselves, got indignant at such treatment.

Strangely, in this atmosphere Reginald George decided to organise a shinty game with the crofters only for, as Borrodale noted, "he never ask'd me or even hinted that such was to be, or to any other Gentlemen in the country". On 1st January, the day of the intended contest, Borrodale learned from the small tenants on his lands that there was to be trouble. He arrived at the chapel where he found "the people in bad blood" and asked if they were to meet Clanranald to play shinty.

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46. H.P. Bundle 147, 23 October 1815.
47. GD201/5/1233/68, 14 March 1816.

They answered, "No," and then Borrodale told them

> they had better do, the answer again was that they had resolved to a man not to join - Some said they would keep the chapel by the strong hand, others proposed to hold a meeting to Deliberate and ask me to join them which I declined. Seeing the matter was likely to be a serious appearance, & that Clan was likely to be insulted, I spoke to the People seriously & in a few minutes prevailed with them to go which they consented on condition I would go. I told them I would go and accordingly I marched them all to the ground where Clan soon joined. The day was bad but the amusement went on.

Borrodale later learned that "the Plan concocted by the People" was to return the two notes of credit Clanranald had formerly given them as soon as he arrived. Then they resolved to "Play a match distinct from him entirely" and

> some proposed to turn the insides of their coats out; but what they ment by that I have not learned. It is however very certain that if it was not for my influence with the people not a man would have Joined him that day - I need not add what you will readily perceive, that a noise it would have made not only over the whole Highlands but far and near South -
>
> I saved him that disgrace & ... you surely would conclude he would have Thank me. He never yet took the least notice of it altho' he was fully informed (not by me) of the whole.

And John MacDonald of Borrodale, a duin-uasal who clearly retained much support and influence among the area's small tenants, concluded of Reginald George MacDonald of Clan Ranald, "Who can support such a man, I say that no man can".[48]

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The die was cast. Reginald George was not the sort of man to confront successfully the problems that beset the estate and in

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48. H.P. Box 1824, 12 January 1824.

any case the problems were increasing. With the European peace in 1815 cattle prices fell and kelp prices fell. Kelp prices declined because barilla, the Spanish source of alkali, was again available and, even more, because the chemical industry had learned how to mass produce soda.[49] Despite this slump in prices, the estate continued to produce kelp because there was no other major form of employment for the large and growing estate population that had been reared to gather the seaweed[50] and because, at a reduced level, kelp still had a few uses.[51] The estate had never been truly profitable, although it is certain that Reginald George had been a considerable liability, and in this period of extreme Highland economic decline, the Clan Ranald estate offered little hope to its managers or its inhabitants. The trustees had the insoluble problem of trying to cope with huge debts, falling income, an estate population that was often near starvation and Reginald George's spending; the condition of the people on the estate fell.

In 1816 the estate management attempted to remedy the ills of the area by altering the ancient method of landholding among the small tenants. Duncan Shaw, the Long Island factor, observed that,

> The way in which Clanranald's lands here have been hitherto possessed and managed by his tenants ... is the same mode practised in the Western Islands time past all memory; and certainly no plan could have been invented which would more certainly operate as a bar to improvement of any description. 52

This assumed "evil" was to be erased by a new system of small individual lots or crofts, "the number of allotments on each farm to correspond

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49. Ferguson, op.cit., p.177.
50. GD201/5/352/p.8, and above, pp.524-25.
51. See below, p.568.
52. H.P. Bundle 194, p.11, 12 September 1816.

as nearly as might be with the number of tenants now in possession. "Each croft was to be held independently and the crofter to keep" his boundaries distinct in all time coming".[53] In this way each crofter was to be "answerable" for the condition of his own allotment and "the industrious will have the benefit of his labour, his example will bring on his indolent neighbour".[54]

This scheme did not have the desired effect of making the small tenants self-sufficient or of making the estate profitable. It did, however, put the remaining tacksmen in an almost impossible position. If a farm was rented to a tacksman, Shaw speculated, he would sublet the land to kelp manufacturers and all the proposed improvements of lands held individually by small tenants would be at an end;

> for such is the rooted attachment of the people to their ancient habits, and so general the change which must be made in their state of possession and management before the lands can be so improved as to pay well, that no tacksman whose lease is not of longer endurance than common will undertake it. ... I know of no profit that a tacksman could make that Clanranald cannot under proper management equally obtain. 55

A measure of the failure of this system is the small tenants' inability to earn enough to feed themselves, and a report submitted by Shaw in 1823 shows that this problem continued past the 1816 reorganisation. Shaw reported that,

> the population is excessive much beyond what the lands can maintain. That the allotments of Land, owing to the Number of Inhabitants are so small that in bad years the tenants even with the additional spur which the division of the Estate into lots has given to their industry cannot raise provisions sufficient for themselves. ... The year 1811 and spring 1812, 1816/17, 1817/18, and

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53. Ibid., p.14.
54. Ibid., p.16.
55. H.P. Bundle 194, 12 September 1817.

> spring 1822 were particularly unfavourable to the Tenantry on Clanrs Estate. 56

After the submission of this report, the years 1827, 1832 and 1836 were also particularly bad for the people on the estate.[57] The population of South Uist rose by 211 per cent between 1755 and 1831.[58] This rise in population was partly due to an improved diet that included the potato, the estate management encouraging the "rearing" of large families to manufacture the kelp,[59] the estate and government measures to curb emigration and, it has been pointed out recently,[60] the establishment of the crofting system itself.

The Clan Ranald estate was "entirely a Kelp Estate"[61] and its many people were largely dependent on that product for their livelihoods. Unfortunately, kelp was declining and there was no prospect of a restoration to its former position. And when kelp fell, the tenants as well as the trust suffered. A comparison of income for Clan Ranald estate kelp workers in 1814 and 1822 shows that out of 151 workers who can be identified on both documents, 127 made less and most of them found their earnings substantially diminished.[62] In 1836 a "prospective buyer" consulted those who "possess the best information on ... Kelp manufacture". The information he

> received, and upon which the most implicit reliance may be placed, is that a rise in the value of Kelp

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56. GD234/44/p.90-91, 21 April 1823, Shaw to Tods, Murray & Jamieson, W.S.
57. GD201/1/338/1827, GD201/1/352/1832 & GD201/5/1228/3/p.1836.
58. Darling, ed., op.cit., pp.80-83. In 1831 the population of South Uist was 6,890.
59. See above, pp.524-25, and GD201/5/1232/43/p.38.
60. Hunter, op.cit., p.31.
61. Duncan Shaw, GD237/44/p.90, 21 April 1823.
62. GD201/5/1232/1/16, 1814 & GD201/5/1232/2/35, 1822.

beyond what it bears at present [price had fallen quite low by 1836] is physically impossible - of the three manufacturers in which that article may be used, one must now be thrown entirely out - namely the manufacture of soap - In glass making it is employed only for the finer qualities of that material, and in union with a larger quantity of Sand than before, so that the demand must necessarily be confined within limits beyond which it can never extend.

The third "manufacture" was iodine and it remained but could "never add to the demand for Kelp". The report concluded that the need for kelp in the production of fine glassware and iodine had "already attained its maximum".[63]

There were no satisfactory answers to be found. The large population had been "reared" and kept on the estate to work the kelp but without kelp that same population was a considerable handicap. Estate debts grew and the tenants suffered in a variety of ways.

In this deteriorating situation there were increasing emotional and social problems. The small tenants could not pay their rents and fell further into debt and despondency. In 1823 Shaw noted,

> When a tenant is sensible he owes his landlord more than he is able to pay he becomes quite desperate and ceases to make any effort. 64

John MacDonald of Borrodale, the mainland factor, made a similar observation the previous year; "the People walk past, up & down, some of them without coming near me because they have nothing to pay".[65] This situation had notable and, for the Highlands and Islands, unusual results. On 26th February 1825 Shaw proposed the "erection of a Jail & Court House for this district". During his recent absence

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63. GD201/5/1228/12 March 1836.
64. GD201/1/352, 21 April 1823.
65. H.P. Bundle 1822, 29 November 1822.

> many depredations were committed on your shores, fishings &c a variety of thefts & other offences are daily committed on all the estates of the Long Island. ... As we propose soon letting a considerable portion of your estate in sheep-farms, you are most materially interested in suppressing thefts.

Shaw felt these predatory raids on sheep farms by small tenants occurred not simply because these people were in need but also because they disliked and feared sheep-farming.

> The antipathy the small tenants have to sheep farms will be additional inducement for committing depredations on that kind of stock. In fact, I may predict that unless measures of prevention are taken, the same thing will happen, which happened in Lewis a good many years ago, viz. that the [sheep-farming] tenants must on account of the depredations made on their stock [by small tenants], abandon their farms. 66

Another measure of the social and emotional consequence of the collapse of the old order is seen in the field of religion. Of the early decades of the 19th century, it has been observed, "a popularly orientated and fervent evangelism ... swept through the north-west Highlands and Hebrides".[67] It did not. It is true that in the protestant Highlands and protestant Islands the evangelicals, who eventually carried so many commoners into the Free Church, "swept" through with significant speed and effect. But in the many catholic areas this did not happen; in fact, the impact of these evangelicals on the Clan Ranald islands of South Uist, Benbecula, Eigg and Canna[68] and on the neighbouring isle of Barra, was almost nil.

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66. H.P. Box 1825 1, 26 February 1825.
67. Hunter, op.cit,p.96. Dr. Hunter's discussion of this period's religious situation is generally quite useful (see pp.96-106), but he errs in disregarding the Free Kirk's weakness in catholic areas. This point would have actually strengthened his arguments.
68. Muck was sold in late 1811 because of Reginald George's debts, GD201/5/1233/48/p.7, 17 September 1811.

It is hardly surprising that catholics were not attracted to these evangelicals or later to the Free Church; but, for example, "more than half" the population of Benbecula was protestant by 1833[69] and there is no evidence that the Free Kirk made significant gains there. Throughout the Records of the Presbytery of Uist, when in one month, June 1842, six clergymen of the Free Church and four "Lay Exhorters of the very wildest discription ... [were] perambulating the Parish of North Uist"[70] and when the island of Harris had largely gone over to this group, almost nothing concerning this issue is heard from Benbecula, South Uist or Barra.[71] The reason for this is found more in social and political causes than religious issues. On islands like Harris there were no catholics and on the publication of Gaelic bibles the small tenants began to react against the Church of Scotland. In the Free Kirk the people of Harris found an institution through which they could band together and oppose the Church of Scotland and the landowning establishment it supported. On the catholic isles, as has been seen,[72] the establishment was largely protestant and the tenantry catholic. These small tenants needed no new institution to distinguish themselves; they already had one: the Catholic Church. On a doctrinal level the catholic and Free Church points of view were widely separated but politically and emotionally they served very similar purposes.

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69. CH2/361/2/p.111, 27 November 1833, and as late as 1877 half of the population of Benbecula remained protestant and "a large majority" of them were still "adherents of the Church of Scotland, RH9/17/251, 22 August 1877, Roderick MacDonald, Presbytery of Uist, to Gordon of Cluny.
70. CH2/361/2/p.269.
71. CH2/361/2/pp.107-08, 111, 129, 149 & 269, 3 May 1832 - 9 November 1843.
72. See above, p.549.

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On 8th May 1827 the factor submitted a lengthy report that had two serious sections: Shaw stated that he had frequently brought to the attention of Clanranald and the trustees

> the necessity of getting rid of a part of the present population on his Estates - The depressed state of the Kelp Market now renders this measure indispensably necessary. 73

And later when he discussed the South Uist farms of Bornish, Ormiclate and Stoneybridge he noted that they were

> bounded on the East by an extensive range of hill ground not less than 15,000 acres affording sheep pasture of excellent quality now almost entirely unproductive. By removing the small tenants from the farms above mentioned and joining these farms to the range of hills to the East either one very excellent sheep walk inferior to none in Scotland, or two or even three very respectable grazings might be found ... But before this ... the present Population must be provided for which can only be done by Emigration. 74

Na caoraich mora, or the great sheep, had been introduced on to the Clan Ranald estate in 1806. Angus MacDonald proposed stocking Kenchreggan in Moidart with

> the Chiviot or white Faced kind of sheep which are supposed to be calculated for making Better Returns than the Black Faced Kind are, being Hitherto, an experiment unattempted in that country. 75

However, little was heard of this experiment; the estate was preoccupied with the current kelp boom. It was 1827 before the cheviot made a real impact on the Clan Ranald estate.

The trustees reacted favourably to Shaw's suggestion. On

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73. GD201/1/354/p.4, 8 May 1827.
74. Ibid., pp.8-9.
75. GD201/5/1233/43h, 1806.

16th February 1827 Robert Brown observed that a "considerable part" of the estate that was occupied by small tenants would let just as well for grazings. Furthermore, Brown remarked of the Isle of Canna that no prospective estate owner who had decided to introduce "a flock of Cheviot Sheep" could

> keep a swarm of lazy idle Tenants for a term beyond his pleasure - Are there not hundreds of instances of whole parishes and districts in the Highlands being depopulated to make room for sheep? - and is Canna likely to be a single exception? - I wish I had the money and could legally purchase Canna. 76

Brown apparently did not have the money because Canna, as well as Eigg and all the remaining mainland tracts, was purchased by others;[77] the "desperate" inhabitants of Canna were permitted to cling to their lands a little longer. However, in South Uist the Clan Ranald estate reacted to Shaw's suggestion as best it could, given the fact that it could not afford to ship the people off to North America and given the fact that no financial aid was forthcoming from government sources.[78] The South Uist townships of Gerinish, Drimore, Grogarry, Stilligarry, Howbeg, Snishival, Peninerine, Stoneybridge, Kildonan and Milton were all cleared of upwards of 830 people to make room for sheep. The townships of Askernish, Daliburgh and Kilpheder were also marked for similar treatment.[79] The whole job took more than one year but it progressed. Shaw estimated that these plans would "occasion the removal of about 1,000 people" and that "almost the whole of these people could emigrate without any

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76. GD201/5/1228/3, 16 February 1827.
77. See below, p.575.
78. Parliamentary Papers, "Select Committee on Emigration", 1826-1827, 1st Report, p.357 & 3rd Report, pp.500-08.
79. GD201/1/338, 19 November 1827 and GD201/5/1217/70, 29 January 1833.

assistance either from Government or the proprietor". One reason these folk could emigrate was that "the restrictions on emigration" had been removed.[80] It is interesting to note that in 1803 when the kelping estates and the British military needed these people, their safety and comfort on emigration vessels had been an important issue, but that in 1827, when they were not needed by the military and were problems for the great estates, the regulations vanished. Benbecula and the northern sections of South Uist were not cleared as the kelp they produced retained some value.

Information concerning these 1827-28 clearances is sketchy. Indeed, it must be remembered that the records of the trustees were censored in an earlier period. What can be stated with certainty is that there is no evidence that any small tenant was actually forced to emigrate against their will - at this point. However, it is equally certain that being cleared off an ancestral township such as Stilligarry or Howbeg was traumatic for these people.

Life on South Uist and Benbecula was not easy for those small tenants who remained. On 8th July 1836 Farquhar MacRae, missionary minister on the Royal Bounty, reported on the "Destitution in a Part of the Parish of South Uist". He felt a great part of the people were "exceedingly poor" and that during even the best seasons lived in a manner that those accustomed to normal comforts would "desig-nate miserable". However, owing to the failure of the potato crop and the severity of the previous winter and spring, 1836 was a year of unusual scarcity. He noted that the worst cases of poverty occurred among those who held no lands, "a numerous class". These

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80. GD201/1/338, pp.19-20, 19 November 1827.

people were generally dependent on the kindness of their neighbours, "which, I must say, is always liberally bestowed in proportion to their means". But as there was no provision for these people their situation was always precarious and "frequently scanty"; in seasons of scarcity like 1836 their condition "must be one of extreme wretchedness".

> These people, accordingly, even in ordinary years, subsist in a great measure on shellfish but during the present season many of them have nothing else. I have visited families where there is not a particle of food except what is daily gathered from the shores. Cockles and limpits (found here in great abundance) constitute their staff of life; and, together with these, a few have recourse to dilce 81 boiled in milk, when it can be had, but when milk is wanting, boiled in water, and then taken without the mixture of any other ingredient. One woman informed me that she sometimes gave raw dilce to her children in order to soothe their cries when nothing better was at hand. 82

This year was particularly bad because the potato crop had failed but in 1839, a year the potatoes did not fail, Shaw complained from Benbecula to estate lawyers:

> I don't think it is very easy to conceive a situation more disagreeable than I am in at the present moment. Obliged to force a poor miserable set of people to pay sums they are unable to pay and to receive from them in payment the Provisions I believe to be indespensible for the maintenance of themselves and their ffamilies - I wish to God you had a week of my Task, I think to a man not totally devoid of feelings hardly anything can be more distressing. 83

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81. Dulse, edible seaweed.
82. GD201/5/1228/6, 8 July 1836.
83. GD201/5/1217/76, 27 March 1839, Shaw to Hunter & Campbell W.S.

The piecemeal sale of lands had begun in 1811 when the trust was forced to sell the Island of Muck to Alexander MacLean of Coll for £9,997.11.7. In 1813 selected lands in Moidart were sold. Lochans went to Alexander MacDonald of Dalilea for £3,954 and Alexander MacDonald of Glenalladale purchased Island Shona and Dalilea for £15,060. While disappointed in the price, Reginald George of Clan Ranald was "glad they have fallen into the hands of Macdonalds however mortifying the loss of them naturally must be".[84] On 1st April 1817 Reginald George reacted to

> the plan of selling the Estate of Arisaig, it is one to which I have always declared such heartful objections that I am much hurt at its being even contemplated: Its fulfilment would be tantamount to by banishment forever from Scotland: on the possession of Arisaig my last remaining comfort depends and I shall not be happy until settled there peacefully enjoying what it affords. There is no privation I would not rather endure than the alienation of that favourite spot. 85

It is interesting, however, that this letter was postmarked "London" and not "Arisaig House" or any other place in Scotland. The trust was able to continue for nine years, but in 1826 and 1827 the selling of lands started again. Arisaig went to the trustees of Lady Ashburton for £48,950;[86] Dr. Hugh MacPherson, Subprincipal and Professor of Greek in the University and King's College of Aberdeen, purchased Eigg for £14,500; Donald MacNeill bought Canna for £9,000, Kenchreggan

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84. GD201/5/1233/48 and H.P. Bundle 92, 18 April 1813.
85. H.P. Bundle 84, 1 April 1817.
86. Reginald George's first wife, Caroline, died in 1824. He later married Anna, Lady Ashburton, widow of Richard Barre Dunning, Lord Ashburton. Reginald George and this lady were divorced and her trustees bought Arisaig. On her death the estate passed through several hands to a Mr. Astley, a native of Leeds. He razed Arisaig House, built a new mansion at Borrodale and cleared many of the people. Joseph Mitchell, Reminiscences of my Life in the Highlands, (London: Unwin Brothers, 1883), pp.204-05,

was sold to a Colonel Cameron for £8,000, fishing rights on the river Sheal went to Alexander MacDonald of Rhue for £300 and the remainder of Moidart was acquired by Major Allan MacDonald for £9,000.[87]

Only South Uist and Benbecula remained of the once proud and vast Clan Ranald territories and 1836 the trustees decided to sell them, Robert Brown remarking, "I need scarcely add, that I am quite sick of this trust and I pray that I may clear of it soon".[88] In this period when it was far too late Reginald George was finally taking a keen interest in the estate. He made several attempts to prevent the sale[89] and even considered, for the first time, taking up residence on these islands.

In 1839, when the sale of the estate was already an accomplished fact, Reginald George wrote a futile letter to the new owner. He pointed out that the estate had been offered "in the face of my protesting against it",[90] he lamented that this property was his "last remaining possession" and pleaded with the new owner to adopt a fantastic scheme. This scheme would have allowed Clanranald to keep the estate, let the new owner take up the old debts and manage the property. And this would, Reginald George pointed out, allow him

> the happy prospect of spending the remainder of my days among the affectionately disposed tenantry, whose forefathers and mine have ever been united by ties of no ordinary degree of mutual attachment. 91

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87. GD201/1/338/p.1-5, 19 November 1827; GD201/5/1203/3, 22 March 1828 and MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.II, p.364.
88. GD201/5/1223/1, 24 June 1836.
89. GD201/5/1228/3, 11 May 1839.
90. In fact, he had communicated this fact to this same man as early as 1836, see GD201/5/1223/1, June 1836.
91. GD201/5/1223/8, 2 May 1839, Clanranald to John Gordon of Cluny.

While this plea fell on singularly unsympathetic ears, it does show that Reginald George had begun to exhibit a late-found and patronising esteem for his tenantry and their culture. He tried, with little success, to learn the Gaelic of his tenants and his ancestors[92] and he wrote a series of letters to substantial tenants on South Uist and Benbecula hoping to enlist their support and that of the tenantry of their holdings in his bid to keep the estate.[93] It was to no avail. Moreover, while Reginald George of Clan Ranald had developed a late regard for those on his estate, it seems they had little affection for him. In 1838 he had proposed living on Benbecula but Duncan Shaw raised the question of the Captain of Clan Ranald's safety among his "clansmen".

> It may well be questioned whither under present circumstances it would be prudent in you to reside anywhere in Uist. 94

When Reginald George pleaded with the new owner of the outer Hebridean estate, he was not dealing with an individual renowned for kindness. Colonel John Gordon of Cluny was this man. He was "the richest commoner in Scotland or perhaps England",[95] he was a very "pugnacious" gentleman[96] and he was a man with whom Duncan Shaw felt he could not "act with open=ness and candour";[97] also he was to prove a cold, calculating and dangerous proprietor to his tenantry. Interestingly, when trying to purchase the estate, Gordon of Cluny had competed with another well-known 19th century Scottish "improver":

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92. GD201/5/1220/26, 27 & 28.
93. See, for example, GD201/5/1217/77, 8 May 1839, Clanranald to James MacGregor; see also GD201/5/1223/10, 2 May 1839, and GD201/5/1228/3, 11 May 1839, Clanranald to John Chisholm.
94. GD201/5/1217/71, 5 February 1838.
95. GD201/5/1223/1, 24 May 1836. Shaw to Hunter & Campbell, W.S.
96. GD201/5/1223/26, 14 December 1842. Shaw to Hunter & Campbell, W.S.
97. GD201/5/1217/76, 27 March 1839, Shaw to Hunter & Campbell, W.S.

Patrick Sellar. The future of the poor people of South Uist and Benbecula was indeed bleak when these two vied for the right to mould their lives. Sellar was already something of a celebrity, as the fine "Highland looking Gentleman" who considered buying the estate,[98] to the trustees and to common Gaels throughout the Highlands as the Duke of Sutherland's former factor who, in 1814, "the year of the burnings", and thereafter until about 1820, had directed the Sutherland clearances.[99] John Gordon of Cluny had yet to make his name, but his victory over Sellar in 1838, when he purchased South Uist and Benbecula for £96,000[100] (& simultaneously bought the Barra estate) enabled him to make a name for himself equal to or perhaps even more notorious than that of Patrick Sellar.

In 1839, after Cluny had taken possession of the estate, Reginald George actually attempted to rent land in South Uist but Cluny was not interested in having Clanranald on his estate.[101] Here, perhaps, John Gordon of Cluny was correct. The Captain of Clan Ranald had become superfluous when the Clan Ranald itself had ceased to exist.

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98. GD201/5/1228/3, 3 November 1836, Brown to Hunter & Campbell, W.S.
99. See Alexander MacKenzie, The History of the Highland Clearances, (Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 5th ed. 1966 - 1st ed. 1883), pp.19-127.
100. GD201/5/580, 1838.
101. GD201/4/102, 4 June 1829, Cluny to Clanranald and GD201/4/102, 17 June 1839, Shaw to Clanranald.

# CONCLUSION

On 30th September 1606, the Privy Council of Scotland complained that Neill MacLeod, son of Ruairi MacLeod of Lewis, Donald MacAllan MacDonald, Captain of Clan Ranald and Ruairi MacNeill of Barra,together with some other chieftains of the Isles and adjacent Highlands who were not named, had,

> amassit togidder a force and company of the barbarious and rebellious thevis and lymmairis of the Illis

and with them entered Lewis. There this force had "assailyeit the camp of his Majesties guid subjects" and did "committ barabrous and detestable murthours and slauchtaris upon thame".[1]

In this episode the Clan Ranald and the MacNeills of Barra were not directly threatened, as was the Siol Torquil, the Clan MacLeod of Lewis. The Clan Ranald and the MacNeills were not scheduled for eventual colonisation, as were the MacDonalds of Sleat and the MacLeods of Dunvegan and they had no designs on Lewis as did Kenneth MacKenzie of Seaforth. Moreover, at this date, the Mac-Neills should be seen as acting independently of the Clan Ranald; it was not until 1613 that Donald MacAllan of Clan Ranald gained a measure of control over the MacNeills by placing his newphew, Neill MacNeill, at their helm. These two kindreds, and perhaps those of the "other chieftains" who were unnamed in the Privy Council records, did not act out of self-interest. They mobilised, travelled to Lewis, joined the other Hebridean forces and attacked the Lowland colonists to assist the Siol Torquil in its struggle against the

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1. R.P.C., op.cit., 1607-1610, Vol.VII, p.255.

outsiders, to expel the alien influence from the Isles and to foil government plans to settle large tracts of the Hebrides with Lowlanders. This collective and defensive position on the part of these kindreds is one example of a theme that echoes throughout the history of the Gael.

From the unified and relatively peaceful days of the later Lords of the Isles, through the seven major risings that attempted to restore the Lordship, through the period when an unstructured community of conservative Gaelic interest can be seen awkwardly attempting to replace a degree of the security of the old Lordship, down to the Montrose and Jacobite periods, it is possible to trace this collective and defensive Gaelic theme. External threats to aspects of the old kin-based Gaelic culture or direct attacks on members of the conservative west Highland and Island community were repeatedly met by either a united force or by a varied collection of unstructured but interested area kindreds. The united reaction to these incursions is seen in the seven attempts to restore the Lordship by the member kindreds and during the Jacobite era by the remanents of those same clans. Between these periods a number of situations developed where, again, these same kindreds pulled together to assist a neighbouring clan under assault from outside. This collective and defensive position on the part of west Highland kindreds was displayed: when the Clan Ranald fought to maintain its right to select its own chief during the Blar na Leine episode; when the MacLeods of Lewis were being dispossessed; when the Clan Iain Mor, or the MacDonalds of the South, struggled to preserve their native Islay, Colonsay and Kintyre; when the MacIains of Ardnamurchan were under assault; when the MacGregors fought for

their existence after falling from governmental favour; when the Clan Cameron lost its feudal charters and was quietly aided at court; and when a number of clans mobilised to prevent the Campbell invasion of the MacLean islands in 1673. In every one of these cases the threatened kindred was assisted by its neighbours and kinsmen. Those who came to the aid of the endangered clan did so specifically to assist that kindred and more generally to shore up their own culture by helping to defend elements of it.

This same Gaelic approach recurs throughout the Montrose and Jacobite periods. In 1644 before the west Highland force consented to take part in any fighting it demanded that Montrose make their major enemy, the Clan Campbell, the royal army's next target; only then were the hard bargaining west Highlanders prepared to serve the royal Stewarts. At various points throughout this campaign, such as the invasion of Argyllshire, the west Highland contingent operated distinctly from other sections of the royal army and under one of its own leaders, John Moydartach of Clan Ranald. These same kindreds made up the bulk of Dundee's force in 1688-89. After Dundee was killed at Killiecrankie in 1689 and after the defeat at Dunkeld all these same west Highland chiefs joined with a few others to sign the Bond of Association in which they pledged to assist one another in the event of outside attack. Before the Rising of 1715 Allan MacDonald of Clan Ranald was active among those kindreds involved in a variety of Jacobite plots, and on the eve of that rebellion the west Highland kindreds consulted together separate from the larger Jacobite meeting at Braemar. During that 1715 campaign again these kindreds made up the force that was selected to invade Argyllshire and one of their own leaders, Allan of Clan Ranald, was

the co-commander. On several other occasions during this Rising these west Highland kindreds operated together as a distinct unit. In 1745-46 these clans made up the first and most significant of Prince Charles' adherents and when the Prince dismissed Lord George Murray the chiefs of these kindreds forced him to rescind that order. Indeed, in a great number of instances the west Highland kindreds can be seen acting together in pursuit of politically conservative goals that had culturally defensive origins. Moreover, these kindreds never lost sight of their own special Gaelic needs and point of view; they served the conservative House of Stewart loyally, but only when its goals and their goals were the same.

The government also saw this west Highland geographical area and its people as distinctive and troublesome; it moved to quell the region in a variety of ways. The Lordship itself had been declared forfeit. In the following years a number of its member kindred had been destroyed one by one and the others only survived because Edinburgh was too weak to deal with them. The Statutes of Iona specifically focussed on the island clans of this group. Throughout his service in Scotland General Monck felt that Inverlochy was his most important fortress, due to its position among the western clans. In 1692, before the "Massacre of Glencoe", the MacDonalds of Glencoe, Keppoch, Glengarry, the Clan Cameron and the Stewarts of Appin were on the government's original list of targets; the Clan Ranald and the MacDonalds of Sleat were only excluded because they were less accessible. These kindreds were the major survivors from the conservative west Highlands and they remained conservative. This geographically distinctive and politically conservative west Highland area maintained its fighting capabilities and martial spirit long

after 1746 and long after the Jacobite movement had collapsed. This was because the Gaelic culture had not been destroyed at Culloden; the west Highland clans retained their culturally defensive goals despite the loss of the Jacobite movement around which these separate Gaelic goals had become entwined and without which they would never be attained.

Religious developments in this area lead to the same conclusion. The isolated and conservatively inclined west Highland and Island region, particularly the lands of the Clan Ranald and the MacNeills of Barra, were fertile grounds for the Irish catholic missionaries in the early 17th century. In 1626 John Moydartach, Captain of Clan Ranald, wrote to the Pope offering to lead a catholic crusade. While this never occurred, John was a major leader of the west Highland clans during the Montrose campaign, and this campaign shared many tactical objectives with the catholics. Throughout the 17th century the Clan Ranald sheltered priests and catholic teachers; by the 18th century the Clan Ranald territories had become notorious among presbyterians as the "Popish Bounds". From this remote safe base catholic missionaries journeyed out to spread their faith. One of the central elements in this catholic campaign was the conspicuous use of kin-based methods calculated to appeal to the folk of that traditional area. The catholic missionaries achieved notable success.

This catholic progress must, however, be set against the backdrop of an overall weakness and decline among Scottish catholics and against the backdrop of the Church of Scotland's refusal to adopt similar kin-based counter-measures. Only in the culturally conservative west Highlands and Islands did the catholics truly

prosper. Notably, in this same area, the episcopalians, Scotland's other conservative religious sect, also flourished.

A major theme of this study is the centuries-long struggle of conservative west Highlanders to preserve elements of their old culture. From the Lordship, through Blar na Leine, through Montrose's campaign, to Culloden, the same area and the same basic core of kindreds was centrally involved. It is not surprising that Scotland's two conservative religious factions were strong in this area, especially when these sects welcomed and employed aspects of the kin-based Gaelic culture against the Scottish Kirk, which was unsympathetic to it, and which, indeed, saw Gaeldom as its enemy, acting against its language and culture whenever possible.

Consciously or subconsciously, the Gaels were always inclined towards religious and political groups that were conservative and thus offered hope of protecting their old culture and language. Religious conservatism existed and political conservatism existed but one did not grow from the other. The pages of this study show that, to a significant extent, they both grew naturally from the tradition-bound and culturally conservative west Highland people attempting to defend and strengthen their old way of life and ancient tongue. And they grew in a common-sense fashion as a reaction to religious and political foes who stood for change and saw Gaeldom as a barrier against it.

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The Clan Ranald was a central, if not leading, component in every one of the above mentioned episodes and, despite many momentary triumphs, it was to be dismembered by the forces for change that were

slowly but relentlessly encroaching on the Gaelic west. The first institutional position inside the Clan Ranald to feel this external force for change was the ceann cinnidh, the head of the kindred.

Despite early successes in maintaining the kindred's right to depose an unsatisfactory leader and select another in his stead and despite the success of early Captains of Clan Ranald in holding their kindred's lands by force without feudal charters, this situation would not last. The tactical situation slowly shifted to favour Lowland government and, increasinly, chiefs of Clan Ranald had to heed the directives from Edinburgh. Moreover, these 17th century chiefs were quite unsuccessful when dealing with the related issues of the kindred's growing debts and the superiorities. These debts forced several chiefs to deal out the important superiorities as collateral for loans. The poor handling of these issues was the greatest weakness of the various 17th and 18th century Captains of Clan Ranald. In this manner a considerable degree of the kindred's independence and security was undermined.

At the same time the kindred enjoyed a number of chiefs who were outstanding in other more traditional ways. Four of these Captains of Clan Ranald, John Moydartach of the Blar na Leine episode, John Moydartach of the Montrose period, Allan of the 1715 and his brother Ranald, actually led large forces of west Highlanders that were comprised of the warriors from a number of area clans. Allan of Clan Ranald was the prime Jacobite agent before the Rising of 1715. Ranald's early adherence to Prince Charles in 1745 was highly significant. These chiefs displayed the personal courage that was so important as an example to their followers, such as when Ranald stood in front of his kindred at the Battle of Falkirk in 1746 and

helped to repulse the charge of the English cavalry by dropping under the onrushing horses and cutting their bellies open with his dirk.

These traditional Captains of Clan Ranald were sympathetic overseers of internal clan affairs. The few surviving baron bailie records exhibit much evidence of a gentle and compassionate justice. These chiefs provided patronage for Gaeldom's most impressive bardic family: the MacMhuirichs. Before 1715, Allan's Gaelic court at Ormiclate Castle was famous throughout Scotland for its hospitality and its traditional Gaelic art and music. Moreover, these chiefs maintained close ties with all levels of the kindred.

The Captains of Clan Ranald not only led one of the largest and most significant west Highland kindreds; often they were also influential area leaders. But times were changing and despite their luck in not being forfeited after 1746 both the old chief, Ranald elder, and the acting chief, his son Ranald younger, tried to escape the confusing burden of being a traditional Highland chief and of being a proprietor of a modern profitable Highland estate. Notably, both men were successful in the Highland chief role, but failures in the modern role. Indeed, it is important to note that some of the earlier Captains of Clan Ranald who were so unsuccessful when dealing with debts and superiorities were the same individuals who were remarkably successful in traditional ways.

Their traditional training had prepared them to be war-leaders, warriors and sympathetic administrators of internal clan affairs; however, it had not prepared them to cope with new forces. They were unable to cope with the complicated and entangling debts that were something of a new feature in the 17th century. (These new

debts occurred partly because the government had introduced the practice of forcing chiefs to find caution money, or security, for their clan's good behaviour.) The Clan Ranald chiefs appear to have failed to grasp the importance of superiorities until it was too late. And, on an even more basic level, the Captains of Clan Ranald, along with all the other traditional west Highland leadership, were simply not powerful enough to alter the course of Great Britain alone; the other Jacobites, with less at stake, proved to be weak and ineffectual allies.

After the last Jacobite rebellion, pressures quickly mounted. The frustrating conflict that arose from keeping a number of pensioners and maintaining the daoin-uaisle, valued kindsmen and loyal comrades-in-arms, at their old standard of living and yet making the estate pay, was too much for both Ranald elder and Ranald younger. Many Clan Ranald chiefs were renowned as examples of ideal Highland chiefs, none was successful in the modern role as profitable estate manager and certainly none ever approached success at carrying out both conflicting roles. Finally, (against his early wishes) it fell to Reginald George's lot to be completely separated from the Gaelic culture and the people on his estate, to be raised and educated among Lowlanders and English who held quite different social values, and to fail as a modern estate owner. In this manner he lost the regard of the people on the old clan lands and then he lost the lands theselves; the Captains of Clan Ranald, Reginald George's ancestors, had long struggled to defend both the people and their land.

In this effort the chiefs of Clan Ranald had enjoyed the support of the kindred's daoin-uaisle, the nobles of the clan. It was through this warrior aristocracy that the kindred was directed

in peace and war. Before 1746, when British jurisdiction entered the Highlands, the military prowess of the daoin-uaisle was paramount. At their corresponding levels these men served as the military cadre; the more substantial Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle, who often received wadsets and were always MacDonald kin of recent chiefs, seem to have been responsible for overseeing their own area's lower level daoin-uaisle and the commoners in war and localised tactical defence. Some of the most powerful Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle, such as Benbecula, Kinlochmoidart, Morar and Glenalladale, were highly regarded and influential west Highland leaders in their own right. In times of peace the daoin-uaisle directed local agriculture, collected rents, settled disputes and administered justice, often through the baron bailie court. A great deal of evidence exists to show that the Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle shared close ties both with the chief and the commoners.

In the late 18th century the pressures for change grew. The chiefs and later the trustees increased rents. The family of Clanranald became protestant and more significantly the estate came under the control of the trust that was entirely comprised of protestants. Moreover, the chief's family moved off the land and lost the language of the people and factors began to appear who were ignorant of Gaelic. In this situation the daoin-uaisle remained on the land in close contact with, and tied to, the commoners through a shared culture. In addition to retaining the Gaelic language, the Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle remained almost totally catholic; and, as they still occupied the same institutional position that their ancestors had occupied, they continued to be inclined towards the historical inter-class ties and responsibility to the small tenants

that had been such a distinctive feature of the old kin-based system. For all these reasons and simply because they (unlike the chief's family and the trustees) still lived on the land with the people and thus experienced and understood the effects of west Highland problems like winter gales, poor cattle prices and crop failure, the Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle, down to the 19th century John MacDonald of Borrodale, did retain close ties with the commoners and often shielded them from the excesses and cold business logic of those managing the estate from Edinburgh. Indeed, excluding the Boisdale family that turned protestant in the first half of the 18th century, no example of a Clan Ranald duin-uasal mistreating a small tenant has been uncovered; and even when Colin MacDonald of Boisdale tried to force his tenants to become protestants, John MacDonald of Glenalladale was there to protect them. Glenalladale expressed his disgust at the changes occurring on the estate and in the Highlands in general and at great personal expense he helped the threatened small tenants of South Uist and many others to emigrate to Canada. And he went with them.

In the last half of the 18th century the Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle had a great deal more to worry about than the small tenants. Indeed, another reason these gentlemen of the kindred felt sympathy for the pressured poor folk is that the daoin-uaisle themselves were under similar pressure; in fact, the difficulties that stemmed from modernising influences tended to fall on them first. Historically, the daoin-uaisle had collected about one-third more rent than they paid. This intentional margin gave them a comfortable standard of living, it freed them to practise their martial skills (their primary function) and it provided the stability that cushioned the rest of the

kindred. The chief was able to draw loans from the daoin-uaisle to deal with his growing debts and the commoners received seed and even food in bad years from them. A numerous and effective body of daoin-uaisle was the kindred's and its chief's most important asset when the lands needed to be defended but once their military capabilities became unnecessary, then the daoin-uaisle quickly began to feel the force of change.

Under the great pressure for money the traditional rent margin of the Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle fell. The members of this warrior aristocracy, trained to be soldiers not profitable farmers, were suddenly forced to pay for their position rather than fight for it. Their traditional training had not provided them with the proper skills or the inclination to become improving farmers. They generally failed. A few old-style daoin-uaisle such as John MacDonald of Borrodale, were somewhat successful in both roles but it was an increasingly difficult struggle to maintain the old attitudes towards the tenants and to maintain profit levels. Eventually, the trust moved to rid itself of all the old-style daoin-uaisle, its factor, Duncan Shaw, asking, why the estate should not have all the profit that might go to a duin-uasal.

Another section of the old Clan Ranald that experienced the same negative influences due to modernising pressures, especially the increasing financial burdens and the chief's growing separation from traditional ways, was the kindred's aes dana, the folk of gifts. In the 17th century these Clan Ranald bards, historians, physicians and musicians ranked among Gaeldom's most respected professionals and were full members of the clan's duin-uasal class, but by virtue of their special functions and not simply their high birth as was

the case with the kindred's MacDonald aristocracy. As the Clan Ranald entered the 18th century, it enjoyed the services of the MacMhuirich bardic family, a branch of the Beaton medical family, a branch of the MacIntyre piping family and harpists who remain nameless but, as was the case with other daoin-uaisle, the clan professionals suffered from new pressures. Only in the old society, that Allan of Clan Ranald tried to revive in his Ormiclate Castle before 1715, did these men find their reason for existence; as the pressures for change increased, their positions rapidly fell and as patronage declined artistic standards fell.

At the beginning of the 18th century Niall MacMhuirich continued to compose bardic verse in South Uist and in this island his family still held Drimsdale and Stilligary, but by the beginning of the 19th century Lauchlan MacMhuirich, the 18th in line of descent from Muireadhach Albanach, the progenitor of the Scottish MacMhuirichs, confessed he was illiterate and had received no bardic training; he further admitted that since his family had lost their patrimony they had lost all "zeal" for the old bardic ways. The medical Beatons whose period in Clan Ranald service was shorter than that of the MacMhuirichs, had a strong presence in the kindred at 1700 but in just fifty years all professional, all substantial land-holding and probably all literate Beatons had vanished from the clan's territories. Only the MacIntyre pipers were able to survive into this time of change but by 1810 they, too, had departed; they seem to have emigrated to North America. Like all other members of the traditional kindred, the professionals were valued only as long as their historical function was needed and appreciated. The 18th century saw the Clan Ranald's once impressive entourage of aes dana fall under the forces

of change into the ranks of the other small tenants.

Finally, the common Gaels themselves, the peoples of Clan Ranald, also suffered as their basic historical function was altered. In the period when the kin-based society functioned properly, the commoners of the kindred were valued as kinsmen and needed as warriors. Until 1746 the Clan Ranald's "rough bounds" lay in the centre of an area and society where stability, legal matters and often the kindred's very existence depended on a combination of alliance and brute power. In this world the chief needed his martial daoin-uaisle with their large number of loyal followers, and they, in turn, needed a capable chief. All three of these basic interlocked institutional positions, chief, duin-uasal and commoner, were necessary for the survival of the institution that was the Clan Ranald. Ties of kinship, real and imagined, and ties of mutual need - certainly real - bound the society together. This situation was the result of centuries of evolution in a hostile environment. But in the late 18th century it all started to come apart and Angus MacMhuirich foretold the future with alarming clarity:

> The jaws of sheep have made the land rich,
> but we were told by the prophecy
> that sheep would scatter the warriors
> and turn their homes into a wilderness.
> The land of our love lies under bracken and
> heather, every plain and every field is
> untilled, and soon there will be none in the
> Mull of the Trees but Lowlanders and their
> white sheep. 2.

Changes were indeed to "scatter the warriors"; the lucrative kelp had enabled the commoners to survive, at a diminished level,

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2. Samuel (Sorley) MacLean, "The Poetry of the Clearances", Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, (Vol. 38, 1937-41), pp.311-12.

longer than the daoin-uaisle, but kelp proved a less satisfactory and less stable foundation than the old culture. Kelp prices fell and the sheep came. When changes did come, the commoners who had survived longer than all the other components of the old clan, felt the worst excesses of the kin-based culture's failure.

Under Colonel John Gordon of Cluny's regime the lot of the commoners on his islands of Benbecula, South Uist and Barra deteriorated. In 1847 the Reverend Norman MacLeod observed:

> The scene of wretchedness which we witnessed as we entered on the estate of Col. Gordon was deplorable, nay heart-rending. On the beach the whole population of the country seemed to be met, gathering the precious cockles ... I never witnessed such countenances - starvation on many faces - the children with their melancholy looks, big looking knees, shrivelled legs, hollow eyes, swollen like bellies - God help them, I never did witness such wretchedness! [3]

In 1851 Gordon of Cluny, a man who had once commented, "The Uist people are all born gentlemen - every man of them",[4] completed the cycle;apparently "gentlemen" had become redundant in Uist. Cluny began a large-scaled series of forced evictions on all the islands of his estate because the people's land was needed for the vast sheep-walks he contemplated. In South Uist at a compulsory meeting at Loch Boisdale, people were forced on board the emigration vessels by Cluny's factors, estate agents and policemen. At this meeting

> some of the natives were seized and in spite of their entreaties were sent on bqard the transports. One stout Highlander, named Angus Johnstone, resisted with such pith that they had to hand-cuff him before he could be

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2. John N. MacLeod, Memorials of the Rev. Norman MacLeod, (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1898), pp.231-32.
3. Parliamentary Papers, Reports Commissioners, (16), Highland Crofters, XXXII, 1884, p.482.

> mastered; but in consequence of the priests' interference his manacles were taken off and [he was] marched between four officers on board the emigrant vessel. 4

On Barra, as people were herded on board the ships, an attempt was made to hand-cuff them. At this point many broke and ran off. One "poor man" hid on board an Arran boat that happened to be in the harbour. This ship's master, John Crawford, defended the fugitive. Crawford faced the pursuing estate officers and

> lifted a hand-spike and threatened to split the skull of the first man who would attempt to board his boat, and thus the poor Barra man escaped their clutches. 5

Most of those who ran away from the ships fled into the hills where some, but not all, were recaptured with the aid of dogs. These captives were then bound and thrown on the ships. Others remained hidden in the hills. In this way the 12 and 14 year old daughters of John MacDugall were left alone on Barra when the rest of this family had been captured and sent off to Canada. A number of other families were thus separated as a consequence of the actions of the estate officers that day.[6]

Of these same clearances Catherine MacPhee of Iochdar, South Uist, has left a moving eye-witness account.

> Many a thing have I seen in my own day and generation. Many a thing, O Mary Mother of the black sorrow! I have seen the townships swept, and the big [sheep] holdings being made of them, the people being driven out of the countryside to the streets of Glasgow and to the wilds of Canada, such of them as did not die of hunger and plague and smallpox while going across

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4. Donald MacLeod, Gloomy Memories, (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1892), p.138.
5. Ibid., p.139.
6. Ibid., pp.139-40.

> the ocean. I have seen the women putting the children in the carts which were being sent from Benbecula and the Iochdar to Loch Boisdale, while their husbands lay bound in the pen and were weeping beside them, without power to give them a helping hand, though the women themselves were crying aloud and their little children wailing like to break their hearts. I have seen the big strong men, the champions of the countryside, the stalwarts of the world, being bound on Loch Boisdale quay and cast into the ship as would be done to a batch of horses or cattle in the boat, the bailiffs and the ground-officers and the constables and the policemen gathered behind them in pursuit of them. The God of life and He only knows all the loathsome work of men on that day. 7

With the clearances of Gordon of Cluny,[8] the job of dismembering the Clan Ranald was certainly at an end. For the 1500 who were forced off to Canada and for the Gaels who remained in the Hebrides, these forced evictions meant the certain destruction of any lingering sentimental ties between landowner and commoners.

There remains, however, one essential aspect to this study of change. The kin-based culture of the Gael and the inter-class ties were gone, but the Gaels and their culture were not, and it is instructive to note how these remaining Highlanders saw their own heritage. The above poetry of the clearances displays their intense feelings about that aspect of their past but these same Gaelic people expressed quite different sentiments about earlier times. In Moidart, as has been seen, the old Gaelic saying long survived,

> To whom can I go with my complaint
> when there is no Clanranald in Moidart? 9

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7. Alexander Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, Vol.3, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940), p.351.
8. However, Gordon's daughter, Lady Emily Gordon Caskart, is remembered in Benbecula for her kindness to the people. Mrs. Catherine MacPhee, Nunton House, Benbecula, personal interview, 6th July 1977.
9. See above, p.233.

In the 1880's in South Uist a simple song, Taladh na Banachaig, or "The Milkmaid's Lullaby", was used to quiet the animals while being milked.

> Give thy milk brown cow,
> And that there is nothing for them but bread.
> Give thy milk brown cow,
> Macneill! Macleod! Clanranald!
> [Macneill! Macleoid! MacAilean!]

The modest nature of this verse is significant. That the chief of Clan Ranald's patronymic was evoked in this humble task in such an unaffected way, not as a bogey to frighten but in a lullaby to soothe, indicates that the people had retained a positive feeling for what had been despite the disturbing changes that had come. And the same impression is given in a waulking song recorded in the late 19th century on Eriskay.

> There is many a gay warrior of a Gael
> who would not shun taking sides with Charles;
> Who would go with sword and shield
> Boldly into the cannon's mouth
>
> There is who would rise with thee
> Thy own Captain Mac ic Ailein!
>
> He drew near thee ere now before all the rest,
> and again would he do it didst thou return.
>
> Every man that is in Moidart and Uist,
> and in dark blue Arisaig of the birches;
>
> In Canna and Eigg and Moror
> Foremost were ever the men of Ailein's race,
>
> Bogies of terror to the Southrons
> In the days of Montrose and Alasdair. ...
>
> In the day of Inverlochy was it felt
> Who they were that were sweeping with the blades.
>
> In Perth and Kilsyth and Aldearn
> Dead and soulless lay the rebels.
>
> Big Alasdair of Glencoe
> and the fierce battle of Glengarry
>
> As also the chief of Sleat

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10. Parliamentary Papers, Reports Commissioners, (16), Highland Crofters, XXXII, 1884, p.481.

Though he himself were but a child

Ten thousand of them set at the fulling-table
In the wars of King Charles who lives not.

O King, good too was their handiwork,
When they came to the drawing of the blades. 11

Indeed, the Gaels have spoken for themselves. Less than a generation after Gordon of Cluny's clearances, the people on the historical Clan Ranald territories knew the difference between the old kindred of 1715 and the estate of the mid 19th century. These 19th century Gaels who had suffered from forced evictions and seen their friends and kinsmen cleared off to Canada detested the clearances, as their poetry shows, but equally they could and did differentiate between the cultural crisis of the clearances and the historical kin-based Gaelic culture that had been so well depicted by the Clan Ranald. Even after the trauma of the clearances these Gaels looked back to their past, its kin-based culture, its comforts, its glories and its appealing inter-class bonds, with fondness and nostalgia.

These Gaelic folk clearly sensed a contradiction between what had been and what had evolved. This contrast is superbly illustrated when the 1715 Captain of Clan Ranald, Allan MacDonald, is compared with Reginal George MacDonald of Clan Ranald in 1815. Allan was something of an ideal Highland chief. He was a noted warrior and leader. Allan had conventional military experience in the French army and was the leading Jacobite agent in the west Highlands. He was chief of one of the most powerful kindreds and he led a west

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11. A. Goodrich-Freer, Outer Isles, (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1902), p.259. This appears to be a shortened version of Alexander MacDonald's poem "Morag" to Prince Charles, see MacDonalds, ed., Poems of Alexander MacDonald, op.cit., pp.148-53.

Highland force that was comprised of most of the major area kindreds. With his wife, Penelope, he resided at the remote Ormiclate Castle in South Uist, where all that was valued of the old Gaelic culture was preserved. Allan was the darling of the bards, for whom he provided liberal patronage, and he died a martyr's death leading his clan in battle. Reginald George, on the other hand, was an Eton and Oxford educated spendthrift, ignorant of the Gaelic language and culture. He was described by a contemporary as being a "very handsome" man, who

> lived much in London, and is said to have been one of the associates of George the Fourth when Prince of Wales, and of course was dragged into all extravagances of that dissipated coterie. 12

Even Reginald George's vast estate and numerous kelpers could not support these "extravagances" such as: his London and Edinburgh residences; his Highland mansion; his many servants; his numerous European Grand Tours and his colourful and expensive Victorian Highland dress. While the factor on his estate reported that the people were "literally starving", Reginald George kept seven servants and demanded both brown and white bread on his table. And despite all this, even Reginald George, with a late-found and patronising romantic attachment to his "clansmen", was a far more sympathetic proprietor to the poor people on the estate than Colonel John Gordon of Cluny was to be.

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The stresses and emotions created by the breakdown of the old kin-based Highland society, and more especially the negative passions

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12. Mitchell, op.cit., pp.204-05.

fostered by the clearances, are all important elements of the historical legacy alive in today's Highlands. These painful and occasionally brutal developments must be understood, but they must be seen in the context of the total Highland past. The unhappy hundred year period, from 1746 to 1851, of accelerating social crisis, should not be allowed to rob people of Highland descent of their culture's full 1500 year old heritage. In the long traditional period Gaelic society was far from idyllic but it had many fascinating and worthwhile aspects; in a sense, the bonds that once existed between Highland classes have served to make the kin-based culture's final breakdown and the importation of conventional British class attitudes all the more distressing.

The people of South Uist and Benbecula will never forget Reginald George for his many shortcomings or John Gordon for his cruelties; but, on a deeper cultural level, they can never forget Allan of the 1715 for the honest regard that was mutually shared between him and the other important members of the Clan Ranald, their ancestors. All are significant aspects of the continuing Gaelic heritage.

# APPENDIX I

The central source for this study is the "Clanranald Papers". This collection of family and estate papers offers a mass of research material; from early 16th and 17th century deeds and charters to later 19th century correspondence bearing the postmarks of distant corners of the British Empire; from legal declarations made by senior representatives of the MacMhuirichs, Europe's longest surviving literary family, masters of traditional bardic poetry, ancient Irish lore and classical Gaelic script, describing their position as poets, historians and genealogists to the chiefs of Clan Ranald, to the remedial Gaelic practice vocabularies of a Victorian Clan Ranald "chief" making a belated attempt to learn the language of his forebears and his "clansmen". A detailed history of this manuscript collection itself would be fascinating. While a full undertaking of that sort is not feasible at this point, it is possible to deal with certain significant aspects of its evolution, its current conditions, its strengths and its weaknesses.

The origins of the Clan Ranald Papers are obscure but the MacDonald and MacRuairi progenitors of the kindred's main line surely possessed various charters and this collection would have naturally grown as the Clan Ranald itself matured and developed. At this point the oldest document in the collection is a charter from James V to "John Makalestar of Casteltirrim" dated 11th February 1521,[1] but clearly in early periods older material would have been included. The fate of much of this early documentation is uncertain but it is known that the family archives have suffered severe losses at several periods.

In 1715, on the eve of the Battle of Sheriffmuir, the Clan Ranald stronghold on South Uist, Ormiclate Castle, was destroyed by fire and it is likely that some family papers perished in this blaze. This assumption is not merely based on the habitual practice of the period's Highland gentry, but is also supported by later evidence that indicates old papers were kept in the chief's residence. In

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1. GD201/1/1.

1758 Ranald MacDonald, 18th Chief of the Clan Ranald "by accident hitt on and just saved from perdition ... half a House load of charters and old papers". The condition and age of these papers were suggested when Ranald informed his lawyer that one document "is in such a miserable tartared condition" that he dare not send it to Edinburgh and that although it had been registered he could not read the date. He went on to say

> I would need an antiquary to know these contents so [I] must suspend my curiosity till I am rich enough to see the capital once more. 2

In most cases it would hardly be remarkable to demonstrate that a Highland chief kept his own papers in his own residence, but this point is of some importance when dealing with the Clan Ranald because its chiefs were not the only guardians of the kindred's manuscripts. The Clan's MacMhuirich bards also seem to have been responsible for preserving a large amount of material. Moreover, the clan's major daoin-uaisle, the powerful wadsetters in Benbecula, Morar, Kinlochmoidart, Glenalladale and, later, Boisdale, would also have held important papers. It should also be pointed out that before the Cromwellian era and, in certain later periods, the Captain of the Clan Ranald maintained residenceson both the mainland, usually at Castle Tioram in Moidart and in the Outer Hebrides, first at Howmore in South Uist, later, after 1701, at Ormiclate Castle and after its destruction in 1715 at Nunton House in Benbecula. When in use all of these residences would probably have held papers and, as in the case of Ormiclate Castle in 1715, disruption could have damaged the documents. The Moidart fortress, Castle Tioram, was occupied by enemy troops for long periods during the Cromwellian era and again after the 1689 Battle of Killiekrankie. The effects of these military incursions on the Clan Ranald Papers is uncertain but it is likely that they suffered. This speculation is strengthened by the knowledge that enemy action in these same periods caused serious damage to the charter chest of the neighbouring clan, the Camerons of Locheil. On 9th June 1760 Locheil's lawyer, John Drummond, wrote

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2. GD201/4/85.

on the final page of his Inventory of the Locheil Charter Chest:

> Many of the antient charters and other Records of the family of Cameron had been formerly lost dureing the Civil Wars, in the late Sir Ewan Camerons minority, and other clamitous times preceding. 3

These same disruptions may well have harmed the equally vulnerable collections of the mainland Clan Ranald wadsetters, Morar, Kinlochmoidart and Glenalladale. The status of the kindred's papers was clearly complicated. This piecemeal and somewhat confused situation is central to the comprehension of how significant sections of the clan's papers could suffer serious losses and yet, despite these losses, the overall collection could remain so considerable and valuable.

The above background is also useful when dealing with the effects of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46 on the Clan Ranald Papers. Recently, historians have rightly attempted to reduce the previous stress placed on this single event as it relates to the long and complicated deterioration of kin-based Gaelic society, but in one central respect "the 45" must stand as a tragedy of the first magnitude. If it did not single-handedly devastate the traditional Gaelic world, it did ravage its documentation.

Certain Jacobite papers have survived such as the Clan Ranald and the MacLean of Lochbuie collections but after that last rising little or nothing is heard about the charter chests of a disturbing number of Jacobite clans, such as the MacDonnells of Keppoch, the Grants of Glenmoriston, the Chisholms of Strathglass, the MacKinnons of Strathairdale, the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, the Stewarts of Appin and the Robertsons of Struan; and it should be added, all these kindreds and areas suffered heavily from the excesses of Hanoverian troops. Specific and negative information is available relating to the papers of the MacDonnells of Glengarry, Camerons of Locheil, Stewarts of Ardsheal and several sections of the Clan Ranald. As will be demonstrated, these four clans either lost some or all of their papers as a direct or indirect result of enemy action and this documented loss gives a certain insight into the unexplained disappear-

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3. GD1/658/1/p.187.

ance of the charter chests of the first set of clans. The MacLean of Duart and MacGregor papers have also been scattered and largely lost but it is certain that the majority of the manuscripts of these two kindreds were in considerable disarray well before 1745.

When discussing missing papers and particularly those lost by Jacobite clans[4] in the 1745-46 period, it is instructive to note that the documents of Highland kindreds or families who remained non-involved or who were actively anti-Jacobite during that last Highland rising have generally survived. These papers include those of the following clans and families: the MacLeods of Dunvegan,[5] the MacDonalds of Sleat,[6] the Grants of Grant,[7] the Dukes of Atholl,[8] the Munros of Foulis and Allan,[9] the MacKays of Strathnaver and Bighouse,[10] the Forbes of Culloden,[11] the MacKenzies of Seaforth,[12] the Roses of Kilnavock,[13] and, of course, various sections of the Clan Campbell such as Campbell of Mamore,[14] Campbell of Breadalbane,[15] Campbell of Stonefield,[16] Campbell of Barcaldine,[17] Campbell of Loudon,[18] Campbell of Jura,[19] Campbell of Craignish,[20] Campbell of Duntroon,[21] Campbell of Balliveolan,[22] and Campbell of Dunstaffnage.[23]

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4. Certain sections of the Fraser (GD86) and MacPhersons of Cluny (GD80) papers have survived.
5. These papers were consulted while being indexed at General Register House thanks to the kind permission of Mrs. Joan Wolrige Gordon and Mr. John MacLeod of MacLeod. They are now back in Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye.
6. GD221 and MS 1307-1310.
7. The Seafield papers GD248.
8. The non-Jacobite members of this family reclaimed their lands and papers despite the pro-Stewart action of the majority of their kinsmen and tenants. MS 5077-5138.
9. Foulis MS 2974 and Allan GD71.
10. Lord Reay GD84 and Bighouse GD87.
11. GD52.
12. Despite their Jacobite past the MacKenzies were largely inactive during the rebellion of 1745-46 and so retained their lands and many papers. GD46 and MS 1357-60.
13. GD125.
14. Papers of Major General John Campbell of Mamore, afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll. GD1/53/77/V and MS 3733-36.
15. GD112.
16. GD14.
17. GD170 and GD87.
18. Journal of 1745-46. GD1/400/4 and GD14.
19. GD64.
20. MS 6223.
21. GD116.
22. GD13.
23. NRA/0213. Only the NRA index has been seen in this case.

Moreover, the papers of the Hanoverian Sutherlands and Campbells of Argyll are also known to have survived in extensive proportions but are currently unavailable for research; with the exceptions of the closed Sutherland and Argyll collections, all of the above papers have been consulted in this study. It is not simply a coincidence that so many Jacobite papers were lost while so many of the documents of their enemies survived. The cause of this serious loss will be discussed. One other point should be made here: the one-sided nature of the surviving documentation, caused by the vast extent of papers lost by the clans of the conservative west Highlands compared to the equally vast amount of material that has survived from the opposite side, will doubtless have biased the entire historiography of the Highlands and harmed the perspective towards those conservative clans. By any standards, the implications behind this previously overlooked situation are far-reaching.

The papers of the Camerons of Locheil offer a well-documented example of the fate of a Jacobite west Highland charter chest and document collection. In several ways the contents and fate of this collection have a direct bearing on this inquiry into the Clan Ranald Papers. In September and October of 1727 John Drummond, an Edinburgh lawyer, took an extensive inventory of the Locheil charter chest at the request of Donald Cameron of Locheil, Chief of the Clan Cameron. The contents ranged from a 1472 charter from Celestine of the Isles to Allan MacDonald Duff, Captain of the Clan Cameron, to 1727 tacks and correspondence. Letters from various Scottish kings, General George Monck, the Duke of Argyll and several captains of the Clan Ranald were included, as well as some fascinating material describing arrangements between the chiefs of Clan Cameron and several of its branches, such as the MacLauchlans, MacBeans, MacPhees and various elements of "the tribe called Sligh Euan Viconachy", or the Camerons, alias MacMartins or sometimes even known as the MacSorlies of Letterfinlay.[24] Drummond updated the inventory in 1744 but in 1760 he was forced to make a sad statement on the inventory's last page. He described his previous labour in the inventory at the request of Locheil; he stated that he had "faithfully inventory'd" the collec-

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24. GD1/658/1.

tion but

> as many of the antient charters and other Records of the Family of Cameron had been formerly lost during the Civil Wars, ... so all these contained in this Inventory met with the same fate haveing been discovered and totally destroyed by partys of Soulders detached, in order to desolate the country and destroy the Inhabitants, whereby the said Inventory being now the onely Document that Remains in the Family; to render it the more Authentick I have subscribed every page of it. 25

Unhappily, Drummond was right when he stated that the inventory was the only pre-1746 document remaining in the Locheil family, but he appears to have been slightly in error when describing destruction of the collection, and certainly he was in error when he gave the impression that the government troops had intended to destroy the documents. As will be seen below, their specific instructions were to capture all possible papers and while the troops failed here, they certainly succeeded in capturing many other collections. In fact, the high regard of the Camerons for these family papers displayed in the very decision to keep an up-to-date inventory was still in evidence during that last Jacobite Rebellion. While the papers were eventually spoiled, the Camerons almost succeeded in their struggle to save the collection and before the final ruin had actually succeeded in protecting it from the enemy. A letter from Lady Locheil, Ann Cameron, to theBarons of Exchequer in Scotland, dated 8th October 1754, St. Germain-en-Laye, gives what is probably the best explanation of the fate of the Locheil papers.

> As for Locheil's papers, I never brought them out of Lochaber, but before I left in 1745, sent them up Locharcaik [Loch Arkaig] to one Donald Cameron of Glenspean to take care of them, who, when the houses were burnt in that country, took and hid them on the top of a hill where, unluckily, some herds found them and broke open the boxes they were in, and when they saw nothing but papers left them open so that the most of them were either lost or spoilt by the rain. This is what Glenpean told me, and is all I know about them. 26

It is also worth noting here that the Barons of Exchequer were

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25. GD1/658/1/p.187.
26. GD50/224/29.

clearly enquiring as to the fate of the Locheil Papers.

The inventory, the single remaining pre-1745 Locheil document, is of obvious value to Camerons and family of Locheil, but it is also a valuable indicator concerning the contents and scope of a pre-1745 Highland manuscript collection. This seldom mentioned document is of worth because it offers a specific description of the contents of an intact Highland charter chest before the ravages of the 1745-46 period (and, for that matter, before the ravages of 19th and 20th century antiquaries and lawyers). A look through this fascinating document gives an indication of the conservative make-up and inter-structure of this west Highland clan, its relations with its Gaelic neighbours and with central authority. More specifically, it is of direct importance to this study of the Clan Ranald. It contains a variety of information dealing specifically with the Clan Ranald and it illustrates what a reasonably intact Highland charter chest should include. Insights, for instance, can be gleaned from the several inventoried letters from General Monck that help to illuminate his Highland policy. It is difficult to understand why his policy towards the Camerons should differ greatly from his policy towards their neighbours and allies in the Clan Ranald and of course his successful policy was of considerable importance to all of the conservation of west Highland kindreds, the Clan Ranald and Clan Cameron included.

There is both direct and indirect evidence that several sections of the Clan Ranald Papers were seriously damaged or lost during that last Highland rising. In September of 1748 a Judical Rental was taken on the Kinlochmoidart Estate and Doctor John MacDonald, the brother of the executed Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, testified that "the principal papers were lost or destroyed when the houses of Clanranald and Kinlochmoydart were burnt in suppressing the late Rebellion".[27] More specific information is available concerning the burnings in Kinlochmoidart in other sources. On 31st May 1746 John Campbell of the Argyllshire Militia included the following in his report to Major-General John Campbell of Mamore, later the 4th Duke of Argyll.

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27. E 764/14/4(1).

> On the 29th Inst: after it was dark I sent a Detachment of 150 men to Moydart with orders to drive all the cattle they could meet with, to search the Houses for Arms &c: but not to burn them as I intended to go thither myself. The Party arrived by break of day but Capt. [John] Ferguson of the [H.M.S.] Furnace having the night before landed Capt. Miller with his Command consisting of Eighty regulars and 120 of the Argyllshire Levies which gave the alarm. So that all the cattle were drove to inaccessible mountains, Kinloch Moydarts House was plundered and afterwards set fire together with all the little Huts in the neighbourhood. 28

Finally, more detailed material is included in a 26th April 1816 letter from Father Norman MacDonald, priest in Moidart, to Mr. William Robertson-MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart. It states that according to "the oldest inhabitants now living in these parts" ...

> Capt. Ferguson of the Royal Navy allowed his men to plunder and carry off the plates, furniture, and every valuable article in the Mansion House of Kinlochmoidart and then ordered fire to be set to it ... 29

Dr. MacDonald's statement that the Kinlochmoidart papers were destroyed seems to be supported by these other accounts of the burning and by the absence of any further mention of these papers, but his statement that Clanranald's papers were destroyed or lost clearly needs qualification. Some documentation may well have been lost when Clanranald's house was destroyed (probably Ranald the Younger's house in Moidart, since his father's house in Benbecula survived the period) but it is also clear that many Clan Ranald documents survived. It is known that when Ranald MacDonald, elder of Clan Ranald, was arrested in 1746 certain of his papers were captured. This is shown in a 1746 report from Alexander Campbell to Major-General Campbell concerning a suspect named Donald MacLean whose loyalty to the establishment was called into question by a letter he had written to Clanranald during the rebellion. Alexander Campbell said:

> The author of this Letter was (as I am told by Sr. Alexander MacDonald [of Sleat] recommended and actually made Barrack Master at Bernera in

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28. MS 3735/376.
29. MS 3949/14.

> Glen Elg, but on my getting the above Letter among ClanRanalds Papers, I caus'd him to be apprehended. 30

So, it is clear that some of Clanranald's papers were captured. It is not known how many and it is not certain if they ever found their way back into Clanranald's hands. But, judging from the experience of Glengarry and other chiefs and from certain other clues, it is unlikely that these papers were ever returned.[31]

An undated letter has survived in the papers of the Forfeited Estates Commission from John MacDonnell of Glengarry. It is from the post-Rebellion period and complains that despite his "service to the Government" his house had been destroyed and his papers and Charter chest confiscated. He sought the return of these documents,[32] but as the Glengarry Papers have never surfaced, he clearly failed. One other letter relating to these lost Glengarry documents has survived. This was written in 1750 also by John MacDonnell and describes the sacking of Glengarry's castle in the Great Glen and the loss of its contents. This memorial is especially clear when referring to lost papers and their importance.

> On the 29th May a party of the Army under the command of Captain Loftus of the Old Buffs came & first pillaged the memorialist's house at Glengarry [and then] burned it and all his office houses down to the ground ... and upon this occasion the memorialist's whole furniture plate, Books, Charter Chest & other writes ... was carried away by the Army.
>
> That during the Memorialist's confinement his creditors proceeded and obtained reall Dilligence against his Estate, and tho' he has reason to believe that there were Discharges and other Documents of payment in his Charter Chest of som of these Debts yet as all his papers were carried away and still keept from him he can make no positive or effectual defence against these Debts but must submit to them which in the end may carry off his estate and bring Totall Ruin on himself and ffamily. 33

Here, it is also well to note that despite the burning of Glengarry's

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30. MS 3733/137.
31. See below, pp.x-xv.
32. E 705/19.
33. MacDonalds, Clan Donald, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.795-96.

residence, the Charter Chest "& other writes" were first sought out and seized by the soldiers. This was not indiscriminate pillaging. And if these two documents display nothing else, they prove that Glengarry felt his papers were intact, that they were held by the government, that he repeatedly asked for their return, that he desperately needed them and that he failed.

It is also known that when Captain Caroline Scott burned his way through Appin, he took special care to gather documents at Ardsheal House, the home of Charles Stewart, Tutor of Appin and leader of the Appin Stewarts throughout the rebellion. After taking the keys to the house from Lady Ardsheal, Scott also demanded the "little keys"; these small keys were to her husband's charter-chest, desk and cabinets.[34] It is likely that the captured Clan Ranald Papers and many other collections met with the same fate as Glengarry's and Ardsheal's papers.

This assumption is supported by several facts. Firstly, there is no letter from any Donald MacLean in the current Clan Ranald collection and, despite the Clan Ranald's obvious place of importance in that Jacobite rising, there is almost no documentation from the period. Furthermore, there is substantial evidence that not only supports this assertion that "45" material was lost but that also indicates a large amount of general Clan Ranald documentation was seized and that it was never returned. In the fifty or so years preceding the Rebellion of 1745-46, there was a considerable volume of non-political correspondence between various members of the main Clan Ranald line and their legal advisers in Edinburgh, the MacKenzies of Delvine. This is certain because the Delvine collection is intact and available at the National Library of Scotland. It includes a large amount of correspondence from various members of the Clan Ranald to these MacKenzies. But the return communications from the MacKenzies have totally disappeared from the Clan Ranald Papers. The majority of these letters from the MacKenzies to the leading Clan Ranald members would have been sent to the Chief's residence, Nunton House, in Benbecula (where Ranald MacDonald elder was arrested

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34. John Prebble, Culloden, (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1967), p.209.

and where his papers were confiscated). This total absence from the collection is evidence that these captured papers never found their way back into the collection. And, finally, a report on the activities of the Argyllshire militia, dated Tobermory, 10th June 1746, clearly states that papers were specifically sought out and seized for use as evidence. The report was sent to Major-General Campbell after the Campbell militia had completed operations in the Outer Hebrides, Inner Hebrides, Moidart, Arisaig and Morar, all Clan Ranald lands. The specific raid referred to in this document is the search of the island in Loch Morar and the subsequent capture of Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat and Chief of the Clan Fraser, and of a number of catholic documents. The leaders of the Argyllshire militia stated that they had

> this day shipped him [Lovat] and Lord Barra for Fort William, with many more rebell prisoners all taken by us. We have taken many papers that prove Innumerable treasons against the above mentioned Lords. 35

The prisoners taken by the militia during the early stages of this operation and so included in the "rebell prisoners" whose papers were said to have been seized, included not only Lovat and Ruairi MacNeill of Barra, but Ranald MacDonald, elder of Clan Ranald, his brother Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale and Lady Clanranald.

By using Kinlochmoidart's, Ardsheald's and Glengarry's certain losses, the specific orders instructing government troops to seize the papers of suspected Jacobites and Clanranald's probable loss as guides, useful insights can be gained regarding the papers of several of the Clan Ranald chieftains. The papers of these daoin-uaisle were never specifically mentioned in the period's documentation but their houses were certainly plundered and sometimes burned and the "contents" of these houses either seized or put to the torch. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the papers of these Clan Ranald wadsetters were also seized and later in some unexplained manner lost as were Ardsheald's, Glengarry's and Clanranald's or simply destroyed as was possibly the fate of Kinlochmoidart's papers.

Two of these Clan Ranald daoin-uaisle who suffered heavily

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35. RH2/4/357/57.

along with their kinsman, Kinlochmoidart, during the post-Culloden period were Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale and Allan MacDonald of Morar. Despite Boisdale's non-involvement with the Rebellion and his valuable work for the government in keeping many of the Clan Ranald men of South Uist and Benbecula out of the Jacobite Army, Alexander MacDonald of Boisdale was arrested and his house in South Uist searched, and this at the same time that his brother, Ranald MacDonald elder of Clan Ranald, was arrested, his house searched and his papers seized. Alexander of Boisdale was captured by the same Argyllshire militia whose orders, as seen above, were to capture suspected Jacobites and seize their papers as evidence. Clearly, the suspect Boisdale would have been treated in the same fashion as his brother by these same troops and his papers also seized. Allan MacDonald of Morar was almost ruined by the Rebellion. The records of a 1770 court case preserved in Edinburgh's Signet Library show the extent to which Morar suffered. In the records of that case another Allan MacDonald testified that

> he saw Morar and his Lady [the daughter of Locheil] in Uist after the Rebellion of 1745 and that upon that occasion they told they had no money or effects to support them, until he had disposed of some of his lands; and at that time they thigged [begged] in Uist for bear. 36

In that same case Ruairi MacDonald, a cottar in Morar, stated that Allan of Morar

> was engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and suffered greatly upon that occasion, by having his house burnt, his cattle drove away, and his effects plundered and seized. 37

And, finally, two other pertinent pieces of information have been uncovered. Firstly, a missive from an Alexander Campbell stationed at Fort William to Major-General John Campbell of Mamore is of interest. This letter was dated Fort William, 10th February 1746 and concerns Lady Kinochmoidart, Isobell Stewart. It is helpful to note that this Clan Ranald lady was the daughter of Robert Stewart, Chief of the Appin Stewarts, who were also involved in the Rebellion, and that Fort William straddled the most convenient road

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36. SG/66;16, p.40. Bear is an old term for meal.
37. SG/66;16, p.16.

between the territories of these two Jacobite kindreds. Alexander Campbell reported that

> Last night Kinlochmoidarts Lady past by here. I sent out an officer and some men to intercept her. The enclosed papers were found with her which I send you for perusal. 38

While this report might be included under the heading "intelligence gathering" rather than "evidence gathering", the following order can not. It is founded in the order book of William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, Commander of the Government troops in Scotland, and was dated 16th April 1746.

> All letters, Orders, maps or other papers Taken on the Field of Battle [Culloden] or Since are to be given in to the commanding officer of Each Regimt. who is to enclose and send them to Col. Napier. 39

It should be noted that this order states that all papers taken on the field of Battle "or Since" are to be turned over to the proper authority. Here, it seems, is the first direct order that led to the confiscation (and eventual loss) of so much Highland documentation.

Clearly, the Clan Ranald hierarchy suffered dearly for their part in "the 45" and it is equally certain that much documentation perished in that period. Indeed, while Ranald elder of Clan Ranald was arrested, his house in Benbecula plundered and his papers seized (and these seem to have included the old papers of his ancestors, the MacDonalds of Benbecula); while Ranald younger of Clan Ranald was forced into exile, his house in Moidart destroyed and his papers lost; while Donald of Kinlochmoidart was executed, his house and offices burned to the ground and his papers lost; while Allan of Morar was reduced to begging, his house and its contents spoiled and seized; while Alexander of Boisdale was arrested, his house plundered and its contents seized; while Bishop Hugh MacDonald, brother to Morar, had his Loch Morar residence spoiled and his catholic papers taken; and while Lady Kinlochmoidart lost her husband, was arrested and had the papers on her person confiscated; only the Clan Ranald wadsetter Alexander of Glenalladale, himself seriously wounded, seems

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38. MS 3734/141.
39. MS 303/16 April 1746.

to have "escaped" the period without great harm to his house, its contents and papers. In May of 1746 Donald Campbell, stationed at Mingarry Castle, reported to Major-General John Campbell that"Mac Donald of Glenalladell is at his own house and not in condition to stir by the wounds he got at Culloden Battle".[40] It is uncertain whether Alexander of Glenalladale's house was later destroyed but it is seen by this document that the government forces were interested in him. It is also known that at least some of the Glenalladale papers have survived but more of these below.[41] Finally, one piece of speculation seems appropriate here. Given the specific orders passed to government troops to capture papers first and then to destroy the residences of known or suspected Jacobites, it seems possible that papers reported destroyed, such as those of Donald MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart and Ranald MacDonald younger of Clan Ranald, might have actually been confiscated first and then the houses later destroyed and so there papers have shared the same unexplained fate of so many others. It is specifically stated in the letter of the Moidart priest, Father Norman MacDonald, that

> Capt. Ferguson of the Royal Navy allowed his men to plunder and carry off the plate, Furniture, and every valuable article in the Mansion House of Kinlochmoidart and then ordered fire to be set to it ... 42

and even the report of John Campbell of the Argyllshire militia stated that "Kinloch Moydart House was plundered and afterwards set fire ...".[43] Given these clearly worded accounts and the specific instruction to the troops to seize papers as evidence, it is possible that Dr. John MacDonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, was simply mistaken when he assumed that the papers of his brother, Kinloch-moidart, and younger Clanranald had been destroyed.

What has happened to all these confiscated documents? The answer is unknown. The only traces uncovered in this research are that in 1748 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge published a pamphlet that included the text from several

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40. MS 3735/367.
41. See below, p. xxvi.
42. MS3949/14.
43. MS 3735/376.

of the catholic documents seized in the above mentioned[44] raid on Bishop Hugh MacDonald's Loch Morar residence. In the Society's minutes dated 19th March 1747 it is stated that its correspondent Mr. Anderson "at London" got inspection of these papers. The second clue is that John MacDonnell of Glengarry wrote to the Commissioners of the Forfeited Estates seeking the return of his lost Charter chest and his "other writes".[45] There is an indication that Glengarry wrote this letter in 1750[46] but the only contemporary copy that has been located in this search is in the Papers of the Forfeited Estates Commission and it is not dated. So the catholic papers were "at London" in 1747 and Glengarry believed his papers to be held by the Forfeited Estates Commission around 1750. But the Glengarry papers are not in that collection today and he never recovered them; and the archivist for the SSPCK reports that no such catholic manuscripts are to be found among that Society's current collection.[47] Another question follows since the captured catholic documents were certainly in London in 1747; were the other seized collections also in London at that time? Perhaps, this is a reasonable assumption but the answer is unknown. All this significant documentation from "the 45" period and (possibly of much greater importance) all the papers taken with the 1745-46 material that is potentially of a much greater antiquity has vanished.

Clearly, as the Clan Ranald hierarchy suffered, so suffered their papers but, unfortunately, that is not the end of this part of the story. There appears to have been one other loss during that period and the magnitude of this single loss may well have eclipsed that of all those listed above.

The Clan Ranald's bardic followers, the MacMhuirichs, were responsible for a considerable amount of documentation. The contents of this collection are unknown but there are clues as to its make-up. It is possible that the MacMhuirichs carried some

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44. See above, p.470.
45. E 705.14.
46. It is also included and dated 1750 in the appendix of Clan Donald, MacDonalds, op.cit., Vol.II, p.793.
47. This information was communicated in a personal letter dated 1st August 1977.

material to the Clan Ranald when they moved to South Uist on the fall of the Lordship of the Isles and it is certain that these prolific and gifted individuals added to their collection in the period of roughly three centuries when they continued to practise their arts under Clan Ranald protection and tutelage (between the 1493 forfeiture of the Lordship and the 1800 interview with the illiterate Lachlan MacMhuirich in South Uist carried out by the investigators of the Ossian controversy). In this discussion of documentation, it is well to remember that these poets and many of their kinsmen possessed advanced writing skills in Scots and Latin as well as the classical Gaelic script of the professional bard. The testimony of Hugh MacDonald of Kilpheder to the Ossian investigators is quite specific as to this written bardic function and it should be remembered that Hugh's statement, made on 12th August 1800, is based on both personal observation and oral tradition.

> The MacVurichs [MacMhuirichs] were, for many generations, family bards to the MacDonalds of Clanranald. They held their possessions on the special condition of educating their heirs for the office of bard, and of qualifying them to transmit, in writing, the history and poetry connected with the family and their country. 48

Various examples of their artistic work have survived, such as histories, poems, genealogies and detailed chronicles of periods of importance along with numerous examples of their labour as scribes on legal documents. The high standards exhibited in some of their legal papers must strengthen the suspicion that certain surviving examples of MacMhuirich work are, indeed, only rough copies of originals made later by less talented individuals. For instance, it is known that in the mid 1750's Ranald MacDonald elder of Clan Ranald made copies of certain Gaelic manuscripts that had been under MacMhuirich protection. This fact is attested to in a letter of 23rd December 1763, from Mr. Angus MacNeill, minister of Howmore, South Uist, to Dr. Hugh Blair:

> ... the elder Clanranald declared, before another clergyman and myself, that he had himself transcribed above one hundred pages of a large ancient

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48. MacKenzie, op.cit., p.46 (original italics).

> manuscript which treated the wars of Fingal and Comhal his father. 49

The certain existence of this written artistic material combined with the apparent loss of the originals makes it likely that other material of this type, possibly the work of unnamed MacMhuirich bards, also existed and was lost from their South Uist archives.

When the Jacobite disaster at Culloden Moor became known in South Uist, it is said that the MacMhuirichs destroyed documents "by the cartload".[50] Those who belittle the importance of "the 45" would do well to keep this sad loss in mind. The failure of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46 may have only diverted the London and Edinburgh establishments from general 18th century developments momentarily, but in South Uist it had an awful significance. This destruction of Clan Ranald archives carried out by the very family whose ancient historical function it had been to preserve it shows the terrible significance placed on that lost cause by these Gaelic scholars.

Following the relaxing of tensions in the post-1746 period and the above mentioned[51] discovery of Ranald MacDonald younger in 1758 of "half a House load of charters and old papers", the remaining Clan Ranald Papers appear to have simply rested in the family seat of Nunton House in Benbecula, or with various legal firms in Edinburgh. The collection continued to grow in a normal and expected way in this relatively well documented era. In the late 18th century and early 19th there was the addition of the highly informative records of the tutors of young John MacDonald of Clan Ranald and on his unexpected and early death, of the tutors and, later, the trustees of his successor, Reginald George MacDonald.

In the early and mid 19th century a situation developed that has created a weakness in the Clan Ranald papers current condition. During that period debts mounted at an increasing rate and Clanranald's financial managers were forced to sell off sections of the estate

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49. Ibid., p.19.
50. The Scotsman, 12 July 1977. An account of an interview with Ronald Black, Cataloguer of Gaelic Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland.
51. See above, p.ii.

piecemeal. When an area was sold, its documentation abruptly ceased to be a part of the collection. In some cases it is possible satisfactorily to pick up the threads from other sources and in others it is not. With the exception of the tiny island in Moidart on which the ruins of Castle Tioram stand, South Uist and Benbecula remained in the hands of the Clanranald family longer than any of the other traditional areas. Consequently, it is possible to trace developments on these two Outer Hebridean isles further into the 19th century than on any of Clanranald's other ancient holdings.

When Clanranald's lands were truly his own and when he lived among his people, he could meet with his tenants, factors and baillies to discuss estate matters. In these periods little written estate correspondence was needed; from these eras little remains. But later, when another Clanranald played the dandy in London, Stockholm, Paris and Edinburgh, when the management of his estate was in the hands of trustees in Edinburgh, factors were obliged to submit lengthy reports that described estate conditions and developments. This has led to a curious situation in the source material. In early periods when his people, their culture and their martial abilities were of the utmost importance to the chief of the Clan Ranald, their documentation is sketchy. Later, when their importance was deteriorating, their coverage increased. The inclination to equate the tenants' position in this later period of documented deterioration with the earlier less documented periods must be avoided because the very existence of the documentation indicates something of a changing situation. Another related point should be made here concerning the source material on the common people of the clan. In early periods when the Gaelic culture had not been seriously strained, the people were a necessary part of that culture and as such an asset not a problem for Clan Ranald chiefs; in a later period, the culture had been disrupted and the people had become something of a problem. Problems must be dealt with.

As the 19th century progressed the management of the Clan Ranald estate became increasingly complex. Debts grew as income fell and the trustees of Reginald George MacDonald, often in direct opposition to this last Clan Ranald estate owner, were forced to take drastic steps to placate bank managers and an assortment of

other creditors. In this situation legal problems escalated, legal fees soared and, of course, lawyers profited. The Clan Ranald Papers became separated, scattered among the various trustees, their accountants and the several legal firms that represented the trust; in addition to all this, the situation was further complicated by Reginald George's several attempts to break the trust and his employment of a series of his own attorneys in this unsuccessful quest. The antagonistic situation that existed between Reginald George and his lawyers on the one side and his trustees and their lawyers on the other further complicated the already confused nature of the scattered Clan Ranald Papers. Often one side would withhold certain documentary material from the other and in this manner it is certain that some papers simply vanished. This confused situation in the documentation, as well as the hostilities amongst the several factions within the estate management, is well illustrated in a series of letters to Reginald George from his English father-in-law, Richard Edgecombe, 2nd Earl of Mount-Edgecombe. On 15th December 1814 Edgecombe wrote to Clanranald.

> Your letter received yesterday distresses as much as it surprised me; after all the arrangements, and all the promises made by your Trustees, the continued and even as it appears, <u>increasing</u> embarrassment of your affairs, is <u>wholly unac-countable</u>. Nothing can equal the ill treatment you received during your minority and just before your marriage, but that you have met with <u>now</u>; the whole of it is indeed a complete system of delusion. If your trustees were not men of such respectable character and high situations in life, nay some of them even your relations, one should really be tempted to imagine that their sole object was to keep you under their control and your Estate in their own power, as long as possible; and think their conduct more guided by the interested views of pettifogging attornies than by the honourable and generous feelings of gentlemen and of friends. 52

On Christmas Day in that same year Edgecombe wrote

> To the accident of ill health we must all submit with what patience we can, but to your other misfortunes it is difficult to be resigned,

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52. GD201/5/1228/15 December 1814 (original italics).

> brought on as they are not by your own wilful neglect or extravagance, but by the unpardonable and unaccountable conduct of others [the trustees], in whom you had every reason to trust. I am not surprised you have had no regular statement of your affairs from Scotland. It is my firm belief they will never lay them fairly before you. 53

On 7th January 1815 communication from Edgecombe continues in much the same vein, but also laments the slipshod methods of his son-in-law's trust and its missing papers:

> then is it credible that no account has been kept for the last two years, and that they can answer for nothing later than 1812? 54

In this same period, on 15th January 1815, Reginald George wrote to Robert Brown, the most influential of his trustees and an ex-factor on the Clan Ranald estate. Here, Clanranald complained that the trustees' slipshod method of running the Trust had been a continual problem not an occasional one and that a large volume of accounts and papers either had never existed or were missing.

> I have lately suffered much anxiety and disquietude from the distressing intelligence Mr. [Claude] Russell [the trust's accountant] has imparted to me, concerning the state of the trust affairs, intelligence apparently communicated from the necessity of assigning some reason for almost entirely withholding my allowance. It would appear that the same system of management which so unnecessarily produced the severe shock upon my affairs in 1811 and which one would have thought, from the distress it then occasioned, proved its pernicious effects, for, notwithstanding that, still existed with uninterrupted continuance. It is evident that they have not met with the attention their condition demanded, and that my Trustees, engaged in their various concerns, have left them to their fate. - This is shown by the confused and deficient state of their accounts, notwithstanding my repeated and urgent application for information, until <u>now</u> whatever has been offered me, and what is it that in Jan. 1815 I succeeded in procuring? The statement of my affairs in 1812! How can business, managed with so much irregularity and utter improvidence, continue to a termination of difficulties?

Clanranald continues (unsuccessfully) to demand that the accountant

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53. GD201/5/1228/25 December 1814.
54. GD201/5/1228/7 January 1815.

Mr. Russell "withdraws the veil that has hitherto kept me in total darkness" and "in the most irksome suspense".[55] And, finally, a document in the Lord MacDonald Papers shows that even contemporaries who worked closely in matters such as kelping with the Clan Ranald Trust found surprising gaps in its accounts. In a comparative study of the kelp sold on Lord MacDonald's Estate with that of Clanranald's taken in 1805 no figures are available for the year 1802.[56] The many irritating gaps that exist today in the current collection relating to the trust and its accounts are hardly surprising in light of this strange contemporary situation.

In 1838 Reginald George MacDonald of Clan Ranald was forced by his trustees to sell his South Uist and Benbecula Estate to Colonel John Gordon of Cluny. There is evidence that indirectly Gordon was also responsible for the destruction of some Clan Ranald documentation. This manuscript material is said to have been found in Nunton House in Benbecula, the ancestral Clan Ranald seat and the residence of Duncan Shaw the last Clan Ranald factor. Mrs. Cathrine MacPhee, the current resident in the one habitable section of Nunton House, stated that "Gordon burned a lot of Clanranald's documents" when he occupied it. This information is more in the realm of oral tradition but from what is known of Col. Gordon of Cluny such an action would have been quite in character and his relations with Reginald George, who did not want to sell the estate, were certainly hostile in this period.[57]

The son of Reginald George MacDonald, Admiral Ranald MacDonald, carried on a long and complicated struggle to reassemble the family papers held for debits by various legal firms. In March of 1857, for example, he payed a debt to the executor of a William MacQueen, W.S. and on this occasion Admiral MacDonald wrote to his legal representatives, Tods, Murray & Jamieson, W.S. in Edinburgh, saying:

> Mr. [William] Alexander says he must thank you

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55. GD201/5/1228/1/15 January 1815 (original italics).
56. GD221/6.
57. Mrs. Cathrine MacPhee kindly recounted this and other accounts of recent history related to Nunton House and Benbecula in a personal interview, 6th July 1977, at Nunton House, Benbecula.

> sufficiently for all the trouble you have taken to get this tiresome business brought to a conclusion. He will endeavour to get possession of all family Papers now held by the executors of MacQueen. 58

In the following year Admiral MacDonald succeeded in acquiring papers from the firm of Hunter, Campbell and Cathcart, W.S.,[59] and some from his own representatives, Tods, Murray and Jamieson, W.S.[60] By 1873 he was able to refer to the "many ... papers in my possession"[61] and on 27th May of that year his attorneys received an important note from a Mr. D. Scott-Moncrieff, saying,

> I send a box of the Clanranald papers or a sample if you will be kind enough to send a cart or large handbarrow you may have the rest.
> I am glad to say that I have recovered the red book. 62

In a letter of 29th May 1873, to an unnamed person, Admiral MacDonald provides the link that ties these manuscripts mentioned by Moncrieff, the bulk of the Clan Ranald Papers and the "Red Book", to the above mentioned William MacQueen. The reason for Clanranald's failure to obtain this material in 1857, despite the optimism he displayed at the time, remains unclear.

> As to the Red Book I am rejoiced to hear it has not been lost. I cannot say found because after years of enquiry assisted by the late Mr. Alexander and others I ascertained all the Estate papers and the Red Book were in the possession of a Mr. McQueen in London who claimed the right to detain them - they being held by him (as heir to a Mr. McQueen) against a claim for £25 on the estate and this money I caused to be paid.

Admiral MacDonald clearly exaggerated when he said that "all the Estate papers" were held by MacQueen's heir. It will be shown that several law firms held papers from the family and estate of Clan Ranald but it is equally clear that this particular section was of great importance and of considerable size. More will be mentioned

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58. GD201/4/102/25 March 1857.
59. See GD201/5/1228/3.
60. Ibid.
61. GD201/5/1228/3/26 May 1873.
62. GD201/5/1228/3/27 May 1873.

on the topic of the "Red Book" below.

The labours of Admiral Ranald MacDonald, the 20th Chief of Clan Ranald, were instrumental in the all important relocation and consolidation of this major west Highland collection. Without his interest at this critical period much of value might have been lost forever and our understanding of his ancestors and their followers thereby damaged. But while the considerable size of the present Clan Ranald collection remains as a testimony to the profitable work of Admiral MacDonald, it must be noted that his goal of totally reassembling the collection from the many involved law firms was never attained. Today, papers relating to the Clan Ranald remain scattered among the papers of legal firms such as the MacKenzies of Delvine, in the Lauriston Castle Collection,[63] Hunter, Campbell and Cathcart, W.S.,[64] Tods, Murray and Jamieson, W.S.,[65] Hector Macdonald-Buchanan, W.S.,[66] Skene, Edwards and Garson, W.S.,[67] Lindsay, Howe and Co. W.S. (in the form of a section of Glenalladale papers),[68] Claude Russell (Clanranald's 19th century accountant)[69] and two other collections that have remained closed to this researcher. It is also quite likely that some sections of these papers exist but have not been located and that still other portions have been destroyed.

When dealing with lost papers two other topics merit brief consideration. First, in the 19th century a variety of historians and antiquaries took an interest in Highland history. These individuals, ranging from a few reliable scholars such as Donald Gregory to a multitude of casual genealogists, "borrowed" a great deal of documentation from private collections and some of this material was never returned. It is known that the "Clan Ranald Papers" were loaned out in this fashion because a variety of Clan Ranald documentation appears in the appendix of Angus and Archibald MacDonald's <u>Clan Donald</u> and because the authors specifically state in their acknowledgements that they are indebted to Admiral Ranald MacDonald,

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63. MS 1101-1530.
64. See GD201/5/1228/3 for further information.
65. GD237.
66. GD47.
67. GD244.
68. GD243.
69. MS 9245.

the 20th Chief of Clan Ranald, for his permission to use the Clan Ranald Charter Chest.[70] In this case, it is clear that the borrowed material was returned because, for example, the important 1707 tack to Donald MacMhuirich of Stilligary, bard to Clan Ranald, that appears in the appendix of Clan Donald[71] now rests back with the Clan Ranald Papers.[72] The second topic related to lost papers is of great importance to general Scottish historical enquiry and to this study since large amounts of Clan Ranald documentation are known to have been scattered among various legal firms. In a misguided attempt to "protect" their clients lawyers have destroyed (and sadly continue to destroy) vast amounts of potentially important documentation. An illustration of this hurtful practice occurs in the introduction of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's Report on the Laing Manuscripts Preserved in the University of Edinburgh. David Laing, the compiler of this large collection, is an excellent example of a useful antiquary. For many years Laing was Keeper of the Library of the Writers to the Signet in Edinburgh. Some of these preserved Laing manuscripts pertain to the Clan Ranald.

> How Mr. Laing came to amass such a collection is an interesting story in itself. He not only constantly attended sales of manuscript books and documents and purchased freely, but, being on very friendly terms with a waste-paper merchant in Edinburgh, Mr. Gilbert Adcock, whose premises were in South St. Andrews Street, he often visited there when intimation was made to him of a consignment of waste paper in which it was expected that there might be material interesting to him. Of such opportunities he gladly availed himself and, donning garments suitable to the work, he set himself to a joyous rummage among the stuff which had come to the warehouse as the sweepings of some lawyer's office, and his discriminating eye soon separated the wheat from the chaff. That many original documents fraught with valuable information were there, consigned by their custodians to perdition, is a fact beyond dispute, and but for Dr. Laing's industry and enthusiastic zeal for the preservation of such memorial of the past it is not likely that the greater part of what is here reported would have now existed.

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70. MacDonalds, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.x-xi.
71. Ibid., Vol.II, pp.790-91.
72. GD201/2/4.

> The mere fact of Dr. Laing's having been thus the rescuer of so many valuable documents from destruction is of itself an alarming indication of what not only has been, but it is to be feared is yet going on ... The way of doing so [destroying papers] which seems to have obtained in Dr. Laing's time was to send them to the mill for destruction and perhaps re-formation into useful writing material. Thus practically tons of old documents have been disposed of. 73

The above was written in 1914. The destruction of historical documents by lawyers continues in 1982.

While interviewing various people in South Uist and Benbecula, this researcher came acrosss information that has helped to relocate two document collections of potential importance. While both have sadly remained unavailable for the purpose of this study, it is known that they exist and are safe. Information supplied by this student has helped staff members of the National Library of Scotland to contact the custodian of one collection and consequently there is some reason to hope that future scholarship will be able to profit from it. The future of the other set of papers is uncertain. The first set, the one that should be available in the future at the National Library of Scotland, and the collection of the greatest potential value, is the Belfinlay-Waternish papers. These are the muniments of the MacDonalds of Belfinlay. This Clan Ranald duin-uasal class family is descended from the MacDonalds of Benbecula[74] and from approximately 1682 to 1763 members of it served successive Captains of Clan Ranald as their factors, bailies and heritable chamberlains in South Uist. The important place held by this succession of Belfinlay daoin-uaisle in the Clan Ranald gives their papers a great potential worth. The exact content of this collection is, of course, unknown, but there is an exciting clue. Careful readers of Clan Donald often wonder where the MacDonald authors got certain pieces of their documentation and what has happened to these papers. In the acknowledgements of Clan Donald the following occurs:

> We beg also to acknowledge our obligation to Captain Allan Macdonald of Waternish [in Skye], head of the house of Belfinlay, for the warm interest he has manifested in us and in our work, as well as for

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73. Report on the Laing Manuscripts Preserved in the University of Edinburgh, (London: H.M.C., 1914), p.vi.
74. RS3/49/158.

> interesting historical material [made] available for our second volume. 74

This "second volume" of Clan Donald includes the lengthy section on the Clan Ranald. In the 19th century the Belfinlay MacDonalds lost their lands in South Uist and moved to Waternish in Skye and, consequently, the Belfinlay papers have rested there until quite recently in this century, when they were deposited with the legal representative of the current Donald MacDonald of Waternish. Moreover, the grandfather to this present Donald MacDonald of Waternish was Allan MacDonald, a Highland antiquary and historian of merit. He wrote The Truth About Flora MacDonald[75] and it is also known that he collected documents. The papers he gathered may well be included in the Belfinlay-Waternish collection and could be of great interest.

The second set of papers mentioned in South Uist[76] appear to be the bulk of the Glenalladale papers.[77] These documents, now held by a prominent Inverness lawyer who is descended through the female line from the Glenalladale family, may be the charters and correspondence of this important duin-uasal family. This family served as estate factors in the post-Culloden period and their papers could be quite important. It is possible that this collection escaped the marauding government troops in 1746. Despite several attempts, no communication was established with the guardian of this collection.

In the 20th century the collection that is now known as the "Clanranald Papers" was transferred to the Scottish Record Office in two large sections. In 1933 the first set was deposited by Angus R. MacDonald, the 23rd Chief of the Clan Ranald. This transaction was carried out by his family's legal representatives, Tods, Murray and Jamieson, W.S. These documents were indexed by 1936. Earlier, in 1931, Angus had also delivered an important collection

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74. MacDonalds, op.cit.; Vol.I, p.xi.
75. Allan Reginald MacDonald, The Truth About Flora MacDonald, (Inverness: Donald MacKinnon, 1938).
76. Dr. Alasdair MacLean kindly provided these pieces of information along with a variety of other useful material during two hospitable and productive visits with the doctor and his wife, 6 & 8 July 1977, at Fionn Chro, Loch Boisdale, South Uist.
77. See above, p. xxiii.

of Highland weapons, artifacts and "the original Red Book of Clanranald and Black Book of Clanranald" to the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities.[78] The manner of the acquisition of still another section of Clan Ranald Papers to the Scottish Record Office (now section 5 in the index) is unknown and the current file on this large collection is strangely deficient. It is certain that they arrived at General Register House separately from the 1933 deposit and that they rested unindexed and seemingly unnoticed for a considerable period. Eventually, they attracted attention and, after being indexed, were added to the original deposit in 1953.

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Dreadful as the 1746 destruction of the MacMhuirich archives was, it was not complete. A few Gaelic manuscripts and a good number of poems relating to the Clan Ranald have survived. Most of this material is MacMhuirich in origin but there is also a fair amount of enlightening Gaelic poetry from other sources such as Alasdair MacMhaighster Alasdair. Alexander MacDonald, son of Master Alexander the parson of Ilan Finnon, was a well educated man in both the Gaelic and Lowland Scottish sense, a prominent Clan Ranald duinuasal, a Jacobite captain in the kindred's regiment during the Rebellion of 1745-46 and an influential Gaelic propagandist and poet.

Two Gaelic manuscripts of special importance to this study of the Clan Ranald are also extant. Both have a direct bearing on this kindred's history and one is in the hand of Niall MacMhuirich, a 17th century Clan Ranald bard. These volumes have been popularly known as The Black Book of Clan Ranald and The Red Book of Clan Ranald. In fact neither title is accurate. The first book has a black cover but it is not specifically a "Clan Ranald" book. Recently it has been more correctly entitled The Antrim Miscellany; it does, however, contain a section of Clan Ranald history among its other Irish and Highland subjects. It is the work of four separate writers and only one is known. This scribe was Giolla Criosd Mac Beathadh, or Christopher Beaton. This volume contains both Gaelic and English

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78. The Scotsman, 21.10.1931.

sections. The second book is not the true Red Book of Clan Ranald, but it does seem to be a partial copy of that lost manuscript. This surviving copy has incorrectly been called the Red Book, but is more accurately entitled The Little Book of Clan Ranald. It is in the hand of Niall MacMhuirich.

Together these manuscripts contain an impressive amount of Clan Ranald material. There is a collection of early genealogies of the kindred, poems of praise to the clan and its chiefs and also a chronicle of the Montrose wars. This material represents the last body of Gaelic prose known to have been written in Scotland in the ancient classical Irish script but Niall's grandson, another Clan Ranald bard named Neill, had at least some knowledge of this ancient writing style.[79] Consequently, it is possible that other MacMhuirich works were produced after The Little Book of Clan Ranald was copied but that they have been lost or destroyed.

On 9th August 1800, the illiterate Lauchlan MacMhuirich, the 18th in descent from Muireadhach Albanach and the most direct heir to the position of bard of Clan Ranald, testified that he remembered

> well that the works of Ossian, written on parchment, were in custody of his father as received from his predecessors; that some of the parchments were made up in the form of books and that others were loose and separate, which contained the works of other bards besides those of Ossian.
>
> He remembers that his father had a book which was called the Red Book, made of paper, which he had from his predecessors and which as his father informed him, contained a good deal of the history of the Highland Clans, together with part of the works of Ossian. That none of these books is to be found at this day, because when they [his family] were deprived of their lands, they lost their alacrity and zeal. that he is not certain what became of the parchments, but thinks that some of them were carried away by Alexander, son of the Rev. Alexander Macdonald [Alastair MacMhaighstir Alastair], and others by Ronald, his son; and he saw two or three

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79. E 744/1/P149.50.

> of them cut down by tailors for measurers. That he remembers well that Clanranald made his father give up the Red Book to James Macpherson [the publisher of the Ossian Gaelic poetry] from Badenoch; ... That the parchments and the Red Book were written in the hand in which the Gaelic used to be written of old both in Scotland and Ireland before people began to use the English hand in writing Gaelic; and that his father knew well how to read the old hand. That he himself had some of the parchments after his father's death, but that because he had not been taught to read them and had no reason to set any value upon them, they were lost. 80

Lauchlan's assertion that MacPherson took a manuscript is supported by Ewan MacPherson in a statement on 11th September 1800. On that date Ewan said that James MacPherson received from Neill MacMhuirich "a book the size of a New Testament ... which contained some accounts of the families of the MacDonalds and the exploits of the great Montrose; together with the poems of Ossian".[81] It is also known that Ranald, elder of Clan Ranald, "had himself transcribed above one hundred pages of a large ancient manuscript".[82] Testimony is conflicting as to whether the manuscript that James MacPherson received in South Uist was Niall MacMhuirich's copy, the original Red Book or (perhaps) a copy produced by Ranald MacDonald, elder of Clan Ranald, but it is likely that he was given Niall's copy since it seems to be the one that has survived via MacPherson. Moreover, it appears that Ranald, elder of Clan Ranald, gave MacPherson an order to a Lieutenant Donald MacDonald, merchant in the Lackenbooths, Edinburgh, to give up "a Gaelic folio manuscript belonging to the family which was called Leabhar Derg"[83] or the Red Book. Surely, a document hunter such as MacPherson would have contacted Lieutenant MacDonald in Edinburgh but if he did the results are unknown; at least, here is evidence that another manuscript existed. Further clouding this already confused situation is a statement by Mr. Angus MacNeill, minister at Howmore, South Uist, that one manuscript was

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80. Henry MacKenzie, op.cit., pp.278-79.
81. Ibid., pp.96-7.
82. Ibid., p.19.
83. Ibid., p.96.

"carried over to Ireland sometime ago by a worthless person in a clandestine manner and it is now, it is thought, irrecoverably lost".[84]

Here is Lauchlan MacMhuirich's report that "some" manuscripts were carried away by Alastair MacMhaighstir Alastair, "others" by his son, Ranald, at least one went to James MacPherson, the copy of a "large ancient document" was made by Ranald MacDonald, elder of Clan Ranald, the "Gaelic folio" held by Lieutenant Donald MacDonald in Edinburgh and the one "carried over to Ireland ... by a worthless person": and this list does not include the "two or three" parchments reportedly cut down by tailors for measuring tapes.[85] Indeed, there is ample evidence that a number of old Gaelic manuscripts, single parchments and copies still existed in the 1760-70 era despite the 1746 destruction of the MacMhuirich archives, but in the documentation for this period no clear trail to the Red Book can be discerned. What is certain, however, is that several manuscripts existed; one may well have been the true Red Book, but it also seems obvious that this appellation was simply used as a sort of catch-all label for any old Gaelic manuscript. And, of course, any of these unspecified Gaelic manuscripts holds a potential for historical importance equal to that of the Red Book and their mere mention holds an equal potential for tantalising historians.

A few threads exist to help connect this period with the late 19th century and thus the current situation regarding the Clan Ranald's coverage in Gaelic documentation. James MacPherson died in 1796 and his executors only released one manuscript. This appears to have been Niall's copy, the one MacPherson got in South Uist. Allowing it to be considered the true Red Book (by those that would do so), the executors deposited it with the Highland Society of Scotland because the current Clan Ranald, Reginald George, was a minor and because the Highland Society had recently set up its "Ossian Committee". Eventually, it was presented to Reginald George MacDonald of Clan Ranald, who in turn left it, with the bulk of his charter chest, in the care of Hugh MacQueen, W.S., in

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84. Ibid., p.19.
85. See Black's interview, Scotsman, op.cit.

London.[86] For a 20-30 year period, while this manuscript rested with MacQueen in London, the Clan Ranald family lost track of it. In the mid and late 19th century, when Admiral Ranald MacDonald, Reginald's son, was trying to reassemble the "Clan Ranald Papers", the Red Book in its various forms, and the rumours about it, figured prominently. During this period there were at least two manuscripts under consideration.

The first of these documents to resurface was held by William F. Skene. In 1856 Admiral MacDonald's representative, Mr. William Alexander, was actively trying to regain the manuscript from Skene. Later, Admiral MacDonald stated that Skene,

> had sight of it at a stall in Dublin for 14£ but considering I [Admiral MacDonald] could be the only legal possessor of that book ... he agreed to let Mr. A. [Alexander] have it for 14£ but subsequently refused to part ... [rest of the letter missing] 87

Skene made his discovery and purchase in or before 1840.[88] In a letter dated 28th February 1856 to Tods, Murray and Jamieson, W.S., Admiral MacDonald explained how he hoped to prevail against Skene.

> Mr. Alexander has probably (as he announced his intention to me of so doing) spoken to you concerning the M.S. Red Book in the possession of Mr. Skine [sic.] which he promised me and now seems induced to retain. Mr. A. recommends law. I differ and think law in Scotland only takes away and Mr. S. may perhaps at least be shamed into acting as a gentleman. 89

Here is an example of how any old Gaelic manuscript could come to be referred to as "The Red Book". Either because of his own error or because of Skene's, Admiral MacDonald thought the volume in Skene's possession was the true Red Book. In fact, it was not the Red Book and not a copy, but, as error compounded itself on confusion, "Skene's" volume eventually proved to be the misnamed "Black Book of Clan Ranald" - or as it is now more correctly known, The Antrim Miscellany.

This "Black Book", or The Antrim Miscellany, was borrowed

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86. GD201/5/1230/9 May 1873.
87. GD201/5/1230/31 May 1983.
88. Cameron, op.cit., p.139.
89. GD201/4/102/28 February 1856.

from Skene by Dr. Alexander Cameron of Brodick who took the transcript of the section of Clan Ranald history that later appeared in Reliquiae Celticae. When Dr. Cameron died in 1888 it was restored to Skene who finally presented it to Admiral MacDonald. This long anticipated gift seems to have been made in 1892, the year of Skene's death, because "Clanranald 1892" is inscribed on the inside cover.

From that date this manuscript remained with the Clan Ranald family until it was presented to Scotland's National Museum of Antiquities in 1931 by Angus R. MacDonald, the 23rd Chief. This document appears to have been called The Black Book of Clan Ranald because of its black cover and because of its section chronicling Clan Ranald history. It is interesting, if pointless, to speculate whether this document might not be the one reported "carried over to Ireland ... by a worthless person in a clandestine manner" since Skene found it there. All that can be reasonably observed here is that the Irish nature of the document certainly would not have precluded it from being a likely piece of the MacMhuirich archives; equally though, the Scottish topics such as the Clan Ranald section would not have precluded it from the interest of the Clan Ranald's Gaelic kin in Ireland.

The second manuscript that figured in Admiral MacDonald's search was the one that had been held by Hugh MacQueen, W.S., in London. On 29th May 1873, Admiral MacDonald was able to report:

> As to the Red Book I am rejoiced to hear it has not been lost. I can not say found because after years of inquiry assisted by the late Mr. Alexander and others I ascertained all the Estate Papers and the Red Book were in the possession of a Mr. MacQueen in London who claimed right to detain them - they being held by him (as heir to a Mr. [Hugh] MacQueen) against a claim for £25 on the estate and this money I caused to be paid. 90

Here again, Clanranald is seen making the incorrect conclusion that an old Gaelic manuscript was the true Red Book. The results of Admiral MacDonald's £25 payment are seen in a letter from a Mr. Scott-Moncrieff stating that he was sending a box of Clan Ranald papers as a sample and that if Clanranald's agents sent "a cart or

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90. GD201/5/1230/29 May 1873.

large handbarrow" they could have the rest. He continued:

> I am glad to say that I have recovered the red book. I cannot of course part with it to anyone without the consent of Mrs. MacDonald. I will forward to her any representation on the subject on behalf of Capt. [sic. Admiral] Macdonald. 91

A week later Scott-Moncrieff wrote to Tods, Murray & Jamieson, W.S. His letter shows that Admiral MacDonald had acted promptly.

> I have the pleasure of informing you that Mrs. MacDonald has written to me that in consequence of an interview which she had with Admiral MacDonald she had resolved to make him a present of the "Red Book" wishing that it should remain in the family. In these circumstances I have now to intimate that I hold it for Admiral Macdonald and will dispose of it as he may direct. 92

Once Admiral MacDonald finally had sight of the manuscript he changed his position concerning its identity as the true Red Book. The following year he lent the book to John F. Campbell of Islay and made the following comment, describing it as "the fragment of a small book given to me as the Red Book which I myself do not believe".[93] Admiral MacDonald was, of course, correct; this manuscript was not the true Red Book but Niall MacMhuirich's copy, now known as The Little Book of Clanranald. It is interesting to speculate whether this Clanranald knew the Little Book was not the true Red Book because he was able to make such an analytical judgement or because he still thought (or hoped) the manuscript that Skene still held was the real Red Book. This Little Book of Clanranald remained with the Clan Ranald family as did the Black Book, or Antrim Miscellany, that Skene later gave up until the 1931 bequest of Angus MacDonald to the National Museum of Antiquities.

But what of the real Red Book of Clanranald? It remains lost but there is slight reason to hope that it is not lost forever. As has been seen in the previous pages, rumours concerning it appear

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91. GD201/5/1228/6/27 May 1873.
92. GD201/5/1228/6/5 June 1873.
93. See Ronald Black, "In Search of the Red Book of Clanranald" in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness (forthcoming). Ronald Black kindly allowed sight of this forthcoming article in manuscript form.

and reappear throughout the years following James MacPherson's 1760 visit to South Uist. But before recounting the search for The Red Book, a word of caution seems in order. It is well to remember that these previous pages have also several times shown these Red Book rumours erroneous. Often other old Gaelic manuscripts have been confused with the Red Book and thus any of the following leads concerning the Red Book may be based on equally erroneous 19th century assumptions or 20th century claims. This is not to cast doubt on the historical existence of a Red Book of Clanranald. Gaelic literature and history was never simply preserved by word of mouth. Bards had a written function and it is certain that the few surviving bits of written Gaelic material are but the meagre remains of a great amount of lost documentation. Moreover, while the rumours have often led the searcher on false or mistaken trails, equally those rumours do something else. They indicate that a Red Book of sorts did exist, because a rumour is seldom born in a vacuum.

The best leads concerning the Red Book start in the mid 19th century. It is reported that a Miss A.M. Davidson of Aberdeen "established the fact" that the Red Book was in the possession of the Clan Ranald family as late as 1840 and she had reason to believe that some time later it was in the possession of a daughter of the elder Clanranald (Allan Douglas MacDonald, the 22nd chief) in Australia.[94] Later, in the 1930's Professor W.J. Watson of the Chair of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh stated that

> The late Rev. Angus MacDonald of Killearnan (joint author of The Clan Donald) had informed me that the manuscript was in Australia, that he knew of the owner, and that he was in hopes that by and by it would be sent to him. On Dr. MacDonald's death I found that neither his widow nor his colleague the Rev. Archibald MacDonald of Kiltarlity knew the location of the manuscript. 95

In 1937 the trail became tantalisingly warm when the following letter appeared in the Oban Times. It had been sent by a Miss

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94. Black, op.cit.
95. Ibid.

Shonnia MacDonald, Cruachan,[96] 109; Wright Street, Adelaide, Australia:

> Sir,
>
> Some weeks ago the enclosed cutting [ query concerning the Red Book] appeared in the Advertiser, Adelaide, and has been brought under my notice. Can any of your readers or yourself give me any information regarding the reasons for which the manuscripts are wanted and if any of the MacDonalds of Clanranald are interested?
>
> I would like to point out to your readers that the manuscripts are not missing and have been in my branch of the family for hundreds of years. 97

Unfortunately, this exciting lead was never properly followed up. Professor Watson did write several letters but never received a reply. It seems especially regrettable that he failed to enlist the aid of Angus MacDonald, the then current Chief of Clan Ranald. When Miss MacDonald asked "if any of the MacDonalds of Clanranald are interested?", she indicates she might have responded favourably to "her chief's" request. In any case this important opportunity was allowed to slip away. To be fair, however, it should be noted that the search was interrupted by a rather more serious problem, World War Two.

Did Miss MacDonald truly exist and was her claim real or bogus? One question can be asked and answered concerning these reasonable queries. Can any connection be made between a line of the Clan Ranald, suitably close to a chief, and Adelaide? Yes. Allan Douglas MacDonald, 22nd Chief of Clan Ranald, was married in Adelaide, South Australia, on Christmas Day, 1897, to an Adelaide woman.[98] Finally, there is one other interesting aspect to Miss MacDonald's letter. She did not refer to the "manuscript" under her care, but to the "manuscripts" and she did so twice.

Here, the really solid leads cease. But it is comforting to know that the quest continues today under the direction of Ronald Black, Cataloguer of Gaelic Manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland.[99]

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96. Gaelic for "hill top".
97. The Scotsman, 12.7.77.
98. Black, op.cit.
99. Mr. Black has since moved to the University of Edinburgh's Celtic Department.

Aside from the Red Book other Clan Ranald manuscripts appear to have survived the destruction of the MacMhuirich archives. The words of Lauchlan MacMhuirich in 1800 should be remembered even when he was not referring to the Red Book. Concerning other old manuscripts, Lauchlan said he thought that "some of them were carried away by Alexander, son of the Rev. Alexander MacDonald [Alastair MacMhaighstir Alastair] and others by Ranald, his son".[100]

When the vast extent of the surviving Clan Ranald Papers is considered in relation to what was certainly an equally impressive, or possibly even greater volume of lost material, the full potential of the clan muniments, if they had survived intact, would have been truly remarkable. All this documented loss combined with the remaining huge collection that rests today in Edinburgh's General Register House, must finally put the lie to the uninformed claim of "no Highland documentation". On the contrary, Highland documentation did exist and its extent was vast.

Gone are the Clan Ranald Papers lost in the occupation of the Cromwellian and post-Killiecrankie periods when Clan Ranald's lands and fortresses were, like Locheil's, under enemy control. Gone are the papers held in Ormiclate Castle when it was destroyed by flames in 1715. And gone are the many collections lost as a result of the Rebellion of 1745-46: Ranald, elder of Clan Ranald's papers and those of his ancestors, the MacDonalds of Benbecula; Ranald, younger of Clan Ranald's papers; Donald of Kinlochmoidart's papers; Alexander of Boisdale's papers; Allan of Morar's papers, and, of course, the invaluable MacMhuirich archives. Certain unavailable papers of Glenalladale and Belfinlay families do appear to exist. Gone are the papers lost to lawyers and gone are the papers said to have been destroyed by Col. John Gordon of Cluny. And, yet, much remains. It is possible that the "half a Horse load of charters and old papers"[101] discovered by Ranald MacDonald, younger of Clan Ranald in 1758 makes up all or the majority of the older remaining "Clanranald Papers". If these papers were not discovered by the Clan Ranald family until 1758, it is unlikely that the Argyllshire

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100. MacKenzie, op.cit., pp.278-79.
101. GD201/4/85.

militia would have found them in 1746.

Given these losses and given the vast extent of the remaining Clan Ranald Papers, it seems that, contrary to the general belief, Highland society was unusually well covered by documentation. Gaels had and have a passion for genealogy and history and because of these interests their society was an especially well documented one; and despite the terrible losses much of value and interest remains.

# APPENDIX II

The strength of anti-Campbell reaction and the general significance of that kindred in Highland affairs leads to a closer look at certain aspects of the development of the House of Argyll and at the effects this Campbell growth had on neighbouring clans; these topics are central to this study. The 17th century Campbells were a thoroughly Gaelic people descended from the Clan Campbell of Lochawe. The Campbells based their early growth on their loyal support of King Robert Bruce and, as has been seen, had early ties with the Lordship of the Isles. As the Clan Campbell slowly enlarged its west Highland sphere of influence, its chiefs came to exercise a considerable amount of power in Edinburgh and throughout Scotland. These ties with the Lowlands were eventually to have a detrimental effect on the traditional development of the Clan Campbell as opposed to the House of Argyll, but it is wrong to assume that any Highland exposure to the culture of the south automatically or immediately harmed the involved Gaelic way of life. In earlier periods, when Gaeldom was especially vital, this contact was least harmful. The chiefs of Clan Campbell had a long and, until fairly lately, a successful history of straddling both cultures. In 1457, Colin Campbell was created the 1st Earl of Argyll. He had a long and eminent career in the south. He was the Master of the King's Household from 1464 and became Chancellor of Scotland in 1483. Between the years 1463 and 1469 Colin seems to have been active as one of James II's chief negotiators in England with Edward IV.[1] His son Archibald and grandson Colin were also quite active in the Lowland establishment. Both were Masters of the Royal Household and Archibald, like his father, became Chancellor of Scotland. It has been said of Colin, the 3rd Earl, that he was a "consistent" attender of the Privy Council.[2] However, both Archibald and his son Colin received commissions as Lieutenants of the Isles and one of these two Campbell Earls was, in

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1. Colin M. MacDonald, The History of Argyll, (Glasgow: W.& R. Holmes (Books) Ltd., 1950), pp.228-30.
2. Donaldson, James V, op.cit., p.41.

the opinion of Finlay MacNabb, Chief of the MacNabbs of Lochdochart, the man to whom the compilers of the "Book of the Dean of Lismore" should submit their compilation of bardic poetry for criticism. Of this Campbell chief MacNabb said, "Bring unto MacCailein no poem lacking in artistry to be read".[3] This suggests that the MacCailein Mor in question had received bardic training.[4] It is difficult to imagine a more forceful and persuasive proof of the Campbell attachment to traditional Gaeldom and this in a period of heavy Lowland involvement.

Despite the obvious success of these 15th and 16th century Campbell chiefs in participating in both cultures, the policy was dangerous and by the mid 17th century certain basic problems had arisen. In 1644, Montrose's principal antagonist was Archibald Campbell, the 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of Argyll. Archibald was also MacCailein Mor, chief of the Sliochd Diarmaid, the Clan Campbell. He fostered his son and successor with his kinsman, Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, in the traditional manner where "great care was taken to teach him Gaelic".[5] It has been said of Archibald that "alone of the Covenanters he had the wit to perceive that if presbyterianism was to make any headway in the Isles the church must provide Gaelic speaking ministers".[6] But despite these certainties, the view taken here is that more needs to be said on the subject and that by 1644 the House of Argyll had undergone certain modifications in its long and successful development and as time passed, the significance of these changes was to deepen. No attempt will be made to imply that the Campbells were any less Gaelic than their neighbours; that would be wrong. But because of the immense growth of the House of Argyll, it is clear that in some ways the situation of the Campbells had been altered and from the perspective of their conservative Highland enemies these changes were important.

Firstly, the above quote concerning the fostering of Archibald's son in Glenorchy is somewhat odd, not the fostering itself, but the

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3. William J. Watson, ed., Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore, (Edinburgh: Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1937), pp.2-3.
4. Bannerman, Lordship, op.cit., p.236.
5. Cowan, op.cit., p.54.
6. Ibid.

special emphasis on the study of Gaelic. Why should a traditional Highland kindred need to stress its future chief's Gaelic training by sending him to Glenorchy? It is impossible to imagine that Gaelic was not commonly heard in and around Inverary at this time and yet its study is emphasised in the above quote. The reference is not to any advanced efforts at a bardic school; indeed, the only such education that would have been readily available to the Argylls in this period would have been from the remnants of their own bardic followers, the MacEwans, probably at the MacEwan patrimony of Kilchoan on Lochmelfort or at Inverary itself. Here Archibald's son, the young Archibald, was merely gaining a basic working knowledge of Gaelic. Why should this be the subject of special note in a traditional Gaelic family? The implication is clear; Gaelic was a secondary language to the boy and he was not satisfactorily progressing in it at Inverary. His father, who certainly spoke Gaelic, was often away; his mother, Margaret Douglas, the daughter of William Douglas, the 6th Earl of Morton and Lord Treasurer of Scotland, was not a Gaelic speaker. That language must have been quite uncommon in the child's family circle. Evidence in The Black Book of Taymouth clearly shows that the young Archibald was to study Gaelic in Glenorchy and that he was experiencing certain problems with that undertaking.[7] An item in the Taymouth accounts names his Gaelic instructor: "Item, given to Mr. Johnne McLen pedagoge to My Lord Lorne's sone in September 1633 ane hewit plaid, pryce ... xii lib.".[8] This Gaelic teacher is further mentioned in a letter from Colin of Glenorchy to the young Archibald as "Maister Jhone Makleine" and here it is evident that some unexplained problem existed between the young Campbell and his teacher. One further letter, dated 14th December 1637, from the child's mother, Margaret Douglas, to Glenorchy shows that the child had learned some Gaelic but that he did not enjoy it and was not using it. Indeed, she feared that he would lose all he had gained.

> I hear my sone begines to wearye of the Irishe langwadge. I intreatt you to cause holde hime to the speaking of itt, for since he has bestowed so long

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7. David Lang, ed., The Black Book of Taymouth, (Edinburgh: Bannantyne Club, 1855), pp.xx-xxii.
8. Ibid., p.xxi.

> tyme and paines in the getting of itt, I should be sory he lost it now with leasines in not speaking of itt. 9

From the traditional standpoint something was amiss when the future MacCailein Mor could not learn Gaelic in his father's home.

One other example supports the above impression that a traditional Gaelic approach to fostering was no longer employed by MacCailein Mor. During this period Archibald himself was responsible for the fostering of another future Highland chief, the son of Allan MacDonald Dubh Cameron of Locheil. The memoirs of this young man, Ewen Cameron, shows that Argyll intended to send the future Cameron chief to Oxford, an excellent (and well intended) preparation for a public life in Britain, but perhaps not the most traditional or desirable training for a west Highland chief. However, Argyll's intentions were frustrated by the Civil Wars, "then in their greatest fury".[10] This strife obliged Archibald to keep the youth near him and the subsequent and ardent royalist career of Ewen Cameron is witness to Argyll's failure to influence his ward.

The chiefs of Clan Campbell had achieved a considerable amount of political power in a general Scottish, and, indeed, a British context and not merely their traditional Highland orbit. This national involvement necessitated long periods of absence from their west Highland base. The management of the kindred and the vast territories under Argyll's rule was left to others. This situation must have had certain results. It drew Argyll's followers with him into a broader political, cultural and sometimes military theatre. True, Highlanders were never as divorced from general Scottish political developments as some have imagined, but Argyll's extensive involvement in the south must have also led his followers into that world, into close contacts and relationships with Lowlanders, their culture and their prejudices. It is always a mistake to underestimate the power of fashion and dictates of Lowland fashion must have had an effect. This increased contact called for something of a Lowland establishment. Campbell lawyers, scribes and servants

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9. Ibid., p.xx.
10. Drummond, ed. op.cit., p.26.

were required in Edinburgh. Residences were purchased or rented and staffed in the south. In addition to Argyll's Edinburgh establishment, a residence was maintained at Roseneath, on the Argyllshire shore of the Firth of Clyde by Gareloch, midway between the Lowlands and Inverary. Argyll also owned an impressive estate in Fife. Here, he maintained a "strong house of his own", called Castle Campbell. All these establishments increased intercourse between the Lowlands and the principal Campbell seats and in times of strife, they were garrisoned by Campbell clansmen.[11] As has been seen, Inverary was not conducive to the study of Gaelic in the 1630's. Argyll's ties with religion led him to sponsor a considerable influx of ministers into the west Highlands with Inverary as the principal staging area and his own pleas for more Gaelic-speaking ministers shows that a considerable portion of these incoming churchmen were not Gaels. And, it should be added, that once attained, this goal of more Gaelic-speaking churchmen was not necessarily a good thing for the traditional Highlands. Gaelic-speaking presbyterian ministers were often little more than instruments for the eradication of Gaelic and the traditional Highland way of life.

The early Campbell ability to mix a Highland life with extensive participation in the Lowlands in a somewhat successful manner has been mentioned, but in the 17th century other forces were at work and the existence of these additional anti-Gaelic forces must have made the habitual Campbell absenteeism all the more dangerous. This was an age of religious crisis both in the Highlands and Lowlands. The presbyterian kirk was seldom a friend of traditional Gaeldom and its pressure certainly fell heavily on the people of Argyll. The measures set out by James VI had some effect. This governmental pressure took a variety of forms such as the 1609 commission to Lord Ochiltree, the settlement of Lewis by the Lowland adventurers, the Statutes of Iona and numerous acts passed by the Privy Council against broken men, vagabonds and bards. Absentee landlordism was to become a critical problem for many Highland clans and it is difficult to understand why Argyll's case should have been significantly different; the negative effects of this absenteeism must

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11. Ibid., p.73.

have been all the more certain in a period so full of other disruptive forces. In this same general period, Ruairi Morison, an Clarsair Dall or "the Blind Harper", in his poem Oran do Mhacleoid Dhun Bheagain or "Song to MacLeod of Dunvegan" illustrates the harm done by an absentee chief. In this poem Ruairi Morison criticises and satirises his chief and patron, Ruairi MacLeod, as an absentee and spendthrift chief.[12] The absence and expenses of this MacLeod chief led to a deterioration of his Dunvegan court in Skye. This proud Gaelic establishment of MacLeod gentry and various permanent and visiting poets, pipers and harpers suffered from this loss of forum and the important visits of neighbouring chiefs with their own Gaelic "folk of gifts" were curtailed; the area's culture ebbed.[13] The melancholy of the silent hall where music and poetry were once at home is well described by an Clarsair Dall.

> Over Echo lies gloom
> in the hall where music was played,
> in the haunt of the bards,
> reft of joy, banquet, esteem,
> merriment, love,
> swift circling of drinking horns,
> feasting, plenty for poets,
> conversation or words of love. [14]

Ruairi MacLeod's debts in the south further injured this traditional world and put additional financial pressure on his followers.[15]

Argyll, too, was often absent and his establishments in Inverary and in the Lowlands were doubtless expensive. True, no Gaelic poetry has come down that mentions Argyll on these specific topics, but they must have had their effects on the Inverary court and there is ample evidence that certain disruptive forces were at work within Argyll's Gaelic establishment. Ruairi Morison shows that one of the most immediate effects of an absentee landlord was a decline in the clan's artistic Gaelic establishment and in Argyll's case the

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12. Thomson, Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, op.cit., pp.152-53.
13. Matheson, ed., Blind Harper, op.cit., p.152.
14. Thomson, op.cit., p.152.
15. Ibid., pp,152-53.

MacEwins, the hereditary bardic family that had served the Clan Campbell for generations, were in certain decline.

Some of the evidence regarding this MacEwin deterioration is circumstantial, some is quite specific. The MacEwin bards seem to disappear from documentary evidence in the mid 17th century. The last surviving reference to this bardic family occurs in the years 1648 and 1649 in relation to the Synod of Argyll's translation into Gaelic of the longer catechisms. The evidence is unclear but it seems that a Neill MacEwin was one of the two or three translators of John Calvin's original and, whether Neill was actually one of the first translators or not, it is clear that he existed and was consulted. It is equally certain that he had received some classical Gaelic training. Neill MacEwin was, however, never referred to as Argyll's bard. The last man to bear certain claims to that office was Athairne MacEoghain, Neill's father.[16] While of interest and while it indicates flagging MacEwin fortunes, this evidence is not totally satisfying, but one further piece of information exists in the form of a Gaelic poem. This poem is solid evidence and when combined with the above information, makes a persuasive argument. This poem was probably written between 1641 and 1645 and is addressed to Archibald Campbell, the 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of Argyll. The name of its author is unknown, but since there is no record of any other bardic family having served the Campbell chiefs for long periods and establishing a traditional patrimony, the author must have been a member of the MacEwin family. In this poem he asks Argyll to restore the hereditary MacEwin lands to Kilchoan on Lochmelfort.

> Restore to me my father's heritage
> in honour of the art [of poetry],
> O branch laden with fruit,
> As one might expect from the greatness of your name
> and the praise you have had.
>
> Understand, O darling of the schools
> and guiding star of poets,
> since you are the lord over your kin,
> that wrong inflicted by you on me is unjust.
>
> The tribute of my ancestors from whom I am sprung,
> the fervour of love, the rigour of their art;
> what rent brings more lasting fame,

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16. R.L. Thomson, ed., Adtimchiol an Chreidimh, (Edinburgh: The Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1962), p.xi.

O chief whose hand is most resolute in warfare?

It is not gold nor other treasure
that you will get from me in special;
it is not tribute, nor gift of cattle,
but the choicest of our hard-wrought poems. 17

This poem and the certain reduction of the MacEwins by Archibald shows he had become more interested in rent than in the poetry and preservation of his Gaelic bards. All this is evidence of Argyll's slow but sure movement away from the culture of his ancestors and neighbours.

While Archibald forced the MacEwins into silence, other members of the Campbell clan, being Gaels, did not lose their voices and, occasionally, their poems touched on that same MacCailein Mor. One of the most moving examples of Gaelic poetry is the "Lament of the Widow of Glen Faochain". In the Battle of Inverlochy on 2nd February 1645 this poor Campbell woman lost her father, husband, three sons, four brothers and nine "comely" foster-brothers while, as she said in the poem, "Great MacCailein took himself off to sea and he let this stroke fall on his kin".[18] This poem is as much a crushing indictment of Argyll's shortcomings as a traditional chief and of his cowardice in fleeing by sea as it is a statement of Lady Glenfaochain's private grief. When writing of this same battle, Robert Menteith of Salmonet said that the loss "much diminished Argyll's credit among his own followers, to whom this day was very fatal because it broke the band wherewith he kept those poor Highlanders attached to his interest".[19] Campbell of Skipness, who was fortunate enough to survive the slaughter, condemned his own chief for cowardice.[20] After this black day it is clear that the Clan Campbell could no longer look upon Archibald as a respected warrior leader and this was a central element in any clan's estimation of its headman.

Other examples of Argyll's shortcomings as a warrior chieftain abound throughout the Montrose period. Three times (including the Battle of Inverlochy) Argyll fled by sea from a field of battle while his clansmen were being blooded and on one other occasion

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17. Thomson, op.cit., p.40.
18. Sinclair, op.cit., p.136.
19. Forbes-Leith, op.cit., Vol.1, p.322.
20. Cowan, op.cit., p.186.

(Alford) he fled on horseback while many of his kinsmen suffered defeat and death. Furthermore, Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheil reports in his memoirs that when he was a young man under Argyll's care, he witnessed the following. In 1645 under Montrose's orders sections of the Clan MacLean devastated Argyll's estate in Fife. During this raid Argyll and the future Locheil were present, looking on from the safety of the estate's stronghold, Castle Campbell. Despite the fact that MacCailein Mor's garrison of Campbells within the castle numbered "six times" the MacLean raiders, Argyll did nothing. Ewen Cameron states that one party of MacLeans "had the boldness to march up to the vary walls of the castle and to insult the garrison". Young Locheil reportedly told the castle's governor that "he and his garrison deserved to be hanged for their cowardice" and addressing Argyll, he asked,

> For what purpose, my Lord, are these people keeped here? Your Lordship sees the country destroyed, that they [the MacLeans] may be easily cutt to pieces, one by one, without their being capable to unite and assist one another; but your fellows are so unfitt for the business for which they were brought here, that they have not courage so much as to look over the walls! 21

At the time Argyll made no answer but after the MacLeans were gone he "chid" the governor and put him out of his office.

> This he thought necessary to cover the reproach that was brought upon himself, by being eye witnes of the desolation of his own lands, without atempting to relieve them; and he inclined that the blame should fall upon the governour. 22

The Battle of Inverlochy had one other significance concerning this enquiry into the loss of basic elements of Campbell conservatism. At the Battle of Inverlochy Campbell losses have been placed at 1,500[23] and when these losses are added to the 900[24] Campbells killed during the earlier Highland descent on Inverary, they are significant. As Montrose himself observed at Inverlochy, the Campbells "fought for some time with great bravery, the prime of the Campbells giving the

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21. Drummond, ed., op.cit., p.74.
22. Ibid.
23. Cowan, op.cit., p.177.
24. Ibid.

first onset, as men that deserved to fight in a better cause".[25] The bravery of the Campbell warrior aristocracy at this battle as well as the fact that the losses fell heavily on them was also documented by Cameron of Locheil in his memoirs.

> The gentlemen and officers of the name Campbell behaved with all imaginable bravery, but were so soon deserted by the commons, that the slaughter fell heavey upon them. 26

These two military reverses cost the Clan Campbell approximately 2,400 men and, as can be seen in the above quotes of Montrose and Locheil, the brunt of this staggering carnage fell on the Campbell daoin-uaisle. Moreover, in several other engagements during the Montrose period, especially the battles of Auldearn, Alford and Kilsyth, Campbell losses were significant. "Devastating" is not too strong a word to describe this culling of the traditional Campbell gentry and these heavy losses from among the clan's conservative leadership had to have had a serious negative effect on the kindred's Gaelic outlook and development. And there is an even graver side to this topic than is immediately apparent; as can be seen from the above "Lament of the Widow of Glen Faochain", her father, husband, and her four brothers, and her three sons were all lost. When such heavy losses were inflicted on two, and in some cases three, generations of a conservative and often orally preserved culture, the effect must have been serious.

Certain other pieces of documentation from this 1644 period relate to this particular MacCailein Mor, but illustrate a perspective from outside the Clan Campbell. This evidence, from the point of view of his Gaelic enemies, indicates that from without, as well as from within his clan, Archibald was seen as something of a break with the past. When the leadership of the Montrose army was debating the advisability of an attack into the Campbell heartland, Patrick Gordon of Ruthven reported that John Moydartach, Captain of Clan Ranald, when speaking for the assembled west Highland clans, demanded an immediate assault into Argyll to"revenge the injuries and tyranus oppresion wherewith Ardgyll, more than any of his predesessoures,

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25. Ibid., pp.184-85.
26. Drummond, ed., op.cit., p.70.

had ensulted ower them".[27] Gordon's evidence is supported by another contemporary writer, the Jesuit priest, John MacBreck, who said in a report to home:

> In fact the power expressed by Argyll was of the greatest possible importance to the rebels [the covenanters]. He had been named by the King governor of the Hebrides, and exercised there an authority unknown before. 28

Both statements are clear; Archibald was a more serious threat than any previous Campbell chief and consequently was more hated and feared by his west Highland adversaries.

Other factors were also working on the Campbell daoin-uaisle. The continuing expansion of the House of Argyll moved many of them into altered and less traditional roles. In this expansion the clan used devices such as the heritable jurisdiction extensively. This, of course, is true of other kindreds, but their scope of expansion was seldom close to that of the Campbells. It is difficult to imagine how this extensive reliance on external devices in situations where they inevitably cut across traditional Gaelic kin-based patterns could have failed to have had some effect. Here, it is well to point out that the realities of the situation must have inclined Argyll and the other leading Campbells to support any British political faction that seemed likely to retain the heritable jurisdiction so central to Campbell power and so alien to the traditional Gaelic world. True, these feudal tools often hid and legitimized traditional feuds and simple expansion, but there can be no doubt that as Campbell success piled upon Campbell success, a great portion of Argyll's lands became conquered territory. In conquered areas the formula of occupation was simple and uniform. In the original strife the leaders of the victim clan either submitted to Campbell rule or were killed or driven out. In either case the vast bulk of the old population remained under Campbell control. This control was consolidated by an emplantation of Campbell gentlemen and a few of their own loyal kinsmen over the conquered people. In

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27. Gordon of Ruthven, op.cit., p.94.
28. Forbes-Leith, op.cit., p.307.

this situation these Campbell overseers did not operate as traditional daoin-uaisle serving between the loyal clan and their chief; instead, they operated as something of an occupying police force, managing the area's agricultural production and gathering the rents but also acting as Argyll's agents and spies to keep the local people under control.[29] These Campbell daoin-uaisle did not operate among their own kin as their customary leaders, but among potential enemies, keeping an eye on the military situation and trying to keep the conquered people out of anti-Campbell and pro-Stewart forces. The Campbells, of course, were not alone in this role. The MacKenzies in Lewis and even the early MacDonalds, especially in Ross, had acted in the same manner, but the scope of this Campbell expansion was more considerable and, unlike the earlier MacDonald case, it came fairly late and coincided with other forces that were also working towards the disruption of the Gaelic culture. The number of kindreds under Campbell subjugation was great and consequently the number of Campbells in this uncomfortable situation large. Doubtless, these Campbell overseers were pure Gaels, but they lived a far different life from many of their contemporaries such as the Clan Ranald's daoin-uaisle in Benbecula and Arisaig.

When the Captain of Clan Ranald mobilized his clan, his people reacted in a traditional kin-based manner, as they had when they helped his successors hold their lands "by the sword" against outside pressure. When Argyll mobilized his followers, their numbers were great. As MacCailein Mor he commanded certain highly effective and reliable Campbell contingents, but also as the Marquis of Argyll he had an even more considerable number of levees made up of less reliable (from his point of view) people from conquered kindreds or from clans whose superiorities he held. Archibald's son, the 9th Earl, learned in 1685 just how unreliable these troops could be, and as Campbell of Breadalbane learned in 1715, if the Jacobite fiery-cross beat the Campbell fiery-cross around Lochtay, his vassals were off to join the enemy.

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29. See Eric Cregean, "The Tacksmen and their Successors: A Study of Tenurial Reorganisation in Mull, Morvern and Tiree in the Early 18th century", Scottish Studies, Vol. 13, (Aberdeen: The University Press, 1969).

Clearly, a substantial variety of factors was working on the 17th century Campbells and pulling them into certain altered functions. At the heart of the matter lay a simple but important reality; the House of Argyll had been singularly successful. It has been rightly said of the Campbells that they are perhaps the best proof of the old saying, "the pen is mightier than the sword".[30] But behind the pen, the feudal charter, were Campbell swords. The combination was devastating for their neighbours. These Campbell people were Gaels and they took just as much delight from the ancient Irish sagas of Fionn as did their traditional neighbours. But the very success of their clan and their neighbours' natural hostile reaction to it altered their world. This west Highland success was the basis of the real influence exercised in Edinburgh's halls of power by numerous Campbell chiefs but this prolonged contact with that world eventually caused certain problems back in the western Highlands.

As early as 1630 Inverary was no longer conducive to the acquisition of Gaelic even as a secondary language, a tool to deal with the locals; the MacEwin bards were less appreciated; and, while the fostering of Archibald the younger in Glenorchy and the intended Oxford "fostering" of the young Ewen Cameron of Locheil have been mentioned, it is interesting to note the manner of young Archibald's father's fosterage. This MacCailein Mor had also been fostered but in circumstances much less traditional than even his son's. This Archibald, Montrose's enemy in 1644, had been fostered in the Lowlands with William Douglas, the 6th Earl of Morton and Lord Treasurer of Scotland, his future father-in-law. This fosterage does not appear to have been of an especially long duration, but it was certainly not traditional in the Gaelic sense and it gives indications of the thoughts and objectives of the Argylls at that period. Archibald clearly did not gain any special regard for the poetry of the MacEwins while under Morton's roof, but he did gain a wife

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30. This sentiment was expressed by Alexander MacDonald, the Clan Ranald poet in his poem, "Tearlach MacSheumas", or "Charles, son of James". Alexander sang:

    Our's [the Jacobites] the sword's triumph,
        Their's [the Campbells] that of the pen.

    MacDonalds, ed. & trans., Poems of Alexander MacDonald, op.cit., pp.106-07.

and a powerful ally in Lowland political circles.[31] This Archibald was not continually absent from Inverary, but his fosterage, his period of study at the University of St. Andrews and his chores at the Privy Council often drew him into the Lowlands and later, from 1638 to 1651, he was heavily occupied with national affairs. All this is not an attempt to deny his Highland interest. That area and its problems occupied a fair portion of his time, but it was certainly not his only interest. When the House of Argyll moved in the Highlands it moved to enhance its own position of power and to support the interests of the presbyterian religion, but it was in the final analysis and beyond any doubt the Lowland establishment's primary tool in undermining the traditional Gaelic west. Doubtless the state of affairs had its positive and negative effects on the Campbells. When one of Glenorchy's traditional Campbell daoinuaisle helped to defeat the MacIains of Ardnamurchan or tracked down a party of MacGregor reivers, on a personal level he was dealing with his hereditary Gaelic enemies, but Argyll, while he also shared these traditional enmities, was also pursuing other goals; goals more closely tied to the government's policy of reducing the Highlands and its culture.

All this is certainly not to "blame" the Campbells for their successes; other clans would have relished these opportunities. The Clan Donald had historically been a great power in the Gaelic west and therefore it is natural that the MacDonalds looked back to that glorious past and rallied around conservative tradition and attitudes; the Clan Campbell had won great power, largely through the use of "modern" devices, and consequently it is natural that change was less repulsive to them. Be that as it may, the fact remains that for a variety of reasons it fell to the Campbell's lot to profit from this situation and to pay for that gain by the early loss of certain traditional aspects of their own culture. The certainty of the Campbell's Gaelic origins and their early close ties with the traditional Lordship of the Isles combined with the

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31. Information received in personal discussion with Mr. Edward Cowan of the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, May, 1978.

later Campbell service to the alien culture and government of the Lowlands caused the Campbells, in the eyes of their traditional enemies, to be seen as renegades and turncoats; in the words of Iain Lom MacDonnell, the Keppoch bard, the Campbells were the "Fallen race of Diarmid! disloyal, untrue".[32]

In 1646 Archibald Campbell, the Marquis of Argyll, spoke to the House of Lords and when referring to England and Scotland, said, "and let nothing make us again two, who are so many ways one - all of one language, in one island, all under one king, one in religion, yea, one in covenant".[33] True, these are the words of a politician, speaking from a political platform, but MacCailein Mor's words, "all of one language", cannot be passed over as insignificant, especially not in the light of contemporary developments at Inverary; he was not referring to Gaelic. It would be very wrong to overstate the reality of these Campbell transformations, but it would be equally wrong to fail to point out their indisputable existence and the implication they held for conservative Gaels.

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32. McKechnie, op.cit., p.167.
33. Journals of the House of Lords, beginning 1645, Vol.VIII, pp.392-93.

## APPENDIX III

After the successful Campbell invasion of Mull, Tiree and Coll in 1674, and despite a brief respite for the MacLeans when Argyll was forfeited in 1681 and executed for rebellion in 1685, with the fall of the royal Stewarts in 1688, it became clear that the area's fate was to be decided by the alien Clan Campbell. After the MacLean armed resistance had been dealt with, the Campbell's first targets were the remainders of the MacLean warrior aristocracy. Untrusted MacLean daoin-uaisle who had not already been disposed of in the fighting were replaced by families of Campbells, predominantly from the district of Lorn; and all of these incoming Campbells were given tacks. This re-population did not end there. Archibald Campbell of Stonefield reported that the districts were

> sett in tack to gentlemen of the name of Campbell, who have gone a good length to plant their several districts with people of the same name and their friends. 1

The extent of this replacement and the fate of those replaced is unfortunately not known but the quiet nature of Mull, Coll and Tiree during the period when compared to the turbulent Morvern indicates a substantial replacement.[2]

While unpleasant for the remaining MacLean tenants, these developments were what could be expected in traditional Gaeldom when one kindred conquered another. Both the incoming tacksmen and the native tenants were put into an altered situation. These new tacksmen of Argyll's selection (Campbells and others not tied to the old MacLean establishment) were not attached to the people or their Jacobite point of view. These incomers were put into roles as occupiers and overseers above a conquered people rather than repre-

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1. Cregean, Argyll Estate Instructions, op.cit., pp.97-98.
2. Loyalties in Morvern had in the past not only gone to the MacLeans, now weakened and intimidated by defeat, but to the Clan Cameron and this kindred under Donald of Locheil was intact, still quite capable of defending their own interests and frustrating Argyll's plans in Morvern.

sentatives and leaders of their kinsmen, but still they were Gaels, they had generally been of the duin-uasal class and they lived on the lands with the old tenants. In this new situation the tenants continued to pay rent as before and since the tacksmen-rent collectors continued to live on the scene they would share the situation of the tenants and in bad years be somewhat sensitive to the tenants' plight. Politically, the area had changed, but socially it retained something of its older form; however, in 1737 the 2nd Duke of Argyll, not content with this situation, set in motion significant changes. He chose to augment his cash income by altering the basic structure of society and his chief tool in this scheme was Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, and Argyll's principle business manager since 1716.[3]

During the summer of that year Culloden journeyed to the islands of Mull, Tiree and Coll with a party that included legal men, several powerful Campbells and a party of troops to evict the tacksmen who were seen as anachronistic and expensive middlemen. The only documentation concerning Culloden's expedition that has since come to light are Culloden's report itself (discovered by chance in 1884) and a letter from George, the 8th Duke of Argyll. In both manuscripts the tacksmen were presented as "oppressors" who "ground down and impoverished" the tenants and that Culloden's desire was to deliver "them from the tyranny of taxmen".[4] That is the contention of both documents and these accusations have been accepted by many historians since the manuscripts were discovered,[5] but a careful reading of them leads to a series of quite different conclusions.

In reality Culloden's report shows that Argyll was simply raising the rents again and an important element in this particular cash drive was the elimination of the tacksmen whom he saw as

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3. Cregean, "Tacksmen and their Successors", op.cit., p.93.
4. Parliamentary Papers, Reports Commissioners (16), Vol.32, 1884, pp.380-91.
5. See, for example, Agnes Mure MacKenzie, Scotland in Modern Times, 1720 - 1939, (Edinburgh: W.& R. Chambers, Ltd., 1941), p.48.

expensive middlemen whose military and social usefulness had come to an end. Duncan Forbes' job was to raise the rents and dispose of the tacksmen (at least as they had existed) and he seems to have felt obliged to paint them as tyrants to justify his actions. But with the exception of his general assertion Culloden gives no specific instance of any tacksman acting as an oppressor; what the report does, in fact, is to present a mass of information showing that the tenants always stood solidly together with the tacksmen against the proposed changes.

Culloden states that the tenants were to pay more and that they would not be allowed to let their rents go in arrears as the tacksmen had previously permitted. The tenants were also to be forced to pay the difficult money rent and not the habitual "rent in kind"; and the report openly states that Forbes only succeeded by threats, renting to outsiders who were working with him and by actually turning some people off their lands when they refused to turn against the tacksmen.

Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the contention that the tenants stood against Forbes' proposals simply because these proposals went against ancient Celtic practice is not acceptable. George, the 8th Duke of Argyll, wrote that Culloden's proposals were "far beyond the intelligence of the people" because they involved "a complete change of old customs and a complete breaking with tradition ... [and] the natural working of the old conditions of Celtic society".[6] This was not the case. The tenants were not siding with the traditional MacLean tacksmen; as has been seen, the old MacLean warrior aristocracy had been rooted out long before. No, the tenants were siding with the "Campbell" tacksman families that Argyll, himself, had earlier selected to replace the MacLean establishment. So when the tenants stood out "to a man"[7] with the tacksmen they were not doing so out of a "romantic kin-based attachment", rather they did so for hard-headed practicalities.

Despite the contentions of Argyll and Culloden, the tenants were not dim, certainly not about their own lot. The tenants were

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6. Ibid., p.381.
7. Ibid., p.389.

the people on the scene who had to live with these decisions. They were the best possible witnesses. They, better than anyone at the time or since then, knew the true conditions under the tacksmen. The tenants could see Culloden's increased financial demands. They could see the troops that Culloden brought among them and by Culloden's own admission the tenants stood solidly in every case with their tacksmen. This is evidence that must not be passed over lightly.

Finally, there is one other interesting point raised in Culloden's report. In two cases on the Isle of Coll the former tackholders were re-issued leases. One, the "Laird of Coll" agreed to pay a higher rent and the second, an individual named Alexander MacLauchlan, was given a slightly lower rent on another piece of land in consideration of his having bid up the rent on the two ends of Coll.[8] This information shows that the relief of the poor tenants from "tyrannical" tacksmen was not even a secondary motive of Culloden's. These were the same men who, according to Forbes, had been exploiting the tenants and they were able to retain their old holdings or were given new ones. The only criterion was that their rent satisfied Culloden. Is it reasonable to assume that the same person who exploits tenants will cease to do so when he is forced to pay more? It is not. This destroys any claim that the welfare of the tenants was involved, except as a smokescreen. Two old lease-holders were retained when they proved willing to pay the price and the other area tacksmen were disposed of despite the wishes of the tenants.

All this is not to deny the significance of Duncan Forbes' report; there are, indeed, lessons to be learned from it, but the document should be seen in a realistic perspective. It is important as an example of the attitudes of an 18th century improver, one of the most important improvers. It is also useful because Culloden records some of the agricultural shortcomings in the area. One of the major weaknesses of the tacksmen was certainly agricultural and Culloden performs a useful service in pointing to this weakness. Finally, Culloden's report is helpful because it shows that even in

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8. Ibid., pp.389-91.

the first half of the 18th century the conditions of the tenantry on the Argyll estate were poor and despite that rents were being raised and raised again. Clearly, the report represents an important statement by one of Scotland's foremost 18th century improvers, but it utterly fails in its two major contentions. Firstly, the report contends that the tacksmen were a class of oppressive tyrants grinding down their tenants and, secondly, the report claims that this tenantry was too dull to notice. These contentions are disproved by a careful reading of the report itself. Argyll was simply raising the rents again and saw the tacksmen as obstacles between him and increased profit. As Argyll's man, it was Culloden's task to raise the rents and dispose of the tacksmen (as he found them) and he attempted to brand them as tyrants to justify his actions.

The tenants of Mull, Tiree, Coll and Morvern (and, indeed, all Highland people of a conservative outlook) could have seen Culloden's expedition as a dark insight into their future. The Duke of Argyll, the most considerable magnate in the Highlands, and those of his ruling faction had set their minds on change. Here was a complete stranger coming among them with the approval of their landlord, with troops, with the sheriff and with Edinburgh lawyers to save them from their own culture, and all this for only a slight increase in rents.

Despite the many weaknesses of Culloden's report, it remains a landmark in the history of the Highlands and especially in the story of the decline of the tacksman. The report does not succeed in showing that the tacksmen were oppressive but it does show that for several reasons Argyll felt he no longer needed his tacksmen, that he needed an excuse to do away with or alter them and that he, in many ways, was already an absentee landlord and needed money for his expensive life in England.

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GD237 Tods, Murry and Jamieson, W.S.
GD243 Lindsay, Howe and Co., W.S. (a section of the Glenalladale Papers).
GD244 Skene, Edwards and Garson, W.S.

#### 2. Estate and Family Papers

GD1/53 Irvine Robertson Papers (Major-General John Campbell of Mamore, later 4th Duke of Argyll).
GD1/65 Miscellaneous Documents (Highland Regiments).
GD1/400 D. Murry Rose (includes Campbell of Loudoun's Journal of 1745-46).
GD1/616 Raven Papers.
GD1/658 Inventory of Charters Relating to the Family, Cameron of Locheil.
GD3 Eglinton Muniments.
GD13 Campbell of Balliveolan.
GD14 Campbell of Stonefield.
GD16 Airlie Muniments.
GD26 Inventory of Leven and Melville Muniments.
GD46 Seaforth.
GD50 MacGregor Collection.
GD52 Lord Forbes (of Culloden).
GD64 Campbell of Jura.
GD71 Munro of Allan.
GD80 MacPherson of Cluny.
GD84 Lord Reay.
GD86 Fraser Charters.
GD87 MacKay of Bighouse.
GD112 Campbell of Breadalbane.
GD116 Campbell of Duntroon.
GD125 Rose of Kilravock.
GD170 Campbell of Barcaldine Muniments.
GD174 MacLaine of Lochbuie.
GD176 Mackintosh of Mackintosh.
GD221 Lord MacDonald.

GD234 Hill and Robb, W.S.
GD248 Seafield Papers.
Hamilton Papers, in Lennoxlove Muniments (not yet indexed).

3. Official Papers

E Exchequer and Treasury. (Forfeited Estates)
E705 Petitions and Memorials.
E737 Ardsheal.
E764 Kinlochmoidart.
E744 Clanranald.
E786 Various.
H.R.620/1 Heritors Records. Ardnamurchan. Minute Book 1826-1929.
RS Registers of Sasines.
RS3 General Register of Sasines, 3rd Series, 1660-1868.
RS37 P.R.S. Inverness-shire, 1st Series, 1617-1660.
RS38 P.R.S. Inverness-shire, 2nd Series, 1661-1869.
RD Register of Deeds.
RD2 Register (2nd Series - Dal.) 1661-1811.
RD4 Register (2nd Series - Mack.) 1661-1811.
RH2 A variety of state papers held in S.R.O. such as, RH2/4/390-399. State Papers, Scotland: Letter Books, 1713-1725, 1742-1746.
RH2/5 Mitchell Papers.
SC29 Sheriff Courts, Inverness.
SP3 State Papers. Letter book of James Johnston, Joint Secretary for Scotland, 1692-1694.
TE Teind Court and other Teind Papers. Register of Decreets (1st Series) 1707-1791.

4. Ecclesiastical Records

CH1 General Assembly Papers.
CH1/1/1-5 "Church Papers", 1687-1706.
CH1/1/22-50 Main Series 1701-1829.
CH1/5/7-119 Letters and Addresses to General Assembly.
CH1/5/51 Register of the Royal Bounty Committee.
CH2 Highland Presbyteries and Synods.
CH2/7/1 Presbytery of Abertarff (later Lochaber) 1724-1750.
CH2/47/3-4 Presbytery of Caithness, 1709-1753.
CH2/271/5-6 Synod of Moray, 1714-1759.
CH2/273/1-3 Presbytery of Mull, 1729-1830.
CH2/312/1-4 Synod of Ross, Minutes 1707-1765.
CH2/330/1-2 Presbytery of Skye, 1712, 1786-1823 (includes Small Isles).
CH2/361/1-2 Presbytery of Uist, 1768-1847.
CH2/557/1-6, 14-17, 26 & 27 Synod of Argyll, 1639-1755.
CH2/567/1-2 Presbytery of Lochcarron (formerly Gairloch), 1724-1790.
CH2/568/1 Synod of Glenelg, 1725-1749.
CH2/984/1-3 Presbytery of Lorn, 1651-1771.
GD95 Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.

B. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

1. Collections with Specific Clan Ranald Sections

MS 1303-4 MacDonald of Clanranald (Delvine Papers).
MS 1305 MacDonald of Glenalladale etc., (Delvine Papers).
MS 1306 MacDonald of Kinlochmoidart, Milltoun, Morar, etc., (Delvine Papers).
MS 9245 Papers of Claude Russell, accountant for Clan Ranald Trust.

2. Lauriston Castle Collection - MacKenzie of Delvine Papers.

MS 1105 John MacKenzie of Delvine, from various persons.
MS 1498 Jacobites in Delvine Papers.
MS 1306-10 MacDonald of Sleat.
MS 1313 MacDonnell of Glengarry, etc.
MS 1356-60 MacKenzie of Seaforth.

3. Other Sources in National Library

MS 68 Taylor Collection.
MS 2129-2139 Donald Gregory's Historical Collections.
MS 2974 List of Inverness-shire inhabitants who gave up arms before 1st November 1716.
MS 3140-41 Jacobite Risings, burnings in 1716.
MS 3430-31 Lee Papers, Report on Roman Catholicism.
MS 3733-36 Correspondence of Major-General John Campbell of Mamore, afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll.
MS 3738 Narrative of Colin Lindsay, Earl of Balcarres.
MS 3739 Memoirs of Major-General Hugh MacKay.
MS 3942-88 Robertson-MacDonald (of Kinlochmoidart) Papers.
MS 5070-5138 Dukes of Atholl.
MS 6223 Campbell of Craignish.

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2. Forfeited Estates Papers, 1715, while being indexed at University of St. Andrews.

3. MacLeod of MacLeod Papers, while being indexed at S.R.O. (now back in Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye).

4. Session Papers, Signet Library, Edinburgh.

D. Newspapers

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